Mapuche Political Dissent in the Context of Neoliberal Governance: The Recuperation of Ancestral Land as a Process of Indigenous Emancipation in Arauco Province, Chile

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Summary

This dissertation addresses the current situation of the Mapuche indigenous people in Chile, who are part of a political-territorial conflict with the State, landowners and agroforestry companies. In short, the Mapuche[1] today are claiming the devolution of what they call the *Wallmapu*, their ancestral territory, which was occupied by the Chilean Army and settlers during the third part of the 19th Century. More recently, during the dictatorship of Pinochet (1973-1989), land grabbing processes by agroforestry companies were intensified, which signified a new challenge for the indigenous groups who remained living as smallholders, focused on self-subsistence and small-scale trade.

After the return of democracy in Chile in 1990, the State launched a land restitution plan for indigenous communities and a series of development programmes targeting them, both of which were driven by a neoliberal-multicultural logic of national integration. However, in the middle of the 1990s, several Mapuche groups radicalized their claims, aiming for political autonomy and the expulsion of big capitalist enterprises (especially agroforestry) from the *Wallmapu* territory. From then till current times, they have resorted to two main strategies of land recuperation: on the one hand, illegal land occupations, coupled with sabotage on the agroforestry infrastructure, and a series of performances to make their political claims visible; and on the other hand, applying to the above-mentioned programmes implemented by the State apparatus. Both ways are performed by these groups according to their own normative system which stands in opposition to the economistic based logic of late capitalism, and through their cultural complex (comprised of language, authorities, and a series of ceremonies and socio-political protocols). In response, the State has reacted in a highly violent way, repressing the segments of the indigenous population that challenge the establishment as dangerous for the Chilean nation.

Approaching this situation, the following questions arise: What kind of political process are these groups of Mapuche carrying out? Are they ethno-nationalist groups, or do they rather represent broader societal interests that go beyond ethnic identities? And related to the crystallization of their claims: How have Mapuche activists devised forms of cultural struggle against the dominant order in Chile, in order to voice dissent? How have State interventions

[1] The Mapuche language (*mapuzungun*) does not use the ´s´ or other termination in the end of the word for indicating a plural. Instead, they use a 'pu' preceding the principal word. For simplification all Mapuche words in this text (including 'Mapuche') are written always in 'singular'.

based on land restitution, development, and multiculturalism been interpreted, questioned and appropriated by the Mapuche?

In responding those questions, my aim is to contribute to the literature about the Mapuche issue today in terms of bringing 'new' perspectives to (re)think the very bases of the Mapuche claims and their ongoing political processes. The latter from a Mapuche perspective as a counterpoint to the logic of the State which frames the issue just as one concerning cultural differences, rural poverty, and criminality. But, also, as a critical complement to the authors who currently are proposing theoretical views to validate and concretize the mentioned indigenous political claims, such as the works on decolonization and political ontologies.

In brief, the Mapuche are categorized as a subject that has been historically oppressed by a dominant order. The political emergence of the Mapuche during the decade of the 1990s challenging the status quo, namely the Chilean neoliberal territorialization and the logic of multicultural integration, is analysed according to the works on politics of Jacques Rancière and Alan Badiou. I[2] use the Rancièrian concept of 'political aesthetic' to define how the Mapuche reconfigure spaces and places (roles, hierarchies, forms of access to resources) by the continuous performance of their own aesthetic regime (normative system/cultural complex), which has been shaped at the margins of the dominant order. Resorting to a Badiouan analysis, I argue that the Mapuche ground their claims in a 'political truth' which is in a relation of fidelity with an 'event', i.e. the radicalization of a broad part of the Mapuche people towards land recuperation. This 'truth' – the return to the *Wallmapu* as a universal proposal – triggers a process of subjectivation crystalized in the ongoing Mapuche organizations as independent political collectives.

The Mapuche subject, thus, is based on a universal idea of 'being in common' which integrates the people excluded by the Chilean State structures, especially the ones related to the forms of access to the land and resources. The latter, I argue, on the one hand means the emergence of a category of people that goes beyond the existence of an 'authentic' Mapuche colonial subject (as, broadly, decolonial ideas bring about), but its substance, in turn, is given through disruptive historical 'events'. On the other hand, the Mapuche subject carry out a *real political* process

[2] I wrote the Summary in first person, as well the Introduction, the 4th Chapter, and the Discussion & Conclusion chapter. However, the process of defining research problems, theoretical ideas, etc., as well the editing stage, was constantly supported by my daily supervisor Dr.ir. Pieter de Vries and my promotor Prof.dr. Bram Büscher, whose contributions have been very important. In Chapters 1, 2, and 3, I use 'we' and 'our' because these were written as research articles in co-authorship with Dr.ir. Pieter de Vries.

insofar it integrates a high level of heterogeneity (diverse communities, groups, families, even non-Mapuche people) in a horizontal political relation and addresses internal political contestation through traditional platforms of discussion and deliberation. Thus, from my perspective, the Mapuche subject today goes beyond an ethno-nationalist dynamic, overcoming the potential processes of 'political foreclosure' that such a process can internally provoke.

According to this framework, I stress how the Mapuche respond politically to the processes of depoliticization triggered under a logic of neoliberal governmentality, i.e. the interventionism of the State apparatus. The accent here lies on the creation of a politics from the margins as a biopolitical fact, as something truly new, that conforms to a process of emancipation through which the borders of the 'Mapuche common' are translocated and expanded. This process includes the strategic use of governmental tools through appropriation by disagreement, which represents an intensified disjunctive political position of the Mapuche rather than an accommodation or negotiation of the terms of their inclusion within the Chilean nation.

Furthermore, unlike current popular perspectives in anthropology, such as the so-called ontological turn, I maintain that the Mapuche political struggle is not about the reproduction of a parallel universe, but it is the struggle of a subject that has been historically marginalized within one ruptured world. Thus, it is a universal proposal for inhabiting a 'common world', reconfiguring the very order of things.

In terms of methodology, ethnographic research was carried out in Arauco Province (Biobio Region). Three main case studies were defined: the land recuperation performed through different strategies; the appropriation of a Museum belonging to the State as a platform of political dissent; and the performance of the *palin*, a Mapuche sacred game that politicizes spaces and places. Resorting to this empirical data, the thesis is organized in four chapters, preceded by an introduction and concluded by a theoretical discussion.

Introduction

On June 28, 2018, the newly elected President of Chile Sebastián Piñera proudly announced a new anti-terrorist elite corps: 80 members of *Carabineros de Chile* (the Chilean police) who received one month of training in under special corps of the Colombian police, as well as with the FBI in the USA. The new corps is to be called *Comando Jungla* (The Jungle Squad), and its main objective is to combat and dissolve groups of the indigenous Mapuche people in the south of Chile, whom the State categorizes as terrorists. The corps is supported by new technology and military vehicles (Las Últimas Noticias, 2018).

The announcement was made in Temuco city in Chile's Araucanía Region, after the regional annual forum of businessmen and entrepreneurs ENELA 2018. The president of the Republic emphasized:

> 'Our war against terrorism will use all the acceptable and legitimate resources according to the law to be effective. We want to win the war against terrorism, we do not want to simply simulate that we are in a war, and for that reason we are changing many policies (…)' (author's translation, El Siglo, 2018).

During the morning of the same day of this announcement, Piñera participated in a meeting with some Mapuche authorities, coordinated by the National Coorporation of Indigenous Development (Corporación Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena [CONADI]). On that occasion, after the celebration of a Mapuche ceremony, the Chilean President talked with Mapuche participants about the relevance of preserving the Mapuche language and customs. During that meeting, Piñera officially declared:

> 'Today, we have come one more time to the Araucanía (Region), because we have a very deep commitment to begin a new stage in this wonderful region (…) so full of opportunities, so full of history and meanings, and, at the same time, so impoverished (…) (author's translation, Prensa Presidencia, 2018).

As paradoxical as it seems, these ambivalent and seemingly incongruous declarations of the president Piñera are exemplary of the peculiar situation we have witnessed in the last decades regarding the Chile State and its relationship with the Mapuche people. On the one hand, part of this indigenous population is categorized as insurgents or even terrorists – a risk for the national security – when they resort to radical strategies to manifest themselves politically. On the other hand, the Mapuche people are also highlighted as carriers of a valuable ancestral culture which is part of the current Chilean 'race' and nation, being also a key resource for the

Mapuche socio-economic development. The 'bad' and the 'good' indigenous, thus, are the main characters of this story in the view of the Chilean State.

However, the situation turns more complex when it is shown, as I will do in this dissertation, that the polarization of Mapuche people made by the State is fictitious, insofar both the 'radicalized' and 'obedient' groups have claims in common. Furthermore, usually the former groups also make use of the State platforms of integration to achieve their political demands, while the latter groups also resort to 'radical' acts (e.g. illegal land occupations) with the same goal. The recuperation of the *Wallmapu,* the ancestral Mapuche territory, is indeed a common objective that today collectivizes the Mapuche on different levels.

Nevertheless, these antagonist positions between the Chilean State and the Mapuche have never been confronted in a 'real' political arena. Instead of opening platforms for discussing these demands, during the last decades the Mapuche and the Chilean State have confronted each other in a violent conflict. Indeed, the State has shown the failure of its inclusive and multicultural national project every time it resorts to extreme repressive measures to end the Mapuche political dissent.

This dissertation, as will be introduced now, aims to open new questions and discussions around this broad and complex problematic.

1. The origins of a new conflictual period

For the Mapuche people in Chile, the political situation changed radically at the dawn of the 1990s. Internally, the Chilean nation was initiating a new democratic period after 17 years of a dictatorship that was highly damaging for the Mapuche population. The intensification of land grabbing by agroforestry companies on 'ancestral' indigenous territories, the abolition of the recognition of the existence of indigenous people within the nation, the dissolution of communitarian property on the land and Mapuche political organizations, as well as the violence against several commoners accused of being part of communist organization of the former government were some of the harsh conditions that these people had to bear under Pinochet´s administration (1973-1989). Once the centre-left, aligned in a broad political coalition called *Concertación,* defeated the right both in the plebiscite of 1988 (which signified the end of the dictatorship) and in the presidential election of 1989 (with the inauguration of the new government taking place in early 1990), the announcements of the new government

were encouraging: amongst others, a new indigenous law, including the recognition of Chile as culturally plural, the establishment of a special State Department for development and indigenous affairs and the beginning of a programme of land restitution for indigenous communities were introduced. The mass media, intellectuals and some politicians were excited, declaring the possibility of closing a centenary wound with the 'original people', as the indigenous started to be officially called.

At the same time, the emergence of a new indigeneity was rising during those years in Latin America (in México, Bolivia and Colombia, amongst others). The end of the Cold War, as José Bengoa (2000a) notes, was crucial in ending the categorization of all social movements as 'leftist', giving space to the indigenous organization to develop new discourses and concepts beyond the high polarization of communists vs. liberals of the previous decades. The Mapuche were also part of that wave. The Chilean population witnessed a new pride regarding the indigenous culture, the recovery of their ancestral practices, ceremonies, the language, driving the political claims of people that had remained silent for decades. Furthermore, the new claim towards the recuperation of the ancestral land from the hands of big landowners and the agroforestry started to be concretized by means of illegal land occupations, before and after the land restitution programme was launched in 1994. In response, the legacy of the military dictatorship was manifested in the repressive apparatus of the State, which started to violently dissolve these occupations and other public demonstrations against the dominant order.

However, during the second half of the 1990s, the promising political situation shifted radically to a situation of permanent and violent political conflict. Indeed, since that period, the so-called 'Mapuche Conflict' has been the most persistent and intense social conflict in this country till current days. What happened that such opportunity of building democratic solutions and peaceful agreements turned into something conflictive? This research is an analysis of this phenomenon from the perspective of the Mapuche, specifically those currently involved in processes of land recuperation. In this sense, my aim is to show how these indigenous groups draw upon their own ideas of politics and their own cultural practices for challenging the dominant order. The latter, I argue, opens options to think the current social order beyond the spuriousness of late capitalism as it operates in Chile today.

In the following section, I introduce some features of the Mapuche, in combination of a brief description of their socio-political situation within the Chilean nation.

2. The Mapuche people living in Chile

The Mapuche are the biggest indigenous population in Chile (+/- 1.7 million persons) representing 9,9% of the total population (an estimated 17.6 million persons) (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas [INE], 2018). Most of them live in Santiago, Chile's capital, located in the centre of the country, as well as in Southern Chile, especially in the Araucanía, Los Ríos, Los Lagos, and Biobio Regions. In the latter one, the Arauco Province is located, which was the focus of this research (see Map 1, in the methodology section on page 29). That province was part of the ancestral Mapuche land, or the *Wallmapu*, as the Mapuche have called this territory from before the arrival of colonial enterprises in the 16th Century and is also today the home of thousands of indigenous families. Close to the Arauco Province was the historical border that worked for more than two centuries (until the decade of 1870) as a national sovereignty frontier with the Spanish Crown, and, later, the Chilean Republic: the Biobio river (Aylwin, 2002: 4). In Arauco Province, nowadays, the Mapuche mostly inhabit rural areas, grouped in the so-called indigenous communities that are the result of a series of historical land reductions and, more recently, of the neoliberal territorialization by the State. In these communities, the Mapuche usually live in extended families (but there also communities without blood ties), where each family nucleus has individual land for a small-scale agrarian production (aiming at self-subsistence and small-scale trade). They often also share communitarian land both with productive goals and for political and ceremonial purposes. Also, a high number of Mapuche live in towns and small cities, such as Cañete (where the operation base of my fieldwork was situated), or have a close relation with the urban context through relatives, work, studies, or other ties.

During the Republican era in Chile, and specifically between 1850 and 1870 during the military campaign called the Pacification of Araucanía, the Mapuche lost much of their land to the benefit of big landowners, militaries, Chilean peasants and settlers of European descent. More recently, during Pinochet's dictatorship (from 1973 to 1989), the process of land grabbing by the agroforestry businesses – a main economic activity in the 'new' Southern Chile from the second half of the 19th Century onwards – was intensified. Since the return of democracy in 1990, as was introduced above, the Chilean State has deployed a new mix of specific measures to deal with Mapuche rural communities, who are reclaiming political autonomy over their 'ancestral' territories.

Given the restricted political space that the Mapuche have for voicing their demands, some groups have resorted to extra-parliamentary forms of political mobilization that have been branded by the State as a potential danger for the Chilean nation and its development. In response, the State has resorted to police repression, coupled with indigenous development programmes, and national integration plans designed in so-called 'culturally pertinent' ways. This combination of repression and nationalist development projects are, according to the government, meant to provide effective solutions to deal with rural poverty and social exclusion, and thereby to resolve the 'Mapuche issue' (Vergara, Gundermann & Foster, 2013).

This strategy, however, has led to some distinctly negative results. Firstly, police repression has provoked an increased criminalization of Mapuche people in what has become a generalized conflictive environment. The excessive use of force and the prosecutions of Mapuche leaders have been condemned as violations of human rights by the Inter-American Court in 2014. Secondly, the indigenous development plans (which work with Mapuche cultural elements) implemented the last twenty years by the National Corporation of Indigenous Development (CONADI) have used participatory methodologies in politically motivated ways, which led to serious divisions within Mapuche communities[3]. Furthermore, the programme of land restitution managed by this agency has presented a series of problems for the communities, who must follow a long bureaucratic process of application (in many cases, only to eventually be rejected or to receive terrains smaller or differently located than those they initially applied for). These situations have created within the communities a general scepticism toward the current State logic of territorialization, the indigenous development programmes deployed by it, and towards interventions by external agents. Thirdly, Mapuche groups resent what they understand as a 'de-contexualization' and banalization of their cultural indigenous way of life by cultural integration programmes that frame the Mapuche heritage in terms of cultural resources, or commodities, for economic profit. Mapuche beneficiaries of these programmes are expected to become micro-entrepreneurs combining small-scale agriculture with commercial activities as part of their livelihood strategies. In short, indigenous development and cultural integration programmes were designed according to a neoliberal-multiculturalist logic of economic individualization and responsibilization which weakens

[3] I refer here to the legal communities registered by the State, who inhabit the historical indigenous 'reserves' (*reducciones territoriales*) and/or are beneficiaries of the State land restitution programme (See Chapter 1 of this dissertation).

community relations and leads to the commoditization of Mapuche cultural practices (Bolados García, 2012; Richards, 2010).

Some of these negative results have recently been acknowledged by the Chilean State. Former president Bachelet admitted in March 2014 that injustice has been committed against Mapuche individuals and that the State has resorted to forms of unnecessary violence. Moreover, over the past years, the National Department of Libraries, Archives and Museums (DIBAM) and the National Council for Culture and the Arts (CNCA) have started funding projects designed by social scientists in close participation with Mapuche groups, aimed at creating cultural platforms in which Mapuche cultural practices can be debated. These cultural manifestations are highly critical of governmental development and multicultural integration policies. They have succeeded in creating an arena of cultural critique wherein Mapuche individuals and groups can manifest themselves with relative autonomy as a native population that has been subjugated by a dominant system over centuries. These platforms have also been used to create and improve relations between the government and the communities, and to encourage a dialogue with certain sectors of Chilean civil society, enabling the Mapuche to voice their dissent and (re)construct a sense of cultural belonging.

What these platforms have not addressed, however, is that the Mapuche struggle for indigenous rights cannot be dissociated from the struggle for native territories and political autonomy, issues in fact negated by multiculturalist policies. This has therefore become the main point of contention between Mapuche activists and the State, since the latter continues to consider territorial and autonomy demands as forms of insurgence[4]. The challenge that Mapuche activists are facing is that of creating platforms in which they can make a link between material and cultural struggles for survival. This entails finding ways to express dissent in opposition to a neo-liberal multiculturalist discourse that tends to present 'the Mapuche' from a depoliticized perspective: just as a 'traditional' culture, which must be technically helped so as to improve their economic conditions (by means of the commoditization of its cultural practices), and then peacefully included within the established political consensus of the Chilean society.

[4] From the radicalization of Mapuche groups in the middle of 1990s, the Chilean governments (Eduardo Frei, Ricardo Lagos, Michelle Bachelet, and Sebastián Piñera) systematically have categorized them as insurgents (or even terrorists). In this respect, the State declares illegal the main forms of Mapuche political expression coming from the outside of the parliamentarian system (where these groups have no representation), and from outside the negotiation platforms that the Chilean authorities offer to negotiate the accommodation of the Mapuche within the policies pre-defined by the State (see Berho, 2008).

In response to this problem, the **objectives of this research** are:

- To define what are the bases of the Mapuche political claims, and how are they being expressed in current times;

- To explore the manifold ways in which Mapuche activists create and use cultural stage performances and platforms in which they can deploy discourses of indigeneity so as to voice dissent and question the political hegemony of neoliberal Chilean State.

An ethnographic case study approach was used focussing on Mapuche people living in coastal areas in the Arauco Province. The area was selected because of two main reasons: its long history of conflicts between indigenous communities and the State, coupled with strong forms of cultural activism, and the existence of State programmes aimed at providing 'culturally pertinent solutions' for rural poverty and exclusion.

3. The Mapuche issue. An open discussion in Chile

This section briefly presents the main perspectives and discussions regarding the Mapuche issue during the last decades in Chile[5]. This review is relevant to establish the principal political and academic assumptions, analyses and perspectives on the Mapuche, which have had an impact, for instance, on the social and political definitions of the State concerning these indigenous groups. I will also introduce the debates concerning the Mapuche history, politics, their conditions and rights as indigenous inside (or outside) Chile, and what it means to be a Mapuche today. In doing so, I clarify my own position within this debate and the contribution of this research to this discussion, specifically concerning the question of how to understand the Mapuche political claims today, and the kinds of relationships that are being established between the dominant order and these indigenous groups.

Who are the Mapuche? Is it possible to integrate them within logics grounded on the ideas of civilization, progress and development? Are they constitutive of an actual society/culture/common, or rather are they just a segment of the broad population in Chile today, as the result of a process of miscegenation? Is there a cultural essence that determines

[5] We refer to some of the most important views/authors (from the perspective of this research), including a brief introduction of their ideas. As the main goal of this research is to collect and analyse new qualitative data, for a matter of focus we cannot present here a whole review of the large amount of literature on the Mapuche.

their acts, behaviours and beliefs? How do they construct their identity? What is their subjectivity within the Chilean hegemonic nation-state project? Some of these issues started to be discussed from colonial times. They have been approached from multiple angles, during a long history of thinkers, changing social paradigms, ethical issues, political periods and economic perspectives. In this review, I focus particularly on the discussions that are more and less contemporaneous to my research, considering that in the next chapters I will analyse the situation of the Mapuche living in that period. Under that logic, and following the proposal of Boccara and Ayala (2011), the review is organized according to two main groups of thinkers who represent two polarized approaches to the Mapuche today, especially regarding its political features: a 'culturalist` (or 'ethnicist') perspective focused on cultural particularities explaining socio-political processes, in opposition to a 'constructivist-artificialist' perspective which considers the Mapuche as one more segment of the Chilean population and which is mainly focused on how they negotiate a supposed cultural difference as a mere political strategy.

The culturalist approach highlights the cultural differences between Mapuche and the Chilean society, defending their political rights of autonomy, their alternative proposals of land control, etc. based on those distinctions. From this view, in spite of multiple processes of miscegenation, acculturation or ethnogenesis, the accent is on the cultural continuity manifested in one identity, an historical memory, and the cosmovision of the Mapuche being. Within this category the broad contribution of José Bengoa's historical and anthropological work (2000b; 2007; 2014) is important. He shows, for instance, the historical Mapuche struggle to manifest themselves socio-politically according to their own cultural/ethnic features. These struggles respond to the impacts that the imposition of State rules and land grabbing by landowners, settlers and the agroforestry had during colonial and republican times.

In a similar sense, the perspective suggested by Boccara (2002, 2007) has been very important: an understanding of the Mapuche society in the context of the historical and current conflict without a 'colonial focus'. That means, beyond the suppositions of colonial superiority, but focusing on the persistence, resistance and social/political/economical adaptation of the Mapuche institutions regarding the Spanish and Chilean society. In other words, Boccara proposes an analysis of the Mapuche groups as product of a modern society today. The answers to resolve the Mapuche question, from this view, lie in the Mapuche society itself, particularly in its own institutional capacity to organize and confront the current times.

Following similar ideas, but adding an intellectually and politically more radical perspective, there are groups that could be categorized as 'neo-indianists'[6], which have grown considerably the past decades. These works can be understood as a critical response to the 'classic' culturalist view (that, at some point, reinforces the ideas on multiculturality that I will critically discuss later), to the Marxist approaches that tend to insert the Mapuche in broader class-based analysis, and to the ideas on modernization that aim to include them as subjects of development interventions.

Being mainly proposed by Mapuche intellectuals, some of them also political activists, this perspective of the problem is 'from inside' the indigenous society. It is to stress, in this respect, the creation in 2004 of the *Comunidad de Historia Mapuche* (Community of Mapuche History), which since 2014 is formally organized as the *Centro de Estudios e Investigaciones Mapuche* (Mapuche Centre of Studies and Research). This group performs a counter-hegemonic exercise, confronting the current neoliberal Chilean logic of governance and the impact of capitalist enterprises on the *Wallmapu* (Mapuche ancestral territory) by publishing a series of critical research of the Mapuche under the dominant order (see for example Nahuelpan, Huinca, Mariman & Cárcamo-Huenchante, 2012; Antileo, Cármaco, Calfio & Huinca, 2015). They put the accent on the need of an intellectual and epistemic decolonization, and thus (re)think the Mapuche issue beyond the classic categories of history, anthropology and Western sciences in general. However, paradoxically, most of these authors have at the same time a formation in the mentioned areas of knowledge, relying also on ideas coming from those spheres.

The view proposed by many of the Mapuche authors working on decolonization is coincident with post-colonial theories developed mainly in the rest of Latin America and Europe (even if some writers do not refer explicitly to them). In fact, their theories and methodologies in understanding the sub-alternity of the Mapuche are similar, as they are based on the need to deconstruct and overcome the colonial power over indigenous people (Le Bonniec, 2011).

[6] I stress it as 'neo' to differentiate this group from the writers and intellectuals of the 19th-20th Century, the so-called indianists, who that promoted the creation of literature and knowledge around the indigenous as a central political subject (made preferably by themselves, avoiding colonial influences) (Encyclopaedia of Latin American History and Culture, 2018). Unlike these authors, who were criticized for establishing a highly romanticized idea of the indigenous society without empirically addressing its complexity, internal contestation, socio-economic inequalities, etc), the group here referred supports their ideas with empirical research, also aggregating self-criticism to the analysis of indigenous groups.

At any rate, the work of the *Comunidad de Historia Mapuche* must be understood as a relevant intellectual support for the current political struggles of the Mapuche people, as their main goal defines: 'To consolidate a space of formation, research, and critical thinking, by choosing as strategic axis the autonomic tasks and political-intellectual collaboration, and contributing to a process of self-determination and decolonization in *Wallmapu*' (author's translation, Comunidad de Historia Mapuche, 2018).

Indeed, the Community's authors as well other Mapuche intellectuals (see for instance Cayuqueo, 2017; Pairican, 2014; Cariman Linares et al., 2014) not only denounce the historical abuses against their people, but also propose political strategies to foster the current indigenous claims. Some of the main demands collected from the Mapuche political organizations and published by Mapuche writers are: the recognition of a pluri-national Chilean State, autonomy and indigenous self-government in recovered ancestral territories, intercultural education for all the Chilean people, and definition of intercultural territories (the regions which have many indigenous people, including big cities) (Hueichaqueo Epulef, 2014). The first point includes the demand of the devolution of all the territory usurped by the Chilean Republic (around 10 million ha), i.e. a resurgence to the Mapuche territory stretching from the Bio Bio river to the south as has been recognized by the Spanish Crown in an agreement of 1803 (Mariman et al., 2006).

Returning to the idea of decolonization, a good example is also the work of Calbucura (2015), who argues that the colonial situation persists in current times, stressing the Mapuche socio-political resistance to the impacts of the extreme neoliberal system imposed since the dictatorship in Chile, as grounded in their own sense of spirituality, cosmovision, and traditional authorities. Based on these ideas, some authors have a post- developmental position, calling for a total 'epistemic liberation' from the 'development apparatus' and for the rewriting of the Mapuche History by themselves (Mariman et al., 2006).

An important theoretical framework in this respect is also the emergent literature based on the analysis of ontologies, which can be also considered as a response to classic culturalism, Marxism and modernization ideas. This emphasizes radical cultural differences between the Mapuche and Western society. These authors explain the current conflicts between the Chilean State and the Mapuche people as the outcome of equivocations between different worlds (universes, or ontologies) (Di Giminiani, 2013; Skewes and Guerra, 2016). From this perspective, which I discuss in Chapter, 2 it is necessary to approach the Mapuche society by

using their own codes and categories of reality, which run in parallel of modern ontology, in order to overcome the bias of scientific explanations of social phenomena.

On the other pole, there are authors who are extremely sceptical of discourses that foreground cultural, ethnic and/or ontological differences in order to understand the Mapuche issue. In short, these authors argue that those distinctions are constructs that after centuries of contact with the West do not contribute to the construction of a vibrant Mapuche society. Among the sceptics of ethnicity are both Marxists and 'neo-classical' authors. From a Marxist point of view, 'the Mapuche question' is a social-class problem. The Mapuche population is analysed as part of the peasantry or the urban proletariat, being historically oppressed and abused by the Chilean oligarchy. Leonardo León (2003; 2005) revealed the distinct domination forms which have affected the lower socio-economic classes, including Mapuche, during colonial and republican times, outlining the strategies, alliances, inter-movements and miscegenation of those people beyond any ethnic border.

Under this logic, Saavedra (2000) argues that the interpretation of the current Mapuche claims as a new ethno-nationalist wave in Chile is wrong, distorting the actual goals of the Mapuche movement. For him, the demands are not merely ethnical, but are part of the general needs of the peasantry. The Mapuche, furthermore, have a long history of alliances and solidarity networks as an ethnic group, without using the concept of nation. Thus, the distortion of this notion (which is part of broader processes of ethno-national emancipation happening in Latin America, such as in Bolivia, Ecuador, México, etc.) is explained by the misuse of the empirical data, presenting some isolated cases of Mapuche organizations as examples of a truly ethno-nationalist discourse coming from a whole society.

Thus, from this perspective the Mapuche reaction has been that of establishing different social movements in response to the diverse oppression of the political/economic regimes, but not necessarily as part of a cultural issue or an ethnical struggle.

As a counterpoint, but sharing the scepticism directed at the culturalist view, the work of positivist historians such as Sergio Villalobos (1995; 2018) has been important. They ground their analysis on economic formalism and an evolutionary perspective of the population, being highly influential in the thinking of an important part of the Chilean society. Indeed, this is the version diffused by the oldest and more important newspaper in Chile, called 'El Mercurio', among other mass media linked with the Chilean oligarchy. Villalobos, who received the Prize of National History in 1992, ironically one year before the recognition of cultural pluralism in

Chile, aims to proof the falsehood of the Mapuche ethnic claims. He bases his convictions on the argument that the Mapuche society was rapidly assimilated by the Spanish Colony and consequently disappeared as an ethic group. Therefore, in republican times, the Mapuche would be using their supposed cultural differences to achieve social and economic benefits in an instrumental way. Moreover, for this author, the Chilean annexation of Mapuche territory happened mainly non-violently and with the consent of these rural people (as they received economic benefits by selling lands and creating commercial relations with the settlers). Hence, it is proposed that the history of war, heroism, and resistance of the Mapuche is just an ideologically grounded story disconnected from the true national history.

To finish this brief review, I refer to the work of Florencia Mallon (2004). Through deep ethnographic work she presents the narratives of the commoners of the Mapuche community called Aílio, situating them as subjects that arise in a specific context of oppression. She adopts an anti-essentialist position and argues that this subject is historically situated. Furthermore, she sees the Mapuche as a representative part of the rural population in Southern Chile, irrespective of indigenous barriers of identities. Her perspective combines elements of both the 'indianist' and 'constructivist' perspectives. On the one hand, in organizing their livelihoods and political claims, Mapuche commoners resort to an ethnic principle of legitimation as inhabitants of indigenous reserves, but, on the other hand, their identities are responses to forms of state control and surveillance (which includes their condition as poor peasants) grounded in representations of these populations as potential risks for the Chilean nation. Both strategies, she shows, emerge according to the options that they have leading with the social and economic impositions of the dominant order, and regarding internal relationships (including the relationships to non-Mapuche people within the community) (Martínez Neira, 2006).

Mallon's work is an important antecedent of the theoretical and methodological proposal of this dissertation. It shows the internal dynamics of a Mapuche community from the perspective of a historical subject that integrates strategies to reproduce what I define here as a 'being in common' which goes beyond the dichotomy of ethnicity and class. This is an axis of analysis in which, as I will describe later, this dissertation aims to contribute adding other theoretical focus and new ethnographic data.

4. The perspective of the dominant order, and its tension with pro-Mapuche groups

The discussion about the position and rights of the Mapuche within or outside the Chilean nation, and how their claims must be addressed by the State (are these claims rightfully political or rather opportunistic?) has a relevance that goes far beyond academia. It is a main issue in the Chilean State political agenda, and for a large diversity of groups within the Chilean civil society.

For instance, there are organizations of 'victims of the violence' of the Mapuche in Southern Chile (mostly landowners that have territorial conflicts with the Mapuche from a long time ago), as well groups with economic interests (both related to agroforestry and other industrial exploitation and agrarian intensive activities) that feel threatened by the Mapuche territorial claims, hence demanding a more effective police and judicial system to make an end of these threats by resorting to repressive means. Contrarily, there are also socio-political spheres and institutions criticizing the procedures of the State as anti-democratic and violent, such as the *Instituto Nacional de Derechos Humanos* (the National Institution of Human Rights [INDH][7]) and several NGOs working on indigenous issues[8]. A case in point is also the broad support that the confederations of university students and a high number of other political associations of young people (anti-capitalist groups, anarchists, ecologists, etc.) that support the Mapuche ethnic-demands (see Salazar, 2008). These platforms demand the recognition of the Mapuche claims as politically valid, and the end of repressive measures against them. The discussion is taken up by the media and Chilean civil society through the participation of concerned citizens in local seminars, cultural activities, demonstrations, etc.

The discussion in Chile, thus, addresses multiple points from a high diversity of perspectives. One of the main points is the condition of the Chilean nation. Is it multi-ethnic? Must the cultural pluralist declaration of 1993 go further towards a pluri-national one? In fact, already the political radicalization of the Mapuche during the second half of the 1990s opened this debate, and after more than 20 years it more alive than ever, far from any kind of consensus.

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[7] This is a public institution (financed by the State) but working autonomously, with the aim to look after the fulfilling of the international agreements on Human Rights signed by Chile. In recent years, the INDH has legally supported several Mapuche people who were accused by the State as criminals (especially in cases where the accusation was based on the significantly harsher anti-terrorist laws), or who were attacked by the police. They have also published a series of reports to denounce such abuses.

[8] Good examples are the *Observatorio Ciudadano* (Observatory of the Citizen) and Amnesty International, which are very active in verifying the adherence to the law during police procedures, in publishing research and in organizing events supporting the Mapuche cause.

The first questions that must be responded regarding this polemic are: Do the Mapuche have the pre-requisites to be declared a nation within (or even without) an overarching Chilean nation? Is it possible to consider them as another nation, politically, culturally and ethnically? Apart from that, do they really want this autonomy? Is there a cohesive political movement representing the interests of the whole Mapuche people, or is it rather an ethno-nationalist idea coming from specific segments within this collective?

It has been argued that radical Mapuche organizations, supported also by indigenous intellectuals, use ethno-national discourses of autonomy and nation. A case in point is the use of ethnic categories such as the *Wallmapu* as conductors of the narration (e.g. in public speeches of the spokesmen of radicalized groups), aiming the consolidation of broad political alliances among Mapuche groups (Foerster, 1999). Along with the discussion on ethnicity and cultural differences that I introduced in the previous section, the impact of thousands of Mapuche organizations[9] claiming land and political rights is a fact that must have been addressed by the dominant order, i.e. in the parliamentarian democratic system where the Mapuche have no representation[10].

Consequently, the Chilean post-dictatorship parliament (from 1990 onwards) is divided in two contrary positions defending opposite types of solutions. The first (and major) position is a conservative one[11], which interprets the problem as concerning mostly rural poverty, underdevelopment, insurgency and criminality. As a solution, they consider the intensification of the police repression coupled with development programmes to improve the quality of life of these groups (i.e. by integrating them in the market). The second position can be considered pro-Mapuche[12], as it understands the problem as a political one. As a solution, they propose the opening of platforms of negotiation with the Mapuche aiming at the instalment of a partial or even complete political autonomy, entailing the constitutional declaration of Chile as pluri-

[9] I refer to groups that are highly heterogeneous, from formal communities following State rules of land restitution to radicalized groups working at the margins of the law (see Chapter 1).

[10] A few parliamentarians have a Mapuche origin, but there are no quotas for indigenous people in the Chilean parliament. Moreover, the establishment of two big political coalitions (centre-left and right) has blocked the emergence of independent political groups within the congress, such as with the Mapuche who do not have a centralized political representation (each group is politically independent).

[11] It is 'conservative' in the sense that puts the current capitalist economy as the most important fact to conserve, rejecting deep reforms or interventions of the State in economic issues. This position is mainly supported by the centre and the right side of the Chilean parliament, as well part of the centre-left (mostly some members of the Christian Democrats and the Socialists). Many of these politicians are businessmen or explicitly represent their interests, as well as those of multinational companies.

[12] Normally, this group is comprised of the left side of the parliament (including i.a. the Communists as well as part of the Socialists and Cristian Democrats). Today, this position has been reinforced by the emergence of the *Frente Amplio,* a political coalition of the left mostly integrated by young people.

national, and a deep reform and intensification (or even a total reconfiguration) of the State policies on land restitution.

An important aspect of this debate is related to one point that we introduced above: it is about the pertinence, relevance, and goals of rural development programmes operating in Mapuche communities from the establishment of CONADI in 1993. The discourse of the post-dictatorship democratic governments presents the 'Mapuche issue' as a conflict of ethnic minorities, to be solved by the creation of technical committees and participatory methods, opening the possibility of multicultural integration (Vergara et al., 2013: 101-106). Therefore, for the State, in concordance with the 'conservative' parliamentarians, there is no political conflict, but poverty, crime, and ignorance; hence, it is necessary to overcome the situation through comprehensive development plans, education and security (Ibid.: 106-110).

A case in point is how the C19 Convention of the International Labour Organization (ILO) for the treatment of indigenous people has been implemented in Chile[13]. Following this Declaration, the Chilean State has readjusted its set of methodological tools of land restitution, development interventions, indigenous consultation, etc., focusing on participation and promoting the Mapuche culture: the use of the language, the oral memories, the religion and the ceremonies, the respect for nature, etc. However, as in many other countries in Latin America, the State does not take into account the political facet of those indigenous movements, which commonly challenge the neoliberal economic logic of development and the territorial order imposed by it (see Martinez Espinoza, 2015). Rather, inspired by ideas of multiculturalism, the State programmes (as will be shown in the following chapters) aim to include the Mapuche in the Chilean nation as part of a cultural legacy, searching for ways to include them in the market (in a process of cultural commoditization). Indeed, structural issues such as the historical usurpation of indigenous land and their vulnerable position within the social and economic Chilean and international networks are not addressed (see Richards, 2010; see Boccara and Ayala, 2011).

[13] This agreement was signed by the Chilean State (under the presidency of Michelle Bachelet) only in 2009, after 20 years of this declaration by the ILO.

5. Contribution of this research

On the one hand, this research aims to show how the Mapuche people politically respond to the governmental strategies of the State, such as land restitution programmes, indigenous development, cultural heritage programmes, etc. In elaborating this exposition, I resort to a Mapuche perspective (through ethnographic research), thus giving voice to people that perform their political activities at the margins of the official platforms and/or use and appropriate these platforms to express disagreement. Hence, a main contribution of this work is the deployment of a political analysis of a process of depoliticization (a process defined below in this Introduction). Put differently, I stress the political face of processes that, according to the State strategy of governance, should be non-political.

On the other hand, it is important to note that during the last decades several researchers have assumed a similar task (not using the same conceptual framework but showing indeed the political face of the Mapuche social movement). Therefore, this research aims to go further than an exposition of concrete situations, a denunciation and/or the proposition of concrete measures to fulfil the historical Mapuche claims (all of them, of course, very relevant kind of work). This dissertation, however, aims towards an explanation of the very rationality of the Mapuche claim, analysing how and why it is grounded in their own categories (e.g. the *Wallmapu*), logics of land control, and the ontological constitution of the Being (the *Che*) in relation to the territory. This ontological process, I argue, is the constitution of a Mapuche subject.

The focus of this research – and at the same time its main contribution in terms of theoretical and methodological approach – is, thus, on the Mapuche as creators of their own universal ideas and concrete proposals for inhabiting Southern Chile, emerging as a counterpoint of the dominant order. In this sense, the theoretical framework of this dissertation does agree with main views of a broad Marxist analysis: the Mapuche as a segment of the population that has been oppressed by the oligarchy and the State (as part of class struggles in Chile). Also, the critical analysis of the influences of late capitalism in the current territorial situation is similar.

However, my view differs from being merely 'materialist' (in the terms we defined above regarding the academic discussion). Contrary to what a 'vulgar materialist'[14] analysis would propose, the Mapuche cannot be simply aggregated under the needs of the peasantry or the low

[14] I refer to the simplified Marxist view of the economy and the positivist sciences as mechanical conditioning the rules for society.

urban classes. In fact, it has been demonstrated that the Mapuche claims go beyond a mere problem of land restitution or the improvement of their forms of access to resources (an enhancement of the material conditions of life in a capitalist sense); they aim, rather, at the fulfilment of a specific kind of social, cultural, and economic order on those elements (see Chapter 1). Therefore, following Rancière and Badiou, I analyse the Mapuche in its specific subjectivity of oppressed people challenging the dominant order.

This said, I analyse 'the Mapuche issue' as a process of subjectivation around a collective identity created in a process of dis-identification (they disagree with the definition and the position giving to them by the dominant order: the marginal indigenous, the 'other'). This category, hence, emerges under the same logic of other 'universal' ones that have represented the 'part of the no-part' of a society, such as the *proletariat*. The aim, in this respect, is to broaden Marxist political economy perspectives by approaching the Mapuche people in its subjective dimension.

As it was defined in the section above, the work of Mallon (2004) must be considered an antecedent of the conceptualization of the Mapuche as a specific subject, departing from the voice of commoners that remain silenced and unknown from the perspective of the dominant order. She focuses on one community (which also includes non-Mapuche people), demonstrating how Mapuche subjectivity can be analysed both as an ethnic identity (struggling for ancestral rights to the land) and as economic category of the peasant. Following this lead, I see my contribution as elaborating on this conceptualization of the Mapuche subjectivity in its disruptive dimension. This implies a specific analysis of how this subject is performatively constituted through a normative system that aims to reconfigure the order of things in Chile. I aim to show how this disruption systematically operates, as well the tensions and articulations that surround it. Thus, the analysis of the Mapuche normative system (the *azmapu*) and their cultural complex (the aesthetic regime comprised of language, ceremonies, authorities, etc) take a key role in my work. More specifically, I argue that these performances are the only way to operationalize the Mapuche normative system, and, to reproduce the 'Mapuche common'. Theoretically I claim that this reproduction aims at the creation of a 'being in common' in a universal sense. What I propose, hence, is a view of the Mapuche subject as a performer within a process of emancipation.

6. Research questions

The questions are presented as they were formulated in the research proposal. While they have inspired the methodology and analytical steps to generate explanations, during fieldwork the questions were re-thought, laying special emphasis on some of their proposed concepts and adding some concepts and issues that emerged in the field. Hence, I have added a brief explanation of how each question was finally used. In addition, a fourth question (D) was added which emerged during the post-fieldwork writing process.

A. How have State interventions based on concepts of indigenous development and multiculturalism been interpreted, questioned and appropriated by the Mapuche?

A principal State programme that I address is the one about land restitution to Mapuche communities (Chapter 1). Yet it is an intervention that includes the concepts of indigenous development under a logic of multicultural integration, this programme has been mainly analysed broadly as a tool of neoliberal territorialization. Further, I refer to empirical data about the land restitution application, rather than the deployment of specific development programmes linked with this process. The logic of multiculturalism that has been analysed critically extending the concept of multicultural-neoliberalism is empirically addressed through a programme of participatory museography, and the performance of a Chilean version of the Mapuche sacred game called *palin*; both cases focused on the production of indigenous cultural heritage by the Chilean national State (Chapters 3 and 4, respectively).

B. How have Mapuche activists devised forms of cultural struggle against the dominant order in Chile, in order to voice dissent?

This question is central to the overall argument of the dissertation. In short, forms of cultural struggle are part of the constitution of the Mapuche subject. The ethnography documents the processes through which a heterogeneous and often fragmented Mapuche population asserts the existence of a Mapuche political subject (as addressed in the four chapters).

C. How are relations between the State and the Mapuche being reshaped by cultural platforms created to give voice to the aspirations and demands of the Mapuche?

Through this question, I address the articulations, tensions, and ruptures that have characterized those relations during the last years, being verified and described during fieldwork.

D. What kind of political process/project are the Mapuche carrying out?

Here, I aimed to clarify what kind of process is at stake: one in terms of politicization or rather one that, in case it has not enough representation within the Mapuche people or tends to foreclose internal antagonism, must be defined as a 'fake' politics.

7. Theoretical framework: the Mapuche subject in a process of emancipation

The set of State strategies designed to tackle the 'Mapuche question' discussed above, are part of a specific form of government that has been coined by followers of Foucault as neo-liberal governmentality. Neo-liberalism has been approached in various forms, as an economic ideology that gives primacy to the market as an economic system, as a set of global policies aimed at enhancing forms of capital accumulation and as a political rationality comprising technologies of accountability and governance that were originally developed by capitalist enterprises (Peck, 2010; Harvey, 2005; Rose, O'Malley & Valverde, 2006). Governmentality has been described by Foucault as the conduct of conduct, as the expansion throughout the social body of technologies of governing, including technologies for the governing of the self (Foucault, 1982; Lemke, 2002). For this research the concept of governmentality helps us to map out the effects that technologies of participation have had on the subjectivities of (certain) actors, and the ways in which they have shaped relations in the community. In this sense, I draw upon Goldman's (2005) conceptualization of neoliberal-governmentality in his analysis of the reinvention of the World Bank through the embracement of environmentalism, where he argues that governmentality technologies must be seen as part of hegemonic processes that are always contested. Thus, after analysing the governance tools of the State (especially, the land restitution programme, and others grounded in indigenous development) I focus on the analysis of empirical data regarding how the Mapuche express disagreement towards it.

Finally, the use of the discourse of multiculturalism can also be seen as a technology of governing, as a way of diffusing resistance, of creating a misplaced sense of belonging to the nation, and as a tool for producing forms of complicity, as in the case of cultural brokers who offer their services to governmental programmes so as to make a livelihood. The goal here has been to register how the Mapuche are dealing with policies based on multiculturalism; how they question and, appropriate these policies and express dissent.

At the same time, it should be pointed out that the effectivity of neoliberal-multiculturalist policies through 'cultural pertinent development' by the State is limited, if only because the use of repression attests to its incapacity of resolving conflictive situations through negotiation, hence undermining its legitimacy[15]. As mentioned, the current government has admitted that injustice has been done to the Mapuche and that their political claims should be attended to. Accordingly, it can be pointed out that the biopolitical aims of the state always-already face a different kind of politics, a life politics that has the capacity to disrupt forms of governmentality that pride themselves of their legitimate content. Here we are talking of a specific kind of biopolitics, that of communities that never have relinquished their claims and never ceased to dissent with the designs of what they see as a form of colonial domination. So, this is an alternative notion of (bio)politics that differs from the classic notion proposed by Foucault (2010) – modified by some of his followers (Rabinow and Rose, 2006) – of biopolitics as the power to foster or disallow life and the administration of the population at an aggregate level. Given that, my principal interest is that of analysing forms of contestation by the Mapuche, the focus is, as Hardt and Negri (2000, 2010) proposed, on how an alternative life-politics is forged by subjugated populations in reaction to the biopolitical aspirations of the state.

It should be stressed that the reinterpretation of biopolitics as a politics of generating life (Ibid.) enables us to avoid the theoretical problems of notions of resistance[16], that always assumes a kind of conviviality with power. In view of the criminalization of Mapuche dissent and the radicalization of discourses of indigeneity the last decades, and the resort to violence as a valid option for several highly politicized Mapuche groups, my proposal is to analyse the situation as a rupture between activists and the State that goes beyond mere resistance. Life politics is a politics that refrains from entering in relations of complicity with forms of biopower. It is a politics of dissent, of disagreement, of not accepting the terms set by government, of rejecting the very parameters of the situation (Rancière, 2006; van Leerzem, Nuijten & de Vries, 2015). In my perspective, exploring this form of politics will help to understand the point of view of the Mapuche themselves, including their insistence in pursuing certain ways of living-in-

[15] A current example of this failure is the insertion of the *Comando Jungla* in Southern Chile as a main measure to resolve the Mapuche issue (see the Introduction of this dissertation).

[16] The term 'resistance' refers to a strategy of surveillance under a given situation. Even though resistance can be expressed in radical ways (including violence), refers to a process of negation of norms or preconditions by using/interpreting them in alternative ways. For the case of the Mapuche, in this dissertation (grounded in terms of Rancière, and the Badiouan logic of the 'event´), I propose the term of dissent or disagreement to stress the irruption of the Mapuche subject as something truly new, that challenges the very order of things from a disjunctive position.

community at the margins of the State, not merely as victims but as active agents continually performing acts of dissent vis-à-vis of dominating powers.

It is important to note that the 'Mapuche society' is highly heterogeneous, that internal hierarchies and political tensions exist. Furthermore, different Mapuche perspectives and interests are based on divisions along lines of gender, age, and livelihood conditions (for example, a significant part of the Mapuche live in urban areas). However, this research is mostly concerned with the different strategies that the groups have developed to confront the historical conflicts with the State, agroforestry and other external actors. These strategies vary from parliamentary forms of struggle to the choice for an armed option. Yet, as several authors argue (Pairican Padilla, 2014; Cariman Linares et al., 2014), these strategies share a collective agreement within the Mapuche society around the principal claims: the need for recognition of the historical injustices and the devolution of ancestral territories together with forms of political autonomy. Also, they are conformed around a 'Mapuche identity', using discourses of indigeneity that suggest their culture as non-Chilean, external to the nation, with elements in opposition to the hegemonic cultural proposal in Chile. Accordingly, it is important to map these forms of activism, the Mapuche forms of expressions of the problem that is central to my research.

However, in mapping the heterogeneity of the Mapuche current organizations and their procedures (mainly aiming at land recuperation), indigeneity as a frame is limited as it remains tied to ideas of identity, that is of difference and alterity. The problem with the Mapuche goes further than that; what they experience is that there is no place for the Mapuche way of being within the Chilean order of things. Following Rancière and Badiou (as detailed in the next two paragraphs) I call this category 'the part of no- part', the people whose identity does not count, and who construct a subjectivity through dis-identification with the dominant order.

I use three main concepts of Rancière and Badiou in defining the current Mapuche society in socio-political terms. The first is the concept of 'political aesthetic' derived from Rancière (2006), in order to understand the claims of the Mapuche, to cultural and territorial autonomy. Rancière famously asserted that democratic claims for egalitarianism and justice are themselves counter-intuitive. Society (he calls it 'the sensible') is by definition hierarchically partitioned, in social and spatial terms. The partition of 'the sensible' is guaranteed by forces of domination he calls 'the police'. Democracy in his view is not a set of institutional agreements but a way of disrupting 'the sensible' by 'the part of no-part' and showing the lack

of legitimacy of 'the police'. It is a performance, a way of enacting egalitarianism and thus a form of disruption of the actual order. Such forms of performativity have a political and aesthetic character. I think that the concept of political aesthetic as a democratic disruption of the Chilean order of things will help us to understand the ways in which Mapuche activists have been involved in State programmes aimed to include them within the Chilean nation, hence opposing neo-liberal notions of cultural commoditization and multiculturalism.

The second and the third are the idea of the 'event' and the 'political truth', defined by Alan Badiou (2005, 2007). In short, the 'event' refers to the emergence of a new subject, disrupting the order of things of a determined society. This 'event', which cannot be correctly categorized by the official history and knowledge as it happens from the outside of the logics of the current capitalism-based democracy, generates fidelity in some segments of the population, triggering a process of subjectivation. Hence, there is a process of collectivization, the creation of ongoing political organizations that crystallize the ideas and experiences of the 'event' in something legible. This is the 'political truth', namely, the body of discourses, ideas, that conform to a universal proposition for inhabiting this world, in a relation of fidelity with one or more 'events'. It has, thus, a genealogical dimension, since it is the result of 'events' in the past, but it is also synchronic since it is given in a particular 'state of the situation' (the structural and meta-structural dominant order), and empirically organized in a specific process of subjectivation. In accordance with these concepts, I analyse the Mapuche society as grounded in their own history of 'events' (since colonial times). I argue, that they have constituted a subject in opposition to the dominant order, according to a disruptive Mapuche 'political truth'.

8. Methodology

The methodological strategy of this research has been designed according to the research questions and the theoretical perspectives. Therefore, methodological tools were chosen for approaching the Mapuche people in their own subjectivity and local context. This research uses a phenomenological approach based on a qualitative methodology in order to understand and reconstruct the meanings actors assign to social processes, behaviours and acts, from the point of view of their own discourses/subjectivities (Hernández Sampieri, Fernández Collado & Baptista Lucio, 2003). The phenomenological or interpretative approach is constructivist, because the basic generation of meaning is social, 'not simply imprinted on individuals but are formed through interaction with others (hence social constructivism) and through historical and cultural norms that operate in individuals' (Cresswell, 2003: 8). The analysis of the data

collected is also interpretative, understanding the interpretations of the actors in distinct levels, represented not only through discourses, but also in conducts and individual/social manifestations in general.

However, as mentioned before, the Mapuche are living under a conflictive political situation, which has been relevant in shaping their subjectivity, influencing their ideas and acts today. I must define, hence, also their position within the extra-local context in which they are inserted, namely, the local context linked with the structural level of the Chilean society.

8.1. A political ethnography of the Mapuche situation

I adopted an ethnographic strategy for registering the data. In brief, ethnography, within the set of qualitative methods in social research, has specific tools to make a close-up of society, in order to explain how and why the actors/agents on a scene act (a synchronic description), based on first-hand data of the researcher, which is embedded in the phenomena (Wacquant, 2003: 5). An ethnographic register means also the organization and definition of the collected information including the categories that the Mapuche use to conceptualize the problematic in which we are focus on, and for expressing their ideas in general (Taylor and Bogdan, 1986).

Further, I define this ethnography as political. It is political because I approach the main protagonists of a conflict, who are organizing ways to express collective demands; claims that are constructed from continuous struggles with the State, represented in everyday life.

I refer to one of the main theoretical ideas of this thesis: the radical definition of politics by Jacques Rancière, or political aesthetics in his terms. According to this, as is detailed in the 2nd and 3rd Chapter, the focus of a political analysis must be on the margins of the political system, 'instead of the classic focus on the struggles for power, and the exercise/purposes of that power' (2011: 73-74, author's translation). For Rancière (2006, 2011), real politics is not about domination and administration, but it begins with activities that are outside the logic of them, performed by subjects who are supposed to remain silent.

Thus, I propose an ethnographic register of the Mapuche performances manifesting political disagreement at the margins of the Chilean society, according to a specific aesthetic regime. In the field, that means to register of the behaviour, acts, conversations, speeches, etc. of the Mapuche as shaping a concrete political proposal. These manifestations are given mainly in ceremonies, land occupations, protests, during internal socio-political meetings and in meetings with State operators and private actors. It also is necessary also to describe the current

forms of Mapuche land control as well as the articulations, tensions and ruptures generated in disputed territory with external agents on the field.

In short, this perspective proposes a shift from the perspective of the State on these phenomena as grounded just in discontent, as indigenous insurgency and specific violent acts, to a view of Mapuche dissent as the performative staging of a Mapuche politics. In this sense, political ethnography – as a discipline for describing the practice of politics – 'is designed to critically evaluate the strengths and limitations of central sociological concepts such as power, legitimacy, (...) mobilizing structures, political opportunities (...)' (Joseph, Mahler & Auyero, 2007: 6). In this case, the main concepts to be critically analysed are also 'hegemony', 'neoliberal governance', 'participation', among others.

As part of this political ethnography, the collection of qualitative data about the Mapuche-State relations shaped through State programmes of inclusion (indigenous land restitution, development, protection of cultural heritage, etc.) has been crucial. The ethnography of the implementation of government programmes is useful for understanding the processes by which political hegemony is constructed, and how social and political movements evolve in such contexts (Ibid.: 4). Through this method, unexpected consequences of State interventions are addressed, allowing me to analyse the functionality and problematics of these processes in relation with their discourses and formal plans (see Ferguson, 2012). Special attention has been paid to the aesthetics of these political processes, the politics of cultural performances and discourses of indigeneity; thus, analysing the creation of cultural platforms as arenas of dissent. This approach contributes to the discussion about 'the Mapuche issue' in a highly dynamic context in which new forms of political struggle are created around historically concrete claims platforms (see Swyngedouw, 2010; van Leerzem et al., 2015).

In order to locate the particular Mapuche 'events' in the macro-context, I resort to the extended case method approach (Burawoy, 1998). This method operates as a model of 'reflexive science': it analyses in-depth particular cases, valorising the inherent inter-subjectivity of my research methods (observation and interviews). It 'opens multiple dialogues to reach explanations of empirical phenomena. (…) between observer and participants, embeds such dialogue within a second dialogue between local processes and extralocal forces that in turn can only be comprehended by a third, expanding dialogue of theory with itself' (Ibid.: 5). Thus, collecting multiple readings of single cases and aggregate them into the context of social processes, this method has an inductive approach to macro structures that determine the

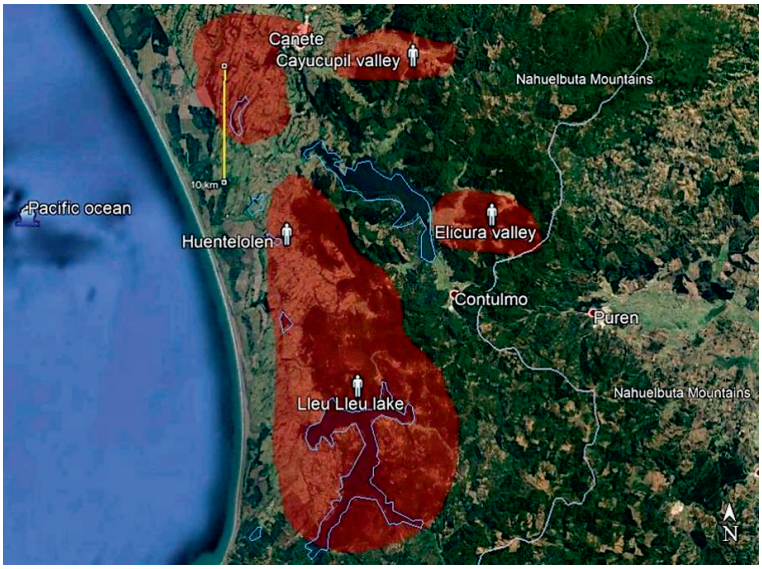
individual complexity on the field, explaining it according to a theoretical framework. However, at the same time, the theory is reconstructed according to the empirical data. For instance, as I will show in Chapter 1, the Mapuche appropriate some tools of governmental programmes in a disjunctive position with State operators and institutions, which made me rethink the premises of the theory of governmentality that conceptualizes such interventions mainly as an expansion of the hegemonic control of the State.

8.2. Definition of the research area and cases study

The ethnographic fieldwork was focus in Arauco Province[17], a sub-jurisprudence of the Bío-Bío Region (see Maps 1 and 2 for details of the research area). This Province have been categorized by the State as highly conflictive, a red-zone of the so called 'Mapuche Conflict', mainly concerning the municipal jurisprudences of Cañete, Contulmo, and Tirúa[18]. These areas are characterized by a high density of agroforestry plantations in combination with Mapuche rural communities (many of them located in adjacent territories): a land tenancy configuration that has been shaped through a long history of land grabbing and Mapuche land dispossession ever since the Pacification of Araucanía. Nowadays, several Mapuche groups and communities are mobilized to recuperate land (especially in the areas highlighted in Map 2).

[17] The Province covers an area of 5.464 km2, with a population of 157.255 persons (Arauco Government, 2018).
[18] The three municipalities have a total of 46.772 inhabitants, including a 26% of Mapuche (12.101 people). In rural areas, the percentage of indigenous population raises to a 42,5% (9340 persons) of the total population (INE, 2005).

Map 1: Central-South area of Chile. Arauco Province is highlighted (Google Earth Pro 2018, own elaboration).



Map 2: Central-West area of Arauco Province. The areas highlighted are where the ethnographic research was more intensively deployed; and where most of land recuperation process of the Province were happening. (Google Earth Pro 2018, own elaboration).

According to the logic of the extended case method, I selected cases study within this area which represent the local context and complexity of the political conflict. At the same time, each case study, as I will show with empirical data regarding the cases of this dissertation, is influenced by extra-local influences in two dimensions: negative effects of the conflict itself (harsh repression by the State apparatus, the structural criminalization and stigmatization of the population, etc.), and the State interventions on socio-economic and ideological levels under a logic of neoliberal territorialization, indigenous development, and multicultural neoliberalism. The interface between State and community, hence, is relevant in my analysis, understood as 'events' that present a 'condenzation' or formalization of (previously negotiated) discourses (Nuijten, 1998: 26) and an arena in which those articulations are in a constant tension.

Therefore, the selection of cases was also driven by those external influences, stressing the operationalization of specific State intervention strategies and faces of the conflict as local examples of the general situation. The case studies are defined as: (a) the Mapuche land recuperation (see below outline of Chapters 1 and 2); (b) the Mapuche Museum of Cañete (see outline of Chapter 3); (c) the Mapuche *palin* (see outline of Chapter 4).

The sampling for each case (people contacted, informants) was selected by the author (directed sampling), consistent with the operationalization of the research that I detail in the next section. The fieldwork was organized in two periods: from July 2015 to May 2016; from December 2016 to February 2017.

8.3. Research techniques. The operationalization of fieldwork

Ethnography is a flexible method that must adequate its techniques according to the conditions in the field (Taylor and Bogdan, 1986; 3). That means, one needs to adequate the tools depending, mainly, on the needs and availability of the local actors. Further, special attention on ethical issues must be taken, in case of working in a political conflictive context. The strategy of insertion of the first fieldwork was focused on the case of the Mapuche Museum. I had been involved, as part of a professional team, in initiating the participatory museographic reconfiguration of the Museum that took place between 2005 and 2008. Having preliminary data about this case, as well knowing part of its working team and network of Mapuche communities, my starting strategy had two main goals: a) to install an operation base at the Museum by contacting Mapuche people related with this institution who have been part of land recuperation processes and related with other issues concerning my research goals; and b) starting the collection of data regarding the Museum case study.

I took special methodological measures considering the violent political conflict in the area. For example, researchers are often seen as suspicious because the police usually insert infiltrated agents. Therefore, my methods were:

a) A flexible insertion on the field, without pressures for contacting certain people or for visiting certain places. I used the *snow-ball* technique: starting from well-known key informants, I gained access to other ones recommended by them, contacting and visiting them with well-known and trusted references.

b) Conversations instead of interviews, as too many questions are suspicious. Audio records were not used during personal or group conversations (the people are reluctant for records, because they have been used in trials against Mapuche). Only a few semi-structured interviews were made with Mapuche people in relation with the processes in the Mapuche Museum, and with State operators working in the area.

c) The accent was put on participant and passive observation. These techniques were used in different contexts such as during the daily life, activities at the Museum, land occupations, demonstrations, internal Mapuche political meetings and with State operators as well as during ceremonial performances, including *palin* games. The register was made using a notebook. Pictures were taken just on a few occasions, with the consent of all the participants (as also pictures are not welcome, especially in the context of land occupations or others that could be consider as illegal acts by the State).

d) I conducted three participatory meetings at the Mapuche Museum of Cañete. Two sessions were organized in 2016, to evaluate the Museum, and, further, going in-depth with the Mapuche subjectivities concerning the understanding of their own culture in relation with the dominant order. A total of 50 persons participated. In 2017, I was part of the organization of a *palin* (sacred game) ceremony at the Museum, in which around 100 people participated. In organizing and registering the data during this event I had the support of the Museum staff and two assistants (anthropologists) contracted for that task.

8.4. Data analysis

As said above, the analysis is based on qualitative data. I resorted to the codification of the register (field notes, observations, conversations, interviews, pictures). First, they are organized per case study and specific topics/elements/sub-cases within each case, using descriptive and interpretative codes. As a second step, I categorize the register according to the theoretical

framework by using principal concepts of this frame as a primary filter of its theoretical interpretation (see Saldaña, 2015).

According to the extended case method, the qualitative data is in a dialogue with extralocal dynamics and the theory, in order to give explanations about the general situation. In addition, I this applied discourse analysis methods to approach the State interventions that have an impact on the local communities. This tool is conceived to understand those interventions processes as historical constructions, paying emphasis to the role of power in the production of discursive identities (Torfing, 1999: 90-91). Special attention is paid to the historicity and variability of discourse, as shaped through specific empirical events in hegemonic situations. Hegemony in this sense is understood 'as the expansion of a set of discourses into a dominant horizon of social orientation and action' (Ibid.: 101).

9. Outline of the Thesis

The thesis is organised around four main papers, preceding by an introduction and concluding by a discussion. This explains the partial repetition of some introductory data about the topic and the theoretical framework in distinct chapters. The remainder of the dissertation is organized as follows:

Chapter 1 addresses the Chilean State process of land restitution to indigenous Mapuche communities by providing economic alternatives for combatting indigenous poverty under a logic of neoliberal territorialization. I focus on the results of this programme, as targeted Mapuche communities become embroiled in a protracted bureaucratic process. Further, I analyse how the Mapuche stand in opposition to this State approach and carry out land occupations, demanding the recuperation of the *Wallmapu*, their ancestral territory. The State response of the Mapuche refusal to be 'included' is an excess of violence; the other side of the neoliberal programme of land restitution. Following Alain Badiou's theory I define this as an 'excess of inclusion over belonging', symptomatic of an insurmountable conflict in which what is at stake is the very ontology of being Mapuche. I locate these confrontations within a sequence of historical Mapuche uprisings and argue that these 'events' conform to a 'political truth': the existence of a category of people, 'the part of no part', who have no place in the Chilean nation-state project. Based on ethnographic data, it is analysed how the constitution of this Mapuche subject interrupts the neoliberal logic of territorialization. I conclude that this

corresponds to a process of emancipation; a true singular universality that stands against the false universal claims of neoliberal indigeneity.

Chapter 2 must be read as a continuation and complementation to Chapter 1. Also inserted in the processes of land recuperation, I conduct an in-depth analysis of how the Mapuche groups ground their acts according to their cultural complex, which is grounded in a normative system called *azmapu*. Based on ethnographic data, I define the key role of this cultural complex on the struggles for territory as reconfiguring spaces and places, in two dimensions: (a) the changing roles, practices, hierarchies, and forms of access to resources in recuperated territories; (b) the use of public places as platforms for manifesting territorial claims. Thus, this chapter addresses how the Mapuche 'political truth' is operationalized through the cultural complex. I draw on Jacques Rancière's theory of political aesthetics to understand the Mapuche subject as the 'no-part' of Chilean society, arguing that through their cultural complex they express political dissent aimed at setting forth a process of emancipation. Unlike the so-called ontological turn in the social sciences that proclaims a radical alterity of indigenous people, I maintain that the Mapuche enact the staging of an aesthetic regime of disagreement harbouring the potentiality of creating, from the margins, a common world.

Chapter 3 presents the case of the Mapuche Museum of Cañete that, inspired by a multiculturalist heritage shift in State cultural policy set out to redesign the Museum exhibits and to establish a cultural platform for local communities using participatory methodologies. We show, however, that the Mapuche commoners reconfigured the spatial and functional logic of the Museum to incorporate political topics underlying the current conflict (such as land grabbing, and State violence) in the process, (re-)constituting a disruptive subjectivity by dis-identification with the Chilean society. Based on ethnographic data, I discuss how a 'museographic participatory programme', based on a multicultural logic of national integration and cultural commodification evolves into a 'museography of disagreement', displaying a Mapuche political aesthetics that rejects the distinction between culture and politics.

Chapter 4 presents another example of the application of a multicultural neoliberal logic of the State, this time through the State intervention of the *palin*, a sacred game and important Mapuche political ceremony which is promoted by the State as a Chilean national cultural heritage. Those interventions, I argue, are part of a 'post-political' strategy aiming to create a depoliticized version of the sacred-game, presenting it under a recreational-cultural aesthetic framed in a Western-sport sense. However, I show, from an ethnographical perspective, how

this practice persists as a main Mapuche political performance. Based on the works of Rancière, Žižek, Badiou, and Swyngdeouw, I argue that the *palin* politicizes spaces towards a radicalization of democracy. The latter, I conclude, challenges the 'post-political' condition triggered by the State during the Chilean neoliberal era, in an open process of emancipation.

The Discussion and Conclusion aim to emphasize the main arguments of the thesis, revisiting part of the empirical data and the theoretical framework. I discuss how neoliberal governance and its matrix of post-politics affects the Mapuche groups that were part of my sample. I conclude, in this respect, that rather than a process of depoliticization, the Mapuche appropriate the set of multicultural neoliberal interventions of the State as a strategy of political emancipation. In addition, I analzse the potential risks of depoliticization triggered within the Mapuche internal political structures. My conclusion to this point, is that the Mapuche political organizations, based on the specific features of their 'political truth', tends to address the internal political differences, avoiding a potential foreclosure of internal contestation. In reaching these conclusions, I discuss also the relevance and pertinence of the main concepts used across the chapters, such as the Rancièrian 'political aesthetics' and the Badiouan 'political truth'.

Chapter 1: The Mapuche recuperation of ancestral territory: a 'political truth' beyond neoliberal territorialization in Chile[19]

1. Introduction

Historically, the control of the land and resources in Southern Chile has been the central issue underlying conflicts between the State, private owners, and the Mapuche[20] indigenous people. Since the Chilean army moved beyond the frontier of Mapuche territory in a campaign called the Pacification of Araucanía (1860 – 1883)[21], the State started to deploy a series of policies to administer the conquered territory through repressive and ideological means. These strategies were aimed at consolidating a new structure of territorial governance, where new cities were founded, and distinct categories of tenants took control of large territories in what the Mapuche denominate the *Wallmapu*, their ancestral territory as it existed before the Pacification. By processes of public auctions and free land allocations to colonists, Chilean big landowners, landless peasants, soldiers and European settlers started to create a 'new Chile', based on premises of cultural civilization in areas considered as wild. Simultaneously, the Mapuche – considered lower humans by the State – were relegated to live in indigenous reserves or 'land reductions'[22], which represented 6% of their original land (Boccara and Seguel-Boccara, 1999).

Nowadays, the Mapuche people refer to the Pacification of Araucanía as the starting point of a new catastrophic reality, a precarious situation that has rendered them an oppressed society. Showing documents, expressing oral memories and quoting historians, the Mapuche quickly mention this fact every time they need to explain their society`s conditions and to ground their current socio-political claims. In this regard, it is important to note that the Chilean occupation perhaps had a greater impact on the Mapuche[23] than the Spanish colonial enterprise ever did. In fact, the first peace agreement signed with Spain in 1641 gave freedom to the Mapuche to

[19] This chapter was written in co-authorship with my supervisor Dr.ir Pieter de Vries and was submitted as an article to the Journal of Agrarian Change in August 2018.
[20] The denomination of the inhabitants of the *mapu*. Usually, *mapu* has been translated as 'earth', thus, Mapuche as 'people of the earth' (*che* = people). However, the concept of *mapu* goes beyond a mere element, denoting the whole territory (material and immaterial aspects): the *Wallmapu* (Lobos Camerati, 2016: 28).
[21] In this period the Chilean army proceed to a violent occupation of all the Mapuche territory to the South of the Bío-Bío river. That river worked as an official frontier of the Spanish Crown – and later the Chilean Republic – with the Mapuche for more than two centuries, in what specialists of international justice have consider as a valid agreement of sovereign nations (Aylwin, 2002: 4).
[22] In Chile, the indigenous reserves (caused by the reduction of ancestral territory) were called *reducciones*: literally translated, 'reductions'.
[23] We refer to the Mapuche living in Southern *Wallmapu*. To the north of the frontier the Mapuche population was subjugated by the Spaniards.

organize themselves politically and economically based on their *lov*[24]. That means that no State nor any other kind of permanent/centralized system operated in that territory for more than two centuries[25].

Therefore, the Mapuche Pacification was a historical rupture along two dimensions. First, it signified a violent break with the Chilean State, whose authorities during the War of Independence with Spain (1812-1826) promised to respect the historical frontier and the Mapuche political autonomy once the colonial troops were defeated. Indeed, they honoured this promise for almost 40 years until the decision to occupy the Mapuche territory through violent means. This constituted a hard-political betrayal that the Mapuche strongly resent. Second, the rupture was also noted within the Mapuche society, physically, economically, politically and existentially, since, as we noted, they were relocated and concentrated within designated areas. The result was the disarticulation of their economy, creating a subsistence crisis that forced many to seek a livelihood elsewhere (mainly, as marginal subjects in the cities). Additionally, their political authorities and cultural protocols were officially invalidated, to the point that the very existence of the Mapuche as a political entity was erased.

Under these conditions of oppression, during the 20th Century, the Mapuche started to demand territory and political rights in ways that bypassed the bureaucratic procedural order. Revolts in the decade of 1930, massive land occupations before and during the Agrarian Reform period (1960-1970) and the political radicalization of the Mapuche movement in the late 90s established a sequence of events that came to destabilize the Chilean dominant order. Of special importance in the elaboration of the current Mapuche political programme (and its conflictive relation with the State) was an incident that took place in 1997, when a group of Mapuche burned several trucks belonging to an agroforestry company in Lumaco (Araucanía Region). Only four years before, the administration of the post-dictatorship neoliberal governments[26] had announced a programme of land restitution for the Mapuche communities that was presented as a peaceful solution for the historical indigenous claim. However, after this attack

[24] The basic Mapuche territorial organization. The *lov* is composed by extended families in a delimited territory, patrilineally coordinated for social, political, and economic issues. It is headed by a *lonko* (chief), who normally is a wise old man in consanguinity with the families. However, each familiar nucleus has an elevated level of autonomy. Especially in times of war or crisis, there were political unions of *lov* in different territorial levels, moment in which they defined specific authorities to lead them.

[25] During that period, the indigenous developed a solvent local economy (Bengoa, 2007; Cayuqueo, 2017), controlling large extensions of land, mainly used for cattle raising and agriculture for subsistence, but also commercializing with merchants on the borders.

[26] The governments of Patricio Aylwin (1990-1994) and Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle (1994-2000) deployed a set of social reforms in Chile, but also gave a continuity to the economic neoliberal logic established during the dictatorship (defined in the 3rd section).

on the agroforestry facilities - which occupy thousands of hectares of the former *Wallmapu* territory - the Mapuche shifted their strategy: they gave priority to insurgent forms of mobilization, mainly through sabotage on the agroindustry and land occupations, giving the concepts of political autonomy and Mapuche Nation central importance. The Chilean national integration project was threatened, evoking strong responses from the repressive State apparatus, including the application of the Anti-terrorist law.

In the remainder of this chapter, we draw on Alain Badiou's works on emancipatory politics as grounded in transformative 'events' to propose that the Mapuche uprisings in the past century provided the scenario for a radical re-organization towards a political goal. That goal, we argue, transcends particularistic ethno-nationalist claims to territory, standing for a true universal claim for emancipation. Through this lens, we claim that this shift had as a consequence the reactivation of a 'political truth' that, based on the historical Mapuche struggles since colonial times, proclaims the need of recuperating the territory under their own logic of land control. Specifically, it proclaims the return to the *Wallmapu*, which signifies the 'truth' of the very existence of the Mapuche, in a process of subjectivation that constitutes the Mapuche people as a collective political subject[27].

This will be illustrated by two empirical cases, which address different faces of the struggle for land in the Arauco Province, an area where the violence referred to the so-called Mapuche conflict is among the highest in the country. The first case highlights the experiences of a community struggling for territory but becoming enmeshed in a protracted bureaucratic process, a typical case of what Badiou denominates an 'excess of inclusion over belonging'. The second case focuses on an 'illegal' land occupation of Mapuche which eschewing the bureaucratic 'inclusion' process led to the arrest of two Mapuche activists, accused of wood robbery. Their refusal of playing the neoliberal land restitution game, we show, unleashed an excessive form of violence, leading to the criminalization of the Mapuche political subject and its portrayal as the 'dangerous other' that does not belong to the national order of things. Based on the 'Mapuche truth', this group that neither belongs nor is included, challenges the Chilean dominant order during the trial.

[27] The Mapuche are a highly heterogeneous category. Independent groups have deployed distinct strategies to historically present their political requirements. Accordingly, internal contestations exist. However, these issues are generally given due to different views about how to strategically proceed in terms of land recuperation (e.g. the levels of radicalization). On the contrary, the *Wallmapu*-recuperation goal itself creates a broad consensus among the multiplicity of groups. And, at the local level, this shared claim is what goes beyond their individual positions as inhabitants of rural communities, or cities. Our focus is on that level of collectivization.

The following sections are organized as follows: First, we introduce our Badiouan approach by theorizing concepts such as the 'event', 'political truth', and subjectivation. Using this framework, we analzse the broad features of the relation between the Mapuche and the Chilean dominant order. Second, we outline a sequence of Mapuche 'events', which are important for understanding the current political conflictive situation. Third, we present two case studies of indigenous communities dealing with the State logic of neoliberal-territorialization and discuss the land restitution process driven by the National Corporation for Indigenous Development (CONADI). Fourth, we analyse the case studies, paying special attention to their differential strategies for putting forward Mapuche claims. We conclude that the Mapuche are pursuing a two-pronged strategy vis-à-vis the Chilean society: confrontational but at the same time appropriating governmental tools as an integral element in the constitution of the Mapuche subject.

2. A Badiouan analysis on Mapuche land recuperation processes

As argued above, the Mapuche hold to a fundamentally different view of territory than the official land restitution process. What they strive for is the recuperation of the *Wallmapu*, the home of all Mapuche. The Chilean State, on the other hand, sets out to compensate Mapuche communities for past injustices by including them within a larger land governance programme aimed at lifting them out of poverty. This illustrates the disjunction between belonging and inclusion: The *Wallmapu* – the 'Mapuche truth' – stands for belonging, whereas State land restitution stands for inclusion, a bureaucratic process which prescribes who is a Mapuche and under what rules (of eligibility, etc.). Thus, there is an insurmountable gap between the 'Mapuche truth' (that all Mapuche belong) and the State project to confer belonging through inclusion by which the State figure of the accredited or protected Mapuche is created. This gap is emblematic for the violent 'excess of inclusion over belonging'. It can only be overcome through an 'event' that disrupts the status quo, asserting the irrefutable belonging of the Mapuche. The 'event' thus asserts the presence of a hitherto existent collective subject whose belonging cannot be doubted or challenged. This in short is the sequence 'truth-event-subject'.

Badiou's (2007) is a subtractive ontology of multiplicity based on the use of mathematics, specifically the set theory, which argues that reality is constituted by the effacement of a set that must be excluded lest the whole becomes inconsistent. Here we summarize Badiou's approach in an exemplary fashion without delving into the 'technical' ontological details. In

short, individual's existence is acknowledged by the State (e.g. a birth certificate) – the first count – but the truth is that the State is not interested in them as persons, but as members of larger categories to be governed (Ibid.). Even more, their possible presence outside authorized State structures is something the State seeks to avoid at all costs (as in the case of 'undocumented' migrants), hence the need to 'represent them' as accredited individuals (either as citizens, residents, etc.). Thus, individuals are included in State governmental systems – or counted – in multiple ways, as members of official organizations, as tax payers, organ donors, etc. This is what Badiou (2005) calls the 'second count', a way of securing individual's existence within State recognized structures. However, the second count cannot include everyone: there are always more parts than the counting elements used by the State, provoking an excess of presentation implicit in this re-presentation of the multiplicity (Ibid.: 143-144).

Hence, there is an 'excess of inclusion over belonging' (the unique being of each individual), which Badiou calls the 'excrescence' of the State (the bureaucratic structure), re-presenting the securing of an intrinsically inconsistent situation by the State – the second count – through biopolitical technologies of inclusion. Referring explicitly to the concept of the State, Badiou calls the result of the second count 'state of the situation' or the metastructure. Therefore, the 'state of the situation', understood both as the situation in its stable form and as the 'State' that imposes stability on the situation, refers to the system that limits the possibilities to think and organize the society (Badiou, 2010: 6-7).

Applied to the situation of the Mapuche, who fight for belonging outside the 'state of the situation', the contradiction manifests itself in their contested relation to neo-liberal technologies of inclusion (governmentality) by which they become eligible to all sorts of benefits as 'individual' citizens (members of the Chilean metastructure). The Mapuche struggle is thus centred on retaining, or insisting on, the existence of a singular Mapuche subjectivity, outside of the 'state of the situation'. Following the disjunction between belonging and inclusion it is possible to identify three categories of Mapuche in relation to the 'state of the situation'[28]. First, those who belong in the eyes of the State (the 'protected' indigenous; see Postero, 2006, 2017) and therefore can be included through land restitution programmes. These are those accredited as members of a Mapuche community and offered eligibility as beneficiaries of the State. Second, those whose belonging is put in doubt (e.g. being rejected their legal claims for territory) and therefore cannot be included. Third, those who belong, and

[28] As we will show, the Mapuche are inserted in these categories in a highly dynamic and combinable way.

reject being included. The last two categories, thus, must resort to illegal occupations in order to assert their Mapuche subjectivity. This, Badiou argues, is the part of no-part who sit on the edge of the void, and thus provide the locus/seat/site of the 'event', implying the possibility of creating something truly new.

Let us see now how the 'event' can spring from this contradiction/disjunction between belonging and inclusion.

2.1. The Mapuche 'event'

The interruption of the 'state of the situation' is taking place when an 'event' arises. Badiou (2010: 6-7) defines the 'event' as 'a rupture in the normal order of bodies and languages as it exists in a particular situation (...). An event paves the way for the possibility of what – from the limited perspective of the make-up of this situation (...) – is strictly impossible'. As Robinson (2015) notes, those limits (in most of the contemporaneous world) are based on a capitalist logic for approaching social/political issues, creating policies based on economic necessities. This is what Badiou (2003: 75) calls capitalist-parliamentarianism: a political subjectivity (not only an institutional figure) which in name of the democracy 'subordinates the political to the unique statist locus (…) and doing this annuls the political as a thought'. Rather than politics, it is an administration in the hands of politicians who demand 'as a regulatory condition the autonomy of capital, property, the market'; shaping the only system that, supposedly, can generate popular consensus (Ibid.: 75-76).

In opposition to capitalist-parliamentarianism, Badiou insists on the need of proposing an emancipatory politics that differentiates between the economic and the political spheres – in fact prioritizing the latter, so as to generate radical proposals not related to capitalist interests (Robinson, 2015). The 'event', then, performed in opposition to the State, becomes the starting point for a new politics. Otherwise, a political project (inserted within the logic of the State) will not go beyond being 'only a matter of controlled protests, captive resistance, subordinated to the tutelary they want to defeat' (Bensaïd, 2004: 102). Hence, central to Badiou's notion of the 'event' is the contradiction between belonging and inclusion; which bears witness to the contradiction between people and the State. In short, people fight for belonging whereas the State is only interested in including individuals as members of governmental categories. For its part, the reaction of the State to an 'event' – insofar as the 'state of the situation' has been threatened – is highly violent, using intensively its repressive apparatus to maintain the preconceived limits of the possible (Hallward, 2002).

Furthermore, the 'event' contains the consequences of one or various previous 'events' (Blechman, Chari & Rafeeq, 2012: 166-167). Namely, when a new 'event' emerges, it incorporates in its material traces past 'events' that were performed in the same (or similar) situation (Badiou, 2007, 2010). Under this logic, in this chapter, we have defined a sequence of 'Mapuche events'. Following the Badiouan idea of them as a dis-continuity of the 'state of the situation' – we maintain that the current opposition to the agroforestry and the neoliberal order is not only a specific reaction to this kind of economic/political logic. Rather, it is the consequence of the history of 'events' that we defined, which established the Mapuche proposal as collective and universal. This has constituted, as we will explain introducing the Mapuche ontology of Being, what Badiou defines in terms of a 'political truth', and a process of subjectivation.

2.2. The ontological precepts of 'being Mapuche'

The Mapuche people differentiate between two levels of the condition of human beings (the *Che*): one in a biological sense, as a singular species among the rest of lifeforms; the other, in a continuous construction, as a conscious person within a normative system – the *azmapu* – determining human relations and interactions with the environment. Importantly, every Mapuche is thus socio-culturally determined by his/her participation in the collective. The *Che* – in its dimension of person – can temporarily or definitively lose that collective condition whenever he/she breaks the *azmapu* norms; or when she relinquishes her condition of belonging[29].

Even more, the Ego (*Iñche*) is not simply an individual but has also a plural sense according to its position within the collective (Melin, Coliqueo, Curihuinca & Royo, 2016: 19-20). In this respect, the sense of collective belonging is crucial in the Mapuche society, and it is directly related to the need of political self-determination (configuring the norms of the *Che*), and the territory (where the roots are, the ancestors live, and the *Che* belongs). Today, this idea is manifested once and again as a right – both in protocol contexts and spontaneously– by the concept of *taiñ mapuchegen mew*, which refers to the Mapuche-being in a collective relationship with the territory. That term is being translated today as 'the Mapuche people – the Mapuche Nation' (Ibid.: 27-28). The Mapuche notion of belonging refers thus to the

[29] This is the case of a high number of Mapuche who do not participate in the social/political meetings or ceremonies defined by the *azmapu*. Neither, do they use Mapuche cultural elements (language, vestments, sacred objects, etc.). The *azmapu* performers call them *awinkados* (Mapuche who have been transformed by external customs).

‘Mapuche nation’, which stands in stark opposition to State attempts to include them into the metastructure of a unified ‘Chilean nation’.

2.3. The ‘political truth’ and the constitution of the Mapuche subject

As Badiou and Hallward (1998) note, the ‘event’ transcends any specific people or individualities. It engages the people in a special manner: they are actors within it, but also, they are targeted by its collective condition. For Badiou, this quality of an ‘event’ depends on its crystallization as a ‘political truth’: As a politics that is axiomatic and truly emancipatory, meaning that it is not a representation or a reflection of the ‘state of the situation’ (Hallward, 2002). The ‘truth’ is composed by disruptive and irrefutable affirmations[30] that emerge with the ‘event’, which generate a permanent declaration (statements and discourses) around which the people organize themselves politically. Those declarations are universal, because they escape and at the same time challenge the existing counts and categorization of the dominant order, driving to an open process of emancipation (the subject belongs to this process rather than to a specific group) (Robinson, 2015: 4). This creates, empirically, the materialization of the ‘event’ as ‘ongoing organizations’ (Badiou, 2010: 7). Hence, we argue that the *taiñ mapuchegen mew* (or the Mapuche Nation) is the main declaration of the ‘Mapuche political truth’, grounded in a collective idea of emancipation which has consolidated their social movement for territory recuperation.

In Badiouan terms, the subject shows ‘fidelity to the event’ when it subscribes to it accepting its eventual/contingent condition. From there, they must map new elements in the situation, forming new arrangements that are alien to the status quo (the socio-political structure, the official knowledge, etc). Thus, 'to take part in this process is to believe, or guess, that there is something that needs to be unpacked or unfolded' from the ‘state of the situation’ (Robinson, 2015: 5). In this sense, we argue that it is the ‘Mapuche truth’, which as the same time is grounded on the ‘fidelity to the Mapuche events’ what explains the existence of such numerous and diversity of organizations (communitarian, inter-communitarian, urban, rural, etc.) recuperating land along the *Wallmapu* (rather than a simple interest for incorporating land, or an opportunistic political use of their indigenous condition). They proceed through different strategies, but according to a shared normative system: the *azmapu*.

[30] For instance, the declaration of freedom/equality by enslaved people is itself unconditioned. It is not something to be researched or verified but a principle to be upheld (Hallward, 2002).

Having defined some of the principal concepts in Badiou's theory, we must ask now: how does his generic ontology of multiplicity and the sequence of the 'event-truth-subject' enable us to define the current political conflict around territory in Southern Chile? For that purpose, it is crucial to critique teleological notions of history as imposed by the State and the knowledge the latter draws upon in order to justify the 'state of the situation'. For Badiou (2010) history is made by the 'state of the situation', confirmed by a series of facts that are consequences of the exercise of the State. The Chilean history will always frame the Mapuche existence according to national relevant facts such as inserted in governmental periods, poverty indices, etc.; in combination with isolated events of indigenous violence. In this way the Mapuche people are submitted to the political and historical teleology of the State. Furthermore, those facts are analysed through the lens of the official knowledge (considered as the only valid), based on a scientific rationale. In this regard, today, the State diagnosis of the land recuperation movement is that it concerns a 'Mapuche Conflict'[31], which leads to its explanation in terms of concepts such as underdevelopment, rural poverty, a lack of ethnic integration, and criminality; all problems that must be resolved by the same State through social-economic and repressive measures.

In opposition to this State logic, Badiou (Ibid.) argues that a 'political truth' incorporates also 'non-factual logics' (subjective, not necessarily validated by western science, historiography, etc.), that have emerged with the 'event' from the margins of the official knowledge. Indeed, the 'truth' is a collective conviction aimed to change the very order of things, which does not need the rational validation of the State (Hallward, 2004: 2). Thus, how can we overcome the marginal historical position of the Mapuche in relation with the State, opening instances for manifesting their 'truth' as a concrete politics (not just as dissatisfaction with the social)? Is it possible to ground Mapuche politics on historical affirmations beyond the State and its fictitious presumption of neoliberal universalism today?

In responding to those questions – and in accordance to the Badiouan generic ontology of multiplicity – we must stress that the Mapuche ontology as well every (multiple) Being 'is in essence void; it attests to the inherent meaninglessness and objective randomness of historical events' (Barker, 2004: 199). Put differently, the content of the Mapuche Being (the *Che*) – what it means to be Mapuche today and what regulates this condition (the *azmapu*) – is given

[31] The Chilean State does not recognize that the conflict is between two different political spheres (defining the issue as 'The Chilean-Mapuche conflict', for example). It presents it as unilateral, based on indigenous discontent and insurrection.

only to the extent that it is constituted as a collective subject in a given 'state of the situation' (through the sequence event-truth-subject). This ontological proposal of Mapuche Being as eventual rejects the idea of pre-given substances or pre-conditions of the subject. That point is crucial, opening the possibilities to think the Mapuche beyond indigenous essences, authentic subjects, or cultural identities (politically in terms of ethno-populist essentialism) which determine their beliefs and customs (e.g. the Mapuche as 'traditional')[32]; it makes possible to conceive them as collective subjects in a relation of fidelity with concrete events.

Summarizing, the Mapuche 'political truth' – as a concrete universal – exposes the spuriousness of false universalities such as globalization and democracy, which deter us from searching for real alternatives to the present neoliberal era. That explains why the Mapuche subject, rather than constituting a historical anachronism (as neoliberal advocates of progress would stand it), stands for a universal subject that paradoxically has no place in the current 'state of the situation'.

3. The Mapuche subject: a sequence of 'events' and one 'truth'

This chronology is the sequence[33] that conforms to a Mapuche history of emancipation, and the creation of a 'political truth', which today is materialized in the struggles for territory recuperation. It is important to note that defining the Mapuche 'events' genealogically enables us to shed light on the material conditions of concrete subjects living under the Chilean 'state of the situation'.

As we argued, the Pacification of Araucanía created a new and unequal 'state of the situation' for the Mapuche society. The indigenous social and political structures were invalidated by the new order, and at the same time, a harsh process of economic pauperization followed the reduction of territory. During the first decades of the Chilean administration in the *Wallmapu* – as Boccara and Seguel-Boccara (1999) summarize – the Mapuche were mostly excluded, ignored, considered an obstacle to reach modernity, remaining just as poor peasants or cheap urban labour. In the terms of Badiou, they were relegated as 'the no-part' of the new Chilean society. Only later, since the last decade of the 19th Century, their Mapuche condition started

[32] We refer to the idea of traditional culture related to backwardness, irrationality, laziness, and so on; arbitrarily used, for instance, to explain the lack of indigenous integration into modern nations.
[33] We don't discard the existence of more Mapuche events. For a matter of extension, we focus on relevant ones, highlighting the 20th Century.

to be included under the 'state of the situation', by the legalization/regularization of the indigenous land tenure conditions, the 'reductions'. However, for thousands of families, the regularized land was not enough for self-subsistent production, while others, who could not demonstrate their rights to land, were excluded.

In this context, the Mapuche 'events' emerged. Nonetheless, the existence of a Mapuche subjectivity around the *Wallmapu* had been shaped centuries before, specifically, we argue, since the famous Leftraru rebellion in the 16th Century[34]. That means, in the 20th Century we witness the creation of a 'political truth' that is genealogically linked with the uprisings performed by Mapuche ancestors, and politically grounded on the big *lov* alliances that they created during the war with Spain (1536 to 1818)[35].

3.1. The emersion of the 'events' in the 20th Century

In the 1930s, the Mapuche social-economic crisis was severe. Meanwhile, the growing forestry industry in hands of big Chilean and European landowners was grabbing the best lands in Southern Chile, incorporating also territory belonging by law to the 'indigenous reductions' (Miller Klubock, 2014: 112-117). Attempts by some Mapuche groups to participate within the Chilean structures (education, economic progress, etc.) during the first decades of the century – even through the creation of political parties – were in vain (Bengoa, 2014). Under these circumstances, several Mapuche uprisings took part in Southern Chile, resorting to illegal actions aimed at recovering their lost territory. Protests, attacks/plunders at towns, land occupations, and even a declaration of an independent Mapuche Republic were performed along Southern Chile, according to the Mapuche normative system (Miller Klubock, 2014; Bengoa, 2014).

[34] There are several Mapuche heroes, principally *toki* (war leaders) who commanded the union of diverse *lov* towards uprisings and campaigns against the Spaniards. However, Leftraru, commanding a mass rebellion from 1553 to 1557, is the one who represents a starting point of the Mapuche victory and a shift in their military strategy.
[35] According to ethno historical research conducted by Boccara (2007), the concept of Mapuche was not used in early colonial times by the indigenous groups living in the *Wallmapu*, nor by the Spanish authorities or chroniclers. Instead, they used the term of *reche* ('authentic-pure people'). Although the '*reche* of the center' (group who inhabited the area between the Bío-Bío and the Toltén rivers, in which the Arauco Province is located today) shared the language (*mapuzungun*), and social-structural forms, in peaceful times each *lov* was politically autonomous. As Boccara argues (Ibid: 13-29), it is not possible to affirm that the Reche existed as a common political identity when the Spanish settlers arrived. Indeed, current *kimche* (wise people) and Mapuche historians, maintain that multiple group denominations existed according to their *lov* (Lobos Camerati, 2016: 19-25). What is clear, is that they formed an extensive inter-regional alliance to confront the Spain empire, and up to republican times, these alliances became permanent (Boccara, 2007: 104-105).

However, one of the most notable 'events' (in a Badiouan sense) for the Mapuche society emerged decades later. In the 1960s, groups of landless peasants and rural workers (Chilean and Mapuche) began to pressure the government to introduce an Agrarian Reform, which finally was implemented by the presidents Alessandri and Frei Montalva (1962 – 1970). Nonetheless, facing the slow and only partial processes of these reforms, several of those groups occupied lands illegally, which in some cases accelerated the transfer of these lands, but most often than not met with harsh police repression (Correa, Molina & Yañez, 2005). The Mapuche had to mobilize in a specific manner, given that the Reforms were focused on Chilean peasants (*inquilinos*) who worked for the landowners, without considering the indigenous settlements, that were outside the 'landowner system' (*Sistema de Hacienda*) (Ibid.: 10-11).

Thus, the Mapuche claimed rights from the outside of the land tenure system, foregrounding cultural differences and ancestral rights based on an indigenous identity that became visible in the process of land occupation. In conjunction with this, the 1960s witnessed a general rise of Mapuche cultural activity reported in the media (many of them related with struggles for land), of which the ceremonial performances were the most remarkable (Crow, 2011: 163-164). Those acts were categorized by social science experts as presenting, principally, the same features of the ones registered by ancient chronicles, in terms of performances and associated 'religious beliefs' (Faron, 1963).

However, at the same time, the Mapuche claim during this period cannot be understood as closed in on itself. Indeed, as Mallon shows (2004) – through the narratives of commoners remembering those times in a community called Ailío – the Mapuche political mobilization was in coordination with Chilean organizations. In that case, the *Movimiento Campesino Revolucionario* (Revolutionary Peasant Movement), and ecclesiastic groups aiming land recuperation in a broad sense (peasants and indigenous) supported the community.

At the beginning of the 1970s, the socialist government of Salvador Allende recognized for first time in Chilean history the existence of cultural pluralism within the nation. This measure initiated a process of indigenous inclusion considering their cultural specificity, especially related to the territorial issue. In this brief period the State, conceding the debt of the Chilean nation towards the Mapuche, embarked on an intensified Agrarian Reform, returning to the Mapuche 68,381 hectares (Boccara and Seguel-Boccara, 1999: 766).

Nevertheless, the result after this process of mobilization, and then the State expropriation and 'devolution' of territories for the Mapuche signified not only a reconfiguration of their land,

but of the very substance of their subjectivity. In the community of Ailío, for example, the new indigenous settlement on the expropriated land went beyond ethnic barriers. It included Chilean peasants of the nearby areas, and workers (*inquilinos*) of the ex-landlord (Mallon, 2004). The 'event', thus, was not performed by a pre-existent specific subject; on the contrary, the event (re)configured the Mapuche subject around the aim of land recuperation.

3.2. The radicalization of the Mapuche movement (from 1997 onwards)

After the military coup in 1973, the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet set forth a radical readjustment of the 'state of the situation', with dramatic consequences for the Mapuche. An Agrarian Counter-Reform was implemented in the rural areas based on a neoliberal logic for controlling the land[36]. In addition, the dictatorship took the view that 'indigenous communitarianism' was potentially revolutionary (as the remainder of communism) and therefore highly dangerous. Through new legislation, the legal condition of the indigenous was suppressed, and a total of 465.000 hectares of communitarian indigenous territory were divided into individual lands (Boccara and Seguel-Boccara, 1999: 768).

The new regime proposed a neoliberal economic rationality according to which the Mapuche, just like the entire rural Chilean population, had to conduct themselves as individual and entrepreneurial citizens. At the same time, hundreds of Mapuche were imprisoned, tortured and/or killed, accused of taking part of the communist organizations of the ousted government. But perhaps the most important fact introduced in this period for the current Mapuche situation was the intensification of agroforestry production/enterprises, the so-called 'green gold', by economic authorities. Around 415.053 hectares of the *Wallmapu*, which were considered suitable for forestry, were transferred by the State for very low prices to important capitalist groups (Aylwin, 2002: 9).

The return of democracy in 1990 opened the doors for new approaches between the State and the Mapuche. Patricio Aylwin's government decreed, by law, the cultural pluralism of the nation, and founded a special organism for indigenous affairs: The National Corporation of Indigenous Development (CONADI), which had as a principal task the land restitution plan starting in 1994. Nonetheless, the neoliberal structural agrarian conditions derived from the

[36] Basically, we refer to changes on the land tenure, focused on supporting big capitalist groups and other emerging business in Chile (returning expropriated land to landowners, dividing the rest into pots of land for sale, among other measures); mainly, the agrarian and forestry industrial production for export (Gwynne and Kay, 1997).

dictatorship remained unchanged[37]. The new paradigm of communitarian participation was the strategy of the new government to include the Mapuche people through a series of interventions aimed to reach a culturally pertinent development[38].

But in 1997, this supposedly peaceful strategy was interrupted by a Mapuche attack: the before-mentioned burning of trucks of one of the main agroforestry companies in Lumaco, Araucanía Region. Henceforth, we witnessed the emergence of a more radicalized of Mapuche political position, which demands the recovery of the entire *Wallmapu* as well as political autonomy for their people equivalent to that prior of the Pacification of Araucanía campaign. The goal is the constitution of an independent nation (see Pairicán Padilla, 2014; Bengoa, 2000b). A series of land occupations and sabotages, mainly directed at the agroforestry, evoked strong responses by the police apparatus[39] and unleashing a new wave of violence against the Mapuche.

The consequences of the event in 1997 must be carefully analysed. For one thing, the incorporation of an ethno-national discourse in line with other contemporaneous indigenous movements in Latin America (for example in México, Colombia and Bolivia) has been stressed. Accordingly, the Mapuche have founded a new successful political strategy to create solidarity between large territories around indigenous notions such as the *Wallmapu*, interpreted now as a 'new nation' (Foerster, 1999). However, as noted by Calbucura (2013: 420), the idea of 'indigenous nation' in this case cannot be assimilated with the 'modern idea of nation'. Instead of proposing an independent nation-state (as the modern concept proposes) – which would provoke a political secession of the Chilean State – the Mapuche use the term nation in a historical and strategic sense: for strengthening their political position in front of the Chilean authorities and, at the same time, their own identity and collective organizations (Ibid.).

Going further, we argue, it is necessary to resort to a diachronic understanding of the 'event' of 1997, beyond the specificity of the insertion of a new political strategy by the Mapuche.

[37] This period is featured by the so-called social-neoliberal logic of governance. 'With the transition to democracy, the pragmatic neoliberalism was continued, but greater emphasis was given to peasant agriculture and social policies. This current stage of 'continuity with changes' falls somewhere between a 'neoliberalism with a human face' (Kay, 2002: 474).

[38] In 1995, the State formalized the support for indigenous communities at a technical and economic level. CONADI defined 'Indigenous Development Areas', focusing interventions on specific communities (see Calbucura, 2009).

[39] It is to remark the use of the Anti-terrorist law against the Mapuche people involved in sabotage attacks against the agroforestry. Its application permits, among other measures, the use of protected/unknown witnesses and a considerable increase in penalties.

Indeed, the new ongoing Mapuche organizations (created since 1997)[40] have stressed the link of their claims with the struggles performed from ancestral times. They ground their discourse and acts according to the *azmapu* norms, and the *taiñ mapuchegen mew* (Mapuche nation) declaration. That process of subjectivation, which has a high impact especially among new generations, is grounded in a 'truth' that goes beyond any kind of 'new' ethnic or nationalist discourse.

In the following chapter, we show why the Mapuche struggle goes beyond being a reactive struggle for ethnic identity and territory, and why it must be seen as emblematic of a struggle against the global pretensions of a liberal capitalist order. We highlight, following Badiou´s theory, its potentialities for creating something truly new, framed in an emancipatory struggle in a universalist sense.

4. The current 'state of the situation' in terms of neoliberal territorialization

The dominant order deploys different strategies to demobilize those radical groups within the 'state of the situation', aiming at the stabilization of the order of things. Here, we discuss the mode of operation of CONADI as a typical example of the Chilean logic of neoliberal territorialization. We show how CONADI sets out to structure the social situation – the securing of land control in Southern Chile – by (a) bringing about an inclusive count of indigenous communities registered by CONADI, following the legal procedures of restitution; (b) distributing new land for indigenous communities in designated areas, making possible a culturally pertinent development; (c) protecting the agroforestry companies and other big landowners to enable them to continue with their extractive activities.

Hence, the mentioned process goes much further than the mere logic of land restitution. It must be framed within a set of practices of land control in combination with enclosure, legalization of land processes, and the exercise of force/violence (Peluso and Lund, 2011). Furthermore, the role of the State in a neoliberal logic, while being presumably directed to mediate between different actors, is rather that of being an 'administrator of land rights/accesses', determining

[40] The *Coordinadora Arauco Malleco* (CAM) is crucial, which has coordinated a series of sabotages and land occupations. At the same time, they have deployed a communicational strategy to declare the beginning of a new kind of Mapuche resistance (including violent means), as well a harsh anti-capitalist discourse. In parallel, hundreds of communities and groups started to perform their own land recuperation processes using similar strategies. Our focus is on this broad sense of the Mapuche subject, rather than on specific organizations.

who in the last instance will control the land (Corson, 2011). Since the dictatorship, the administration in Chile has privileged agroforestry companies through concessions that guaranteed them the access, use and control of the land. This was further reinforced with the introduction of Decree 701[41] and with the constant deployment of the armed State branches in the defence of agroforestry companies.

In addition, neoliberal territorialization goes beyond being just an economic-productive doctrine. The current regime includes also socio-cultural tactics grounded in the ideology of multiculturalism, or neoliberal multiculturalism as defined by Hale (2002). It is, thus, also a social project which includes ideas towards an improvement of indigenous cultural rights, aiming a peaceful multicultural coexistence within the nation[42]. Regarding the topic of this paper, it must be stressed the shift caused by this logic concerning the communities in the territory that the State aims to administrate. Hale (Ibid.: 496) points out: "In direct contrast to its classical antecedent, neoliberal doctrine is predicated not on destroying the indigenous community in order to remake the Indian as citizen, but rather, re-activating the community as an agent in the reconstitution of the Indian citizen-subject". The 'Mapuche community', in this regard, emerged as a key entity for the State and its programmes of inclusion (as we analyse in the next section).

However, 'the mechanism of land control need not always align, nor proceed in a singular, linear direction. They may be wielded in concert or competition with one another' (Peluso and Lund, 2011: 668). According to this, the Mapuche – based on their own proposition of land control – have concerted a harsh opposition to the State. Indeed, the CONADI land restitution programme is acknowledged by them as one more State apparatus section at the service of capitalist interests. However, being the only legal procedure available to claim land, most of the communities decide to apply under the formal conditions but stressing from the beginning the existence of their political disagreement with the Chilean State.

[41] Since 1974 this Decree supports the agroforestry private plantations with State funds. Until 2014, the contribution has been an approximate of USD 664 million, especially in benefit of two big companies: Arauco and Mininco (González, 2017). However, the rates of poverty and unemployment in the regions with the topmost agroforestry impact (Bío-Bío and La Araucanía) have been, historically, the highest in Chile. Moreover, this Decree is related with irregular land transfers from the State to the big companies during the dictatorship (for free, or for very low prices), in what today is disputed land with the Mapuche.

[42] This idea is promoted by the World Bank since the 1990s, driving – from there – the development policies around the world (Halle, 2002).

4.1. The Mapuche and the CONADI land restitution procedure

The Mapuche can apply for land restitution only after constituting a legal indigenous community[43]. From a Badiouan perspective, this is a second count aiming to present the Mapuche situation as a coherent totality (or One), portraying the community as an element of re-presentation, and stressing, at the same time, the connection of the Chilean State with recognizable indigenous groups.

The programme consists of two modes: the 20A, concerning the option of a community to extend its productive land under a logic of indigenous development; and the 20B, operating the devolution of land to communities. In this chapter, we focus on the 20B since it is the mechanism to address the political claim for territory. Under that logic, CONADI had distributed from 1994 to 2015 a total of 225.835 hectares to Mapuche communities in the whole disputed territory (the Regions of Bío-Bío, La Araucanía, Los Ríos, and Los Lagos) (Zaror and Lepin, 2016). Until the end of 2017, it is estimated that around 25.000 Mapuche families have benefited from the programme, receiving an average of 9,6 hectares each one (Nuevo Poder, 2017). About 3.500 Mapuche communities were registered by CONADI (CONADI, 2017). In view of these numbers, it must be highlighted that the governmental programme has had a high impact on the Mapuche people, who represent a 7,7% (1.329.450 persons) of the Chilean population, with only one third of them living in rural areas where most of the restitution procedures are taking place (CASEN, 2015). Nevertheless, even during the years when the restitution has been intensified (such as in 2016 – 2017 under the presidency of Michelle Bachelet), the level of violence associated with the so-called 'Mapuche Conflict' has been high.

In order to explain the conflictive, disjunctive, relation between the Mapuche and the CONADI it is important to stress the disconnection between the specific nature of the land restitution procedures on the one hand, and on the other, the substance of the Mapuche claims that, as argued, go beyond mere land restitution. As mentioned above, the Mapuche struggle for belonging within the *Wallmapu*, which they define as their own historical situation, while the Chilean State attempts to include them in the 'state of the situation'. In this way the disjunction

[43] The 'community' is officially used since the establishment of CONADI. Historically, they were called *reducciones* ('reserves'). The term is criticized by the Mapuche for stressing a communitarian condition as something given, without addressing that they are the result of processes of land-grabbing. The concept of 'community', thus, must be understood as part of a multicultural shift of the State targeting the Mapuche (see Chapters 3 and 4). Some of these communities are 'new' (grouping families/persons without consanguinity), other representing actual *lov*, and a high number are the result of the division of pre-existent reductions/communities.

between the first count and the second count becomes manifest (see de Vries, 2016). Therefore, as the process advances, the risk of potential tensions, ruptures, and open conflicts increases.

The Mapuche groups proceed through two main forms for land recuperation: 1) the strategic use of the conjuncture and resources provided by CONADI (only available for formal communities); 2) the stage of illegal land occupations coupled with a radicalization of the political proposal as external and opposed to the State. These procedures are not necessarily separated, on the contrary, the legal communities frequently combine both strategies.

Firstly, the procedure for the applying communities consists of collecting a set of historical/legal documents in addition to current technical and qualitative data aiming to prove that the claimed land belongs to them. Within that process, the Mapuche need to demonstrate their own cultural belonging in relation to the land through the existence of traditional authorities, the performance of ceremonies on it, the use of the language, etc. Paradoxically, it would be possible to say that the State is impelling the communities to (re)confirm their belonging to the *Wallmapu* as a requirement to return them the land. However, the State view of this belonging is rather a version based on its own system of national inclusion, subordinated to the official knowledge (legal documents and external experts for its validation), without addressing the proposals of political autonomy that are inherent to the 'Mapuche truth'. Namely, the State configures through CONADI's mechanism a depoliticized idea of the Mapuche cultural complex to be included within the 'state of the situation'. These requirements exclude a high number of people/groups that belong to the *Wallmapu* (but who lack official evidence to validate it), which, we argue, is in contraposition to the Mapuche declaration that belonging cannot be validated through a counting procedure (of the State); on the contrary it can only be asserted through fidelity to an 'event' that sets in motion the procedure 'event-truth-subject'.

In addition, as noted by Bauer (2015), the procedure of CONADI is conditioned by the logic of the land market. This author shows how, from the beginning, CONADI has never clearly defined a concept of (Mapuche) land, in accordance with the historical, social, cultural, and political dimensions that the indigenous beneficiaries associate to it. Indeed, the Mapuche mainly use the political concept of 'territory', instead of 'land' which stresses its condition as a resource. Thus, CONADI prioritizes the price of the land for taking purchase decisions and the economic/productive potentialities of it (under the logic of development) over the inherent links of the Mapuche Being with a specific *mapu*.

Furthermore, from the Mapuche perspective, the State procedure has the following shortcomings: c) frequently, CONADI restores only a fraction of the claimed land, or gives land in other territories, sometimes very far away from the former communitarian land, provoking the displacement and division of the groups; b) repeatedly, CONADI has given land claimed by one community to another community, causing potential conflicts between the groups.

For all these reasons, a significant percentage of the Mapuche legal communities decide to accelerate and/or ensure the land restitution process by occupying the territories illegally. Other groups decide to remain unregistered and proceed to the occupations completely from the margins. Generally, these occupations are executed in a peaceful way. Ceremonies and other cultural-political protocols are performed to declare that the land has returned to its origins. After these acts, the communities have different options to proceed. They can initiate a negotiation with CONADI and the private landowners; radicalize the movement, performing alternative ways of land control at the margins of the State; or abort the process because of different causes (internal contestations, the eviction by the police, fatigue, etc.).

Next, we empirically show how the articulations, tensions, and ruptures operate between both spheres, through the exposition of our cases. It is to note, in both cases, how the struggles for land generates what we call the disjunctive connection between the litigating spheres, rather than a relation of negotiation/accommodation; namely, we argue, they are framed in a process of emancipation.

5. The Ranquilco case: from the uprising of the truth, to its landing on the arena of land restitution

During the summer of 2016, Ranquilco, a rural area on the coast of Arauco Province was witness of the radicalization of a conflict between the Mapuche community of Chodko and Arauco Forestry, one of Chile's biggest agroforestry companies. A group of Mapuche headed by their female leaders had occupied the dirt road that the community shares with Arauco. Their goal: to achieve a complete stop of agroforestry operations. The reasons: over the last months the company had intensified the extraction of pines and eucalyptus, destroying the road with their trucks, producing also dust and acoustic pollution. Moreover, Arauco was being accused of planting pines in prohibited areas, and of the extinction of native flora due to the

application of an agrochemical substance. The levels of water were also significantly decreasing. 'Do you know, one eucalyptus drinks 200 litres of water per day? In the past, there was a lot of water here including a lagoon. Now, the municipality needs to bring water with cistern trucks to us' – commented an angry commoner. After a long time of ineffective claims, the Chodko community decided to make a step forward, towards the recuperation of the whole territory from the hands of Arauco (about 360 hectares).

The community of Chodko is composed of three extended families (Machacan, Huenchuman, and Aniñir) who inhabited Ranquilco from the beginning of the 20th Century under informal circumstances (they did not receive the legal declaration as a 'land indigenous-reduction' after Pacification of Araucanía). During the first decades, the Mapuche lived under harsh economic conditions, many of them with less than one hectare of land to maintain numerous nuclear families. Big landowners, in contrast, were profiting of thousands of hectares for the cattle raising and the forestry business. Under that situation, one of the most important indigenous uprisings in the Chilean 1960s took place, when hundreds of Mapuche (from a large area of which Ranquilco is part) occupied a large territory of a landowner in Isla Pangal. This uprising accelerated the process of Agrarian Reform in that area (Godoy Carilao, 2018), in this particular case specifically aimed at improving the indigenous quality of life. In Ranquilco two farms were expropriated, and the land was divided into two principal areas: one for the Mapuche families, the other for the State forestry company (CORA) to intensify the small industry in the zone.

The Counter Agrarian Reform imposed by the dictatorship respected the land tenancy of the Mapuche. However, in 1982, the State sold the whole plantation area to Arauco Forestry for a very low price. The commoners remember this as a turning point in their relationship with the agroforestry industry, because Arauco closed the perimeter and some paths that the Mapuche historically used as access to forest and marine resources (the plantations are in between the community and the beach) as well as to sacred places. Furthermore, the private company contracted foreign workers, to the detriment of the Mapuche men who previously worked in the State fields. The advent of the centre-left democrats in the 1990s, with their multiculturalist discourse and indigenous development programmes, did not stop the uncontrolled Arauco operations – on the contrary, they were even intensified.

5.1. Confronting the 'state of the situation' today

Nowadays, the Chodko community proposes a drastic shift in the local situation, demanding that the agroforestry fields be administered by the Mapuche communities. The main goal is to recuperate the native species, the sacred places, and the social Mapuche dynamics related to them; namely, to bring on the *Wallmapu* back. This demand was preceded by a series of clashes with the 'state of the situation': Arauco and Chilean institutions procedures. In 2013, the community had to occupy the dirt road twice before having a meeting with Arauco. However, the company did not send someone of the Board as requested by the Mapuche, but just two functionaries: as some Mapuche commoners recall one of them was, 'an arrogant lady that treated us as idiots, making threats, and being insolent with our people (…) and a psychologist! As if we were crazy, a psychologist to convince us to stop our mobilizations!'. Overall, rather than building bridges of understanding, the meetings polarized both positions even more.

In March 2015, the Provincial Governor started to mediate between the community and the agroforestry company. As a result, Arauco compromised to mitigate its ecological impact. The promises however, were never fulfilled and the company continued its extractive work with the consent of the Provincial Government, which even established a police guard in the area ready so as to stop possible Mapuche mobilizations. That situation was prolonged until 2016 when the community decided to cut off the road indefinitely and arrange an ultimatum meeting with the main regional Chilean authorities and Arauco. A few days before this crucial meeting, the commoners radicalized their position towards land recuperation, in what – following Badiou – can be characterized as a declaration of 'fidelity to the truth event' (the last one was the uprising in the 1960s). Given that the board of representatives of the Chodko community lacked experience of how to proceed with the struggle for territory it asked the support of another Mapuche group in a nearby area that had wide experience in such processes. Their role was as advisors for the board before the meeting, and during it as participants confronting the antagonist authorities: The Manager of Participation Processes of Arauco Forestry, the Provincial Governor, the Regional Secretary of Housing and Urban Planning, and the Regional Manager of Cultural Affairs of CONADI. We describe what happened that evening of February in the Communitarian Centre of Ranquilco:

> 'The Arauco operator and the governmental functionaries arrived together in the same vehicle. Their expression of self-confidence radically changed when they saw the local commoners chatting with a group of external Mapuche well-known for supporting land recuperation processes.

> The meeting starts with a series of technical explanations about the road. The Secretary of Urban Planning asserts that the road is public (not belonging to the community, as the Mapuche claimed), and thus, Arauco has the right to use it. Arauco denies the community's demand to pave that road due to a lack of budget. It is a sterile conversation, with some commoners remembering bad experiences with the agroforestry once and again, while the manager of Arauco is taking notes and making ambiguous promises. But then the Mapuche plan starts: the board of the community declares the beginning of a land recuperation process. The attempts of Arauco and the State authorities to return the discussion into the technical issue of the road are blocked by the Mapuche 'assessors', who irrefutably introduce their reasons for recovering the *Wallmapu*. Once the need of land recuperation is totally established, the operator of Arauco offers a letter of compromise for a possible sale of their land to CONADI, insofar the community wants to open a land restitution process with the government. The national authorities are agreeable to the idea, as well the Mapuche' (field notes, 2016).

It must be remarked that in the past decades the sale of land from the agroforestry to CONADI has opened an attractive market for the companies. The uncertainty of the prices of wood products, tree diseases, the Mapuche sabotage of the industry, the elevated prices that CONADI pays, are variables that sometimes make the sale of the property the most profitable option. However, returning to our point: what concretely signified the insertion of the community in this land restitution process? In concrete, the State bureaucracy will evaluate the cultural pertinence of the Chodko community as owners of the land. Thus, does this not signify a threat for the Mapuche 'truth' as an irrefurtable declaration?

5.2. Writing the application for the Chodko land restitution process

The lengthy process of restitution has started, and the first task for the Mapuche is to organize a series of communitarian meetings to define a) the main Mapuche places (socio-cultural, religious, with economic relevance, etc.) under the control of Arauco, or impacted by it; b) the local knowledge linked with these sites; c) the collection of legal documents that can support the territorial demand.

Chodko is a community without traditional authorities, with a lack of Mapuche ceremonial performances, and during the last decades with a decreasing interest of its members in indigenous issues. Thus, it is difficult to show what CONADI wants to see. But at the same time, the application opens the possibility of a re-activation of the Mapuche cultural complex, starting with the definition of the relevance of the sacred places, the authorities, the ceremonial objects, etc. The communitarian work-sessions, in this regard, is an instance to rethink their

future beyond the mere productive/economic needs associated with land annexation. It is a moment to (re)confirm their 'political truth' and to make concrete plans around it. For instance, the new access to the beach will not only enable the collection of seafood, but also the recovery of the archaeological remains of their ancestors, and to revisit a place where their grandparents performed the *ngillatun* (principal Mapuche ceremony). The reforestation with native trees aims to recover the *lawen* (natural medicine) that a potential future *machi* ('shaman') will need. The *machi* will be necessary also for performing *ngillatun*. As a commoner reflected:

> 'I have been lucky to participate in *ngillatun* where rain was requested. And I've seen, it rained. (...) Then, it is important that all those forces that have turned around are here today. We are here for something. Maybe there is no *machi* today. But the *machi* will return, when the people are ready' (Chodko workshop, 2016).

In the same order, the returning of other traditional authorities is a primordial task that the commoners highlight. They will perform ceremonies, in conjunction with the ancestral places recuperated from the agroforestry plantations:

> 'There was also a *ngillatuwe* (place for *ngillatun*) in the forestry land. The original one. He (her grandfather present at the meeting) was a *kuriche* (guard of the ceremony). There were three *ngillatun* a year. The Ranquilco`s *ngillatun* were multitudinous ceremonies, famous throughout the area' (young female leader, Chodko workshop, 2016).

Moreover, at the political level, the idea in Chodko was aiming for a turn towards Mapuche structures:

> 'We will do it that way (with traditional authorities). Because, in part, we are doing it as the *winka* (Chilean people). Because we rely on things that CONADI imposes on us. For example, the community is made up of a president, a board of directors. Those things were different before' (Commoner, Chodko workshop, 2016).

Summarizing, this case shows us how the tensed situation between the Mapuche community and the forestry in alliance with the Chilean State that lasted for more than 50 years was redefined in one meeting, as an articulation for land restitution. However, we stress that instead of signifying an integration of Chodko within the 'state of the situation', the application for land opened a door for the (re)organization of the community according to their 'political truth'. That means, a connection from the local to a shared universal idea of land control – today opposed to neoliberal territorialization – in a process of subjectivation/collectivization.

However, this is the starting point of a protracted process that will include interventions on the communitarian plans: programmes of indigenous development and other measures developed under a neoliberal logic. At the moment of writing (June 2018), the procedure of the Chodko community is frozen due to the lack of one document certifying that the land was an 'indigenous-reduction' (*Título de Merced*), which should have been issued by the Chilean State more than one century ago (as noted, that condition was never regularized).

6. Land-occupation in Huentelolén: the 'part of no-part' interrupts the 'state of the situation'

In October 2015, the court of Cañete city was the centre of the tensions related to the Chilean-Mapuche conflict. Two well-known Mapuche in the area, Cayupi (the *werken* or spokesman of his Mapuche group in Huentelolén, who assumed this role also during the trial) and Wenuche (a man with a vast experience in land recuperation issues) were being accused of stealing wood from an occupied agroforestry land. Even though the defence was negating the criminal fact in terms of the judicial logic, the confrontation went far beyond. It was a clash of perspectives of land control and territory: one based on the 'Mapuche truth', emphasizing that the accusation was trying to punish a legitimate process of land reconfiguration; the other, on the 'state of the situation', rationalizing the fact as two criminals stealing wood on private land.

The Mapuche were confronting demands from three flanks: The Public Ministry (public prosecutor), the Mininco Forestry company (the 'owner' of the wood), and the Provincial Government. The role of the first two was not a surprise, but the annexation of the Government revealed the total support of the Chilean State to the private forestry interests, even when the evidence against the Mapuche was weak. In the tribunes, numerous Mapuche were constantly supporting their *pu peñi* (brothers/comrades). The last day of allegations, the audience was especially excited when Cayupi, in a heartfelt last declaration, exclaimed sentences such as:

> 'The history says that we, the Mapuche, are warriors. Then, if they condemn me, tomorrow, when I leave this place, proudly, I will occupy that land again (…) and if in another occasion they don´t take the decision of arresting me, but if they shoot me as they did it with several people, I will be there: with my hands up, my chest in front, waiting for the bullets. Because, *pu peñi, pu lamgen* (brothers, sisters), we cannot be afraid. All our generations are depending on us. We have to be brave'.

Having rejected offers from the prosecutor to recognize the crime and be condemned without going to jail, Cayupi remarked that their role as a Mapuche, this time, was to confront the entire legal procedure. Only by taking that option, he explained, they could officially present the desperate socio-political situation of the Mapuche. Moreover, they could proclaim in the face of the Chilean authorities that, beyond declaring innocence or guilt, Chilean courts were not authorized to judge them. From a Badiouan perspective, Cayupi expressed his 'fidelity to the event' even when risking years in prison.

6.1. The land recuperation case

The people of Huentelolen[44] (represented by Cayupi) performed the first actions for reclaiming land from the hands of Mininco in November 2013. The land to be recovered was about 126 hectares, distributed around a mountain area close to the Lanalhue lake and the Pacific Ocean. The Mapuche group proceeded as usual in these cases: entering the land and ordering the abandonment of the place to the forestry operators. All the workers and the machinery were removed in a matter of days, but this was the starting point of a violent story between the Mapuche who remained on the occupied territory and the special forces of the police. The latter attacked the Mapuche in several evictions attempts. As a result, three Mapuche got injured by 9 mm police bullets, and several others by scatterguns.

The occupiers' main reasons were on the one hand, that according to their old wise people this originally Mapuche territory was usurped by the Chilean State during the Araucanía´s Pacification and other subsequent processes of land grabbing. On the other hand, there was not sufficient agricultural land in Huentelolén for the inhabitants to survive the coming years. Therefore, they designed a preliminary plan for controlling the recuperated territory among 100 families in the beginning (they were open to receive more). The project consisted of reconfiguring areas for returning to an extensive agriculture, and others for the reforestation of native trees. Once achieved, according to them, the natural levels of water, flora, and fauna would be recovered (this area shows an elevated level of erosion after decades under pine/eucalyptus plantations). However, as a first step, the plantation must be eliminated. Hence, the Huentelolén people internally agreed is that all the families/groups/persons involved in the

[44] In Huentelolén live families which are included in the State´s count as communities. But, also, groups which are rejected by this count, and others that have refused it – 'the no-part'. They have driven the land recuperation that we describe, with the support of some people inserted in the first category.

recuperation had the right to cut trees and later could do with them what they deemed convenient: firewood, wood for construction, for sale, etc.

Many of the Huentelolean people are outsiders of the State land restitution count. In words of Cayupi during the trial: 'Being a Mapuche, I´m not a member of any community. Many people working (in the land recuperation) don't have a community, because we say: do we need a document to confirm that I´m Mapuche? For us, we don´t'. This declaration – an example of loyalty to the Mapuche sense of belonging – especially irritated the public prosecutor, who thought that he had a good point to demonstrate the illegality of this handful of renegades occupying land. But Cayupi rapidly clarified the existence of a social structure among his group: the Mapuche, headed by a *lonko* (traditional chief). In his plea he argued that that the performance of land recuperation has a practical and democratic reason: for it is their duty to integrate all the people interested irrespective of the regulations determined by the official land restitution programme.

He concluded that all Mapuche were entitled to land, including the categories outside the 'state of the situation': the ones whose belonging is put in doubt by the State, and the ones who belong and reject the inclusion. He declared that even landless Chilean peasants, neighbours of the Mapuche who historically have confronted the same injustices inflicted by capitalist land grabbing, can become part of this new configuration. In Badiouan terms, that was the 'no-part' of the Chilean metastructure claiming its own universality. Indeed, For Cayupi and the other Mapuche present in the court of Cañete that morning, the goal was to demonstrate the Mapuche thesis of society, to the perplexity of the accusing lawyers.

6.2. The 'criminal' case. A declaration of principles and a sentence

It was on an afternoon of January 2015 when Cayupi and Wenuche were arrested. They were at the land occupation, meeting some people to organize a Mapuche ceremony. Around 100 meters far away from them, a group of Mapuche was loading a truck with wood – part of the 'free' extraction system that we described. Suddenly, two armoured police cars appeared. All the people rapidly fled, disappearing in the forests and mountain gorges. But Cayupi and Wenuche had a moment of reflection: 'Why do we have to flee? This is Mapuche territory, we are not criminals. Moreover, maybe they are going to shoot us in the back'. In a matter of seconds, they decided to stay and confront the 'state of the situation' in a Chilean court.

The Mapuche subjective declaration was clear from the first day during the trial. Cayupi spoke in the name of the whole group when he said:

> 'Today, we have decided as Mapuche, to recuperate our land. To recuperate our culture, our language, our religion, our laws, our norms that we always have had as a people (…) The Chilean State through the Pacification of Araucanía has submitted our people and has coerced us to be dependent on them. Today, we are standing up to say not anymore. It is not just about a piece of land (…) If you ask me: are you dangerous for the society? I say yes. We are dangerous for the corporations of agroforestry companies[45]. For who more are we dangerous? Who are we hurting?'

The day of the sentence, the court was full of Mapuche coming from different corners of the *Wallmapu*. When the judge declared the liberation of Cayupi and Wenuche, the war screams of the *pu peñi* were heard across the whole Cañete city: *Marrichiweuuuuuu*!!! (we will win, ten times).

7. Conclusion

As shown in our last case, nowadays the 'Mapuche political truth' is the force driving the processes of land recuperation of communities at the margins of the State. Once and again diverse organizations raise their voices in a collective and irrefutable declaration: the *taiñ mapuchegen mew* (the Mapuche people – the Mapuche nation). Yet the Mapuche is a highly heterogeneous category, just as their political strategies to achieve their demands are diverse the 'truth' conforms to a process of Mapuche subjectivation: it collectivizes the people along the *Wallmapu*. This was empirically illustrated by focusing on the performance of the land recuperation according to the shared norms of the *azmapu*, which ultimately is the only way to become a human being: the *Che*. Further, the *Che* is a universal category, insofar the person follows the Mapuche normative system (the *azampu*), which is today grounded in emancipatory principles.

The mass participation of the Mapuche as beneficiaries of the CONADI land restitution programme as well in other governmental instances seems at first contradictory to this declaration. Indeed, the State, by means of a second count, includes the Mapuche groups within the social as a homogenous category, as One, which leads to an 'excess of inclusion over

[45] In Spanish the term 'society' is also used for economic links or groups such as corporations. Then, the word-game was in between both societies: the social Chilean sphere and the economic groups.

belonging'. That means, the exclusion of elements that cannot be included lest the official category become inconsistent. However, when the Mapuche insist that the elements subtracted by that count, the 'part of no-part', belong to the *Wallmapu* as much as any other Mapuche, the inconsistency of the 'state of the situation' becomes evident. Cayupi emphasized this during the trial when he stressed that his group does not need a community registration to be Mapuche and that the territory belongs to all of them, not only to the ones inserted in that count. Furthermore, his declaration represents the universality of their 'truth', remarking that even landless Chilean people are welcome to live in the *Wallmapu* (a declaration that is empirically confirmed in Heuntelolen). This is how 'the no-part', a subject that in the eyes of the State does not exist, speaks up and declares that it is part of the community, that it belongs. Moreover, even when the Mapuche subject takes part of the CONADI programme – as we described in the Ranquilco case – we must focus on how those groups can appropriate/use those mechanisms without compromising their own 'truth' and, more importantly, as part of their own subjectivation process.

In this regard, following a Badiouan analysis, it is possible to see the tensions, ruptures, and conflicts caused by this excess of inclusion over belonging. It is the operation of a disjunctive synthesis (inclusion – belonging); a synthesis that rather than connecting separates (de Vries, 2016), whereby the will of the Mapuche to fulfil their own sense of belonging stands opposite to the attempts of the State to include them in a bureaucratic order. Yet the communities participate in the governmental instances while there is no synthetic dialectics operating that could result in peaceful negotiation/accommodation under the terms of the State. On the contrary, what the empirical data shows is that the practical issues of land restitution (e.g. the land application process), as well the tensions and ruptures created with the Chilean operators in this arena, are strengthening the collective Mapuche organizations regarding their 'fidelity to the event'. In other words, we insist on viewing the articulation/rupture with CONADI not as something that detracts from the Mapuche emancipatory potentialities, but as part of an emancipatory strategy.

Furthermore, we note that this emancipation process is grounded in the specificities of a current subject living in a concrete given situation, but also, genealogically, in a history of 'events' shaping the Mapuche-Being. This conception is relevant since the Mapuche demands have been trivialized as a form of particularistic ethno-nationalism aimed at reconstituting a lost 'Mapuche nation', a kind of fundamentalist movement that negates the achievements of

modern citizenship; or as coming from a 'traditional' subject that cannot understand those achievements.

In our view, there is no pre-given subject or indigenous essence which can explain the difficulties of the Mapuche of being integrated. Neither a teleological version of the official history can define the Mapuche existence as part of the Chilean society, as framed within its changes and processes. The last Mapuche 'event' arises disrupting the spurious universality of late-capitalism, and a subject is constituted by proposing something truly new, a new understanding of how to live in this world (the 'Mapuche political truth'). This is what Badiou (2016) calls an affirmative dialectics. Thus, the disjunctive connection (Mapuche – State) did not originate with a negation. The Mapuche subject and its 'truth' are not shaped in contraposition to capitalism but in a relation of fidelity with their own 'events', from colonial times onwards. The contradictions and negations, the internal contestation, the harsh opposition to the neoliberal logic of land exploitation and the violent conflict with the State came after the affirmation of a new possibility outside the 'state of the situation'.

From this logic, it is important to stress that, in this chapter and in the rest of the dissertation, we propose the term of 'rupture' (or 'disjunction') instead of 'resistance'. The latter concept refers to a process of contestation from within (hence, the existence of a negative dialectic), aiming to change elements of the (meta)structure of the State, thus, showing levels of belonging or integration in those structures. Rather, the notion of rupture indicates a process of disjunction instead of articulation, a situation of radical dissent, what is our reading of what is happening in the land restitution platforms of the State (as well in other instances that will be detailed in the next chapters).

This newly-opened possibility – the *taiñ mapuchegen mew* as an affirmative dialectic – has infinite consequences, insofar the Mapuche subject today and in the future will be organized around it by belonging (rather than inclusion), aiming to the creation of a new 'state of the situation' in the *Walllmapu*.

Chapter 2: The Mapuche cultural complex and land recuperation in Chile. A reconfiguration of spaces and places from the margins of a ruptured world[46]

1. Introduction

During a dawn in the summer of 2016, a group of Mapuche is ready to enter an agroforestry plantation. These are crucial minutes, where the arrival of the police before taking positions within the place would abort the land occupation act. A commoner raises an axe with his gaze fixed on the padlock of the main gate when another Mapuche exclaims: 'Wait! We must make our prayer before entering!' Rapidly, all the people form a kneeling line, looking to the rising sun behind the Andes Mountains. A leader recites words for the divinities, entrusting this act to them, and declaring the beginning of a sequence of protocols that will liberate that land from industrial exploitation. After some minutes of deep concentration on the ceremony, the same man who stopped him before says to the one with the axe: 'Ok, let's do it!'[47]

This brief description ethnographically introduces the topic of this chapter: the Mapuche cultural complex (hereafter: MCC) and its roles in the current land recuperation struggles in Southern Chile. This chapter must be read as a continuation and complement of Chapter 1, since it shows how the 'Mapuche political truth' is operationalized trough a normative system and the MCC.

As said in the previous chapter, during the last decades the Mapuche have radicalised their claims aiming for the recuperation of the whole ancestral territory, the *Wallmapu*. Currently – challenging the State policies of partial land restitution[48] – Mapuche groups[49] are carrying out illegal land occupations to fulfill their demands. This process is organised according to the MCC, which means that Mapuche recuperation campaigns and other related acts are performed

[46] This chapter was written in co-autorship with my supervisor Dr.ir Pieter de Vries and submitted as an article to the Journal of Latin American Studies in August 2018.
[47] The empirical descriptions in this text are based on ethnographic fieldwork in Arauco Province, Chile, from 2015 to 2017.
[48] This land restitution programme is driven by the Corporación Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena (National Corporation for Indigenous Development, CONADI) since 1994.
[49] The Mapuche are a highly heterogeneous category. In this chapter, we focus specifically on groups that are performing land recuperation in the terms that we describe, and consequently, are part of the violent political conflict in Southern Chile.

through their own language (*mapuzungun*), authorities, ceremonies, social protocols and the use of a series of sacred and non-sacred objects.

In words of the Mapuche, the MCC is the representation of their normative system, the *azmapu,* which has been shaped from ancestral times. The *azmapu* defines a series of premises and rules for living in the territory according to a balance between the Mapuche-being, social relations, the environment, and spirituality.

In this chapter, we focus on the *azmapu* in its socio-political relevance linked with the current movement for land recuperation. Consequently, we resort to a socio-political analysis of the MCC[50], understood as an aesthetic proposal aimed at the materialization of the *azmapu* within a nation state system totally inimical to it. In particular, the MCC has the role of creating places, platforms and instances to deploy the Mapuche order of things. Focusing on this feature, we ask: how is the *azmapu*/MCC positioned in relation to the Chilean hegemonic project of nation state formation? And, more specifically, how does the MCC operate within the current conflict for territory in Chile?

Firstly, it is important to note that the MCC has been performed in a socio-politically subordinated condition since over 150 years ago when the Chilean army proceeded to occupy the Mapuche territory (the *Wallmapu*) during the Pacification of Araucanía campaign[51]. Since then, the *azmapu* – a universal normative proposal for inhabiting the *Wallmapu* – has had a marginal position in relation to the Chilean order of things. The latter consists, broadly of (a) on the political level, a representative liberal democratic system, where the Mapuche political movements have no representation; and (b) on the economic level, of the deployment of extractive economic activities, especially agroforestry, today under a neoliberal logic. This order has been consolidated in opposition to the premises of the *azmapu*, which features its own political system (authorities and protocol) and defends an environmental balance that is incongruous with the industrial processes stimulated by the Chilean State. Such confrontation of contradictory ideas has provoked tensions and violent situations during the last decades,

[50] We do not define the MCC/*azmapu* in its spiritual-religious relevance. We just introduce the *azmapu* as a normative system, and then analyse relevant elements of the MCC performances related with land recuperation issues.

[51] Starting in 1860, Chilean troops, landowners and settlers occupied the territory south of the Biobio River. Since 1641, that river functioned as an official frontier of the Mapuche with the Spanish Crown, and later the Chilean Republic, as a valid agreement of two sovereign nations. After 20 years of violent occupation, the 'Pacification' reduced the Mapuche land to a 6% of the original territory of around 10 million hectares (Aylwin, 2002: 4; Boccara & Seguel-Boccara, 1999).

particularly when the Chilean authorities react in harsh repressive ways, criminalizing the Mapuche political proposals and performances as insurgencies.

From this disadvantaged position, a broad part of the Mapuche have remained loyal to their existential and political claims based on their ancestral system, performing the MCC as a way for creating platforms and instances to express their subjectivity. Today, time and again the Mapuche present their socio-political proposals, amongst others, during land occupations, public demonstrations, hunger strikes in prison, at commoners' trials and at official meetings with State institutions. Thus, the cultural complex transcends the Mapuche communitarian and sacred places, to be installed also in other public places where the political conflict takes place, thus shaping relations with both the Chilean State and private actors. At the same time, the MCC marks a difference between the Mapuche claims and that of other social movements in the national arena. That difference is explained, from our view, by the radical characteristics of the *azmapu* in opposition to the dominant order. Indeed, what the Mapuche demand today effectively undermines the essence of the governmental land restitution programme, which is coupled with indigenous development programmes and aims at integrating the Mapuche within the Chilean nation. Going far beyond than such reformist strategies, we argue that the Mapuche are creating truly new political spaces and instances that are integral to a process of emancipation.

Following philosopher Jacques Rancière (2006; 2011; 2012), we define the Mapuche as a segment of the population that has been socio-politically marginalised from the Chilean hierarchic order of things, categorised as an indigenous minority to be integrated under its norms, or excluded when manifesting disagreement. From this perspective, the MCC is performed as a set of actions to express political dissent, a political aesthetics that challenges the dominant order aiming to socio-spatially reconfigure spaces and relations.

In this regard, we have defined two dimensions of the ongoing reconfiguration set forth by Mapuche groups: (a) at the strategic level, creating new points of access to resources, and shifting practices, roles and organizational forms, to secure specific recuperated territories in a process of land control reconfiguration; and (b) at a performative level, using public spaces and instances provided by the State to make their political demands visible. Both dimensions, we argue later, comprise a political aesthetics that combines the strategic and performative aspects of the Mapuche struggle.

In order to stress the political perspective of our theoretical framework, we contrast it with the emerging body of literature drawing on the so-called ontological turn. This perspective, which we introduce following the works of Blaser (2013; 2014) and De La Cadena (2010), understands the relation of indigenous groups with the hegemonic western order as a clash between radical different worlds, or 'ontologies'. We discuss the application of this appraoch in Latin American cultural complexes and specifically in the case of Mapuche land recuperation in the work of Di Giminiani (2013). The latter proposes that there is an incommensurable 'ontological' difference between the Chilean State agents (carriers of a Western modern ontology) operationalizing territorialization policies, and that of the Mapuche, where the *azmapu* contains codes belonging to another universe. The ethical imperative according to this perspective is that of striving for a cohabitation between different radical worlds within a pluriverse consisting of different ontological worlds.

Opposing this perspective, we propose to approach the MCC as a set of practices aiming for radical change within *one* disjointed world; not merely for the conviviality or coexistence of different ontological universes, but as a protracted existential struggle – as a people, and a political community – against a highly repressive national order. In other words, our argument is that the very survival of the Mapuche as a people is co-existential with the struggle to manifest themselves as a political subject. In this process, we argue, the Mapuche groups are engaged in a struggle for creating a potential 'common' world; a world in which groups that hitherto have had no place – Rancière's 'no-part' – play a key role in the construction of a common that restructures the current order of things (Hardt and Negri, 2004). A further critical point we set out to advance is that this political struggle is waged within the register of an aesthetics that disrupts the common sense of the national order, hence a political aesthetics.

In the next sections, we firstly define the concept of *azmapu* and other relevant elements that characterise the MCC. Then, we analyse qualitative data about current cases, explaining and applying the ideas of politics by Rancière. The focus is on the operationalization of the MCC as a political aesthetic, grounded in the two dimensions of reconfiguration that we highlighted above. Finishing with a theoretical discussion, our proposal about the MCC is contrasted with the political ontology perspective. We conclude that the MCC has a key role within a process of indigenous emancipation, reconfiguring a disrupted world towards the crystallization of the Mapuche universal proposal of society.

2. The *azmapu*, or the Mapuche order of things

First, we must define the normative system that drives the MCC performances analysed in this chapter. The *azmapu* is a broad Mapuche concept, concerning the very organizing principles of their 'being in common'. It involves 'social, spiritual, economic, and political issues, as the result of a reciprocity relation generated between the population and the specific territorial space in which they inhabit' (Marimán, Caniuqueo, Millalén & Levil, 2006: 273). In order to explain this, we stress two main interrelated levels of the *azmapu*: 1) The *azmapu* as a normative system for inhabiting this world, which runs in opposition to the Chilean State order and 2), the *azmapu* in its intrinsic link to a specific territory (the *mapu*), constituting today the Mapuche subject around processes of land recuperation.

Regarding the first dimension, the Mapuche proposal is a complex set of norms, protocols and measures which regulate the distribution of the elements in the *mapu*, or 'the material and immaterial space where the different dimensions of Mapuche life are manifested' (Ibid.: 275). Therefore, the *azmapu* regulates the human relations, roles and interactions with the environment; but it also constitutes a balance with the immaterial forces and spirits that inhabits this world, as well as with the cosmos, the divinities and the ancestors that influence it from other levels (Melin et al., 2016). In short, it must secure the conditions for making this balanced distribution possible in concrete territories.

The *azmapu*, then, requires material conditions and specific people's roles, behaviours, and practices to be operationalised. On the one hand, this is about the creation of sacred-ceremonial fields, and consequently the performance of ceremonies as a link with the spiritual level, but also and very important, concerning socio-political issues as we describe later. On the other hand, this is fundamentally intertwined with the existence of native flora and fauna, which by themselves represents protective forces and spirits (the *Gen*), and/or are integral parts of the ecosystems which the *Gen* inhabit (such as wetlands, forests, hills/mountains, lagoons/lakes, waterfalls, etc.). Furthermore, some of these native elements are fundamental for distinctive practices related with all the *azmapu* dimensions: as a source of medicines for the practices of the Mapuche 'shaman' (the *machi*); as resources for small-scale trade by commoners (food, handcrafts, etc.); as social-political-spiritual symbolic objects themselves, or as the raw material (such as wood) to craft those objects; and as a resource for making practical objects for the daily life, which are also related with the spiritual/political/ceremonial dimension, such as the *metawe* (ceramic jars).

Concerning the second level of the *azmapu* in its link to a specific territory, we must note that every *mapu* – having particular spaces, elements, and people – entails a different *azmapu* (specific variations of norms). Nevertheless, at the same time, they share the same basic principles, constituted by the past and present extensive social-political-economic alliances that the Mapuche have, shaping a supra-territory integrated by the whole multiplicity of *mapu*: the *Wallmapu*[52]. Hence, the MCC presents differences depending on the *mapu*'s origin, but at the same time, it also represents and operationalises the *azmapu* as a balanced collective system, or as we argue next, 'a being in common' for all the Mapuche territory.

Adherence to the *azmapu* – distorted by the historical processes of indigenous land appropriation by external actors and the implementation of industrial extractive practices – is the only way to constitute the *Che* (human being) as a person beyond the mere biological human condition. Furthermore, the *Che* has a sense only at a collective level for people inhabiting a determined *mapu* (Melin et al., 2016: 19). Thus, this normative system aims at the recuperation of the balance of the *Wallmapu* (not only the incorporation of land for economic goals) to secure the reproduction of the Mapuche common. In other words, the land recuperation performed through the MCC is a condition for the constitution of the Mapuche being (the *Che*), or, as we will conceptualise it, the Mapuche subject.

When applied to the imposed process of land reduction, the *Che* is usually understood as concerning an official indigenous community[53]. Indeed, most of the Mapuche perform the land recuperation grouped as legal communities, registered by the State and eligible according to the oficial land restitution programme. However, we argue that the Mapuche idea of the 'common' goes beyond this territorial governmental categorization, which limits are in dispute with the dominant order. In this regard, we describe in the next sections how the Mapuche common disrupts and translocates established domains.

[52] The original land corresponding to current Chilean territory, starting from the Central Valley (northern limit) to the Chiloé Island in the south.
[53] Since the 1990s, the Chilean State established programmes of land restitution and rural development for the Mapuche. From there, the indigenous 'reserves' (called *reducciones*) started to be categorised as 'communities' by the State.

3. The MCC in a strategic dimension: the plantation becomes a *mapu*[54]

After the ceremonial prayers finished, the gates to the land – a plantation of around 100 hectares of pines and eucalyptuses – are open for the claiming community and their supporters. Most of the people wear Mapuche vestments[55] and carry different ceremonial objects such as the *wiño* (a stick)[56] and musical instruments, as well as practical elements for working on the land, cooking, etc. After entering the plantation with the vehicles, the occupation has begun. The first task cannot have delays, consisting of the creation of a sacred field, and subsequently, the organization of the first *ngillanmawün* (morning ceremony), perhaps after centuries, on this terrain.

Some of the most experienced *peñi* (comrade, 'brother') must decide where to install the field. It is necessary to plant a *foye* (sacred tree) and to create around it a wide clean area for Mapuche performances. The high density of the thousands of adult trees on the plantation makes this task challenging. But once the decision about the best location is made, the *peñi* in charge of the chainsaw does not hesitate, and in a matter of half an hour has skilfully cut dozens of eucalyptus trees. In coordination, a group of men stack the logged trees to finish the cleaning task fast. Meanwhile, a couple of bonfires are ready and the women have started to distribute *mate* (a herbal tea) and other warm drinks to the group. At the same they cook meals for what will be a long working day.

The *foye*, planted in combination with a wood structure and other branches of sacred trees, has established the *rewe* ('altar'). Now is time for the ceremony. The community driving this land recuperation has no experience in this process and does not have traditional authorities. Therefore, a *lonko* (traditional chief) has come from a nearby community to give political and spiritual support, for which driving the *ngillanmawün* ceremony is a crucial task. During the ceremony, he is tasked with speaking sentences in *mapuzungun* (Mapuche language) to the ancestors, the *Ñuke Mapu* ('Mother Earth'), *Nge Nge Chen* (God) and other divinities. In this case, the success of the ongoing occupation, the safety of the people involved, and more broadly, the return to the balance in the *Wallmapu* is requested. The whole group takes part in the ceremony, giving offers to the *Ñuke Mapu* such as *mote* (boiled wheat), *müday* (a fermented

[54] This description is the continuation of the one that opened the introduction of this chapter.
[55] The men wear their *makün̂* (poncho) and *trarilonko* (headbands), the women wear their *küpam* (shawls) and silver ornaments.
[56] Made by native wood of around 1-1,3 metres length. It is used to play a sacred game called *palin*, but also for the performance of other ceremonies and for self-defence. It is a political symbol of struggle and strength.

grain drink) and toasted flour, and making their own prayers. In the beginning and the end of the ceremony, a communitarian *purrun* (sacred dance) takes place around the *rewe* to the rhythm of the music played on the *kultrun* (sacred drum) and wind instruments such as *trutruka, ñolkin* and *pivilka*. The whole act has been a declaration of fidelity to the ancestors and the divinities, and has sealed the reincorporation of that land as Mapuche.

Some minutes after the ceremony, one of the watchers brings the expected news: the police have arrived. It is time for the men to take their *wiño* and form an escort for the community board[57], headed by a young woman who must officially declare the occupation to open a dialogue with the enforcers of order. The risk of a physical confrontation is high, in case the police tries to carry out an eviction. At the entrance of the terrain, an exalted administrator of the plantation and three policemen on motorcycles are waiting. Resolutely, the leader expresses the reasons of the occupation (the needs of her community, the irrefutable right of the Mapuche to that *mapu*, and the fruitless attempts to find legal solutions) and stresses that her people will not move from there. The policemen are calm, taking notes and saying that the responsible authorities will be informed. The administrator, however, is demanding the immediate end of the occupation, angrily asking the police to do something. 'If you want to go inside, do it alone and at your own risk', responds one of the policemen before leaving.

4. The Mapuche political aesthetics of land recuperation

Rancière´s theory of politics gives us analytical tools to address what we have empirically registered: the Mapuche land recuperation as a radical rupture with the dominant order, going beyond a mere struggle for land. In this regard, the role of the MCC is crucial for operationalizing the *azmapu* norms, which aims to change the very rules for inhabiting and using specific spaces in contraposition to the capitalist order of things. From this view, the ethnographic case shows how, in less than two hours, an agroforestry plantation, configured under a logic of resources exploitation, was reconfigured as a Mapuche comm(o)nitarian place.

However, to clarify the features and scope of that reconfiguration in relation to the dominant order we must note that its stability and extension in time is fragile and unpredictable. It is

[57] To be a legal community, the Mapuche must define a board consisting of a president, a secretary and a treasurer. Usually, these positions are filled by people who have an appropriate level of experience leading with the State bureaucracy. They thus create a parallel leadership to the traditional one, which is normally composed of older people experts in the *azmapu* system.

framed in a longer, complex struggle for territory and resources, in juxtaposition with capitalist interests supported by the State, which can intervene or counter-reconfigure those disputed places[58]. On the other hand, the Mapuche have shaped strong organizations around land recuperation norms regulated by the *azmapu*. They are a heterogeneous category integrated by groups deploying different relations in terms of articulations, tensions, and ruptures with the established order. That means, they are not an ontological category aligned around a different world or reality outside the Chilean/Western logic of land control, which would explain the reconfiguration in terms of the confirmation of a radical difference. We argue that they instead confront the capitalist establishment strategically reconfiguring spaces (we will return to this discussion below).

This said, in the following we will define the most relevant concepts of Rancière's theory regarding our analysis and will then schematise how the mechanism of reconfiguration operates in the plantation case.

In words of Rancière (2012: 11), the 'distribution of the sensible' is 'a set of relations between the perceptible, the thinkable and the doable that defines a common world, defining thereby the way in which and the extent to which this or that class of human beings takes part in that common world'. Thus, this distribution determines a state or an order of things within a society, concerning the use of spaces (including needed, allowed and prohibited practices on it, creating determined places), the designation of roles, time measures/control, and the forms of access to places and resources, in relation with established hierarchies. That order is defined, organised and protected by a series of institutions and norms of social control. It is a broad mechanism to manage 'the sensible', what Rancière calls 'the police'. Under this regime, the members of the society are governed according to 'socially aesthetic conditions', determined by 'the police' in terms of language, behavior, clothing, art, etc. (Rancière, 2006; 2011).

These definitions can be used also to categorise an indigenous normative system (and its cultural complex) such as the *azmapu*. Indeed, we argue that the Mapuche proposal in this respect is universal, containing also the defined structures for a radically different society

[58] For instance, after the occupation the communities can start a negotiation with the State to get the land legally by the land restitution programme, a process that normally is very long and with many obstacles. In those cases, the State provides development programmes to be implemented in the restituted land by promoting the intensification of the agrarian and forestry production, aiming ultimately at its insertion in the market economy.

which is grounded in principles that differ from the logic of a hegemonic political project such as the Chilean one, as we explain below.

In Rancièrian terms, we must note that the Chilean State has deployed a 'distribution of the sensible' based on a presupposition of inequality within the population, creating hierarchies to impose repressively and ideologically its socio-political and economic logics (2017). From there, it operates as a mechanism of inclusion/exclusion of the margins (the Mapuche are on the margins of the nation state) justified by the promise of a future equality (before the law and in economic terms). Further, 'the police' explains the existence of this marginality and the political claims of these groups categorizing them as segments of the population that cannot or do not want to understand the aesthetic partition of spaces and hierarchies. They remain – for 'the police' – outsiders of 'the sensible' ('the part of the no-part'), cataloged as performers of an undesirable aesthetics (just noise, tastelessness, dirtiness); basically, expressing just fury and/or discontent (2011: 74). They are not recognised as political beings, but rather as misfits that must be integrated through the mediation of the inoffensive elements of their aesthetics (susceptible to be commoditised), or totally excluded insofar as they can be a risk for the security of the society. However, under those conditions and after 150 years living under the Chilean State jurisprudence, the promise of equality for the Mapuche has never been fulfilled[59].

Against the presumption of inequality as a temporary state to be overcome, we argue, the Mapuche 'distribution of the sensible', regulated by the *azmapu* and performed through the MCC, is grounded in a performative equality ('We don´t need the Chilean hierarchies on us – our distribution is equally valid.'). Equality, thus, is a starting point rather than a goal to reach (Rancière, 2017). In concrete, the Mapuche propose a distribution based on the *azmapu* balance, independent from the one under the State and capitalist hierarchies.

Analysing the Chilean dominant order, a fundamental question emerges: upon what kind of political logic is such a hegemonic 'distribution of the sensible', that arbitrarily divides the society in desirable and undesirable people, grounded? To respond this question, we must explain how the current democratic system is related to capitalist interests, and how that system tends to depoliticise society. Rancière (2004) argues that current representative democracy (the

[59] Historically, the Mapuche have been part of the poorest segment in Chile. Although in Arauco Province the poverty rates of the total population declined from 50.4% in 1994 to 26.7% in 2009 (INE, 2011), the Mapuche remain in deficient conditions in comparison with the non-indigenous people. In the period of 2003 - 2010, for instance, the per capita income of the Mapuche was approximately the half of the average of the population; at the same time, the rates of extreme poverty of the Mapuche in 2010 were 5,9%, while for the rest of the population 3,7% (Pairicán Padilla, 2014: 346).

official political system in most of the world, including Chile) has reduced its functions through the creation of a broad consensus among political parties, experts, and distinct social spheres within 'the sensible', to a mere mechanism for managing the local consequences of global economic necessity. Thus, behind every democracy system, a State of oligarchic law is constituted ('the police' as a watcher of the elite's capitalist interests), supposedly ensuring popular sovereignty, individual freedom, and economic national solvency (Rancière, 2014: 73-74). In fact, a total consensus of left, centre, and right parties has developed around the priority of technical-economic issues as a primary democratic value. At the same time, this political alignment is 'presented as the pacification of conflicts that arose from ideologies of social struggle' (Ibid.), namely, as an illuminated final state of peaceful politics.

This techno-democratic logic implies the depoliticization of the society: the foreclosure of political antagonisms. It is the neutralization of 'the political', obviating the inherent antagonistic policy dimension existing in every society, where plural and diverse tensions exist due to different groups that seek to impose their interests (Mouffe, 2013: 2-3). According to Mouffe (1999; 2005), it is an attempt to give an (impossible) rational solution to conflictive situations by focusing on their supposedly irrational character (political passions being labeled as an illegitimate factor by liberal-democratic theory), instead of creating real political instances of debate where, rather than enemies, both sides could consider 'the other' just as a political adversary[60]. Indeed, once the real political instances are closed, the tensions are potentially expressed in radical-violent ways by the marginalised groups, and through forms of 'ultra-politics' by the State: a systematic criminalization and repression of forms of structural contestation of the dominant order (Swyngedouw, 2011).

Strategically, this depoliticization of the social field is also installed through new technologies of governance beyond the State, such as the development apparatus targeting inclusive participation of the civil society, empowering new actors aiming for technical solutions to deal with political issues (Swyngedouw, 2005). This process frames the people as a population that must be managed according to bio-political optimization and the market (Wilson & Swyngedouw, 2014). Thus, as Duffield (2007) puts it, there is a process of securitization of society driven by the State: on the one hand, in its role is as a technical provider of development and, on the other, as a repressor of troublesome groups, ensuring the security and freedom of its citizens.

[60] This soft version of antagonism is called 'agonism' by Chantal Mouffe (see Mouffe, 2005; 2013).

In sum, under this logic of governance, what is deemed to be outside the 'democratic' consensus – the 'no-part' – are exceptions that cannot contribute to consensual solutions. On the contrary, they are hindrances to reach them. Hence, the Mapuche are viewed as remnants of the past, as a part of the population that cannot be completely integrated into modern economic processes manifested in policies that will benefits the nation at a macro level, such as plantation agroforestry. Therefore, the challenge for the current Mapuche social movements is to find platforms and instances to manifest themselves politically, overcoming the (no) categorization by 'the police' as outsiders of every reasonable politics. And it is here where the Rancièrian conceptualization of politics is most relevant.

For Rancière, real politics must be focused on the borders of 'the sensible', 'instead of the classic focus on the struggles for power, and the exercise and purposes of that power' (2011: 73-74, own translation). For him, politics begins when the 'no-part' creates tensions and ruptures with 'the police', insofar as it stresses existing political antagonisms within society. Indeed, politics is manifested when disagreement emerges as a dispute over the rules itself, over 'the sensible' (what is aesthetically allowed?), in fact, disputing fundamental issues such as the localization of the limits of the common and the private, the visible and no-visible, etc. (Rancière, 2004: 5-6). The common, as Hardt and Negri (2004) note, is an inclusive category that groups the heterogeneous singularity of the multitude, the oppressed segments of the population – the 'no-part' – into subjectivities that exceed the hegemonic political control of the Rancièrian 'police'. The multitude, hence, creates common subjectivities as a form of biopolitical resistance, grounded on new social relations and livelihoods (Ibid.: 90-96).

From this perspective, the subjects on the margins – such as the Mapuche – far away from provoking just noise, are constitutive of political processes grounded on dissent, performing their own aesthetics regimes to make their claims visible. Here we must note the particular way in which the subject is theorised by Rancière. The subject is constituted through a process of subjectivation by dis-identification with 'the sensible' (Rancière, 2006; 2011), namely, a subject that openly refuses the roles assigned for them by 'the police': for instance, the Mapuche as emblematic of Chilean cultural diversity. That means, there is not a pre-existent subject outside its relationship with the dominant order that historically oppressed it (Van Puymbroeck & Oosterlynck, 2014: 95). In our case, the Mapuche subject has emerged claiming the existence of new roles for themselves, political rights, changes on the uses of space, and new limits for the common according to their own rules.

Based on this conceptual background, Table 1 shows the Mapuche reconfiguration of space through land occupation, stressing the main points that drive the shift towards the return to the *Wallmapu* performed through the MCC as a political aesthetics.

Table 1. The Mapuche Reconfiguration of an Agroforestry Plantation

Reconfigured item	**Place: Agroforestry plantation** (former distribution)	**Place: The *mapu*** (current distribution**)**
Use of the space	**Land as a commodity.** Intensive plantation of pines and eucalyptuses, mainly for export (primary products as chips, planks, etc.).	**Balanced Mapuche territory**. Divided in sacred fields, areas for reforestation of native flora, and living places in combination with agriculture/cattle rising aiming to self-subsistence and small-scale trade.
- Main Practices	- Wood extraction according to industrial processes.	- Ceremonies and protocols according to the *azmapu.* - Small-scale agrarian production.
- Condition/ownership of the terrain	- Private (Japanese multinational company).	- Communitarian, and individual (heads of family).
- Roles	- Woodworkers (loggers, machinery operators, truck drivers, among others).	- Mapuche authorities on ceremonial issues. - Community board for legal issues with the State. - Commoners as performers of the *azmapu*. - Commoners as smallholders/peasants.
- Forms of access to resources	- Private property arrangement: The multinational company is entitled to intensively use the land as a resource, producing/selling wood products.	- Common property arrangement: Mapuche families have access to communitarian areas for agriculture and cattle rising. - Individual arrangement: each family has established hectares for its own economic activities.

- Hierarchies	- Multinational company board. - Plantation administrator. - Workers' foremen.	- Mapuche authorities. - Community board. - Heads of family.

It is important to stress again that the creation of a new common space is the concretization/confirmation of the Mapuche subject on a collective level. As we noted when defining the *azmapu*, land recuperation today is a condition for the constitution of the Mapuche subject. That entails a radical fact that goes beyond the mere reconfiguration of the uses of space on a delimited terrain. It configures, we argue, the very relocation of the limits of the common in a direct disruption of the distribution of the Chilean sensible, thus contesting existing policies of territorialization and proposing as an alternative the Mapuche common as grounded in a politics of emancipation.

Above, we have analysed the MCC in relation to its strategic use for land recuperation and, more broadly, the constitution of a subject installing political disagreement in Southern Chile. Next, we will address the second dimension of the roles of the MCC, that we defined as the creation of platforms to manifest the political claims in public places. We will address the ceremonial complex and other protocols performed beyond the communitarian sacred fields and the land occupation itself.

5. The political aesthetics of public space: the protest on behalf of political prisoners

It is the autumn of 2016 in Arauco Province, and the Chilean-Mapuche conflict is flaring up again. Dozens of Mapuche commoners are in jail, being accused of different crimes linked with land recuperation struggles[61]. The legal procedures multiply within the area, and each one represents a challenge for the whole Mapuche movement. In some cases, they must demonstrate the non-participation of the commoners in the crimes; in others, the challenge is to establish that the legality framed by 'the police' is distorting legitimate acts of Mapuche land recuperation. In both cases, what the Mapuche argue is that the State tends to criminalise

[61] The legal processes against the Mapuche framed in the political conflict have been diverse. The most common accusations are: wood robbery (usually, wood taken from disputed land), illegal carrying of weapons, attacks on (private) property (mainly sabotage on the agroforestry, such as the burn of trucks), and attacks against the police or other authorities.

Mapuche disruptive performances that are key to their struggles for emancipation, turning a political dispute that should be discussed outside the courts into a problem of national security.

Although a high number of the accused commoners are finally absolved due to a lack of evidence[62], normally all of them must spend several months in jail awaiting the ministry investigation and the trial. Frequently, the Mapuche are also accused under anti-terrorist law, in which case they risk longer sentences, worse conditions in jail, and the forfeiting of rights for their legal defense. In these contexts, all the people involved (prisoners, their families and communities) must find spaces and instances to make visible their vulnerable situation both within the jail (e.g. hunger strikes) and outside of it (e.g. in trials, public demonstrations and the occupation of public buildings/spaces). In the next section we show how a protest summoned in Cañete city by the 'Support Network for the Mapuche Political Prisoners' uses two public spaces that have been reconfigured by the Mapuche as platforms of dissent: the Mapuche Museum and the Caupolicán Square.

5.1. Starting the demonstration at the Mapuche Museum

The people have been summoned early in the morning to meet in the sacred field (*ngillatuwe*)[63] of the Mapuche Museum of Cañete. The idea is to hold a *ngillanmawün* ceremony and then begin the march to the city. This Museum, localised in the city's periphery, belongs to the State [64] and during the last fifteen years has organized a participatory museographic programme targeting Mapuche communities. Through this process, it has shifted from being a folkloric Museum, focused on traditional remnants, to becoming a platform for exposing the current Mapuche condition (see Chapter 3 of this dissertation; see Crow, 2011). For this shift, the creation of sacred fields by Mapuche living in nearby areas was crucial. Today, they use the *ngillatuwe* and other Museum spaces to organise political meetings and various ceremonies. The protest that we describe here is part of a series of demonstrations starting from this place during the last years. From a Rancièrian perspective, we argue, this is a political aesthetics of reconfiguration of public space into an arena for expressing disagreement and political organization, as we describe in the following paragraphs.

[62] According to a report of the Library of the National Congress, from 2005 until Sep. 2017, 65 emblematic cases of Mapuche people finalised with a declaration of innocence by the court.
[63] Field to perform the main Mapuche ceremony, the *ngillatun*, as well other minor ceremonies. It has the same structure as the field described in the plantation case, but additionally the infrastructure to host long and intense meetings.
[64] Under the administration of the Ministry of Cultures, Arts, and Heritage.

At the entrance of the Museum terrain, Mapuche ceremonial flags representing the *azmapu* balance (displaying diverse colours representing the elements, forces and levels of the *Wallmapu*) were hoisted. Several delegations coming from all around the province and from farther places are constantly arriving. Many of them wear Mapuche vestments, and carry flags, posters and canvases displaying political messages: they claim the immediate liberation of the political prisoners, the end of police violence and the expulsion of the agroforestry industry and other capitalist enterprises from the *Wallmapu*. When about 300 people gathered around the *rewe* ('altar'), the *lonko* (chief) of a nearby community starts the ceremony. By way of introduction and finalization of the ceremony, he gives speeches proclaiming the need of a cohesive Mapuche movement, always aimed at protecting and recovering the Mapuche as a whole: its wisdom, its language and the balance with the environment; the *mapu*. In the middle of the speeches, a massive *purrun* (dance) is held, where the musical instruments and the *afafan*[65] (shouts) sound with special strength.

5.2. The closure at the Caupolicán Square

After leaving the Museum, the march moved around five kilometres along the highway and then across Cañete city, paralyzing the traffic and other daily activities. In the city, numerous inhabitants[66] were watching the demonstration go by (some of them angry, others scared, others undaunted), while the protesters were uninterruptedly exclaiming their political claims, writing messages on the walls and performing sacred music. One truck working for the agroforestry industry and a police car were targets of the stones hurled by exalted demonstrators. This time the policemen did not attack the protesters, but during other demonstrations they have reacted violently, using water cannon vehicles, tear gas, rubber bullets and stick hits to dissolve the mobilization.

Finally, the march arrives at the political meeting point. It is the Caupolicán Square, named in honour to the famous Mapuche *toki* (war leader) who fiercely fought against the Spanish colonial troops during the Arauco War in the 16th Century. Tellingly, for several decades there was no information sign of who this leader was in the square, nor were there elements related to the Mapuche (such as symbols, statues, etc.). Only in 1998, a series of anthropomorphic

[65] A Mapuche shout/exclamation of strength: ayayayayaiieeee-yuuuuuhhuiii!!

[66] The Mapuche population in the Cañete jurisprudence represents an approximate of the 21% of the total population of 31.270 persons (INE, 2005). However, most of those people live in rural areas as indigenous communities, whereas the city is mostly inhabited by Chileans.

wood sculptures called *chemamüll*[67] were inaugurated in this place, financed by a State cultural programme that supports the indigenous under a logic of national integration[68]. In addition, in 2008, the Cañete Municipality installed a poster presenting an historical speech of the brave and noble *toki.*

Nonetheless, beyond the importance of this reference and the *chemamüll* statues as artefacts themselves, it is important to stress what happened around these sculptures from the first decade of the 2000s onwards. Indeed, that area of the square has been configured by the Mapuche as a sacred field to perform ceremonies and political meetings in the middle of the city. Particularly important are those related to the legal processes that the Mapuche prisoners confront in the Cañete Court[69], which is localised at about 100 metres distance. Before the trials, Mapuche groups meet there to entrust the processes of their imprisoned comrades to the ancestors and divinities, as well as to give thanks for their liberation or other legal triumphs.

In this case, the square is the final shelter for the mass of people at the protest. Standing up besides the *chemamüll*, authorities, leaders, and political activists from different corners of the *Wallmapu* give speeches about the local political situation. Most of them bring news about the condition of their prisoners and concerning their land recuperation processes. Closing the demonstration, the speakers make an agreement of cooperation, promising that there will be no step back in the political struggle. Immediately, the crowd responds with a support clamour. Several bottles of *müdai* (fermented drink) are opened to refresh the tired protesters and also to give it as an offering to the *Ñuke Mapu* ('Mother Earth'). The *afafan* and the *marrichiweu* ('We will win, ten times!') exclamations can be heard blocks away. This is followed by a massive *purrun* (dance), animated by the sacred musical instruments, which is performed with special zeal.

6. The creation of Mapuche political platforms by appropriation

Summarizing, the two main moments of this demonstration – its political-ceremonial opening and closure – were performed in public spaces that formerly were designed by State institutions as structural elements of the 'distribution of the sensible' in Cañete. The Museum

[67] Belonging to the Mapuche mortuary complex.
[68] FONDART, a fund for the Development of Culture and Arts by the National Council of Culture and Arts.
[69] This court covers Mapuche cases of the whole Arauco Province.

museographically represents the Mapuche as part of the cultural diversity that the Chilean nation is comprised of. The Caupolicán Square was configured to give homage to a Mapuche hero whose blood runs also in the Chilean population[70] and to expose, through the *chemamüll* statues, a piece of Mapuche art and cultural heritage of the country.

In this regard, we must note that the Mapuche have not accepted those terms of space-public configuration aiming at integration. By performing their acts and discourses in opposition to the social-political and economic order, they manifest once and again that they do not belong to the Chilean nation. They declare that their culture and socio-political structures – regulated by the *azmapu* – have been shaped from ancestral times and will be never validly managed or represented by Chilean institutions.

As we see, the Mapuche do not take a distance from those pre-configured places such as the ones described, but instead they appropriate them while staging their disagreement. That means, we argue, that the Mapuche use those governmental instances (for instance, the participatory museography at the Museum, or the cultural project for installing the *chemamüll* in the square) imposing their own terms on them, rather than accommodating to the State intervention logic of depoliticization. They are not negotiating a place within the 'distribution of the sensible'. On the contrary, through this material and symbolic appropriation – drawing upon their political aesthetics – they have reconfigured the organization of public places, as we show in Tables 2 and 3.

[70] This is an example of the hypocrisy of the Chilean discourse regarding the Mapuche. On the one hand, the indigenous bravery/nobility is proudly stressed as part of the 'Chilean race' and the national cultural heritage. On the other, the State and a broad part of the Chilean population have historically discriminated the Mapuche as inferior people, portrayers of a backward culture, relegating them from the social, political and economic spheres.

Table 2. The Mapuche reconfiguration of the Mapuche Museum of Cañete.

Reconfigured item	**Place: Mapuche Folkloric Museum Juan Antonio Ríos**[71] (former distribution)	**Place:** ***Mapuche Museum Ruka Kimvn Taiñ Volil – Juan Cayupi Huechicura***[72] (current distribution)
Use of the space	**Folkloric Museum** presenting an evolutionist museographic view focused on a culture of the past.	**Participatory Museum** as a Mapuche social/political/cultural platform
- Main Practices	- No Mapuche participation in Museum administration - Conservation of archaeological objects under a State -backed version of history.	- Mapuche ceremonies - Political meetings. - Workshops and other events driven by Mapuche experts. - Participation: the Mapuche propose content for the museography.
- Condition/ownership of the terrain	- State (DIBAM). No relation with Mapuche communities.	- State (DIBAM). Open for the Mapuche communities. The sacred fields are considered as communitarian Mapuche places.
- Roles	- The Mapuche had no roles within the Museum, except for the role of one guide.	- Mapuche authorities and commoners performing ceremonies and political meetings, according to the *azmapu*. - Mapuche participants driving events and participating in museographic decision-making.
- Hierarchies	- The Mapuche were outside the Museum's hierarchies.	- The director is Mapuche[73]. - Mapuche people have the authority to summon/command

[71] The old Museum was inaugurated in 1968 to pay homage to the Mapuche culture. It didn't address the Mapuche view about their own culture, nor the indigenous historical resistance against the colonial and republican territory-occupations. The name was in honour of a former Chilean president.

[72] During the participatory programme (from 2005 to 2010), the Mapuche participants inserted their views and knowledge towards a museography of an alive culture. The translation of the current name (changed during this process) is 'The house of our roots' knowledge'. It was also incorporated the name of the last *lonko* (Cayupi) who had the political control of the terrain of the Museum.

[73] Juana Paillalef arrived in 2001, being the first Director of the institution with Mapuche ancestry. She has been crucial for opening this place for the Mapuche.

		ceremonies, events and to express their knowledge through co-creating the museography.

Table 3. The Mapuche reconfiguration of the Caupolicán Square

Reconfigured item	**Place: Caupolicán Square** (former distribution)	**Place: Caupolicán Square**[74] (current distribution)
Use of the space	**Chilean square**, including a homage to the *toki* Caupolicán and the exposition of Mapuche cultural heritage (*chemamüll*) as part of the national culture.	**Sacred Mapuche field** around the *chemamüll* statues. Platform to express the Mapuche political dissent.
- Main Practices	- Recreational activities of the population. - Municipal and State events.	- Recreational activities of the population. - Mapuche ceremonies before and after the trials in the court of Cañete. - Other ceremonies and Mapuche political meetings such as during public demonstrations.
- Condition/ownership of the terrain	- Municipal	- Municipal. The *chemamüll* area is considered a Mapuche communitarian place.
- Roles	- Cleaning, ornamentation, and security tasks by municipal functionaries and the police. - Mapuche participation focused just on experts, as part of a multicultural governmental programme, installing the *chemamüll*.	- Mapuche authorities and commoners performing ceremonies and political meetings, according to the *azmapu* protocol. - Security tasks and ornamentation during Mapuche activities are performed by their own.
- Hierarchies	- Administration under municipal and State authorities	- Mapuche authorities and political activists are invested to summon/command/perform

[74] The name remains the same, since the Mapuche consider Caupolicán as an important ancestor.

		ceremonies/meetings on the sacred field.

As can be seen from the tables, the creation of public arenas for expressing the Mapuche political disagreement has a double aim: On the one hand, the MCC can face the Chilean State and part of the population on their own grounds by staging their performances beyond the limits of the communitarian sacred fields. That implies a translocation of the limits of the Mapuche common domains through these performative acts of partial place occupations. On the other hand, those instances are important for the Mapuche internal organization, insofar they can massively summon people, creating and reinforcing socio-political relations, including Mapuche inhabitants of the cities, which is crucial for their subjectivation process.

7. Contrasting the MCC with the political ontology approach

The so-called ontological turn has been relevant in analysing indigenous cultural complexes during the last decades, giving an emphasis on radical alterities to explain the conflictive subordinated relations of these groups with the nation states and other actors. After a brief introduction of these ideas, we will present our reasons to advocate, in contradistinction to this perspective, a focus on the *one common ruptured world* in order to understand Mapuche indigenous politics, the role of the MCC herein, and the way the Mapuche subject is constituted.

Ontology refers to a set of assumptions for (implicitly or explicitly) understanding the world, specifically regarding 'what kind of things do or can exist, and what might be their conditions of existence, relations of dependency, and so on' (Scott and Marshall, 2005, cit. in Blaser, 2014: 49). Related to indigenous research, 'ontology is used to signal a difference between a given indigenous group and various agents of western modernization/colonization' (Ibid.: 51). This shift of focus towards ontology in the social sciences, the political ontologists argue, reflects a crisis of modernity in terms of political relations, negative impacts of capitalism, and the biases of scientific explanations about social phenomena. The ontological turn, thus, invites us to consider seriously the existence of other ontologies (also called universes, or worlds) as valid alternatives to the modern ontology imposed from the North from colonial times (see Escobar 2007, 2010).

According to Blaser (2013), and as elaborated in the work of Marisol de la Cadena (2010) on Andean Cultures, the hegemonic order ('modernity') has been ontologically challenged by indigenous movements during the past decades. For example, they stress the cases of Bolivia and Ecuador, where indigenous groups are putting forward their political claims by insisting on radical differences, even pressing for the reform of neoliberal constitutions in those countries. The *pachamama* (Mother Earth) is alive, they claim; therefore, it has the rights of a being. The *sumak kawsay* (good-living)[75] inspires some sections of the constitutional document, and so on. The indigenous world, using its own ontology, in this way confronts modern discourses of development and progress.

Through this kind of analysis, the contribution of the ontological turn to social sciences is twofold: first, 'the increasing interest in notions of more-than-human agency in geography; and second, the reinvigoration of ethnographic theory with radical alterity' (Blaser, 2014: 50).

In establishing the radical alterity of the indigenous people, the presumption of non-human agency with their own ontologies has been crucial. This idea is based on the concept of multi-realism proposed by Viveiros de Castro (1998), which sets the arbitrariness of universal Western categories, such as 'the humanity', or the duality 'animated/unanimated'. From here, multi-realism is open to analysing all kind of non-humans-elements as carriers of their own subjectivity (according to the indigenous realities), shaping a horizontal relation with 'humans'. This is a key point for the arguments of De la Cadena (2010) in approaching the agency of, for example, the *apus* (sacred mountains) in the Andes as animated elements that run in a parallel universe with Western ideas of natural environment, mountains and mining as a form resource extraction according to the current neoliberal logic of economic growth. However, as she remarks, those ideas are normally mixed with environmentalist and anti-capitalist discourses, both shaped in modern ontology. These mixes are explained by De la Cadena as representing 'the partial connections' that the indigenous historically have had with the Andean nation state institutions (Ibid.: 347-352). However, this double or triple belonging does not represent one (mixed) single entity, but a sum of independent ontological entities (indigeneity + modernity)

[75] This ancestral *quechua* concept has been used from the late 20th Century to define an alternative proposal for development; one stressing, broadly, the social welfare and the conservation of the environment over the neoliberal logic of resources exploitation and capital accumulation. However, the transition of these ideas into the national constitutions and its implementation by the Ecuadorian and Bolivian governments has derived rather in a new development grounded on extractivism and the reproduction of the same postcolonial structural conditions (see Gutierrez and Salazar, 2013; Radcliffe, 2012; Postero, 2017).

resulting in ‘a historico-political articulation of more than one, but less than two, socionatural worlds’ (Ibid.: 347).

As De la Cadena notes, this historical articulation, as well as the complete set of inter-connections and super-positions of radical differences shaped through political and other relations, must be understood in terms of a ‘controlled equivocation’ (Ibid.: 352-357). That describes the negotiation of ontological disagreements under standards of pertinent translations – stressing the existence of two worlds instead of one – for a peaceful coexistence.

The agency of unanimated elements has inspired work on Mapuche land recuperation. Di Giminiani (2013), for example, explains the tensions and conflicts of Mapuche communities with the State as a permanent misunderstanding in land restitution processes and negotiations. For him, the *rewe* (Mapuche ‘altar’), once consecrated, contains its own subjectivity, inserted into a relation of two subjects, face to face with the Mapuche. This fact, he argues, is not considered by the State representatives, who interpret the *rewe* as a mere symbol of identity and as part of a political strategy to recover territory (creating sacred places as milestones). The politico-strategic dimension of sacred sites is disparaged by Di Giminiani, while he maintains that the ceremonial protocol is not a performance or show for ensuring land recuperation, but the expression of a radically different world that must be understood in its own terms *(*Ibid.).

Having introduced these ideas, we must ask: Is there a Mapuche pre-given subject or ontology that explains a long-standing conflict with the Western world? And regarding specifically the *azmapu*/MCC: Are they integrated by entities, perceptions, categories, standing outside the Chilean-Western ontology (if the latter exists)? Is the performative aesthetic of Mapuche politics aimed at the reproduction of a Mapuche separate universe, or rather is it disrupting the ‘distribution of the sensible’ of a global economic order that can only reproduce itself through the privatization of the common, hence harbouring the potentiality of creating a ‘common’ world?

First, we must note that the idea of radical difference creates a haze between the two worlds, which would be linked *only* by relations grounded in misunderstandings. Thus, for political ontologists, indigenous claims (as well as the governmental policies) permanently inhabit a state of confusion. Consequently, indigenous demands, instead of undermining the legitimacy of the hegemonic ‘distribution of the sensible’ are portrayed as part of an inscrutable aesthetics of the ‘no-part’, understood as the ontological-indigenous.

Putting the focus on the performative side while neglecting the strategic dimension of the relations between the 'no-part' and 'the sensible' results in creating a *folie a deux*, a game that juxtaposes an instrumental kind of (Western) rationality to its impenetrable 'other'. That means a reification of the intentionality of the order of things on one hand and a mystification of indigenous thinking as inscrutable on the other. What politics does 'equivocation' entail? The answer would be that of sustaining difference for the sake of difference. This, we can conclude, is a politics without a substance, a politics that lends itself as much to conciliation as to contestation, opportunism and intransigence. In the worst case, a focus on radical ontologies, from our view, risks confirming the current unequal order of things: a depoliticised society of multi-ontological, pluriversal, 'peaceful' coexistence, regulated by 'the police'.

In contrast, following the ideas of Rancière (2004), we argue that the link in between the 'two worlds' goes beyond a mere misconception. Rather, it is driven by a *mésentente* (disagreement) that is both a state of confusion, uncertainty and a failure to come to terms with each other, the latter being not only the result of difference but having also a strategic component. In other words, the performative staging of misunderstanding is always already strategic.

Regarding methodological aspects, directly related to how we understand the *azmapu*/MCC, we argue that the presumption of radical alterities driving ethnography can potentially distort the description of the political roles of the indigenous cultural complexes. How can we perceive and describe a radical alterity? What kind of register is necessary to translate it into something readable in the terms of the State, but at the same time authentic? As Vigh and Sausdal (2014: 57-62) note, the explanations of ontological experts in this respect have not been satisfactory. First, some authors have declared the need for classic ethnography. However, a method based on meaningfully comprehending 'the Other', deploying techniques based on the language and participant observation would clash with ontological codes that – under this logic – we cannot emphatically understand.

On the other hand, the idea of 'ontographies' instead of ethnographies has been proposed. That implies to not focus on people, but on ontologies, registering 'things encountered in the field as they present themselves' (Henare, Holbraad & Wastell, 2007, cited in Di Giminiani, 2013: 533). This implies less reflexivity concerning what are we observing in the field, avoiding the use of pre-given signifiers/reflections that would contaminate what the indigenous are showing according to their ontology. It is the logic used by Di Giminiani (2013) approaching the *rewe*,

which potentially leads to a radical empiricism and a fetishism around certain aesthetics and objects.

On the contrary, for the *rewe* case, we argue that – in a context of land recuperation – it is configured and managed in an egalitarian relationship between Mapuche subjects, and its main role is about reconfiguring a place with socio-political-spiritual-economic goals aiming for the *azmapu* balance, i.e. the Mapuche 'being in common', that incorporates all these dimensions (as shown in Table 1).

Our difference with the ontological turn is that proponents of this approach hold on to different ontologies while we see ontology itself as divided. Rather than multiple worlds (in terms of ontologies/realities), we analyse a disjointed and ruptured *common world*. For the Chilean-Mapuche case, there are two worlds in terms of common sense: one grounded on inequality (represented by the Chilean 'distribution of the sensible'), the other, on equality (represented by the *azmapu*). This divergence, we argue, is based on how to distribute one world, in which both groups – the historically dominant one and the marginalised one – propose different kinds of socio-natural relations concerning land control and forms of access to resources.

Thus, the MCC is not part of an ontological radical difference but represents the socio-political claim of a historically marginalised group. The disagreement, in this sense, is not a problem of intercultural or inter-ontology (mis)communication, nor a misunderstanding that can be fixed through the mutual acceptance of radical alterity (Villalobos-Rumminot, 2013). No ontological translation is needed. What we see is rather an expression of dissent aiming at the very order of things.

The political relevance of the MCC, hence, lies in its role as the only way to make visible the Mapuche claims in front of the hegemonic pretensions of 'the police'. In the terms of Rancière, it creates a real politics. This is not to say that it is a pure strategy or just a show manipulated for political benefits. Far from such an instrumentalist view, we argue that it is the way in which a subject is constituted on the borders of the Chilean society, by dis-identification with 'the sensible' ('I′m not the Mapuche of the Chilean imaginary.') rather than through ontological assertion. It claims the existence of new roles and rights for the Mapuche, beyond the mere act of being governed. That corresponds, we argue, to a process of emancipation. And that process, as we emphasized earlier, is the only way to reproduce the Mapuche subject.

8. Conclusion

We have analysed the MCC as a political aesthetics, in terms of the aesthetic regime of the 'no-part' of the Chilean society. Under this logic, we conclude that the main role of the MCC today is to reconfigure spaces and places, from the margins, towards the crystallization of the Mapuche proposal of constructing 'a being in common'. That means, it operationalises a process of indigenous emancipation: the return of the *azmapu* balance in the *Wallmapu.*

As we detailed in the discussion above, the dispute here is not about the existence of different worlds in terms of ontologies, but about the 'redistribution of the sensible' within one common ruptured world. The Chilean distribution is based on a logic of inequality, deploying a mechanism of exclusive inclusion of the margins. From this position, 'the police' imposes aesthetic conditions according to its capitalist interests: distributing roles, hierarchies, and forms of access to resources in a commoditised fashion. Based on the fiction of representative democracy, a process of depoliticization and securitization is initiated, foreclosing political antagonisms considered as dangerous for the nation. The role of the State is reduced to that of a provider of development for the segments of the population that are able to be integrated, and repression for those that remain expressing dissent.

The MCC has the potential for disrupting this hegemonic and anti-political 'distribution of the sensible' and, at the same time, to deploy the Mapuche distribution at the symbolic and material levels. Both disruption and distribution are grounded on the presumption of equality conforming to the *azmapu*: no dependence on Chilean hierarchies and its integration apparatus. The *azmapu*, furthermore, proposes a balance in terms of spirituality (sacred sites and entities), special relations with the environment and the constitution of the *Che* as an integral part of the *mapu*, amongst others. But, very importantly, the *azmapu* regulates the control of land on a socio-political level, disputing hierarchies in the face of the Chilean authorities, as well as regulating the economic uses and forms of access to resources. That means that the MCC, rather than reconfiguring places in an ontological sense (i.e. reproducing parallel universes), is aiming to enable concrete changes related to a common world, such as the transition from intensive agroforestry exploitation to small-scale agriculture. That implies an extension of the borders of the Mapuche common (in terms of biopolitical resistance, as Hardt and Negri [2014] note), in a direct political dispute over spaces with the dominant order.

As part of this emancipation, the Mapuche have also appropriated, by disagreement, tools given by the State, both for land recuperation goals (the logic of State land restitution) and for creating

political platforms to manifest their claims (such as the Mapuche Museum and the Caupolicán Square cases). Therefore, the *azmapu* logic and procedures are juxtaposed with the capitalist interests and the State logic of integration. We maintain that this is not a sum of ontologies in terms of De La Cadena, nor a relation based on 'controlled equivocations', but a deliberate appropriation of those tools with emancipatory goals. This is part of the constitution of the Mapuche subject as an avenue for creating a common in a fractured world.

Chapter 3: From Multicultural Participation to a Museography of Disagreement. The Mapuche Museum of Cañete as a Cultural Platform for Indigenous Political Dissent in Arauco Province, Chile (2001 – 2017)[76]

1. Introduction

Since the return of democracy in 1990, the government has deployed special measures to deal with Mapuche communities who are reclaiming the land, and political autonomy over their ancestral territories. One of the main areas targeted as insurgent by the government, as defined in the former chapters, is the Arauco Province and especially the city of Cañete and its hinterland. Given the restricted political space that the Mapuche have for voicing their demands, some groups have turned to extra-parliamentary forms of mobilization that have been identified by the State as a potential danger for the nation. In response, the State has resorted to police repression, coupled with indigenous development and national integration plans designed in so-called 'culturally pertinent' ways.

This is the context in which the Mapuche Museum of Cañete (part of the National Department of Libraries, Archives and Museums [DIBAM]) has run a participatory project with nearby indigenous communities, aiming to involve them into processes of museographic[77] action research, and as users of the infrastructure/external spaces. Through this work, the institution has experienced an important shift, from being a folkloric Museum with an evolutionist view focused on a culture of the past, to a participatory arena aimed at creating a forum that the Mapuche can consider their own. As a result, the Museum set out to create platforms in which Mapuche people can manifest themselves through cultural practices, voicing their views, expectations, and (re)constructing a sense of cultural belonging. In this chapter we document how, from the outset, this aim conflicted with the official multicultural heritage approach as a vehicle for national integration.

[76] This chapter was written in co-autorship with Dr.ir Pieter de Vries and will be submitted as an artcile during 2018 (the journal will be defined).

[77] We define museography as the form and content of a Museum exhibition, in terms of its general outline; design; the order of the objects; and the texts that are describing and relating them, contextualizing the objects through historical/philosophical/cultural/art discourses.

The Arauco Province is part of the Bío-Bío Region, located in the Southern-Central area of the country.

Cañete is in the central-coastal area of Arauco Province. It has 31.270 inhabitants, with a 20,1% of indigenous people; rate that rises to 38,8% in rural areas (INE, 2005). The city is surrounded by dozens of Mapuche communities (many of them claiming for territory). On the map are highlighted the highest density of land restitutions processes nearby Cañete, linked with violent events in the last decades (sabotage on the agroindustry, harsh police repression). In those areas lives a high number of people that have participated at the Museum (from the early 2000s), whose building is located in the city's periphery.

The arrival in 2001 of a new Director, the first ever with Mapuche ancestry, was crucial for the onset of a new museographic approach. From the beginning, Juana Paillalef[78], approached diverse Mapuche people to get to know their opinion and needs related with the institution, while opening its doors for ongoing ceremonial activities[79]. Further, in 2003, the DIBAM began a lengthy process of remodeling and expanding the old building, which included a complete reshuffling of the exhibition. The 'old' Museum – created in 1968 to 'pay homage' to the Mapuche culture – offered for more than 30 years a museography based on State-backed historiography and associated scientific and ethnological theories, without addressing the Mapuche knowledge about their origins, history, and their current cultural and socio-political conditions (characterized by cultural marginalization, land dispossession, and a violent conflict). Moreover, the participation of local Mapuche people in the Museum – except for the work of some Mapuche guides – was nil (Crow, 2011).

Given the increasing interest of Mapuche commoners in the Museum, and the release of new multicultural guidelines of DIBAM, the National Directorate of Museums (a DIBAM department) decided that it was the moment to include the Mapuche's own point of view into the exhibition. It is important to note that, at a central level, the National Direction was shifting its museographic focus towards integrating current cultural practices – representative of contemporary civil society – within the Museum's exhibitions all over the country. In the case of Cañete, this task was a true challenge given the historical conflict between the State and

[78] Paillalef has studies on intercultural-bilingual education (MSc) in Cochabamba, Bolivia. She assumed this challenge in 2001, with the goal to contribute in opening a new space for the Mapuche within the society, based on intercultural and de-colonization premises (Crow, 2011: 168).
[79] From the early 2000's, leaders of local Mapuche communities asked to the new Director the chance to celebrate some of their own communitarian ceremonies at the Museum. From there, the sacred places to celebrate *ngillatun* and *palin* were constituted.

Mapuche communities nearby the Museum (including a significant rise of violence during those years). As a result, the programme was defined by the central administration as aiming to '(...) preserve and communicate the Mapuche heritage through a new exhibition, created and conducted by the communities and their representatives' (Valdés, 2010: 7).

During 2005, the participatory museography project was officially launched in Cañete. A group of young anthropologists (including this chapter's first author) were employed to conduct a first methodological baseline: socializing the programme of the Museum with the Mapuche, and collecting data on the views, knowledge, and their expectations regarding this institution. This information served to remodel the spatial organization of the new Museum, including the internal infrastructure and an external terrain of 8 hectares (see Map 3). In the process, new challenges emerged that went beyond the museographic approach, concerning how to rethink the very concept of 'museum' in a way that made sense to the Mapuche, as well as the potential political implications of this participatory process.

Map 3: Spatial distribution of the Mapuche Museum (Google Earth Pro 2018, own elaboration)

The current spaces (post-renovation) consist of: 1) exhibition rooms (were expanded); 2) multi-use rooms (new construction); 3) a laboratory and deposits for objects (were expanded); 4) a *ruka* (traditional Mapuche house); 5) a *ngillatuwe* (sacred field for ceremonies); 6) a *paliwe* (field to play *palin*, a sacred 'sport'); 7) a communitarian orchard; 8) a park.

Noticeably, Mapuche leaders, activists, rural commoners, students, intellectuals, among others, had already been thinking about the Museum condition and its potentialities, using it as a meeting place for several (cultural) purposes, such as performing ceremonial activities. In particular, our attention was caught when we assisted to a massive meeting at the place, summoned by Mapuche communities, that aimed to reject a cultural project of the government proposed by the National Corporation of Indigenous Development (CONADI): declaring one

of their main ancestral ceremonies, the *ngillatun*, an object deserving to become a national heritage.

It struck our attention that in this way the Museum, while being part of the cultural institutional State apparatus, was being used as a platform to discuss, and radically oppose, a politics aimed at multicultural-national integration. In analysing this participatory remodeling process, we raise the following questions: What where the cultural heritage assumptions that underpinned this new museographic approach? How was it possible that the Museum came to operate, from the beginning, as a stage for the performance of Mapuche's cultural and political dissent? And, at a theoretical level, what kinds of frictions/tensions emerge when a progressive multiculturalist agency – part of a State apparatus – implements a participatory museographic programme in a situation characterized by protracted historical and cultural disputes? In order to answer these questions, we draw upon the work of Jacques Rancière on politics, aesthetics and dissent.

The chapter is organized as follows: First, we outline the theorization of political aesthetics by Rancière so as to ground the conceptual basis of the ethnographic argument. Second, we introduce the main features of the 'Mapuche subject' in relation to the cultural and ceremonial complex. Third, we document the reconfiguration, by the Mapuche, of the participatory museographic process, into a political and cultural platform for the staging of dissent with the Chilean dominant order, what we denominate a 'museography of disagreement'. We discuss how Mapuche commoners drew upon specific notions of material culture for the presentation of the 'Mapuche self' as a political subject by including socio-political elements that run counter to official representations of Mapuche history. Fourth, we analyse the current use of the Museum as a ceremonial space for performing 'ancestral rituals' with a view to making public the existence of political disputes between rural Mapuche communities and the dominant order. Finally, we reflect upon the wider implications of the case of Mapuche cultural appropriation through disagreement; the deliberate use of cultural tools furnished by the State – or using Rancière's term, 'the police'– for the politicization of place. We conclude that a political aesthetic analysis focusing on disruptions and dis-identification with the existing social order – 'the sensible' – is more productive for exploring the emancipatory potentials of an indigenous politics than a focus on cultural identity and resistance.

2. Theorizing political aesthetics

Before discussing the ethnographic case, we must explain the usefulness of Rancière's theorization of political aesthetics for analysing the emergence of a specific indigenous subject that defines itself as being outside the Chilean order of things (or in Rancière's words outside 'the sensible'), as the 'part of no-part'. In Chile, multiculturalism operates as a strategic tool for the State apparatus for enabling cultural interventions inspired by a neoliberal ideology. While the process of subjectivization starts when Mapuche subjects are interpellated by governmental policies through a logic of multicultural integration, we will show in the ethnographic sections that Mapuche people, far from accommodating within such a logic, have used cultural interventions to initiate a process of dis-rupture aimed at constituting a Mapuche political subject. Through these actions, the Museum has been transformed into a Mapuche platform for political dissent.

Jacques Rancière has developed a distinctive, if not idiosyncratic, way of conceptualizing politics (or what he terms 'political aesthetics') by focusing on 'the borders' of the political system, 'instead of the classic focus on the struggles for power, and the exercise/purposes of that power' (2011: 73-74, author's translation). For Rancière (2006, 2011), 'the (real) politics' is not about domination and administration, but it begins with activities that are outside the logic of them, performed by subjects who are supposed to remain silent; it is a 'true politics', a politics of emancipation by subjectivization through dis-identification, i.e. by refusing to identify with the role assigned to them by the social order. What these subjects are confronting (for us, the 'Mapuche subject'), in terms of the French philosopher, is a distribution of 'the sensible' within the society, which defines roles, functions, spaces, and access to resources, in relation with established hierarchies.

The set of activities, measures, and social control conformed in order to define, organize and protect the distribution of 'the sensible' is what Rancière calls 'the police'. The latter divides the society into two: 'the part', integrated by the people who conform to specific rules and social practices under certain 'socially aesthetic conditions' (in terms of behaviour, manners, language, clothing, art, etc.); and the 'part of no-part', people who cannot understand this order manifesting – from 'the police's' perspective – just discontent, fury and hysteria (Rancière, 2011: 74).

Using this conceptual framework, what we propose is to stress the relation between both spheres (the 'Chilean police' and the 'Mapuche no-part'), analysing their articulations, tensions

and ruptures. Thus, we understand the constitution of the Mapuche subject as a political process in constant reconfiguration, rather than as 'pre-existent subjects' (Van Puymbroeck and Oosterlynck, 2015: 95). In other words, the Mapuche as a concrete subject in a (political) relation of subordination within a dominant order, instead of the assumed existence of a Mapuche identity, cultural essence, or ontology, that pre-existed the hegemonic forces that historically oppressed them.

As Rancière (2006, 2011) argues, when the perceptions of the established order are challenged by collective performances of external subjects that are viewed as breaking the aesthetic parameters of 'the sensible', 'the police' reacts with a combined strategy. On the one hand, it tries to invisibilize these acts (and/or their political content), categorizing them as undecipherable noise, as an inferior and undesirable aesthetic. As a result, certain kinds of performances are criminalized as dangerous for the social order. In a second moment, as part of a strategy of repressive tolerance, 'the police' accepts some elements of this 'outsider noise', but categorizing them into the parameters of 'the sensible'; transforming them into depoliticized and inoffensive objects/performances (van Leerzem et al., 2015: 5) by classifying them according to standards such as national folklore, pop music/dance, fashion trends, etc. Such normalization strategies are part of the process of commoditization of these aesthetic objects and performances making them available as products for the market, hence producing an empty aesthetic.

This dialectic of inclusive exclusion coupled with exclusive inclusion of the Mapuche culture within the dominant order, has to be understood within the context of specific strategies of 'the police'. Since the return of democracy in 1990, the Chilean governments have deployed a discourse based on 'social neoliberalism'[i], understanding the 'Mapuche issue' as a social problem caused by poverty and lack of integration in markets and the nation-state, to be solved by the creation of technical committees and participatory methods, opening the possibility of multicultural integration (Vergara et al., 2013: 101–106). The point to be stressed is that the demands concerning territory and political autonomy have never been addressed. Instead, a discourse of social inclusion has been deployed, which de facto denied the existence of a 'Mapuche question', hence their inclusive exclusion as a living collective and the promise to include them on condition that they forfeit their political demands as a collective. However, these policies, far from peacefully resolving the 'Mapuche question', have given way to a rise of Mapuche political demands to which 'the police' has reacted in highly repressive ways, leading to violent contestation by some indigenous groups. Due to the inefficacy of that general

State strategy, it is necessary to critically address the neoliberal-multicultural logic that underpins it.

Multiculturalism has been widely criticized as a cultural ideology of late capitalism, as a strategic tool for strengthening and expanding the neoliberal economic model without addressing political and social inequalities that have been reproduced among distinct groups within a nation. It proceeds by classifying cultures, recognizing in 'the Other' a difference that has to be tolerated and integrated, from the vantage point of a privileged external agent who occupies the universal but empty position of a categorizer, or an enunciating subject (Žižek, 2008: 55-57). Paradoxically, the State is the referee who decides who and when it will support as carrier of a need of cultural rights, and also defines the agenda and the steps that those groups must follow to achieve them. At the same time, the State usually plays a key role in these disputes, as an antagonist or counterpart of the groups that it potentially must support (Hale, 2002: 492). Thus, multiculturalism must be understood as a strategy to neutralize the political radicalization of indigenous groups by using a binary categorization: the 'authorized indigenous' (following the multicultural norms), and the 'unauthorized indigenous' (at the margins, radicalized) (Hale, 2002, 2005).

A case in point is the representation of Mapuche culture by 'the sensible' in Chile as a form of heritage which leads to the segmentation, normalization, and 'ethnification' of 'the Mapuche', since it is 'the sensible' itself that classifies what is ethnically relevant within that culture: separating positive elements that enable integration/inclusion (representative of 'the good Mapuche'), from those that are dangerous for the Chilean nation ('the bad Mapuche' as a potential terrorist) (Richards, 2010). This results in exclusive inclusion, or cultural inclusion by excluding the unpalatable elements. From a Rancièrian perspective, multiculturalism operates as a 'figure of depoliticization', a tactic to eliminate political antagonism within the nation, 'aimed at grounding the "police's partition of the sensible" so the existing inequalities become invisible; (...) (the figures of depoliticization) are what stand in between the political difference of politics and the police' (Van Puymbroeck and Oosterlynck, 2015: 97).

The critics of the logic of neoliberal multiculturalism have come also from Mapuche writers working according to the ideas of decolonization. A case in point has been the denunciations about the imposition of this kind of administration of the culture as a new form of colonialism made by the *Comunidad de Historia Mapuche* (Community of Mapuche History) (see Antileo et al., 2015; Nahuelpan et al., 2012). For example, Antileo (2013: 156) analyses how these

policies have been implemented now in urban contexts through the creation of 'Indigenous Metropolitan Committees' (by CONADI and the municipalities). By simulating deliberative meetings about cultural rights, finally, the author shows, the agents of the State decide the agendas, where to invest the budgets, and impose forms of control to the participants (e.g. hierarchies within the groups: president, secretaries, and so on).

What we are analysing, then, is the State ideological apparatus operating through multiculturalism. It is ideological, as Althusser (2006: 92-94) pointed out, because it operates interpellating subjects (as multicultural citizens) through specialized State institutions such as the educational, the communications, and the cultural (CONADI, DIBAM), that have an important role in the socialization of the population so as to become functional subjects within the social order. As a whole, both the repressive (police, courts, prisons, etc.) and the ideological State apparatuses (conforming 'the police') aim to ensure the reproduction of the capitalist relations of production within the society: the first through violence; the second through ideology. In this case, multiculturalism as an ideology of national integration and cultural development targeting the Mapuche population.

Thus, the 'multicultural-Chilean' project is made concrete in participation plans that aim to incorporate Mapuche individuals as members of a 'minority ethnic group'. Those cultural programmes are offered as the best and only solution to improve their lives' conditions, deploying a hegemonic cultural discourse based on the logic of the neoliberal economic model: basically, the encouragement of entrepreneurship, inserting cultural products in the market. For the Mapuche case, empirically, there have been intense commoditization processes of valuable 'ancestral' knowledge such the traditional medicine through the mentioned intervention mechanisms (Bolados García, 2012; Cuyul, 2013). Although the fact of having monetary benefits incorporating cultural elements in the market can be an important economic option in contexts of material deprivation, the issue here is how those elements are transformed through that incorporation. Indeed, that incorporation is made according to a logic of late capitalism which displays a post-modern hegemonic understanding of culture deprived of a sense of history and social meaning, redefining it in purely aesthetic sense (Jameson, 1991). This empty aesthetics distorts the significance and contents of indigenous performances, in stark contrast to the understanding of political aesthetics as developed above.

Rancière's political aesthetics, though, points to the fact that interpellation is never complete, that there is always a residual subjective element that does not recognize itself through the

categories of institutional interpellation ('it's not me'). The result is the irruption of a collective subject through dis-identification with 'the sensible' (i.e. failed interpellation, see also Žižek, 1993). In the case of the Mapuche it works as follows. On the one hand, the substance of being a Mapuche resides in being 'the Other' of Chilean society, the part that cannot be included in the whole (of society) as a part. On the other hand, Mapuche culture is central to their survival in a material sense, since claims for land and resources can only be made by invoking historical and cultural rights. Yet the partitioning/distribution of 'the sensible' proposed by multicultural interventions entails a cultural loss forfeiting their substance as 'the Other', the part of no-part, in an attempt to incorporate a depoliticized version of that 'otherness' within the national imaginary.

This, it must be stressed, presents the Mapuche with a true challenge. Hence the embracement of an aesthetics of disagreement that entails cultural appropriation through dissent and dis-identification with 'the sensible'. For the present case this entailed the Mapuche using the Museum as a 'public sphere', as a space of interaction to express critical views of government, forms of production and the market (Fernandes, 2006: 3); in Rancière's conception a place for questioning the partition of 'the sensible'. Next, we analyse how the Mapuche, in opposition to the multiculturalist logic of neoliberal capitalism, used such a platform to construct a Mapuche subject that refuses external categorizations, deploying a notion of cultural heritage with distinctive political aims, as an integral element of an aesthetic of disagreement.

3. Approaching the 'Mapuche subject' and its cultural-ceremonial complex

The constitution of the 'Mapuche subject' on the basis of a dis-identification with the dominant Chilean order has a long history, as long as the persistence of cultural manifestations that have been dismissed as 'noise' by 'the police'.

Since the military Republican occupation of the Mapuche territory to the South of the Biobio river in the 19th Century[ii] – lands that currently include the Arauco Province – these indigenous groups have configured an oppressed and discriminated subject. On account of the loss of their political autonomy through the agency of an external State, the Mapuche were forced to gather around a common indigenous identity in opposition to a new external hegemonic proposition[iii]. Consequently, the Mapuche from their new determined places, outside of the Chilean social

hierarchies, have had the challenge to find the ways to express themselves politically as poor indigenous peasants, or as marginal discriminated inhabitants of the cities.

From the borders, the Mapuche have constructed an aesthetic regime that converges in ceremonial acts as the main way of rendering political demands visible. It can't be stressed enough that the history of relations between the Mapuche and the Chilean State – the latter constantly searching articulations aimed to invisibilize/assimilate the indigenous political claims – presents a series of tensions and violent ruptures, as the Mapuche have never agreed to become part of the parameters of 'the sensible'. Two of the main historical ruptures related with our case are:

1) The massive Mapuche land occupations in Arauco Province during the 1960s. These were focused on the restitution of territory, which were crucial in the struggles for Agrarian Reform in Southern Chile from 1962 to 1970, after years of harsh police repression (Correa et al., 2005). Here, the ceremonial complex was an axis of differentiation with the rest of the Chilean peasants, given that the indigenous reductions were not considered as eligible subjects by the first Reform. At the time, the Mapuche carried out a series of manifestations to assert the existence of ancestral relations with the land (through an intensification of the ceremonial complex), reclaiming territory from the margins of the society. Many of the Mapuche that have participated in the Museum experienced these events. Also, the Museum was founded during this period (in 1968) under the name of 'Araucarian Folkloric Museum, (president) Juan Antonio Rios'. This was a strategy of 'the police' to integrate inoffensive versions of the Mapuche aesthetic into the national imaginary.

2) The radicalization of the Mapuche claims from 1997 until the present. In this period new discourses of political autonomy were brought forward, revolving around the struggle for a Mapuche nation (see Pairicán Padilla, 2014; Bengoa, 2000b). Also, a series of acts of sabotage were carried out by Mapuche groups targeting agroforestry enterprises, among others in the Cañete area. The response by the State was violent repression as the anti-terrorist law was invoked. At the same time new multicultural policies aimed at dealing with the Mapuche problem were decreed. During these years, the ceremonial complex played a main role again, not only linked to overt political claims and protests concerning the disputed territories, but also in other platforms where the Mapuche can voice their demands, such as the 'new' Cañete Museum.

3.1. The Mapuche ceremonial performances: main features, authorities, and places

Next, we clarify the Mapuche ceremonial complex[80]. The main ceremonies that the Mapuche use to render their demands visible are the *ngillatun* and the *palin* (sacred 'sport'). The objects, authorities, and cultural protocols that we will mention are part of the *ngillatun*, which is a ceremony that contains various rituals. The *ngillanmawun* is one of them, being a prayer performed also in other contexts. Normally, the *ngillatun* is related to the agrarian cycle, but it is also organized for other purposes, such as in moments of political or ecological crises. For its part, we will refer to the *trawun*, that is very important as a meeting with special protocols aimed to inform, discuss, and take decisions about relevant issues.

The *ngillatun* is a massive celebration, congregating people from different territories invited by a local community/group. The main goal is to create a sacred atmosphere to connect with the gods and the ancestors, sharing political information and discussing future events of interest for the Mapuche. In this regard, the presence of the *machi* (a – usually female – shaman) is crucial. She has an important power as a medium with the ancestors, a state she reaches when in trance, induced by ceremonial music, dance (*purrun*), and a series of performances around her person during the ceremony. Also, she has an important political role when she is involved, for example, in ceremonies performed in land recovery struggles, owing to her spiritual strength, moral authority, and skills to connect with the other world. The *lonko* has a different role in the Mapuche ceremony complex, since he is the traditional chief, who has the power of taking important political decisions. He is a wise man, who knows the history of the territory and the Mapuche way of being a proper human being in this world, as well as the cultural protocols needed to organize and conduct ceremonies. Some *lonko's* also have the authority to speak with the ancestors through the *machi*, using their skills in ancient Mapuche language. They then use that information for resolving practical and political issues concerning community matters.

Alternatively, the *trawun* is organized around practical goals, such as taking decisions about socio-political issues, organizing ceremonies, spreading information, etc. Usually, the meeting is surrounded by a sacred atmosphere, since it starts and finishes with rituals. Here, the wisdom of the *lonko* is crucial for the making of decisions. However, over the last decades the political power of the *lonko* has been reduced in some communities, due to the rise of a new group of

[80] The whole complexity, details, and different dimensions of these elements is something that we cannot address in this chapter. Here, our focus is on the aspects that are more relevant to understand the link between the ceremonies and the Mapuche political issues.

political brokers who benefit from the support of the State, with strong links to the development apparatus.

The ceremonial places are crucial for the Mapuche culture. The *ngillatuwe* (where the *ngillatun* is performed) is the main one, consisting of a large flat field where the *rewe* (Mapuche 'altar') is located. The *rewe* is constituted by a structural wooden base, featuring native sacred branches and flags that represent the political territory and the Mapuche cosmovision. It is a gateway to the 'other world', that the *machi* uses to connect with the ancestors, and around which all the participants can dance and give offerings to the gods. In this space also other simpler rituals are performed, such as the *ngillanmawun*. The field is surrounded by wooden/branches shelters where the people cook, eat, have a rest, and share conversations during the ceremonies. Another important space is the *paliwe*, which is a long and narrow field to play the *palin*, a 'sacred' sport that has an important role in strengthening and creating socio-political relations between communities/groups.

4. The reconfiguration of the participatory process: towards a 'museography of disagreement' (2005 – 2007)

From Paillalef's arrival, several formal and informal activities took place in the Museum. The most significant of these events were the first ceremonies at the place performed by local Mapuche communities, for which a *ngillatuwe* and a *paliwe* were held. Also, a number of traditional Mapuche authorities in the area demanded that the Museum's name be changed (the latter bore the name of a Chilean ex-president and used the concept 'folkloric' in its title). At the same time, the doors of the institution were opened for a series of workshops and informal educational activities organized by the Museum's team and Mapuche collaborators, aimed at the Mapuche and interested *winka* (Chilean/strangers, usually used in a pejorative way).

Our first research activity at the Museum was exemplary. During a cold day in September, an important ceremony took place, with a high number of people discussing in different open and closed places of the Museum. There was a tense atmosphere of concern and anger among the participants. A Mapuche leader said to us:

> 'Do you know about a project here? There is a conspiracy here in Arauco... a political conspiracy, because here the *peñi* ('brothers') and the *lamngen* ('sisters') have a division and that's something recent. Those wooden shelters over there (at the *ngillatuwe*) were made to organize a protest against a project to convert the *ngillatun*, the sacred

> ceremony, into a national heritage. Most of us do not agree, we do not want to give our wisdom to others, it is always from us, as our ancestors taught us, our parents. I remember as if it were yesterday when my father and my mother told me that the principles and the sacred knowledge should not be sold, that they should be preserved.' (Martínez, Menares, Mora, & Stüdemann, 2005: 2).

We soon learnt that the initiative to turn the *ngillatun* into a national heritage came from CONADI, as part of State strategies to conserve the diversity of indigenous cultures in Chile. However, an important number of Mapuche leaders and their communities rejected the idea and organized a *ngillatun* at the Museum to voice their opposition to the project and plead to the gods for the success of that defense. We were facing a clash between two 'cultural logics': one, trying to administrate the culture as a cultural resource (heritage) that should be protected by the multicultural State; the other, based on the Mapuche political aesthetic that refused to let external agents to de-contextualize and appropriate it within a State project of national integration. It should be noted that, ultimately, this heritage project never concretized due to Mapuche protests.

4.1. The Mapuche perspectives confronting the 'old' discourse of the Museum

From a museographic perspective, the main goal of redesigning the Museum was to insert the Mapuche point of view into the exhibition. This desire was prominent in a preliminary work-plan presented by the Mapuche writer Leonel Lienlaf, who was commissioned by DIBAM to elaborate the exhibition`s outline. The role of the anthropological team was that of facilitating the participatory process of socializing, deepening and complementing the work plan with the communities. We were particularly interested in the reactions of the Mapuche to the official representations of their culture presented in the 'old' exhibition, so as to better convey their own views about their cultural heritage and history.

One such theory held that the Mapuche presence in the territory was to be explained by the 'American settlement theories' of prehistoric migrations from the North, complemented by the evolutionist archaeological/anthropological views of two researchers of the early 20th Century: Guevara and Latchman. The latter, based on ideas of 'cultural stages', with the migratory influences of 'advanced' cultures on the local 'primitives', conforming the indigenous local society (see Guevara, 1929; Latchman, 1924). These scientific explanations were complemented with a general portrayal of the Mapuche aesthetic as a static culture by presenting a series of objects as they were used in the past – relics of an undeveloped present – seen as part of the national folklore. In the same guise, the curatorship asserted that this

‘primitive’ culture had been irredeemably annexed by the ‘modern’ Chilean Republic during the 19th Century, without any reference to the history of Mapuche resistance, nor the injustices/crimes committed against their people during the periods of land occupation by militaries and settlers[81].

Immediately, the Mapuche started to criticize this dominant museographic approach. To begin with, they claimed the current validity of their society and culture, asking for a renovation of the exhibition in order to present a ‘vibrant culture’ that would incorporate objects, ceremonies, and concepts as they are used presently. But not only did they express interest in contextualizing these in the present but also discussing their role in the future. This processual view of their material culture was a key epistemological concern for the Mapuche. On the one hand, the participants did not understand what the goal was of showing ‘death’ objects hanging on the walls, an issue that questioned the very concept of the Museum. From their point of view, the constitution of an object is only complete when it is used for the purpose for which it was made, and that can only in a specific socio-cultural context. If this is impossible – as is the case in a museum – it is necessary to represent clearly how that object is used, and, also, how it was constructed (specialists, materials, technics); but just like an abstraction, an approach that couldn`t reach completely the different dimensions of an object (practical, ceremonial, political, etc.).

Hence, one proposal was to use the Museum’s *ruka* and the ceremonial places, to perform their culture by using the ‘objects’, but not as part of the exhibition. Having made this proposal, we could notice an unbridgeable paradox for the participatory museographic project: the only manner to represent the Mapuche culture in a valid way is outside the exhibition. However, rather than a museographic paradox (to be resolved through sophisticated design methods), that proposal undermined the museographic logic itself, becoming the expression of a structural reconfiguration of the spaces within the Museum that had started even before the launch of the participatory intervention: the main role of the place was to serve as a platform for the Mapuche ceremonial-political complex. From being a State institution that represents/integrates the culture of the 'Other', the place was being transformed into a socio-spatially configured space for the expression of the Mapuche political aesthetic.

[81] For a deep analysis of the old museography and the institutional process to reshuffle it, see Crow (2011).

4.2. The Mapuche material culture and the constitution of a ceremonial-political complex

In 2007, another step for the participatory museography was taken. The DIBAM asked the same group of professionals to gather ethnographic data about some objects/concepts belonging to the collection, that lacked a characterization from the Mapuche view.

We encountered again the Mapuche insistence on the use of cultural objects in specific places, for ceremonial and political purposes. The question that lingered on was why? After a series of workshops, we realized that the conventional museographic distinctions between the material and immaterial, past and present, culture and politics only functioned as a deterrent in the constitution of a Mapuche subject. Further, it became clear that historically, materiality and its specific aesthetic has been crucial for the Mapuche process of subjectivization. To approach this constitution of a subject through the lens of the material culture, we will introduce the case of a material object and its role in the ceremonial-political complex.

The *pivilka* is a musical wind instrument, used by the Mapuche from ancestral times. It is a vertical flute with a hole (or two) to blow, closed at its base, generally without fingering holes (see Figures 1 and 2). This object as part of the exhibition was not recognized by the Mapuche in its 'cultural totality', being proposed their use as part of a ceremonial set to present it as a 'real' *pivilka*.

Figure 1: Ancient anthropomorphic stone *pivilka* (Collection of the Mapuche Museum of Cañete. Photographer: Juan Astudillo).

Figure 2: Wooden contemporaneous *pivilka* (Collection of the Mapuche Museum of Cañete. Photographer: Juan Astudillo).

The *pivilka*`s size ranges from 3.5 cm to 25 cm long (Grebe, 1974: 38), but the most recent no less than 10 cm. Their design can be anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, phytomorphic, with arrowhead form, or as a simple tube rounded at the top.

Quoting several chronicles from the 16th to the 20th Century, we can verify the continuity of the Mapuche musical practice, with the *pivilka* always fulfilling a main role in combination with the *trutruka, ñolkin, kullkull* (another wind instruments), *kultrun* (sacred drum), *kaskawilla* (set of small bells), among others, as an essential performance to create a sacred atmosphere during the ceremonies (Greenhill, 1986: 7-9). More in-depth, the Mapuche music has been described by ethnographical research as an indissoluble complex, where, from the Mapuche understanding, it is not possible to isolate their components under the concepts of 'musical instruments' (it's possible only as part of an analytical abstraction). Moreover, this musical expression must be performed with social/religious/cultural motives, normally, in a ritual context, especially the *ngillatun* (Ibid.: 28). Indeed, as we verified during our fieldworks, the sacred condition of the *pivilka* is 'essential', as part of the Mapuche musical ceremonial complex (an important element within the broad aesthetic regime of the Mapuche subject). Juan Viluñir, a wise *lonko* of the area, introduced us to the ceremonies at the Museum from a musical perspective. When he was asked about the Museum's *pivilka*, he replied:

> 'My father had a sister who was *machi*, my aunt, then he made all the instruments, made the horses for the *kuriche*, made the knives[82], made the *pivilka*, the *kultrun,* and we saw how he did it. He told us the secrets how it had to look good (...). Those (*pivilka*) are occupied by the musicians in the events, the *pivilkeros* (...) one touches one, and the other another one, then they combine one sound with the other, so the sounds are distorted. That is why they have to play a higher one (the note), and a lower one (...). Then, it is known that two *pivilkeros* are playing, and that is the music that makes you happy.' (Menares, Mora & Stüdemann, 2007: 72)

From here, we have the crafting of the *pivilka* by an expert, as part of a ceremonial set (not only music instruments). Also, the *pivilkeros* are not alone during the performance: they play in direct coordination with another one, and with the rest of the 'musicians', as the only manner to create the proper sacred atmosphere; configuring, acoustically, the Mapuche ceremonial place. In this sense, the 'happiness' that the *lonko* referred to is related with the high levels of intensity and coordination that the sacred music reaches – inviting the people to dance (*purrun*) – a fact that is fundamental in the enactment of the ritual to the gods and ancestors. Even more, as we pointed out, during the *ngillatun* this practice is necessary (among others) to drive the *machi* into a state of trance. In that moment, through her, the *lonko* can ask to the ancestors' spirits about important cultural and socio-political issues of this world.

[82] The horses and the knives are made by wood, being used in different performances by the *kuriche*, who are assistants of the *machi* and 'guards' during the *ngillatun* (taking care of the protocols and the participants' behave).

As we noted in the section above, there was a socio-spatial reconfiguration of the Museum, which was fundamental for the transformation of the position and uses of the objects within those places. Now, instruments such as the *pivilka*, even if they are represented in the formal exhibition, fulfill their main role as part of ceremonial performances at the Museum`s sacred places (see Figure 3); namely, configuring the space according to the Mapuche political aesthetic.

Figure 3: Ceremony to close a *palin* at the Museum in 2017 (Photographer: Felipe Durán). The *peñi* ('brother') in the middle is playing the *pivilka* in combination with the *peñi`s trutruka* on the right. The Museum is a space for performing 'ancestral ceremonies' with a view to making public the existence of political disputes between rural Mapuche communities and the dominant Chilean order.

It is important to remark that the commoditization of Mapuche cultural elements through interventions based on multiculturalism have been intense during the last decades in the Cañete area. Although spaces exist for small-scale commerce of Mapuche objects at the Museum for interested craftsmen (focused on the tourists/visitors), the general reconfiguration of objects and spaces has mainly promoted the production of these objects within the Mapuche cultural complex. The commercialization of objects has remained as something marginal, mainly during the high touristic season. On the contrary, the encouraging of the production of objects for ceremonial-political uses is promoted through a continuous education about their making, and meanings, for instance, by workshops and seminars guided by Mapuche at the Museum.

5. The Museum as a current platform for political dissent (2015 – 2017)

As we noted in the last sections, the Mapuche material-cultural complex constitutes a whole set related with daily life and ceremonies. At the same time, it is linked with the socio-political context where they are created and performed. Now, we want to address more in-depth how this cultural complex has evolved over the last years (after the participation processes) at the Museum.

For the Mapuche participants, a main issue to construct a 'new' Museum, namely, to reconfigure that space, was to change its old *winka* name. Since the re-inauguration on 2010, after a long process which included the approval by law at the Chilean Congress, the name of the Museum name was changed to 'Mapuche Museum: Ruka Kimvn Taiñ Volil - Juan Cayupi Huechicura'. The concept of 'folkloric', and the name of the Chilean ex-president, were replaced by a local/participatory interpretation of the place, that means 'the house of our roots' knowledge', and by the figure of the last historical *lonko* (Cayupi) who had the political control over the terrain of the Museum. However, the end of this process was never 'officially' celebrated in a Mapuche way at the Museum. Hence, in October 2015, Juana Paillalef called a group of *lonko*, wise people (*kimce*), and other participants of the previous processes for a *trawun*, to discuss what to do. Reflecting on the *ngillatuwe*, the consensus was to organize a *ngillatun* to close the process that started more than one decade ago. That meeting was the starting point for a long process of *trawun* (5 in total), ceremonial protocols and social-political instances that are necessary for organizing such an important ceremony.

Since the first *trawun*, the *ruka* was the main meeting point. This wooden conical type of construction was used by the Mapuche families as houses, until their gradual disappearance for that use during the European and Chilean settler influences. Today, some people still construct the *ruka*, but normally as an encounter place (not inhabiting it permanently). Its materiality inside represents the Mapuche daily life in the ancestral land, being a place to share knowledge/stories linked with it, and conversations about the problems of the territory. Assembled around the central wood fire, the participants showed a high level of concern and even desperation (some of them meeting again after a long time).

Generally, the main topics that they addressed related to problems with the agroforestry industry on the different territories: struggles for land, and the adverse ecological effects of the exotic plantations, such as the lack of water and the acidity on the soil, that impacts on the native flora/fauna and the extensive agriculture. At the same time, the conversations were

complemented with stories about violence coming from the police and landowners against Mapuche families during the current processes of land recovery. Also, reflections about the political control coming from the State over their people are recurrent: 'The young people spoiled it... they sold out to government projects without respect to their (traditional) authorities. If they paid attention to us, it would be another story' – said a commoner, with the approval of the assistants. This last point, shared and discussed in the *ruka*, represented the position of several Mapuche authorities on the territory, who feel that their traditional leadership has been diminished by State multicultural programmes working with 'young' leaders: 'In this area there was a *chileanization* of the culture, especially during the last five years. Before, it was autonomous. (...) Some ceremonies are performed in Spanish, wearing modern clothes. (...) Many people use the Mapuche traditions only to adjudicate projects, not in their daily life' –a *lonko* pointed out, sharing with us some days before.

From the beginning of the participatory processes, following the Mapuche protocols, all meetings and activities concerning Mapuche were started and concluded with a *ngillanmawün* performed on the *ngillatuwe*. After the encounters in the *ruka*, all the participants moved to this sacred place to pray for the success of the meeting, but also opening a space to discuss again about current socio-political issues.

These short ceremonies normally are led by a *lonko* and/or otherwise Mapuche with *cedungun* (Mapuche language) knowledge. In our meetings, important *lonko* of the area were in charge, opening the ceremony with emotional speeches about historical dispossession, the current unfair territorial situation, and the loss of Mapuche culture (language, religion, traditional vestments, etc.). During one ceremony, the oldest *lonko* of the area, after having explained how the Mapuche lost their territory to the Spanish Crown and, later, to the Republic, related how his family once escaped to the mountains when the Chilean police attacked them. From there he saw how the militarized *winka* burned their *ruka*. Even more shocking, the settlers behind the police attack were the family of Juan Antonio Ríos, – the ex-president who was honored by the Museum's name – occupying Mapuche territory in the first half of the 20th Century. Above all, these discourses raised the awareness among the assistants about the difficult Mapuche situation, today and historically, before starting with the pray itself.

During the moment for praying – second part of the *ngillanmawün* – mainly the *lonko*, but also every participant recited long verses in *cedungun* directed to the divinity (represented on the earth, the native nature, the sacred geography), in a very intimate and intense way. Each person

had flour, mote (boiled corn) and *müdai* (fermented fruit drink), to give offers to the earth. Finally, all the participants proceeded to dance around the *rewe*, confirming their union, strength, and commitment with the divinity.

As we mentioned, the *ngillanmawün* is also performed during the *ngillatun* (in combination with other sacred activities), having a stronger religious significance with the *machi`s* presence. Therefore, it was a main topic for the *ngillatun`s* organization to decide which shaman could be invited. Finally, the decision fell on the *machi* Margarita, a wise woman living in a distant territory, but famous due to her wide experience and sacred power, being also related with processes of land recovery in our study area.

However, the process to involve the *machi* with a *ngillatun* is complex, requiring a protocol to convince her for taking part of the sacred act. The main *lonko* in charge of the organization has to visit her home at first light of dawn, to explain the characteristics of the specific *ngillatun*, expounding why her participation is necessary. In this case, trying to ensure a successful trip, the travel began in the middle of the night, organized by a *werken* (messenger) team:

We depart from Cañete at dark with a younger *lonko* very nervous as it was his first time inviting a *machi.* He really wants to learn how to proceed, and then do it by himself for future *ngillatun* in his community. Some minutes later, we pick up two exhausted *kona* (young 'brave' Mapuche), who had slept only a few hours during the last days due to their political activism. At last, it was the turn of the main *lonko* who was waiting at his rural cottage. Just when we started the engines again, he entrusted our mission to *Nge Nge Chen* (God).

During the travel, the team (people coming from different communities) was sharing knowledge and stories about the territories. For example, the oldest *lonko* told us about the rural misery that his Mapuche 'reserve' suffered until the new land repartition of the Agrarian Reform in the 1990s (driven, in part, by the Mapuche political pressure on the area). The *kona* were relating their struggles and adventures during the current processes of land recovery from the big agroforestry companies. Once we arrived to our destination, the oldest *lonko* exclaimed: - 'wear your *makun* (traditional wrap) right now, to look like human beings!'.

Once talking with the *machi* and her *machive* (her man, and assistant), the latter showed reticence to participate, given the *machi's* full agenda that month. At some point, the main *lonko* understood that the *mach*i was close to reject the invitation (she was keeping a passive silence), and, then, he started to explain in-depth the details of the participatory story at the

Museum, stressing the political process of occupation of the sacred areas by them, and the change of the name of the institution as the successful end of a political petition made by the local traditional authorities. Immediately, the *machi* changed her attitude and became very interested on the ceremony, accepting the invitation. (Field-notes 2015)

As we saw, the visit to the *machi* – as a socio-political protocol – was an important experience for the team in charge, that, coming from the *ngillatun*, goes beyond and behind the celebration of the act itself. We could see how the relations between Mapuche authorities are performed with an emphasis on their roles as protagonists in a political aesthetic.

Finally, the *ngillatun* was celebrated in the end of 2015, as a massive event that brought together hundreds of Mapuche coming from dozens of communities and territories. The main socio-political features of this event followed the protocol described in the sections above[83]. That event was the celebration of a successful reconfiguration of the Museum by the communities – a process that, in fact, is ongoing.

5.1. The new proposals of the museography. Politicizing cultural narratives

'This Museum here in the province, in the region, we have to cultivate it. Because here live some of the greatest warriors', pointed out a commoner in the opening of a Museum workshop in 2016. As a last description of the reconfiguration of these spaces, we discuss how the Mapuche foreground their own narratives, experiences and perspectives in participatory interventions so as to cast light on their present socio-political condition.

In March and May 2016, two workshops aiming to (re)think the current Museum were implemented[84]. With the participation of heterogeneous groups of Mapuche from the nearby area of Cañete, proposals were collected to develop changes in the museography. The main issue, proposed by the participants, was the same as the one we addressed one decade before: how to approach an understanding of the Mapuche culture as a whole inter-related system of material/practical, socio-political, historical, and ceremonial complex. We realized that the new museography had not completely fulfilled the expectations of the Mapuche, since, as noted, the exhibitions could never represent the culture in its totality, namely, the aesthetic of the Mapuche subject. Nevertheless, we set to address their ideas, since they proposed to improve those museographic abstractions incorporating new discourses within the curatorship. To begin

[83] For respect to the Mapuche protocol, we will not describe a specific/concrete *ngillatun* celebration.
[84] These workshops were designed and implemented by the researcher in combination with the Museum`s team. The results have been used for this chapter and as products for the Museum.

with, they expected an exhibition which contextualizes the objects into the history of tension and violent colonialism introduced during the different periods of time on the *wallmapu* (ancestral land), in terms of social exclusion, economic pauperization, and ecological changes provoked by external actors (mainly the Chilean State, settlers, and private companies) controlling the resources and the land. For instance, one participant remarked about the *wampo* (canoe), which is presented in the exhibition principally as a mortuary symbol:

> 'The majority of the ancient Mapuche lived at the edges of the rivers. We must link this with our time. To build a *wampo* there were old trees, and a determined one was chosen, not everything was cut. They asked for permission (to the forest). (...) This has changed because now the rivers have no water. We should go there and see why there is no water. Because those who came did not care for the land. (...) They planted eucalyptus, they extracted everything that produces water, the forest, medicine, everything that we use. (...) We cannot sow, there is no water to drink. So, in this Museum, I think you can show how this has been transformed over time, and why. It is important to show this fight with the agroforestry and confront the view of the State, which tells us that we are terrorists.' (Workshop 2016)

Another important topic was how to relate the Mapuche ceremony with the current political struggles, in particular those related to land reclamation processes. In this respect, the *ngillatun* and the *palin* played an important role in the exhibition, not merely as a cultural and religious manifestation, but also as part of current, ongoing, struggles and claims for Mapuche political autonomy:

> 'The *palin* is a political, a social Mapuche space, which always aimed at combining practices of self-care with socio-political reflection. But it also serves to make deals. In a *palin,* for example, agreements are made about when a *ngillatun* will be organized. It is a channel of information, inter-territorially.' (Commoner, Workshop 2016)

Also linked with the ceremonial aspects, the current and historic demands for land are directly related with the recuperation of sacred places, located now in properties of the agroforestry industry and other private businesses. As a young female leader noted:

> 'The (land) recovery in some way is a debt we owe to our ancestors, that is present in the ceremony, because in past times, they had their sacred places. And today they have been alienated, they have been taken away. And they don`t let us in because the foresters have locked them up. So, if the Chileans could realize that, that the Mapuche are not fighting because they are lazy, because they want comfort. They are fighting to maintain an ancestral culture, that lives to us as a spirit.' (Workshop 2016)

Finally, workshop participants coincided in the need of discussing the claims raised by the current Mapuche political movements, which are proposing concepts such as Mapuche nation and political autonomy. In the current exhibition, these topics are only mentioned in some paragraphs on a panel. Hence, the idea is to incorporate the discussion of complex political issues within the Mapuche society, given that there is no homogenous conceptualization of these terms among the different groups and people and also to inform the rest of the (mostly Chileans) visitors about the real significance of those ideas/projects, many of which are surrounded by prejudice and fears:

> 'When we talk about land reclamation, it has never been said that all people will be thrown out. You are not throwing people who coexist here and live together. Because the people who live today, who are ordinary people, have the same needs that any Mapuche has (...). The biggest problem is with the big companies that today have appropriated the different spaces that are sacred for the Mapuche (...) And the autonomy does not only happen with the topic of lands, it goes through the subject of the spirituality, of our beliefs. With our ways of understanding life, death, and transcendence. Our ceremonies.' (*Kimce*, workshop 2016).

Through the paragraph above, we also want to highlight a common statement among Mapuche activists: the conflict is not with the Chilean society, but with the segments that oppress their communities in an economic, political and ecological way – refusing to acknowledge their existence as a people – through governmental and private projects that disrespect their lifeways and ceremonial practices.

6. Conclusion

While in the past the Mapuche heritage was seen as an archaic historical phenomenon within an evolutionary time-line now, with the advent of neoliberal multiculturalism, the Mapuche are presented as a 'brand', an (empty) aesthetic product that can be commoditized. While Mapuche culture itself is becoming a commodity, Mapuche individuals are encouraged to become entrepreneurs. This is a strategy for doing away with collective Mapuche aspirations – especially the struggle for land – suturing spaces for political antagonisms in a process of depoliticization. The question we aimed to answer in this chapter was: how do the Mapuche react to that logic of multicultural late capitalism? In Chile, multicultural interventions have been acclaimed by different governmental instances, as a proof of the possibility of Mapuche integration within the nation. In providing a counterpoint to this narrative we showed how, for

the case of the Museum of Cañete, this attempt to appropriate and frame participatory experiences through the national imaginary has remained at the level of discourse, without penetrating the daily practices and uses that the Mapuche have deployed in that new platform.

The result, instead, has been the constitution of a 'museography of disagreement' that has become strongly linked to Mapuche social movements. The Museum has been converted into a platform for (re)politicization, an arena to perform acts and discourses against the neoliberal-multicultural logic, in short, a place for presenting the Mapuche political aesthetic. Indeed, this intervention has given way to a broad process of subjectivization of the Mapuche, on the basis of a dis-identification with the dominant order ('no, I`m not the Mapuche of your multicultural imaginary'). Instead of assuming and accommodating to the participatory museography as envisaged by the State, they appropriate it by disagreement, reconfiguring its spaces and modes of use.

Finally, we must respond another question: how does the case of the Mapuche Museum differ from other – non-conflictual – experiences of participatory museography that seem not to be incompatible with the multicultural logic of neoliberal late capitalism?

In our view, the Museum experience was decisive, first, for its capacity to mobilize broad segments of the Mapuche population in the staging of a political aesthetics. The latter, involving traditional authorities, wise people, political activists, intellectuals, but also commoners, peasants, and urban workers, who became set out to deploy a cultural heritage based on centuries of disagreements with the dominant order. These participants are performers of ceremonies and other protocols linked with the historical and current socio-political conflicts that the Mapuche society has confronted. Secondly, the aesthetic regime which they represent needs the right conditions to be performed. If these conditions are not given, risks are high that people will refuse to participate, or, finally will conform themselves to the standards of the external interventions (following the multicultural logic). This are the cases of several experiences described, for example, by authors criticizing the impacts of multicultural programmes regarding urban indigenous participation (see Antileo, 2013), or the traditional medicine (see Bolados García, 2012; Cuyul, 2013). At the Museum, in turn, from the first day of the reformation process, the performance of ceremonies and the Mapuche protocol in each meeting was supported by the Direction, as a condition to conduct a Mapuche process. That fact was crucial, opening a door that could not be closed again; a door to the reconfiguration

of a *dissensual* space according to the ceremonial Mapuche complex, designating new hierarchies, roles, and modes of access.

Here, we have proposed that the permeability and inefficiency of governmental tactics should be analysed from the perspective and strategies of the 'part of no-part', the oppressed subjects, by focusing on the articulations, tensions and ruptures of 'the no-part' with the social order. In this case, the analysis of the refusal of accommodating to the multicultural logic, but also of the appropriation of its tools for creating performative stages of dissent with 'the sensible', allows us to analyse the Mapuche political aesthetic as an emancipatory movement. Hence, we argued that sites as the Museum of Cañete can be analysed as arenas in which a 'Mapuche subject' is constituted.

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[i] This term indicates the insertion of the 'social issue' into the logic of neoliberal governance, the latter, introduced in Chile during the 1970s by the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet. When the democratic government assumed in the early 90s, the high indicators of rural poverty – especially among the Mapuche – alerted the authorities that it was necessary to design special policies and development plans supporting the local smallholders. However, that process was deployed without changing the structural agrarian situation (the control of the land, resources, and production by the big companies) (see Kay, 2002).

[ii] During the decade of 1870, the Chilean army proceed to a violent occupation of all the Mapuche territory to the South of the Bío-Bío river, in what was called the 'Pacification of Araucanía'. That river worked as an official frontier in between the Spanish Crown and the Mapuche for around two centuries, in what specialists of international justice have consider as a valid agreement of two sovereign nations (Aylwin, 2002: 4). After that process, the Mapuche had to live in reductions that represented the 6% of their original land (Boccara, 2005), which had an extension of around 10.000.000 hectares (until the 'Seno de Reloncaví' in the south) (Correa, 2005: 10). In this manner, for the Mapuche, this act configures a sort of 'original betrayal' (fieldwork notes, 2015 – 2016) by the Chilean State, which decades before, during the national emancipation process, promised fraternity to them.

[iii] The Mapuche society had also important changes influenced by the Spanish Colony. The massive inclusion of its population as forced labour, the re-localization of their living places, and the cultural influence of the settlers hit intensely, especially on the territories to the north of Biobio river. However, on the territories that we are focused (to the South), the Crown control was only exercised partially (under a constant state of war) during the second half of the 16th Century. Finally, the Spanish troops were expulsed, being later a series of recognitions of the Mapuche territory sovereignty from 1641 to 1872 (including Republican times), through political meetings ('parlamentos') where peace agreements were negotiated (Contreras, 2011). Therefore, they had the 'freedom' for organizing themselves politically and economically based on their family cores, and clans on these territories for more than two centuries, without the existence of a State or another kind of re-distribution permanent/centralized system. Controlling large extensions of land, mainly used for the cattle raising and agriculture (for subsistence, and to commercialize with merchants on the borders), they developed a solvent local economy (Correa, 2010), that was interrupted by the Pacification of Araucanía.

Chapter 4: More-than-a-game: the Mapuche *palin* and the politicization of sacred spaces in the Chilean neoliberal era.

1. Introduction

The territory is on fire. During a summer morning in 2016, a group of Mapuche people is burning an area of 100x20 meters inside a ranch they claim as part of their own territory. The objective is to create a *paliwe,* the playing field where the sacred game called *palin* has taken place for centuries. It has been a hard work to prevent the fire from spreading outside the established limits just with the scourge of branches. All this occurs in front of astonished passers-by from a nearby road. Once the fire has cleaned the area from pasture and bushes, the Mapuche people continue marking the field with sand lines and by planting *canelos* (sacred trees) in both limits of the field. Afterwards, the people share a meal, hold a ceremony, and then the game begins. Dozens of players and their families have come to this *palin,* from different points of the Arauco Province. The event has been organized in support of the territorial recuperation which is being carried out by the local Mapuche community (field notes, 2016)[85].

The *palin,* or *juego de chueca* (game of chueca) in Spanish, is known for its rudeness. The players must be barefoot on the hard, rugged and powdery ground for long hours. However, as will be described in this chapter, the *palin* is an event that goes far beyond the game itself. It is a ceremonial instance and constitutive socio-political event where multiple actors participate, apart from the players. These actors have set up this sacred instance, established from the margins of the dominant order, as will be described below.

From the 16th to the 20th Century, according to the changing discourses during the different historic periods, the Spanish Crown and later, the Chilean State, carried out many attempts to exterminate, hide, assimilate or civilize the Mapuche culture (see Boccara, 1999). Nowadays, according to a multicultural-neoliberal logic, the State has opened its doors to integrate the Mapuche people (and their cultural performances) into the cultural diversity of Chile, as a celebrated act of tolerance. The *palin*, under this logic, has been targeted by the State as an important cultural heritage to be protected. It was even declared a Chilean National Sport in 2004, and has been promoted through a series of governmental programmes: organizing

[85] The etnographic material of this article is based on the filedwork carried out by the author between the years 2015 and 2017 in the Arauco Province, Chile.

tournaments; as part of the intercultural education curriculum in public schools; installing the *paliwe* (field to play *palin*) as an educational facility in indigenous communities; performing the game as a protocol of 'cultural contact' in official encounters between State representatives and the Mapuche, etc.

In this chapter, based on the work of Rancière, Žižek, and Swyngdeouw, this kind of approach and managing of the 'Other' by the State is defined as 'post-political', characteristic of a neoliberal governance strategy which tends to depoliticize society. In short, depoliticization is triggered by presenting technical solutions based on an economic rationality to resolve political problems. In this case, a specific territorial-political issue is at stake: a conflict which developed since the beginnings of the Chilean Republic, involving the Mapuche people, the State, and private actors (especially landowners and more recently, agroforestry companies). As will be shown, Mapuche events such as the *palin* play an important socio-political role within these indigenous groups, as a way of making political claims visible. Indeed, despite the attempts of State institutions aiming at the integration of the *palin* as an inoffensive cultural-recreational-sportive event, this sacred game – as it was historically a main feature of it – is currently used by the Mapuche to manifest political disagreement. The latter, as it will be described, is carried out by means of a series of ceremonies, speeches, meetings, performances, and the high level of political symbolism of certain objects. Even more – as briefly illustrated through the vignette above – the *palin* is currently also a strategic performance of contestation and dissent aiming at land recuperation.

Following this, an important question arises: What happens when the content or even the existence of cultural elements included by the multicultural-neoliberal State start to function surreptitiously in a disruptive way, politically challenging the status quo? And, from the subaltern perspective: How do the Mapuche people react when their political performances, which include critical perspectives of the social-political-economic establishment, are co-opted by the dominant order so as to quell their disruptive potentialities?

In the next sections, the *palin* is analysed as a performance that shows a specific political content in opposition to the neoliberal logic of land control, the latter especially represented – from the Mapuche perspective – by agroforestry land grabbing and other forms of industrial exploitation. According to Jacques Rancière, real politics begins at the moment the excluded groups of society declare openly their disagreement with core aspects of the order of things,

thereby calling into question its basic presuppositions. Taking this as a premise, the *palin* is analysed as a carrier of a radical and democratic proposition, politicizing spaces and places.

Furthermore, according to Alan Badiou´s theory of politics, I define the *palin* in its relevance as part of the Mapuche process of subjectivation. That means that the sacred game has been crucial for collectivizing the Mapuche around political ongoing organizations. As part of this process, I argue, the indigenous subject uses/appropriates also tools of the State apparatus which attempt to impose a Western-sports logic to the *palin*, in the process depoliticizing the game. I show that even though the aesthetic characteristics of the traditional event are misrepresented and distorted during *palin* events partially or totally organized by State institutions, these new (apolitical) instances are, in turn, reconfigured by Mapuche groups. This creates new categories of *palin* where its political functions prevail.

The article is organized as follows. First, the *palin* is briefly described and contextualized in colonial and republican times. Secondly, the theoretical framework presents my interpretation of the political condition of the Mapuche people during the current Chilean neoliberal period, explaining the current relevance of the sacred game as a platform of dissent. Thirdly, the different categories of the sacred game are defined and later contrasted according to their main features. This exercise is based on four ethnographic experiences with *palin*: a traditional game in a 'round trip' format; a game convened in a territorial recuperation process; an event executed in a State-owned Museum that has been appropriated by Mapuche communities; and finally, a *palin* game in a Mapuche community, organized by a State institution of cultural promotion. As a conclusion, I maintain that the *palin* event is organized as part of an emancipatory sequence of politicization of instances and places. This sequence is exercised in contraposition to the cultural programmes and objectives of the State, whose aim it is to obfuscate the political intentionalities of cultural Mapuche activities, as part of a strategy of neoliberal governance.

2. The Mapuche *palin*. A description of the game and a historical overview

The *palin* game is played by two teams of (ideally) 11 to 15 male players (it must be an odd number), with the same number of players on each side. These teams face each other organized in couples of rival players along a large and narrow land field (approximate range of 5 to 10

meters in width and 80 to 150 meters in length)[86]. Each player carries a *wiño*, which is a stick of 1 to 1.5 meters length with a curved end, used to hit a small wood ball (*pali*). To start, a couple in the middle of the field fights the ball to launch it into the opponent side of the field. Then, the team in attack/offensive position tries to move the ball along the field in its complete length, until the ball crosses the vertical limit. This movement means a *raya* (a point). Players in the defensive positions, on the other hand, must prevent the *raya*, either by moving the ball out of the lateral limits of the field (to resume the game from the beginning) or by playing it in opposite direction (to produce a counterattack). In general, each player has a personal fight in a determinate zone with his rival partner, called the *koncho*. However, each player is also free to standout and cover other roles.

As it was noted, this game is complemented by a series of performances that turn it into a complex event. Those features will be addressed later when introducing the distinct categories of the *palin*.

Ever since the first chroniclers in the 16th and 17th Centuries described the *palin* as a pre-colonial ritual practiced from the Central Valley to Chiloé Island (López von Vriessen, 1992), it had to deal with dominant external institutions. Until the 18th Century, *palin* was associated with the resolution of conflicts between Mapuche groups, and to make important political decisions, always depending on the result of the match[87] (López von Vriessen, 1988). In this context, the Spanish Crown, in cooperation with ecclesiastic authorities, tried to erase this political/legal indigenous system by accusing it as a focus of insurgency and diabolic[88] worship. By the beginning of the 19th Century, a series of prohibitive measures targeting the *palin* during the former centuries had achieved to reduce its practice, but never erase it completely (López von Vriessen, 2009).

[86] This range is based on field observations, which could be different in other areas or contexts. In reference to the past, the Mapuche oral memories and some cronics describe *palin* games that took place in kilometric fields, involving hundreads of players.

[87] Normally, through an agreement of their leaders (*lonko*) to perform a *palin*, the Mapuche avoided violent confrontations resolving both daily life conflicts (e.g. one group accusing the other of stealing cattle), and political disputes within alliances of Mapuche groups about how to proceed when confronting a crisis or external threats. The latter could be achieved as *palin* was a part of a broad system of political deliberation and was played after political meetings/discussions, in case no agreement could be reached.

[88] The *palin* game always went together with intense rituals where the Mapuche pray, offer music, food, dance, among others, to the divinities, spirits, and ancestors. According to the Christian beliefs, these polytheistic performances neglected the existence of only One God, being promoted by and directed to the devil.

After the Chilean occupation of the Mapuche territory, south of the Bío-Bío river[89], in the last third of the 19th Century, the practice of *palin* – as well other indigenous ceremonies – was kept only barely alive due to the many difficulties experienced by the Mapuche, such as racial discrimination, cultural disparagement, and a broad economic impoverishment of the Mapuche society, triggered by the loss of most of their ancestral land. However, since the 1960s, the practice of *palin* was revitalized. This reactivation took place in parallel with a resurgence of the territorial Mapuche demands (Ñanculef, 1993), which were fundamental in demands for an agrarian reform in that period[90] (Correa et al., 2005). The *palin* was performed in a context of territorial and political (re)organization, by a people that had been formerly silenced and that was now resolutely coming forward to concretize their claims for rights and territory.

After the dark period of the military dictatorship[91], when many Mapuche communitarian associations were disbanded, the new democratic governments took up a 'cultural pluralist' discourse in the 90s[92]. This was considered necessary to respect and support an ancestral and weakened culture, and, at the same time, to improve the life conditions of Mapuche trough plans of indigenous development. Nevertheless, the definition of the Mapuche culture used by the government to design their intervention programmes operated in an 'anti-political' way, diverting the attention of the public from the complex protocol and political content of Mapuche cultural manifestations. 'Anti-politics', a concept introduced by James Ferguson (1990), refers to the processes triggered by the State and international development agencies under the logic of intervention, which tend to depoliticize structural social and economic problems. Under this logic, the Mapuche people were isolated by the State logic as a traditional culture, decontextualized, for example, from the impacts of agroforestry industry on their communities and the historical conflicts about territory. At the same time, the 'anti-politics

[89] During this period, the Chilean Army proceeded to occupy the whole Mapuche territory that, formerly, had been officially declared as such since the Peace Treaty with the Spanish Crown, in 1641. Since that campaign, so called 'Pacification of Araucanía', colonists, landowners, militaries and others new actors repopulate this area – so rich with agrarian and forestry resources – displacing the Mapuche people to live in indigenous reservations that represented a 6% of their original territory.

[90] During the decade of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s, the Chilean State promoted important agrarian reforms, which were mostly booted by peasant and native movements.

[91] Between 1973 and 1989 the Augusto Pinochet dictatorship governed Chile. During this period, extreme neoliberal reforms based on the Chicago School were introduced, with the de-regularization and promotion of agroforestry market/production as main goals. Also, most of the Mapuche community territory was reconfigured as private property, the legal existence of indigenous people in Chile was erased and many Mapuche were pursued as suspected members of communist cells.

[92] In 1993, the Patricio Aylwin government declared by official constitution the existence of cultural pluralism in Chile. One year after, the *Corporación Nacional de Desarrollo indígena* (CONADI) – National Corporation for Indigenous Development – was created to execute a development agenda meant to be culturally appropriate for ethnic minorities.

machine' (Ibid.) strengthens the presence of the repressive apparatus of the State in conflictive areas, arguing that those resistant parts of society (such as the indigenous non-commodified groups) need the insertion of top-down technical-economic programmes aiming for development and, consequently, social peace.

A case in point is the *palin*. After centuries of cohabitation with the Chilean population, during the 20th Century the Mapuche people also performed parallel versions of the 'traditional'[93] *palin*. As Quiroz Larrea (1986: 28-9) shows, for instance, it was common in the late 1970s to recreate this game during local festivals that were organized by State or other Chilean institutions (or groups) in coordination with Mapuche people. Commonly, these events incorporated some rules and aesthetic elements of the most popular sport in Chile: football (e.g. sport clothes, a referee, time control). In the 1990s, as mentioned, the goal of the democratic governments was to integrate the *palin* performance – and their performers, as well other Mapuche cultural elements – under the wing of a peaceful national cohabitation[94] and indigenous development. Thus, the State tended to support those hybrid versions of the game, which were approached as opened sport/cultural events of the Mapuche for the participation of the rest of society, and for potential plans of (cultural/social/economic) development. Following this logic, the game of *chueca* (the Spanish word for *palin*) was declared Chilean National Sport in 2004[95], meaning an intensification of State support for the *palin*. For instance, from that time on, the Mapuche, relying on the constitution of official Mapuche organizations[96], can apply for resources to perform it.

However, criticism targeting the 'Chilenization' of the *palin* came from Mapuche groups. More specifically, this criticism focuses particularly at the insertion of the Mapuche performance into the logic of the dominant Chilean order. Moreover, the Mapuche people coined the derogatory term of *winka palin* ('Chilean' or 'foreign' *palin*) to denominate these events promoted by government institutions or other external entities that impose a Western sport/recreational logic

[93] The Mapuche call 'traditional' or 'ancient' *palin*, the one which is practiced according to a special set of Mapuche norms and protocol, sacred ceremonies, and other performances since ancestral times until now (according to their own experience, and oral memory).
[94] The main goal of CONADI (one of the principal promoters of the *palin* from the State) from its creation in 1994 is: 'To promote, coordinate, and execute the State action aiming the integral development of indigenous individuals and communities, especially regarding economic, social and cultural issues, promoting their participation within the nation' (CONADI, 2018).
[95] This process was carried out by CONADI in combination with the *Instituto Nacional de Deportes* (IND) – National Sport Institute. From that time, the latter institute has integrated the *palin* into special 'culturally pertinent' programmes in Chile, aiming to 'increase physical activity and sports within the Native People, and the inclusion of their communities' (author´s translation, Instituto Nacional de Deportes [IND], 2017).
[96] The Mapuche groups must be legally registered as indigenous community, or as any other organization of social or cultural interest to apply to State resources.

on the *palin.* Such *winka palin,* for example, take place today in tournaments with *play-offs,* and, perhaps most important of all, without performing the social and political Mapuche protocols inherently connected to traditional *palin*.

At the same time, the *palin* events organized independently by the Mapuche communities continue to be fundamental for the creation and enhancement of internal socio-political networks between Mapuche groups, especially in organizational processes aimed at staging political/territorial demands during the last decades.

Apparently, the distinction between the Mapuche *palin* and *winka palin* is not rigid, because there are events, as I will describe later in this chapter, where their characteristics intersect. Good examples of this are the creation of cultural spaces by the Chilean State, which Mapuche people are able to use with partial autonomy. I will show the relevance of this distinction between Mapuche and *winka* (i.e. non-Mapuche) *palin*, insofar the Mapuche clearly distinguish between the one which is con-substantially related with their subjectivity (the *true palin* as politically disruptive), and the other which is strongly (or even completely) influenced by the *winka* (and thus, not *real),* but which is susceptible to be strategically appropriated by them for political goals.

The analysis in the remainder of this chapter is focused on the major differences in content and signification that the *palin* as an aesthetic performance can have inside a ruptured society. It is ethnographically based in the Arauco Province in Chile, where Mapuche ceremonial performances have been crucial to processes of political demands, and where simultaneously the Chilean State apparatus expands its range of depoliticizing multiculturalist interventions

3. The politicization of spaces as an emancipatory project. A theoretical framework

The ideas on politics of Jaques Rancière (2006, 2011) are useful to understand the features of the *palin* as a Mapuche event performed in a political conflictive context. He defines two opposed faces of 'the political': ´the police´, which are the institutions and norms that define and defend the established social order (or the 'distribution of the sensible' in Rancière's terms); and 'politicization', corresponding to the moment in which the excluded element of that order emerges and thereby challenges the very order of things in a process of emancipation. For Rancière, real politics is not the exercise of power, in terms of the administration of the

population by 'the police' (nowadays, under a democratic-parliamentary system). According to him, a political analysis must rather be focused on politicization, approaching how the people who have been marginalized from the 'distribution of the sensible', 'the part of no-part', create platforms to express disagreement (Rancière, 2011: 73-4). Politicization, indeed, opens a process of subjectivation: 'a mode of acting put into practice by a specific kind of subject and deriving from a particular form of reason' (Rancière, Panagia & Bowlby, 2001: 1).

Accordingly, this chapter analyses the *palin* as one of the main performances of the Mapuche subject who emerges confronting the governance logic of the Chilean 'police'. In concrete, the Mapuche interrupt the dynamics of the State, the agroforestry companies, and other landowners and private actors in Southern Chile, which are aligned as a (neoliberal) 'distribution of the sensible´.

Rancière (2006, 2011) argues that the dominant order defines an official aesthetic regime in which the mentioned distribution is based on, and through which it is operationalized. It is a series of aesthetic norms which regulate what is allowed in a society (in terms of behaviour, acts, language, art, etc.), according to different roles, hierarchies, and forms of access to resources. Normally, this distribution is settled out benefitting the economic interests of the local oligarchy and global capitalist groups. Consequently, the aesthetic configuration of spaces is defined to ensure the continuity of a status quo grounded in economic interests. In our case, agroforestry plantations and State-designated/-designed locations for indigenous communities[97], in combination with State platforms of consultancy, negotiation and cultural promotion to integrate the indigenous difference into this pre-established distribution. Good examples of the latter – Ferguson's so-called 'Anti-Politics Machine' (1990) applied to the case of the Mapuche – are State-sponsored sports practices and events that are deprived of any type of 'subversive' political meanings. This is the case of the *winka palin*, configured normally without considering the inherent moments of political deliberation that this event intrinsically has.

[97] Legal Mapuche communities live in indigenous reserves designated after the land appropriation of external agents taking place since the Pacification of Araucanía in the last third of the 19th Century. From 1994, through CONADI, these communities can also apply to the State land restitution programme. In that case it is CONADI which decides, in the last instance, the extension and location of the land they will buy from private land owners for the community, based on the cultural and social pertinence of the community, the potential of the land for rural indigenous development goals, and the prices of the land market (see Chapter 1 in this dissertation). At the same time, the State supports the agroforestry companies with public funds (see Chapter 1, p 49), and defends their plantations with its repressive apparatus.

Such strategies of governance that disavow the possibility of political contestation, a characteristic of postmodernity, have been defined as 'post-politics'. Žižek (1998) noted the strategic shift of State action in the late 20th Century from merely repressing, contenting and pacifying towards a strategy based on the negation of politics, the foreclosing of political antagonisms, or what he calls depoliticization:

'In post-politics, the conflict of global ideological visions embodied in different parties who compete for power is replaced by a collaboration of enlightened technocrats (economists, public opinion specialists …) and liberal multiculturalists; via the process of negotiation of interests, a compromise is reached in the guise of a more or less universal consensus' (Ibid.: 70).

According to Žižek, the State within this new situation is reduced to a 'mere police agent servicing the (consensually established) needs of the market forces and multiculturalist tolerant humanitarism' (Ibid.). Hence, multiculturalism, as the socio-cultural ideology of neoliberalism, has a key role in defining the intervention programmes of the State. According to Hale (2002: 487), this doctrine 'pro-actively endorse(s) a substantive, if limited, version of indigenous cultural rights, as a means to resolve their own problems and advance their own political agendas (…) predicated on the image of a culturally homogeneous political subject.' Through the promotion of activities such as the *palin* (under depoliticized *winka* versions), the dominant order (or the Rancièrian 'police') configures the spaces that the indigenous activists must occupy, as well the legitimate forms for achieving their claims. At the same time, the forms which remain outside of the neoliberal-multicultural limits are punishable, categorized as belonging to a radical and unauthorized indigenous (Ibid.: 490-498).

Under this logic, 'Otherness' remains as an outsider of the 'distribution of the sensible', as 'the part of the no-part', catalogued as a performer of undesirable aesthetics considered as mere noise, tastelessness, dirtiness – basically, expressing only fury and/or discontent (Rancière, 2011: 74). In the case of the Mapuche, the political disaccreditation of the so-called radicalized Mapuche groups goes even further, as they are accused of being terrorists (see Richards, 2010).

On the other hand, the neoliberal-multicultural State opens the doors for the integration of the 'good indigenous', the depoliticized Mapuche, by focusing particularly on individual entrepreneurs as carriers of inoffensive cultural elements such as handicrafts, natural medicine, tourism, gastronomy, etc., susceptible to be commoditized (for the Mapuche case, see Boccara and Ayala, 2011; Bolados García, 2012).

In Rancièrian terms, this integration implies the reconfiguration of elements that are, in many cases, part of the suppressed aesthetics of disagreement. Thus, neoliberal-multiculturalism must be analysed as a post-political axis of depoliticization 'aimed at grounding the "police's partition of the sensible" so the existing inequalities become invisible or harmless' (Van Puymbroeck and Oosterlynck, 2015: 97).

Having described the two facets of 'the political', it must be asked: How has this process of depoliticization by post-political governance management in Chile affected the Mapuche performances that are grounded in an aesthetic of disagreement? And specifically, regarding the *palin*: What has been the impact of the declaration of the sacred game as a National Chilean Sport in 2004 and the following integration of this event within the logics of a non-political recreative sport? How can we explain the coexistence of the *palin* as a radical performance aiming at land recuperation and/or as a platform to express political dissent on the one hand, and on the other hand the *palin* played under the (partial) control of the State? Or, quoting a central analytical question of Charles Hale (2005: 25) about the impact of neoliberal multiculturalism in Centre America: 'Under what conditions can indigenous movements occupy the limited spaces opened by neoliberal multiculturalism, redirecting them toward their own radical, even utopian political alternatives?'

To respond, it is firstly necessary to separate the logic of post-politics from the effects it potentially creates, in this case, to trigger off a process of depoliticization. According to Swyngedouw, post-politicization 'does not mean the disappearance of politics, but rather the transformation of politics in ways that attempt to suspend the political' (2017: 56). This perspective is crucial for approaching the *palin* today under a post-political context. In this chapter, I show how the *palin has* been transformed by the intervention of the State and other external actors, which led to the creation of new categories of it (performed in parallel to the *true palin*).

However, those categories, as will be shown in the next section, are highly political too. The focus of the analysis thus changes from the intervention of 'the police' that can be understood as the fake face of politics, to the real political facet that represents the *palin*: the sacred game as a space of politicization. In this respect, I argue following the ideas of Swyngedouw (2014: 124), that the *palin* is a tool of politicization insofar it also recovers and reconfigures democratic spaces that have been previously post-politically reconfigured by 'the police' (e.g. by the 2004 declaration of *palin* as a National Chilean Sport). Therefore, the *palin* performers

are leading a process of political emancipation: they politicize spaces as platforms or arenas of dissent.

Emancipation is therefore a fundamental term to frame the politicization process that we are describing. In terms of Alain Badiou, as well as of Rancière, real politics is about emancipation, or the true face of 'the political'. For Badiou (2010: 6-7), emancipation begins with the interruption of the order of things (or of the 'state of the situation' in his words), through the emergence of an 'event'. The 'event' is 'a rupture in the normal order of bodies and languages as it exists in a particular (state of the) situation' (Ibid.: 7). In the case of the Mapuche, the collective espousal of a radical claim for political autonomy and territorial recuperation during the decade of 1990 must be understood in those terms, as the emergence of something truly new that disrupted the Chilean logic of territorialization and national integration: the return of the *Wallmapu*, or in other words, the emergence of the 'Mapuche nation'.

Further, as Badiou and Hallward (1998) note, the 'event' transcends any specific people or individualities. It engages the people in a double manner: they are actors within it, but also, they are targeted by its collective condition. This is the crystallization of the 'event' as a 'political truth': a politics which is axiomatically based on their own thoughts, meaning that it is not a representation or a reflection of the 'state of the situation' (Hallward, 2002). It is a universal and permanent declaration – in a relation of 'fidelity with the event'[98] – around which the people can organize themselves politically. That means, empirically, the materialization of the 'event' as 'an ongoing organization' (Badiou, 2010: 7).

The collective formation of organizations, for Badiou, is a process of subjectivation. It is the process whereby one person 'determines the place of a 'truth' with respect to his or her own vital existence and to the world (or 'state of the situation') in which this existence is lived out' (Badiou, 2010: 3). Thus, the Mapuche subject is the performer of the Mapuche process of emancipation insofar it is aligned under the several forms and categories of organizations that aim for territorial recuperation (rural, urban, community-level, political associations, etc.).

Finally, it is important to note that the *palin*, being a sacred game surrounded by a complex of ceremonies and protocols, is a very special instance of politicization. It is grounded in the Mapuche spirituality and must be linked as a specific Mapuche sacred ritual with the story or

[98] The people that are under the influence of a 'political truth' must be loyal with the contingency of the 'event'. They must map new elements in the situation, forming new arrangements that are alien to the status quo (the socio-political structure, the official knowledge, etc). Thus, from the outside of the establishment, they reconfigure these elements trusting in the new predications of the 'event' (Robinson, 2015: 5).

myth that it is representing (which, analysed through a Badiouan lens, comes from the outside of the official knowledge and/or history). According to Agamben (2007: 77-78), the sacred condition of an 'event' is given by the 'con-substantial unity of myth and ritual'. The myth alone (in this case, referring the life in the *Wallmapu* as it was in ancestral times)[99] remains mere words; the isolated ritual (the *palin* game itself), remains mere actions (Ibid.), in this case, a sport or recreational moment. The latter – the *true palin* reduced to a mere spectacle and/or a physical exercise – is what might happen when the game is played in contexts facilitated by State institutions, where its sacred condition tends to be avoided.

However, the Mapuche performers of the *palin* respect the con-substantial union of the sacred inserting different levels of ceremonies and protocols (normally, in every category of *palin*) as links of the game with the Mapuche myth. Thus, the sacred condition of the *palin* is crucial in maintaining it as a tool of politicization, due to the high political impact that the myth has among the Mapuche communities, as it is grounded in a 'Mapuche political truth'.

In the next section, I define the two main different categories of the *palin*: the one carried out independently by Mapuche communities (the *true palin*); and the one performed under direct influence of the State (the *winka palin*). Special attention is paid on how the Mapuche protect the intrinsic sacred condition of this event, as noted above. Hence, I analyse, in first term, what are the main features and scope of the *true palin* as part of a broad disruptive political proposal. In those cases, the preservation of the links between the ritual and the myth (the 'political truth' of inhabiting the *Wallmapu*) is fundamental, what includes the emergent sub-category of a *palin* which is performed as a strategic tool of land occupation-recuperation.

That means a political intensification of what the Mapuche denominate the 'ancient' *palin*. Second, I pay attention to the ways the Mapuche preserve the (political) sacred condition of this game during the *winka palin,* by performing aspects of the ancestral protocol associated to it. It must be stressed that this preservation is just partial, because the Mapuche, at the same time, deliberately avoid some scared practices in a context that they consider 'not real'. This is defined as a process of *appropriation by disagreement* of those events, which has a double aim: on the one hand, it politicizes instances that were previously configured as non-political by the State, thus, opening new platforms of dissent for the Mapuche people. On the other hand, it

[99] I am not referring to a specific myth, but to the broad idea of 'ancestral times' that the Mapuche bring about during their ceremonies. Mainly, this idea is related with life according to their normative system (the *azmapu*, see Chapter 2 [pp 68-69] for its definition). The latter establishes a balance between a specific territory, human individuality, the collective, the environment, and spirituality, which today grounds the processes of Mapuche land recuperation (supported by ceremonies).

makes clear that the *true palin* (the whole complex of rituals linked with the 'political truth') cannot be included as a cultural category under the logic of the Chilean multicultural-neoliberal State.

4. Defining the current *palin*. The true faces and its facades

Nowadays, after centuries of external influences and according to numerous internal changes produced within Mapuche society, it is possible to classify the *palin* according to two general categories (from the Mapuche perspective):

1) Mapuche *palin* (as I conceptualize, the *true palin,* or called also by the Mapuche, simply*, palin*), which is organized by Mapuche groups without participation of State institutions or other non-Mapuche institutions. It shows a series of ceremonial and socio-political protocols associated with the Mapuche cultural complex.

2) *Winka palin* (Chilean or foreign *palin*), which is organized by State institutions or other external agents, normally including the participation of Mapuche individuals or groups in the organization itself. In general, many of the ceremonial, social and political protocols are ignored, distorted, and/or replaced by non-Mapuche protocols (similar to a Western recreational-sports event).

Inside each category, according to the ethnographic information gathered in the Arauco Province, two sub-categories have been defined[100].

[100] There are other historical categories, which I could not observe during my fieldwork, such as: *palin* as a game to solve disputes between individuals and groups, as a military training, or as a supplementary ritual of the *ngillatun* (López von Vriessen, 2001). My informants mentioned that the first two categories were no longer practiced, at least from the middle of the 20th Century. However, the *palin* is still practiced as a ritual during some *ngillatun* ceremony in Arauco Province. At the same time, there are two categories which I do not analyse here as they are outside my focus: a) samples or exhibitions of the game in traditional fairs or other instances focused on indigenous tourism; and b) informal-recreational games, in many cases played as training before an actual *palin*. Both are unique games, which normally do not present any special ceremonial or socio-political protocol.

4.1. The Mapuche *palin*

a) The 'ancient' *palin*: a traditional round trip

This form of *palin* is perceived by the Mapuche as 'the original one' and is as such directly linked with the life in the *Wallmapu*[101]. Even today, it therefore represents a ritual strongly linked with the promise of the *Wallmapu*: the Mapuche truth, the Mapuche nation. Consequently, it contains the highest level of complexity and completeness of the ceremonial and political protocols, which are performed at every stage of the *palin* event.

According to ancient traditions of the Mapuche, the *palin* proceeding is dual. A couple of months before the first match, a community or group invites its counterpart to play with them in their territory. Once this first (or home) game is performed, the roles of the two teams will be inverted. The second match will be played in the territory of the former visitors, and the new host community should keep up the standards of the first reception (in terms of the quality of the ceremony, the food and facilities offered, etc.). Through these meetings, the communities create and strengthen their political bonds and friendship, making the *palin* an opportunity to share issues and ideas related to the different territories both through protocolar and informal situations. Usually, the roundtrip *palin* is the most competitive one. It is played without time control (i.e., no fixed duration of the match). Instead, the team that first scores 4 points wins. In case of a draw (3-3), sometimes 2 or 3 *rayas* (points) more are played[102]. The match may last several hours, especially those with a high number of *palive* (players).

A very important feature of this *palin* is the *koncho* system. As briefly mentioned above, this system consists in a couple of two *palive* that play in opposite teams, who confront each other in a specific zone of the playing field. As the Mapuche highlight, this relationship is special as it normally lasts for the rests of the players' lives and cannot be replaced[103], and goes far beyond the match itself. Every time the two teams play each other, the local player, supported by his spouse or any woman of his family, is the host of his *koncho* and should feed and supply the necessary facilities during the whole session to him and all the people who travel with him (such as his family and friends). According to this rule, each host family must provide a private

[101] The Mapuche remember the stories of their grandfathers playing *palin* in kilometric fields, in matches lasting weeks and consisting of hundreds of *palive* (players).
[102] In the past, and probably also in some current *palin*, the difference between the teams must be 4 *rayas,* which results in a significantly longer playing time.
[103] There are stories about *palive* who never played again against the community of their dead *koncho*. This translocation of the relation of two rivals outside the game is radically different from Western time-space strictures of sport events.

accommodation (the *kuni*, made by wood and branches) for themselves and for the visiting *koncho* and his company, including a private fire, household utensils and food. Traditionally, the *koncho* receives a big pot with prepared food and abundant *müdai* (fermented juice) to share with his company.

Another fundamental aspect of the formal protocol is the invitation. According to ancient norms of the Mapuche, the organization of a *palin* is not random. A *lonko* (traditional leader) or *kimce* (wise man) of a group or community has a *pewma* (dream) where he can see this event as something positive for his community. After this person shares his *pewma*, the group decides whether it will go ahead, and if so, which rivals they should challenge. Later, the *lonko*, *werken* (messenger) and/or *ngütrowiño* (man in charge of *palin*) must visit their peers of the other group carrying a miniature *wiño* (stick to play *palin*), which they use as the invitation. If the house owners answer with another small *wiño* in the following days, the commitment is concluded.

The *palin* as a ritual in conformity with the myth is played on a sacred field, the *paliwe*. This is a special place that has been consecrated before the *palin* match, normally located close to or as part of an area inhabited by spirits or positive forces. Under the current situation, however, the selection of such an area is limited by the impossibility of accessing certain areas of ancestral land that the Mapuche lost in the past. Nevertheless, after its creation the *paliwe* becomes a sacred site when a *palin* is perfomed on it. To reach this state it is also necessary to follow other protocols, such as the sacralization of the field and the *pali* (ball) before the match. This intimate ceremony is performed very early in the morning only by the *lonko* and the local *palive*.

The specific protocols and ceremonies described above are normally performed only in an 'ancient', or 'traditional', *palin*. However, other ceremonies that I will introduce below, which are also considered as being part of the traditional *palin* and as having crucial links with the myth of the *Wallmapu*, are also performed in contexts of *winka palin*. I return to this paradox later, analysing how and why these performances are part of a practice considered as a 'fake'.

One example of such a ceremony is the *chalin* (welcome protocol), which consists of a performance where the local group receives the guests following them, dancing around the *canelos* (sacred trees) planted in both ends of the paliwe. The *chaliwun* (farewell protocol), where the participants say good bye to each other, one by one, is also performed in different forms of *palin* events. Also, and very importantly, the existence of a *rewe* ('altar'), with its

sacred branches and flags, surrounded by a field to perform prayers, speeches and *purrun* (sacred dance), is a feature that has also become common to all categories of *palin*.

Another main characteristic of the 'ancient' roundtrip *palin* as well other ones is the role of the *lonko* and other Mapuche authorities during the event. Traditionally, they drive all the protocols, including prayers and political speeches, they support their *palive* technically and tactically, and they share their knowledge with the attending Mapuche communities. For example, during the traditional *palin* match that this description is based on, an old *lonko* explained the socio-political processes of the territory to the new generations of Mapuche from the highlands of the *treng-treng,* which is a sacred mountain.

The women play important roles in the crucial task of preparing the meals and providing other facilities for their families and guests, and they often play music and dance around the *canelos* (sacred trees) planted in the limit where their team is attacking. Through this performance, they call the ball towards that limit, facilitating the *rayas* (points) for their team.

The *palin* on which the above descriptions are based took place in January 2017 on the top of a *treng-treng* (sacred mountain), which has been partially recuperated by the nearby communities from an agroforestry company. The *paliwe* (playing field) was created on this sacred place as a starting point for their territorial recuperation. The area consists of an uninhabited hill top surrounded by eucalyptus plantations, which the local community intends to remove and replace with native forest. This match was the second one of the traditional roundtrip *palin*.

b) The 'political' *palin*: creating and recuperating *paliwe* and territory

As mentioned above, at present the 'ancient' *palin* is a fundamental ceremonial protocol for Mapuche communities in undertaking territorial recuperation processes, as part of a broad cultural complex through which the Mapuche subject expresses disagreement and reconfigures spaces in a process of emancipation (cf. Chapter 2). Even though the 'ancient' *palin* described above has also a very high sacred-political content, the sub-category I describe here is highlighted by the Mapuche performers as 'the political one' (or 'the fighting one'), due to its special characteristics.

In brief, this is a *palin* specifically organized for goals of land recuperation. Furthermore, it aims to strategically support the specific stages of this process: a) the beginning of a recuperation (frequently not the first attempt), entering by surprise into a land and immediately

declaring, through the creation of a *paliwe* and the practice of the game (coupled with other ceremonies), the return of the *Wallmapu*; and b) the consolidation of a territory recuperation, drawing support from other Mapuche groups for local struggles, aiming to make their demands visible, creating and strengthening alliances, and claiming the occupied area as part of the Mapuche territory (as usually the land is under the risk of being 're-recuperated' by the former owner, and/or the Chilean authorities are threatening the process with possible evictions).

Having such specific goals, the 'political' *palin* must be organized strategically, but at the same time also manifesting clearly its sacred condition as a ritual of land recuperation. The contingence of the land occupation conditions these events as unique games (as it is not possible to organize a roundtrip such as in the 'ancient' *palin*). Moreover, the invitation for the match is normally open to a vast number of *palive* (and other people, not necessarily players) instead of one specific group. The local Mapuche authorities and activists thus make a wide call that sometimes even includes non-Mapuche sympathizers of their political cause. During the event, the guests manifest their support to this territorial recuperation process by participation in prayers and ceremonies, the game and leisure moments, as well as by helping with other tasks related with land occupation (for example, felling trees of the plantations and preparing the soil for agrarian goals). Sometimes a part of the visitors stays several days, taking care of these tasks and playing *palin* at certains moments of the day.

In the following paragraphs, I exemplify this category with observations from a *palin* organized on a ranch reclaimed by local Mapuche communities in January 2016[104]. I will highlight particularly how these Mapuche groups balance the strategic and sacred condition of this event.

Very early in the morning the local group of Mapuche, supported by a few guests (the rest arrives only later during the day), enters this plot of land through a hole in the fence. They are approximately 40 people, carrying all kinds of equipment for cooking, for performing ceremonies (such as music instruments, special clothes, sacred branches, flags, etc.), and for playing *palin*. The *paliwe* (playing field) is created during that morning by using fire. Before the game, an emotional prayer is made starting with a sequence of ceremonial music and dance around the *rewe* ('altar'). In the end, the local *lonko* (leader), *kimce* (wise man) and activists narrate the features of their political struggle for territory, specifying their reasons, goals and actions. At the same time, Mapuche authorities from other territories deliver their opinions and support regarding the situation. Among the present, a pact of unity and support is made.

[104] The same as in the vignette in the introduction to this chapter.

However, this is not only a pact between human beings. Just after the declaration of unity, the group closes the prayer entrusting the land recuperation process to the divinities, the spirits and the ancestors by dancing intensely, and then moving to the *paliwe* to offer the sacred game of the *palin* as another demonstration of fidelity to their 'truth'.

The game itself is more informal than the traditional one and is carried out between the local team and a mixed one of the invited *palive* who belong to different territories. There is no big expectation about the result (even though the *palive* do play hard), and there is no 'official' *koncho* system (i.e., the rivals are interchangeable). There are enough replacements, watching the game from the side, for a rotation of players. Therefore, the players can assume also other roles, such as socializing with the high number of guests coming from different corners of the province. Instead the use of the traditional *kuni* (shelters of wood and branches), where every *palive's* family traditionally receives their *koncho*, the locals use a pre-existing storehouse for cooking meals for all the guests.

Beyond the match, the ceremonies, the political meeting with other Mapuche communities and the intrinsic act of sharing (of food, conversation and experiences) typical for this kind of event, the overriding goal of this *palin* is to spread the struggle of the organizing community to the rest of the local and regional society (including Mapuche, Chileans and State authorities). For example, on that occasion the host *lonko* gave interviews with a radio station and a TV channel. The spectacular burning of grass and bushes during the morning so as to create a *paliwe* (playing field) in an area only 3km away from the town of Cañete (with a population of around 35.000 persons) served to alert the local population.

The other special feature of this event is the permanent risk of the police officers' arrival. At best, these agents will come just to take note of the land occupation, have a dialogue with the Mapuche authorities and then leave. In this *palin* event, the policemen leave again after being told by the *lonko* that everybody would retire from the land at sunset (as the plan in this instance was to hold only a one-day land occupation). In some other cases, however, special police corps directly evict the Mapuche groups by using water guns, tear gas, gum bullets, etc., thereby creating situations that can evolve into violent confrontations. Thus, the participants of a 'political' *palin* must be prepared to resist this kind of fight. In such cases, the *wiño* (stick to play *palin*) turns into a weapon and a symbol of struggle.

To conclude, this *palin* can be characterized as an act to support specific land recuperation processes in their most crucial moments. It is an open call from communities or groups that are

involved in periods of struggle to a wide range of other groups whose presence, in Badiouan terms, counts as a proof of fidelity to the Mapuche 'event'. The visiting sympathizers at a 'political' *palin* validate the land occupation as a tool for reconstructing the Mapuche nation, and thus ground this practice in a 'political truth'. In this category of *palin,* the link between the myth and the ritual remains stable and is even intensified by the radical position of the performers as creating Mapuche *paliwe* and territory through the ritual.

4.2. The *winka palin*

c) The *palin* on cultural platforms created by the State

Through promotion-based programmes according to the multicultural integration logic, the State has created several platforms to protect and spread the Mapuche cultural heritage, many of which include a *paliwe* (*palin* field). Museums, cultural centres, intercultural[105] hospitals and schools, are some of the spaces configured for such purposes. In these spaces, games or even championships of *chueca* (Spanish for *palin*) are often organized as part of such cultural promotion. Once in a while, these platforms are used by Mapuche groups that have been granted access to organize their own ceremonies. However, their autonomy in these cases is only partial, as they normally depend on (State) authorities, institutional procedures, rules and resources, all of them external. The case I present here is an example of such kind of *palin*.

This *palin* was organized by the *Museo Mapuche de Cañete* (Mapuche Museum of Cañete), in coordination with Mapuche authorities and people. Between 2005 and 2010, this Museum, which is owned by the State, renewed its museography during a participatory process including Mapuche communities (see Chapter 3 in this dissertation). One of the foci of that work was to make the Museum a place that represents a living culture, rather than referring to the Mapuche as a society in the past, incorporated as part of the national folklore, as had been the focus of the previous museography. During and after this participative redesigning process, numerous Mapuche community members of the surrounding areas started to use these spaces in the Museum for their own cultural and political activities.

This *palin* was organized in January 2017 by the Museum staff along with Mapuche authorities to meet a requirement expressed by Mapuche people and nearby communities during a participatory evaluation workshop. The requirement was to provide a better use of the

[105] The Chilean State has based a series of cultural programmes on the concept of interculturality, which, according to the ILO Convention 169, aim to support indigenous groups under a condition of equality (i.e. the indigenous culture as equally valid). However, the operationalization and implementation of these programmes in Chile is rather based on a multicultural logic, as has been defined earlier in this chapter.

ceremonial spaces which the Museum has on its premises. This concerned specifically the *paliwe* (*palin* playing field) and a *ngillatuwe* (sacred field for ceremonies), which were created approximately 15 years ago at the request of the indigenous communities.

Regarding the protocols and ceremonies, as well as other specific performances traditionally surrounding *palin* matches, the Museo Mapuche developed some specific procedures. Firstly, due to not having traditional Mapuche authorities[106], it was impossible for the Museum to comply with some traditional protocols, such as the formal invitation several months before the event. From the beginning, the two *lonko* (traditional leaders) that were advisors for this *palin* warned the organizers and Museum staff about the impossibility of making a 'real' *palin*. The *lonko* who was more involved in the organization of this *palin* decided therefore to not perform one important ceremony: the sacralization of the *paliwe* and the *pali* early in the morning of the day of the match. He said that the *pu lonko* (ancestral *lonko* [in plural]) told him during a *pewma* (dream) a few nights before the *palin* that it was not correct to hold that ceremony if the previous organization protocols (such as the traditional invitation and other preparations) were not fulfilled.

However, other traditions such as the main protocol regarding the guests and the prayers were performed during the event, driven by those two *lonko*. Surrounded by rituals (such as offers to the Mother Earth and sacred dances), these performances present a disruptive content. In a link with the Mapuche myth (the 'political truth'), the *lonko* declared in their speeches the return of the *Wallmapu* as the only way to reproduce the Mapuche as a political subject. At the same time, they 'asked for a permission' to perform the game, entrusted the *palin* and offered it to the divinities, spirits and ancestors. Briefly explained, this sacralization (the link with the myth or the 'political truth') inserts the game in a broad set of practices occurring in the *Wallmapu* for centuries. It means its insertion in a genealogical dimension of Mapuche 'events'. Thus, it gives to the *palive* and all the other actors a sacred mission as performers of this ceremonial game and the rituals besides.

Regarding this *palin*, I want to particularly emphasize an issue that will be addressed later in the analysis. It is important to highlight how the Mapuche participants, especially the two experienced *lonko*, managed the balance between the exclusion and inclusion of rituals (considering the relation with the myth) that are fundamental in defining a *palin* as Mapuche

[106] Juana Paillalef, the Director of the Museum, is Mapuche. However, as the Director (i.e. a *winka* authority), she does not have the authority to take the lead in some Mapuche protocols.

or *winka*. The result is an 'hybrid *palin*', that, depending on the perspective, can be considered as either predominantly *winka* or Mapuche. From an 'official' Mapuche perspective, indeed, it was not authentic insofar as the *lonko* deliberately avoided specific rituals to stress that condition. However, having performed part of the sacred ceremonial complex, the questions are: What was the function (if it has one) of those performances in a *winka* context? Is it possible to maintain the disrupting condition of a *true palin* in a *winka palin* (at least in the special kind of cases under this sub-category)? Or rather, is the multiculturalist logic of an empty aesthetic predominant in this kind of event and, then, the dominant order has neutralized the *palin* through this cultural articulation?

d) A *palin* implemented by the State in a context of interventionism

The inclusion of the cultural difference is an ideological multicultural basis in which multiple Chilean State policies are involved. By mediating participatory processes of consultation and negotiation, the integration of social and cultural necessities for the indigenous people is sought. That kind of procedure has become part of several rural development programmes in Chile, as well social welfare, intercultural health system, etc. These programmes and interventions are projected on a par with other specific programmes of cultural promotion targeting indigenous people, which are implemented in the rural communities and urban areas that they inhabit.

In this intensive intervention context, the State and other organisms (such as NGOs and consultancy companies)[107] create several events as part of their methodology – or as main objectives themselves – designed according to Mapuche cultural parameters. Examples are ceremonies, protocols and meetings, used as cultural 'contact' spaces, particularly in cases of consultancy or negotiation. In the case of the *palin*, it is usually instrumentalized as a socialization axis between external operators and the Mapuche (e.g. State agents playing against Mapuche people). In other cases, the *palin* is organized as part of a local culture promotion programme. In both instances, usually, several protocols of the traditional sacred game are ignored or distorted.

I focus here in a *palin* game organized in the context of a *Mesa Territorial,* which is a 'territorial committee' introduced by the government with Mapuche communities throughout Chile during the last years. They are instances for negotiation; a political and economic structure of the

[107] Most of these interventions are carried out by privates paid by the State.

Ministry of Social Development of the Chilean State which aims to coordinate the provision and management of services and resources to the Mapuche communities. This is based on the regional consultation, directly for the communities. In 2016, in the context of a national indigenous consultation to create a Ministry of Culture, the National Council for Culture and Arts (CNCA) organized this *palin* in the Mapuche community of Ponotro aiming to reinforce the 'local culture'.

In this case, I stress again, such in the other sub-category of *winka palin*, the tensions and contradictions between the Mapuche sacred elements and what can be defined as *winka*-profane. However, this case shows a different context, where the Mapuche authorities and people had less control of the organization. Consequently, not only some protocols were deliberately avoided (by the Mapuche, making a difference with the 'real' *palin*), but some of them were distorted or neglected by the *winka* organizers.

For example, the prayers were performed, giving a space for multiple Mapuche leaders from different territories to give a spiritual but also political message, which was not only received by the Mapuche community, but also by the attending Chilean authorities. At the same time, the *koncho* system (the reciprocity between two players from the rivalling teams) was neglected. Replacing all the Mapuche protocol concerning alimentation and sharing, a large table with a white fancy tablecloth, utensils, dishes and paper napkins was provided by the Chilean organizers. Instead of serving Mapuche cuisine, a catering company was contracted to provide the meal. Even the food, that normally must be abundant, was not enough and several people were hungry in the end.

Therefore, this is a different kind of 'hybridization' of the *palin*. First, it is a clear example of the capture of the game as part of a multicultural programme, distorting the aesthetics of crucial protocols by replacing them with *winka* forms of socialization. But, secondly, it is also necessary to analyse the actual impacts of the celebration of this event in the context of a 'territorial committee', an instance that above was defined as a post-political space. Indeed, the *palin* is distorted, but we must also raise a question similar to those raised in the context of the *palin* at the Museo Mapuche: Is this an example of how multicultural strategies of governance depoliticize the Mapuche cultural complex, or, in turn, can it be analysed as the irruption of the Mapuche disagreement within the MT?

In the Table 4, I show in more detail some crucial features of the four distinct categories of *palin* registered in my fieldwork. It is important to highlight, by comparing them, the partial presence of sacred Mapuche elements in the profane contexts of the *winka palin*.

Table 4. Description and comparison of the main aspects of *palin*

Item	Ancient *palin* (at the *treng – treng*)	Political *Palin* (in land occupation	*Palin* at a State platform (Mapuche Museum)	*Palin* in State intervention (the *Mesa Territorial*)
Invitation	Traditional protocol through authorities and the exchange of a miniature *wiño* (*palin* playing stick).	Through a call launched to different communities, groups, and individuals (sometimes including non-Mapuche sympathizers).	A Mapuche community is invited. A representative of the Museum visits the authorities, without miniature-*wiño*).	Invitations through State operators and Mapuche leaders[108], to people geo-politically related to the MT.
Preparation	There is a pre-existent *paliwe*. All the previous facilities (shelters, 'altar', field, etc.) are prepared by the host community, supported by members of the invited team.	The *paliwe* was created during the morning of the *palin*, by using fire[109]. Rapidly, the *rewe* ('altar') is prepared too. A pre-existent storehouse is used as shelter.	The preparation of the *kuni* (shelters) and ceremonial areas took place the previous day by a commission of *palive* (players) from the Museum and some of the invited community.	It is necessary to repair the pre-existent *paliwe*, *kuni,* and *rewe* in the community, which was done by local Mapuche in cooperation with the CNCA.
Ceremonial, political and social protocols during the event.	Enshrinement of the *paliwe* (field) and the *pali* (ball). The *chalin* and *chaliwun* (welcome and farewell protocol). *Llellitun* (prayer), political speeches, and *purrun* (sacred dance)	No formal *chalin – chaliwun.* Several individual and group welcomes and farewells. The *llellitun* finishes with long political meeting/speeches. A political agreement is made. The system of *koncho* is not used. At a shelter the hosts prepared meals for everyone present.	The *chalin* and *chaliwun.* *Llellitun*, speeches, and *purrun* at the Mapuche Museum´s *ngillatuwe* (sacred field) The *koncho* system was used. Most of the *koncho* were elected in the moment, creating links that must last forever. However, some of them couldn´t provide for their *koncho*.	The *chalin* and *chaliwun*. *Llellitun*, political speeches, and *purrun* (sacred dance) No system of *koncho*. A catering company provides meals for everyone. The *papay* (elderly women) of the local community are around

[108] These leaders are not necessarily traditional (such as the *lonko*). They are defined as formal/functional leaders of Mapuche organizations registered by the State as a requirement to negotiate, consult and to get benefits from the State institutions. Due to this, often leadership cores are created in parallel to traditional leaders.
[109] This process is what we described in the introduction of this chapter.

	The system of *koncho* (reciprocity between rivalling players) is used, already defined previously (many of them from years ago) Intense participation of the *lonko* (traditional leaders) as advisors and supporters. Active participation of women: music and *purrun* around the *canelos* (sacred trees).	The host *lonko* gave interviews with radio station and a TV channel. A delegation receives the police officers, communicating to them that the occupation finish at sunset. This time, there was no attempts of eviction.	Active participation of women: music and *purrun* around the *canelos*. The Museum is open for visitors, who gather around the *paliwe*. The event was complemented with a *travkin* (trading without money), and a critical talk about the TTIP agreement.	the only bonfire telling stories and sharing experiences. Filmakers of the CNCA film the event (as far as allowed by Mapuche protocols), aiming the creation of a movie clip that gives value to the *palin*.
The game	No time control. Final score: 4-1 (after more than 2 hours playing). Afterwards, an informal game of more than 1 hour took place. The *koncho* is not interchangeable. There are nice conversations between *konchos* when the *pali* (ball) is far away. But when fighting for the *pali* there is a fierce antagonism between the *konchos*. Intense participation of the *lonko* as supporters. Women dancing around the *canelos*.	During several hours, with interruptions. No time control, no limit of *rayas*. The player couples are improvised, and they can interchange (no *koncho* system). Commonly the the players are replaced, producing a rotation, which allows *palive* playing other roles during the event. There is no big expectation about the game. Attendees (non-*palive*) are mostly interacting at a distance from the *paliwe*.	One hour on each side. The Museum team won 3-1. The *koncho* is not interchangeable. The game is played intensively, including a high expectation of the rest of the attendees of the event. Women dancing around the *canelos*. Both *lonko* decided to play, having important positions during the game.	The *koncho* relationship during the game is less intense, due to the lack of the relation outside the *paliwe* (providing meals, sharing experiences, etc.). Two of the 21 communities that participate in the MT are playing. It is a unique game, no roundtrip game.

5. The *palin* as a (sacred) space of politicization

In this section I will respond the questions formulated in the former sections, by discussing what the real scopes are, on the one hand, of the neoliberal-multicultural programmes of the State regarding the *palin* and, on the other, of the *palin* as a tool of politicization.

At first sight, the exercise of *palin* in radical opposite contexts can be contradictory, as in the case of territorial occupation in contrast with *palin* games carried out with the support of the State. Under a superficial glance, it can be postulated that these are completely different events. Consequently, the State apparatus would have achieved a reconfiguration of the game under a multicultural logic, as part of the broad depoliticizing endeavour to solve the political conflict in the south of Chile. However, if we focus on the Mapuche as the 'no-part', stressing the process of political disruption that they are carrying out, it is possible to argue that the *palin* represents – in all its expressions – a radicalization of democracy.

To begin with, it is important to emphasize again that, according to my ethnographic experience[110], some of the sacred ceremonial features of the *palin* commonly apply to all the categories to varying degrees. Rituals as the *chalin* (welcome protocol), the *llellitun* (prayer), the *purrun* (sacred dance) and the *chaliwun* (farewell protocol) are carried out in all four categories. These instances belonging to the *azmapu* (the normative system of the Mapuche, as explained in Chapter 2 of this dissertation) hold a deep political meaning besides their spiritual/religious importance. Indeed, through them, the Mapuche subject declares itself as part of the territory. Each Mapuche ceremony – even in the context of *winka palin* – is, indeed, a declaration of fidelity to the 'political truth', and at the same time it is an interruption of the 'distribution of the sensible', in the terms of Badiou and Rancière described above.

Using the *cedungun* (Mapuche language), with subsequent translation into Spanish, the ceremony masters (mainly *lonko* or other wise men) challenge the Chilean authorities by expressing their own version of history: one describing the stories of dispossession of their people. Under the gaze of hundreds of people, they explicitly support the territorial recuperation processes and the Mapuche political ideas of autonomy, inviting listeners to join them as a vital need. Indeed, they present this process as the only way to ensure the reproduction of the Mapuche Being (see Chapters 1 and 2). A genuine example of this is what

[110] This includes participative observation and a series of interviews and informal conversations in Arauco Province from August 2015 to May 2016, and from January 2016 to February 2017.

a Mapuche leader expressed during a *palin* organization meeting at the Museo Mapuche of Cañete:

> 'This instance we are having here today will be very important and requires all the *newen* (Mapuche energy, strength, connected also with the spiritual world) to carry this forward, and make the other communities active participants. Because it is the only way to know what the social struggles are, what today are we facing and how we deal with it as Mapuche people, because we cannot allow that everyone follows their own way, alone (…)' (2017).

The 'captain' designated to lead the Museum team added:

> 'Here the idea is to make use of the spaces (of the Museum) and share our knowledge, which should be mutual. Both the spaces we have here and the Mapuche people with a determined role must be always present and validated. We have to validate ourselves' (meeting at the Museo Mapuche, 2017).

It is important to note that the Museum, through the participatory museography described above (and largely detailed in Chapter 3), had a previous process of reconfiguration as a political arena. In this regard, the creation of a *paliwe* was a need expressed by the participants in that process. Mapuche people created that place on a cultural platform of the State, and, during the *palin* of 2017, where making use of it, summoning their people and validating their own authorities. In this case, no *winka* authority intervened in taking decisions about aesthetic issues nor doing other kind of intervention.

Another example of this tension within the *winka* and the Mapuche cultural elements is the *palin* organized by the 'territorial committee' (Mesa Territorial, or MT, described as the fourth category above), which is a post-political - multicultural body by definition (as defined in the theoretical section): it manages the relation with the Mapuche based solely on cultural (not political) differences. Furthermore, those differences must be regulated by the technical agencies of the State (e.g. through the promotion of development and productivity). During this *palin*, which was held at the request of Mapuche leaders who participated in this committee, the technical dialogue and vertical negotiation between State representatives and the Mapuche community was interrupted. First, next to the match itself, the Mapuche traditional authorities, the participants of the 'committee' (Mapuche leaders, Chilean operators and authorities), and members of the indigenous communities met during the recreation of the Mapuche protocol. All of them knew that this was a *winka palin*. Thus, it must be analysed as a multicultural meeting, that was even filmed to be presented as an example of cultural promotion (the 'real' Mapuche protocol does not allowed this kind of audio-visual capturing

of their ceremonies). The same happened with the system of food provision, which did not at all conform to Mapuche traditions, as I described above.

However, the focus of the analysis must also lie on the actual content of the ritual elements that the Mapuche deliberately selected and performed on that occasion. The prayers and speeches, dances and offers to the divinities were not aiming to satisfy the Chilean authorities, nor to opening a negotiation with them. On the contrary, in those moments, this post-political instance was used to challenge the Chilean authorities and put the political antagonism to the stage. There was a partial symbolic reconfiguration of the roles and hierarchies pre-designed within the MT. In concrete, during these performances, the present Mapuche confirmed their belonging to the *Wallmapu* (in the same manner they do during the *true palin*), reconfirming also that the *true palin* is happening in other places, and will not stop, as well their radical processes of land recuperation.

Summarizing, the State does not necessarily extend its influence and power through this strategy of governance, but the Mapuche, being able to express their dissent, tend to reinforce a disjunctive position in front of this centralized power. This is what I call in this case an appropriation by disagreement of the *winka palin*: a series of performances aiming to resist the process of depoliticization by the partial sacralization-politicization of platforms or cultural events organized by the State.

6. Relevant differences of the sacred game

Having defined the *palin* as a sacred and political instance, even presenting some of these features in *winka* contexts, it is now necessary to clarify what the main differences between the four categories are, and what are implications of calling the 'ancient' and the 'political' *palin* as the *true* ones. I further analyse how and why the Mapuche groups aim to prevent a total desacralization/depoliticization of their game in *winka* platforms/instances.

To begin with, the *true palin* institution of reciprocity, as it was described above, is open to create and or reinforce political relations in various levels and in a wide range of time: it creates *koncho* relationships (one to one; family to family; between groups of friends), relationships between *lonko* and other authorities, as well as relationships among the whole community by sharing meals and conversations before and after the game.

Particularly the *koncho* system allows that a simple relation between two rival players becomes stable and long-lasting, producing at least one more encounter between the two players (and their team) in the 2nd match of the traditional roundtrip *palin*. It also creates a social link that goes beyond the *palin* practice, as it can lead to fraternal expressions and the support in political, social and economic terms during other events and even in the daily life.

The absence of the *koncho* system in most of the *winka palin* can be interpreted as simple disinterest or ignorance on the side of the non-Mapuche organizers, but it can also be understood as a deliberate strategy: In that case, the creation of socio-political links which can be extended beyond the control of 'the police' was avoided, including possible relations between the State agents and the Mapuche people. This last factor would decontextualize the State intervention logic as a technical, anonymous and depoliticized element.

In the case of the 'political' *palin*, this network of relationships is even more open: people from different communities, groups, families, and places participate. These relationships, as shown above, have a specific strong link with the Mapuche 'political truth', because are made during a land occupation, and aim the mutual support for the recuperation of the *Wallmapu*.

Thus, at the internal socio-political level, the Mapuche *true palin* presents crucial features that cannot be completely replicated in a *winka* event. Indeed, the range of possibilities and potential scopes of these networks is partially closed when Chilean operators of the State have an influence in which of them will be open (or closed).

Regarding other fundamental distinctions of the sub-categories, it is crucial to note that the Mapuche authorities are very strict in differentiating the *true palin* from the *winka* ones. There are several rituals and performances that normally cannot be carried out in a non-Mapuche context. An example is the sacralization of the ball and playing field, which is performed very early in the morning only with the presence of the local *palive* (players). This can be interpreted as a defense of the 'pure' sacred practice. Under this logic, there are specific ritual elements of the *palin* that cannot escape from the sacred link with the myth in its total expression, but they only can be performed in a Mapuche context displayed from the beginning: the dream of the wise man – the collective decision – the sacred invitation; or, in a 'political' *palin*, the call for land occupation, aiming at the very reproduction of the Mapuche subjectivity. These cannot be performed in a *winka palin*, which by definition is not 'real'. Indeed, performing a complete set of ceremonies in a fake or inexistent connection of the ritual with the myth would signify the end of the sacred game as the Mapuche have inherited from their ancestors.

At the same time, however, other protocols are allowed in a *winka* context, which have the function of giving a (partial) sacred and political face to the game, because they are specific links with the story of the Mapuche in the *Wallmapu*. Hence, they make a connection with their 'political truth' (as has been described in the previous section), tending to turn the *winka palin* into a political platform. In the case these were not performed, the match would be seen as a simple recreational sport, or from a multiculturalist view, as an empty ritual/cultural practice susceptible to be totally integrated into the Chilean nation. This implication, for example, was blocked by the Mapuche authorities participating at the MT´s *palin* by performing disruptive prayers/speeches. Thus, the multicultural spectacle remained on the surface, but not in the content. Indeed, from the Mapuche perspective, in case of a total distortion of the ceremonies and protocols connected to the *palin* (e.g. its practice without any link with the myth, without the participation of Mapuche authorities or wise man), the game would not qualify as a *palin*, not even *winka palin.*

The case of the *palin* organized at the Museo Mapuche is representative also for the balancing act between the sacred and the profane. In the preliminary stages of organization, the possibility to perform a *palin* without the traditional Mapuche protocols was discussed, which would consist of a *winka palin* as a simulation of the real *palin*. This measure would avoid the sacred Mapuche performance in an empty context (i.e. without link with the myth). However, after some reflections, it was determined that this would be a mistake: They could not show something totally fake, which then could be interpreted as a real *palin* by the assistants and (Mapuche and non-Mapuche) onlookers. In this case, a depoliticized and decontextualized idea of the Mapuche cultural complex would be promoted. Therefore, it was decided to hold a *palin* according to the balance between the sacred and the profane as mentioned in the previous paragraph: they would comply with the protocols that are visible for all the observers (i.e. performing prayers and dances) – in order to promote a realistic idea of the *palin* – but would not perform several protocols which are more intimate (such as the sacralization of the ball and the playing field).

To finish this analysis, I refer to the *palin* that today, empirically, represents the highest level of Mapuche disruption of 'the sensible' in the Arauco Province: the 'political' one. This performance represents a derivation from the traditional roundtrip *palin* towards a meeting of Mapuche groups with a specific and strategic socio-political content. In this event the sacred ceremony of the prayer (*llellitun*) is combined with a meeting where authorities and Mapuche activists declare their political objectives and the strategies they use to achieve them. In

addition, at the end of the prayer a political territorial union of mutual support for these purposes is defined. Focused on building and reinforcing these alliances, some of the ancient *palin* protocols are neglected. There is no *koncho* system; instead, a unique net of open relationships is applied, where every assistant is free to share with others. The game itself loses some of its key features, having less importance compared to the socio-political event itself: the illegal occupation of a territory. In fact, in some of such events, the Mapuche groups stay in the territory for days, focused (besides the *palin* match) on activities such as logging trees which belong to the agroforest industry, slaughtering animals of the landowners for feeding themselves, and, occasionally, violently confronting the police troops if necessary.

This main sub-category of *palin*, hence, becomes a specific platform of internal deliberation, creation of networks, and transgression of the rules imposed by 'the police'. Indeed, it is a radical aesthetic reconfiguration towards the constitution of new democratic spaces for the Mapuche.

Concluding this analysis of the differences of the *palin,* it must be highlighted that the real Mapuche *palin*, the one which demonstrates the true level of the Mapuche disruption of 'the sensible' are in a completely different level of relevance for the Mapuche subject. There is no confusion separating the categories. In this sense, the participation of Mapuche authorities, wise people, activists and famous *palive* in those 'governmentalized' hybrids forms of *winka palin* has specific and strategic reasons. First, it is a challenge to the post-political condition of those platform-instances, by using them to express political claims. Second, it facilitates the practice of the true 'disruptive' *palin* in 'real' contexts, promoting it within the Mapuche people (e.g. a good amount of Mapuche young people participate in multicultural programmes of the State), installing it as a Mapuche event that even penetrates in *winka* contexts.

7. Conclusion

I have defined different dimensions of Mapuche reconfiguration of spaces according to their own aesthetic regime, carried out through the *palin* performance: the creation of *paliwe* (*palin* field) and its performance as an integral event (sacred and socio-political). The *palin*, thus, is creating spaces and places as a process of politicization that includes a wide range of action: from the land occupation as a radical option of land recuperation, to the use and appropriation by disagreement of cultural platforms and programmes of intervention implemented by the Chilean State. The latter, State instances aiming at the depoliticization of the broad conflictual

relation between the Chilean State and the Mapuche. The politicization is derived from the traditional practice of the *palin*, more specifically by resorting to the use (at different levels) of the ceremonial protocols and cultural complexity of the Mapuche. The *palin*, I argue, represents part of a symbolic and material process of radical emancipation of an indigenous subject whose 'political truth' is assumed as universal (the return of the *Wallmapu* as an option of inhabiting the territory), grounded in the democratization of spaces and places.

From a Mapuche perspective, the post-political strategy of the State, insofar as it aims to perform the *palin* under a Western logic of recreational sport, as well as to integrate this sacred event within the multicultural-neoliberal Chilean nation (the *palin* as a cultural product, or as heritage to be protected by the State and its technical management of the culture), does not trigger the depoliticization of the *palin* practice. In fact, the *winka palin*, being the only kind of *palin* in which the State can intervene through multicultural programmes presents this game as a show of cultural contact or promotion of the 'Other'. However, I argue that this situation remains an aesthetic of the surface, when Mapuche groups insert part of their disruptive performative elements in those instances. In this regard, it is crucial that the sacred condition of the *palin* is a tool of politicization, which includes and allows the performance of specific rituals that are relating to the Mapuche myth (understood here as part of the Mapuche 'political truth', since they show a deep political sense) even during the practice of *winka palin*. The latter is not part of a negotiation nor a dialogue with the Chilean agents present in those events. On the contrary, those performances stress the political disjunction in between both spheres. In other words, that means not only a challenge directed to the 'distribution of the sensible' (such as during the *true palin*), but also the initial spark for the reconfiguration of post-politic platforms/instances into real political arenas.

At same time, the *true palin* is performed at the margins of the Chilean 'distribution of the sensible'. Independently, the Mapuche once and again resort to the *palin* as a main socio-political event for the constitution of their subjectivity. The 'police's' answer to these performances, that remain far away from their friendly multicultural events, is in some cases violent (the repression of the 'political' *palin*), indifferent (the aesthetics of the margins, if not dangerous, is undesirable), or, paradoxically inclusive (attempting its integration in spite of the intrinsic impossibility). The latter case, directed normally to the 'ancient' roundtrip *palin*, is

blocked by the Mapuche authorities and people, through specific protocols aiming at the independence of its organization, preparation, and performance[111].

Based on the example of the *palin*, the aim of this chapter is to stress new alternatives of analysis around the broad process of politicization-depoliticization-(re)politicization framed in the Chilean-Mapuche conflict. This exercise must consider the neoliberal multicultural strategy of the State that supports the economic interests of agroforestry companies and big landowners as opposing the Mapuche subject who drives the emergence of the 'no-part' in Southern Chile. In this case, my analysis stresses the truly political face of this confrontation: the Mapuche challenging the dominant order by the politicization of spaces and places.

[111] There are exceptions where some cultural agents of the State could penetrate the 'ancient' *palin*, making audio-visual products, books, promoting it under the multicultural umbrella of the Chilean Nation. However, these examples (made normally under a state of confusion or even lying to the Mapuche people), does not implicate the insertion of the whole *palin* as an institution under such logics of the State.

Discussion and Conclusion

In the four chapters of this dissertation, I have presented three study cases (the land recuperation in different dimensions; the appropriation of the Mapuche Museum as a platform of political dissent; and the *palin* as Mapuche tool of politicization) to empirically and theoretically build one overarching argument: the Mapuche are carrying out a process of political emancipation, understood as the emergence of a subject from the margins of the dominant order who challenges the establishment by proposing a new order of things. As defined and ethnographically described, this emancipatory process is based on the Mapuche normative system (the *azmapu*) and performed according to their cultural complex (use of their language *mapuzungun*, traditional authorities, ceremonies, protocol, etc.), by reconfiguring spaces and places according to its (marginal) aesthetic regime. In the next paragraphs, I will briefly revisit part of the empirical data as well as the proposed theoretical framework, clarifying the features, potentialities, and scopes of my argument. But, firstly, I will briefly explain in which intellectual field this work should be located, and which logical steps I took in framing the theoretical ideas and the methodological framework through which I built the argument.

My dissertation, as explained in the Introduction, must be understood as a contribution within the current academic views about the current Mapuche issue in Chile. Specifically, I suggest, it contributes to those which propose new spaces and roles for the Mapuche people in the struggle for political rights (of ancestral land, resources, culture, autonomy projects, etc.). This literature is usually very critical of the way the neoliberal regime operates in Chile, focusing on processes of land grabbing by industrial enterprises in the south, the criminalization of the Mapuche social movement and the use of multicultural policies of integration, amongst other measures which perpetuate a system of domination. During the last decades and years, theoretical approaches have been developed – as explained in the introduction – as a response to theories grounded in Marxist theories as well based on ideas of modernization. These include decoloniality (see for example Antileo et al., 2015; Nahuelpan et al., 2012; Calbucura, 2015), political ontologies (see for instance Di Giminniani, 2013 and 2015; Skewes and Guerra, 2016) as well as analyses of the Mapuche identities from their own narratives and experiences (see for example Mallon, 2006). These approaches all aim to propose ideas to legitimate and crystallize Mapuche political and social-cultural claims for the 21st Century.

From this delimited constellation of intellectual perspectives, I have delineated my theoretical and methodological framework, aiming at a contribution based on new perspectives on the topic and new ethnographic data. As noted in the Introduction, during my PhD dissertation period (from 2014 to 2018) I could observe a growing polarization of groups within the Chilean society regarding the Mapuche issue: on the one hand, the criminalization of the indigenous social movement, and on the other hand, the radicalization of the political position towards the autonomy of the Mapuche and, hence, towards the end of the neoliberal regime as hegemonic in Chile.

My first questions, in this regard, were: is it possible to ground real political alternatives for the Mapuche in this polarized context in Chile? Is it achievable to overcome the utopian condition of these indigenous claims ('utopian' from the perspective of the dominant order, but also for a broad part of the Chilean society and even of the Mapuche people) into a concrete political project? And, finally, is there any social, cultural and/or political 'glue' that gives forcefulness and coherence to the Mapuche and their demands today, thus, constituting a historical subject, a total category representing their internal heterogeneity? Also, what is the real scope of these demands? Can they be understood as a universal claim beyond Mapuche politics?

In responding to these preliminary broad questions, a first alternative emerged, namely the proposal of the scholars (many of them Mapuche) working on decolonization. For them, the responses are within the Mapuche people, in their own history, oral memories, cosmovision, spirituality, and ancestral knowledge. The big challenge, then, is to deconstruct the history of colonialism that has oppressed the Mapuche not only in 'material' means (through physical violence, the occupation of their lands, the exploitation of their resources) and regarding political issues (the replacement of the Mapuche political system by an imposed colonial hierarchy). It is crucial, from this view, to focus also on how, today and since colonial times, a dominant (colonial) order is socio-culturally imposed through education plans, the imposition of a language, a religion, customs, and the Western/modern epistemology (see Calbucura, 2013: 420-423; Antileo et al., 2015: 9-20). In those terms, hence, the struggle today is against the multicultural-neoliberal regime and its multiple tools of intervention aiming at the integration of the Mapuche in the Chilean nation. In this view, these interventions are false responses to the Mapuche claims, as they intensify processes of colonial domination and avoid the structural inequalities caused by centuries of colonial control.

In broad terms, I agree with this perspective. As shown in my empirical chapters, I do recognize the importance of grounding the current Mapuche claims in their own historical, social, and cultural terms. Indeed, that is crucial to challenge the imposed dominant order configured to reproduce historic inequalities by proposing something truly new.

However, I had objections about the scopes, potentialities, and risks of grounding this material and epistemological emancipation from a perspective of the Mapuche as a post-colonial subject, which tends to present them as portrayals of a cultural substance that goes beyond the history of oppression that they have confronted. First, this history of injustices has had an impact not only on the Mapuche as a closed society, but instead on a broad range of people in Southern Chile (landless peasants, poor urban/rural workers, etc.). It also impacted the historical alliances that the Mapuche developed with those groups of marginal 'non-Mapuche people' in different periods (see Mallon, 2004). Therefore, the accent on the authenticity of a colonial subject distorts the real historical process of creation of it, and, thus, the content of this subjectivity.

Second, thinking about the potential political emergence of the Mapuche subject as politically autonomous, the decolonization approach fails to answer this important question: Who will decide what is purely Mapuche, and which elements are carriers of colonial influences (i.e., what is allowed and what is dangerous for the Mapuche project)? This objection to the applicability of the decolonization approach is strengthened when we analyse processes of decolonization carried out by other indigenous people in Latin America, especially in Bolivia. In this respect, several authors (see Radcliffe, 2012; Postero, 2006, 2017) have shown how the decolonization discourse of Evo Morales' government became complicit with the construction of a new form of capitalism (a post-neoliberal one) under control of the plurinational State, grounded in extractivist activities as the matrix of development for the nation and the indigenous people. Postero (2017) goes even further and analyses how this process – in the beginning driven by legitimate historical claims of the indigenous in Bolivia as an oppressed subject – paradoxically degenerated, once crystalized in a centralized State, in a system of exclusion of indigenous contestation. She documents the rise of a new subjective category based on a unilateral interpretation of what it means to be an indigenous: 'the authorized decolonized subject' (Ibid.:83); in fact, the indigenous groups aligned with the *Movimiento al Socialismo* (MAS) political party (the officialism). Some other indigenous groups, mostly people that oppose projects of industrial exploitation in their territories, remain marginalized.

By referring to this example, my aim is to highlight the risks that such a process grounded in ethnic differentiation, or the assumption of the existence of an authentic colonial subject, potentially confronts. In fact, it brings about the conditions for ethno-nationalist discourses that tend to foreclose internal political contestation (I return to this point later).

Integrating also other perspectives of how to achieve the consecution of higher levels of equality and autonomy grounded in radical differences (e.g. political ontologies), my question – following the critical work on neoliberal multiculturalism by Hale (2002) – was: what is the real threat of multiculturalism? Briefly explained, this author argues that the main threat is the creation by the State of a binary idea of the 'unauthorized indigenous' and 'authorized indigenous'. In this case, the latter groups are immediately marginalized, since they are not following the legal instances giving by the multicultural State to achieve political rights.

For Hale (2002, 2006), the threat of 'neoliberal multiculturalism' can be stopped by interrupting this duality. The 'unauthorized indigenous', in this sense, must make alliances with other non-indigenous groups which can have similar claims and even be identified with the indigenous as an open cause and category, which potentially creates new categories not grounded in multicultural differences. Another option for the marginalized 'dangerous' indigenous, according to Hale, is to use the multicultural spaces, platforms and instances in articulation with the State, triggering processes that the latter cannot predict, potentially even achieving some 'real' political rights. However, Hale acknowledges also a level of risks in doing that. He reflects:

> 'The Gramscian notion of articulation, in these cases, becomes the analytical watchword: will the subjugated knowledge and practices be articulated with the dominant, and neutralised? Or will they occupy the space opened from above while resisting its built in logic, connect with others, toward 'transformative' cultural-political alternatives that still cannot even be fully imagined?' (2002: 499)

Later in his paper, the author responds to the questions:

> 'I argue that cultural rights movements have little choice but to occupy the spaces opened by neoliberal multiculturalism, and that they often have much to gain by doing so; but when they do, that we should assume they will be articulated with the dominant bloc, unless this decision forms part of a well-developed strategy oriented toward resistance from within, and ultimately, toward a well-conceived political alternative' (Ibid.: 522).

This understanding of the implications of neoliberal multiculturalism has been relevant in constructing my theoretical argument. First, I argue that the strategy of highlighting once and again the supposed incommensurable cultural differences (or even distinct ontologies) of radical political Mapuche groups potentially results in an understanding of such groups as 'culturally closed'. That would imply to play in the field of the multicultural Chilean State and its binary categorization (the 'good' and the 'bad' Mapuche; the former tolerant, culturally adaptable; the latter intransigent). Regarding the second measure proposed by Hale to avoid the mentioned binary logic, I do agree that those platforms can be used by the indigenous people in ways that the State cannot totally predict nor absolutely control. However, at least regarding the Mapuche cases that I´ve ethnographically studied[112], I hesitate that the idea of 'articulation' is an adequate concept to define how the people get involved in multicultural instances. I also disagree with the idea of 'resistance from within' in terms of Hale, as I will explain now.

During my former experiences working with Mapuche people in State-organized multicultural instances[113] (before the Ph.D.), I observed how the leaders and commoners participated in a singular manner. Rather than negotiating or searching an accommodation within the socio-cultural neoliberal project offered to them, they were constantly expressing disagreement with the 'order of things'. However, as they often manifested, for surveillance reasons they opted to participate in order to gain access to necessary resources[114], which they considered as a minimum response of the State after centuries of injustices. But, beyond these primary needs, they strategically used those spaces for their own political needs/goals. These were instances to summon their people and even organize activities besides the multicultural organigrams of the State (e.g. ceremonies to support land recuperation processes), which the State would consider as outside of what an 'authorized indigenous' should do. Indeed, most of these Mapuche participants were at the same time activists, performers of illegal land occupations; people, in general, with radical political ideas and discourses that they would never hesitate to express in the face of State operators.

[112] The ethnographic researches of this author were carried out in Central America; thus, my partial disagreement with his proposal could be explained due to the differences regarding the empirical context of my cases study.
[113] In 2005 and 2007-2008, I was part of a group of anthropologists driving a participatory process for reconfiguring the Mapuche Museum of Cañete; in 2009, I made a participatory evaluation of the indigenous development programme of CONADI (*Programa Orígenes*).
[114] Especially in the case of beneficiaries of the CONADI development programme, who are peasants or agrarian smallholders usually working under vulnerable conditions in terms of soil, water, infrastructure, connection with the markets, etc.

The opening of new 'multicultural' spaces such as the Mapuche Museum of Cañete from its beginning in 2005 (see Chapter 3) was a case in point that caught my attention in a very special manner. The participation of Mapuche commoners, from my view, was never a kind of articulation (in the terms defined above). It was, in turn, a major step in achieving their own radical political goals. An example is that today the main demonstrations of the Mapuche of the area (Cañete and the inland) against the dominant order are organized from this place. In this regard, from my perspective, the concept of 'resistance from within' could never be adequate to describe such a process. In fact, that term indicates a partial sense of belonging or a level of inclusion of the indigenous groups within the element they are aiming to change – in this case, the neoliberal-multicultural Chilean State. Instead, the preferred strategy I observed was one of total disagreement. The participants were challenging, by reconfiguring the multicultural spaces of the Museum (installing their own ceremonial places, using the infrastructure for political meetings of their traditional authorities, and so on), the very order of things. They were celebrating ceremonies in the name of the Mapuche nation, not under a hybrid sense of Chilean-Mapuche cultural articulation, nor resisting this kind of logic aiming to change it from within.

For these reasons, writing the proposal for this dissertation it was necessary to define what kind of politics were at stake in that kind of processes. The analysis of the State apparatus controlling the indigenous population under neoliberal governance, multiculturalism, and the consequent critiques directed to them as hegemonic ideologies was not enough to understand the struggles of the Mapuche. The idea was to go beyond the perspective of the State, of the logic of hegemonic control and its preconceived game of making articulations-receiving resistance. Thus, the decision was to put the focus on the indigenous politics. From below, the main objective of this research was to understand the very logic of the Mapuche claims, how they are collectivized, and how they manifest their disagreement (which includes the use and appropriation of multicultural platforms).

Consequently, I proposed a long-term ethnographic methodology. Based on radical concepts of politics, my decision was to focus in the Mapuche proposals as the real face of 'the political' since they disagree with the unequal imposed order. Drawing on a Badiouan and Rancièrian analysis – and this is one of the main points I aim to demonstrate through my ethnographic data – I propose the concept of 'appropriation by disagreement' of the multicultural instances performed by the Mapuche groups (see Chapters 2, 3 and 4). I argue that for the Mapuche case, there is no articulation understood as a dialectic relation that can create something new, adding

patterns of the dominant order within the Mapuche cultural performances. Instead, I contend that these multicultural instances in Southern Chile have become arenas of political dissent, where a disjunctive political relation is performed. Thus, they separate rather than articulate, and there is no resistance, but a rupture (see Chapter 1).

Clarifying the inspiration of this work, another important issue was my experience as a Chilean citizen from the mid-1990s onwards, when the political radicalization of Mapuche groups started in Chile. I could verify how the Mapuche movement has been always integrated and supported by non-Mapuche groups, constituting alliances beyond ethnic categories. Indeed, they were representing perhaps the unique real and constant strong opposition to which millions in Chile consider an unequal political regime framed by Pinochet´s dictatorship and reconfirmed by the first post-dictatorship democratic governments: a severe kind of neoliberal regime. Both facts – confirmed during the present research – made me reflect about the possibility of the Mapuche as a universal 'subject of disagreement', rather than as an ethnic or ontological separate being. And here the political perspectives of Badiou and Rancière are fundamental to approach the issue. In short, and as defined in the four chapters, their works helped me to understand the different facets of 'the political'. The Mapuche arises then as a subject that constantly challenges the dominant order creating a process of democratic radicalization. A subject that is created in opposition, by dis-identification with the place that the dominant order has preconfigured to them. Hence, integrating elements beyond a preconceived being or subject. A category that proposes a new organization of one fractured world, a Mapuche 'being in common' that emerges as a universal proposition showing the spuriousness of late capitalism as the 'end of history'. Some considerations about the use of the Badiouan and Rancièrian theoretical frameworks, linked with the contributions that this dissertation makes to them, are presented in the last section of this chapter.

1. A review and a discussion of the main arguments of this dissertation

In concluding this dissertation, it is crucial to review, firstly how Mapuche groups – performers of the political processes that I have described – are positioned in relation to the strategies of governance of the Chilean State. Secondly, it is necessary to reflect about the Mapuche people themselves, in terms of how they are internally organized, and what level of political representation the mentioned Mapuche groups have. In this respect, relevant questions arise as drivers of this conclusion: What kind of political (or non-political) processes are at stake? Must

they be framed as processes of depoliticization (the foreclosure of 'the political'), or rather of politicization (the creation of real political dynamics/platforms)? And being more specific about internal Mapuche issues: Must the referred groups be categorized as ethno-nationalists, representing the interests of just part of the Mapuche people? In other words, are they driving a process of depoliticization, understood as the attempt to foreclosing internal political contestation using the idea of a homogeneous ethnic identity? Or, on the contrary, are they performing a kind of universal emancipation that goes beyond any ethno-nationalist discourse, including the Mapuche in a broad sense and even integrating non-Mapuche people?

In order to respond to these questions and to emphasize the main arguments of the thesis, the ontology of the Mapuche Being (the *Che*, in relation with the Badiouan 'event' and 'political truth'), as well the process of subjectivation that triggers the constitution of a 'Mapuche common' (crystallized in the ongoing Mapuche political organizations) are relevant aspects to be stressed again. To begin with, however, I will shortly discuss the first relevant dimension: the (conflictive) context of neoliberal governance in which the Mapuche are inserted.

1.1. The Mapuche under a multicultural neoliberal regime

The State in Chile has been defined in this dissertation (in the Introduction and the four chapters) as adhering to and performing a form of neoliberal governance. In concrete, this rationale has impacted the Mapuche people by the intensification of the agroforestry private industry in what they consider their ancestral territory. Besides the ecological and economic impacts on the indigenous rural communities (e.g. the scarcity of water for their agrarian production), they have been inserted in a territorialization process that aims to include them within the Chilean nation mostly as individual or collective entrepreneurs. Indeed, the land market and the potentialities of indigenous development are driving the process of land restitution of the State targeting Mapuche people. The latter has not taken into account the inherent relations of the land and a series of elements in the territory that are defined by the Mapuche as sacred elements that must be configured under their own normative system, the *azmapu*. The relevance of this issue is that according to the Mapuche norms, this configuration is the only manner to reproduce the Mapuche common (see Chapters 1 and 2). Thus, a violent conflict has been caused by the confrontation of both proposals of land control.

However, neoliberalism (since the insertion of progressist ideas within the World Bank and the growing influence of NGOs focussed on the respect/integration of cultural differences in the 1990´s) goes far beyond an economic-productive reform. It promotes also the very

reorganization of political society. The reforms towards decentralization and the reduction of the State are coupled with an affirmation of the human rights of historically marginalized people such as the indigenous. Consequently, the neoliberal social policy tends to approach society in a counterintuitive manner: the development of social civil society and social capital and at the same time a protection and promotion of cultural rights (Hale, 2005: 12).

In this thesis the frame of a critical view about multiculturalism (understood as part of the neoliberal ideology) targeting the Mapuche people has been relevant. The scholars quoted in this text are mainly working on analysing late capitalism (see for example Jameson, 1991; Žižek, 1998, 2008; Hale, 2002, 2005; Van Puymbroeck and Oosterlynk, 2015;). As has been demonstrated in the case studies in this dissertation, according to these theories, the potential negative impacts of multiculturalism can be summarized as follows: (a) the depoliticizing of indigenous culture that national integration projects bring about, (b) the commoditization of culture, (c) the treatment of culture as an empty aesthetics, and (d) the creation of a binary categorization of indigenous groups (the 'authorized' and the 'unauthorized' indigenous).

Indeed, from the perspective of this thesis, (b), (c), and (d) must be understood as part of the broad process that is defined in point (a). That is, the process triggered by the State apparatus – through technocratic management – which tends to avoid the political content of the cultural manifestations, e.g. by foreclosing instances or places for political antagonisms. This is achieved by categorizing the population into ethnic categories from a central/neutral position. Hence, the State decides whom (or what cultural elements) to protect, and when. Paradoxically, the same State commonly is a key actor of the conflicts in which it is intervening (Hale, 2002: 492). Indeed, during those processes, commonly, the cultural indigenous elements are reconfigured as carriers of an empty aesthetics, susceptible of being sold as products in the market. This is the process of depoliticization on which the dissertation is focussed. It is a kind of governance strategy defined by Žižek (1998) as 'post-political', characteristic of post-modernity (See Chapter 4, p 125).

In addressing such administration of the population, as I noted in the Introduction of this dissertation, the concept of governmentality arises. Described by Foucault, governmentality is the conduct of conduct, it is the expansion throughout the social body of technologies of governing, including technologies for the governing of the self (Foucault, 1982; Lemke, 2002). However, an analysis focused on those technologies – in this case defined as a set of multicultural neoliberal interventions – brings us just a partial perspective of the problem. Once

described how the multicultural apparatus of the State exercises this control, thus, more questions than responds arise. What is the real impact of those programmes on the daily life of the indigenous people? Are the Mapuche organizations passive entities under this kind of control?

Indeed, as stressed in the presentation of the theoretical framework (in the Introduction), the strategies of the State apparatus concerning the conduct of conduct, in this case, do not necessarily mean an expansion of State power on the population (understood as a one-way expansion). Rather, it must be understood as forms of governance that are always contested (Goldman, 2015). Therefore, I focus on the real political aspect of the phenomenon. Understood in terms of Hardt and Negri (2004, 2010), I approach a biopolitical process of creating new livelihoods and forms of political organization grounded in the common: the Mapuche common, or 'being in common'.

Furthermore, this dominant regime is analysed according to the terms of Rancière and Badiou respectively as a specific kind of 'distribution of the sensible', and as a given 'state of the situation'. In this regard, both authors agree in defining the official political system (*politics*) based on parliamentary democracy, and capitalism in terms of economy as the only option given to configure that 'distribution', or the 'state of the situation'. Thus, *politics* is at the service of oligarchic interests on the resources, grounded their logic in a neoliberal ideology. No analysis of the administration of power in those fake consensual terms, for Rancière and Badiou, can signify a truly political one. The real politics ('the political'), as explained in the theoretical frameworks of all chapters, begins when an oppressed subject, or 'the part of no-part', arises and disrupts the dominant order (I return to this point later). This thesis, hence, is focus on the Mapuche *political*, which, I argue, includes the appropriation of State tools of depoliticization with political goals (including the multicultural platforms referred by Hale, as mentioned above).

With the case studies referred to in this dissertation I have illustrated how the Mapuche, in contexts ranging from land occupation to holding *palin* events to the use of public spaces such as the Mapuche Museum and Caupolicán Square in Cañete, appropriate the State-provided platforms and programmes for their own political goals. In other words, they reconfigure those places or events according to their own aesthetic regime grounded in the *azmapu* (the Mapuche normative system) and through the Mapuche cultural complex (language, ceremonies, protocol, authorities, music, etc.). As it was shown, the Museum today, after a participatory

museographic programme, has been reconfigured according to a museography of disagreement; the Caupolicán Square is a political platform to express dissent (especially during demonstrations and trials against Mapuche hold at the nearby Cañete Court); the *winka palin* politicizes spaces by adding part of its sacred (and inevitably political) features to a game that should remain (in terms of the State) a recreational sportive event.

Based on the arguments above, it is important to stress that the relation of the State (and other institutions and private agents executing governmental programmes) with the Mapuche are not grounded in misunderstandings or incommensurable equivocations explained because of the existence of different ontologies (as the promoters of political ontology propose, see Chapter 2, pp 84-86). This is the main reasons why I contrast the Rancièrian framework on 'the political' with the work on political ontologies, elaborating a critical view of the latter (Chapter 2). My argument in this regard is that if there is nothing but equivocation, the conceivable relation with the 'no-part' can easily be reduced to being mere moments of indecisiveness, rather than real political instances of negotiation expressing the material concerns of indigenous actors. Consequently, the assumption of different ontological worlds, in the worst case, can be seen as a pillar for the creation of a multicultural (or actually a multi-ontological) nation, administrated by the Rancièrian 'police'. That is to say, the incommensurable difference would be considered as an explanation for rural poverty, marginality and consequently, for the claims to land and the arising of violence.

Thus, stressing my point again, rather than misunderstandings, I maintain based on Rancière´s ideas that those are relations driven by disagreement. This means that even while a level of confusion or misunderstanding always exists, at the same time it is necessary to characterize those interfaces between the State and the Mapuche as strategic arenas where both parts (understood as a disjunction) deliberately confront distinct political interests. I maintain, hence, that we are not analysing two different (ontological worlds), but one ruptured world. Rather than an ontological struggle for the recognition of a radical difference, this is a struggle for the very existence in such a fractured world.

Summarizing, it can be said that the post-political strategies targeting the Mapuche cultural complex and, consequently, aiming to depoliticize the territorial political conflict between the State, landowners, the agroforestry companies, and the Mapuche, are not necessarily provoking

a process of depoliticization[115]. On the contrary, the Mapuche commonly perform an appropriation of State spaces/places/instances by disagreement, reconfiguring them or even creating new categories of some practices where the political sense of them prevail.

1.2. What kind of politics are the Mapuche performing?

In this section I address the second main dimension of the Mapuche issue, namely how they organize themselves politically. Having already defined several times the Mapuche politics as grounded in a process of emancipation (principally by resorting to Rancièrian and Badiouan ideas about how the real politics is performed by the part of 'the no-part' as a radical opposition with the dominant order), here I will discuss the internal side of the Mapuche organizations. Specifically, this concerns the kind of politics they are performing in terms of self-organization (regarding hierarchies, levels of representation, their process of subjectivation, amongst others). This aims to clarify what perhaps is a main doubt of the reader of this dissertation: Are there forms of depoliticization triggered from the inside of the Mapuche organizations? Is there some structure tending to foreclose the internal political contestation within the Mapuche people? Does a centralized discourse exist which tends to homogenize – trough ethno-nationalist statements – the social and political heterogeneity of the Mapuche today?

1.2.1. The risks of foreclosing 'the political' from the inside

The irruptions of indigenous movements in Latin-American politics during the latest 20th Century (in México, Colombia, Bolivia, Chile, among others) have several features in common. In fact, most of them represent a subordinated part of the population, the indigenous that have been oppressed since colonial times, and who emerge as a new political force challenging the established order. Another common feature in many cases is that they tend to present themselves as a specific marginal part (or no-part) of the society in terms of ethnic identity. This is commonly supported by defining a pre-existent indigenous subject (or a 'true' colonial subject), functioning as a carrier of specific social features in which they can ground their demands. For instance, it is stressed a tendency to be socially organized as a harmonious community; among other positive values that those indigenous should have.

[115] As described in Chapter 4 regarding the case of the *palin*, the reactions of the State in vis-à-vis Mapuche cultural elements that remain politicized can be summarized as repression (insofar they are categorized as insurgence), as indifference (as a mere undesirable aesthetic of the margins) or, paradoxically, as inclusive (attempting its integration in spite of the intrinsic impossibility).

The danger associated to this phenomenon is that it can be crystalized as a practice of depoliticization defined by Rancière (1999) as 'archaic-politics'. This tactic proposes a society that is not internally heterogeneous, constituting an organic and virtuous community which must be controlled by someone (an illuminated leader or group) to ensure the reproduction of those ideal parameters. A typical example are the series of populist nationalisms during the 20th Century (Van Puymboraeck and Oosterlynck, 2015: 97-101). In short, it means a denial of any specific political sphere in society (Ibid.: 100). This means that policing everyone could be in hands of a reduced group, which potentially includes the detection and expulsion of external elements from the internal of the society (such as people of other ethnicities, categorized as dangerous for the social balance). The case of Bolivia analysed by Postero (2017) gives us a Latin-American example of how the idea of *indigeneity* can be used in such forms (as introduced above, and in the Introduction).

In fact, for an indigenous emancipatory process as the one I describe in this thesis, archaic-politics represents a thin line to cross. And, indeed, the effects of crossing it are potentially radical: from being a subject of the margins, a performer of real politics who challenges 'the sensible', to become a new kind of 'police' in form of an ethno-nationalist group who excludes and includes people based on a new arbitrary criterion of social homogeneity (the One, under a national jurisprudence). This implies the abandonment of the universal[116] characteristic of the 'political truth', and the negation of the principle of equality which is considered as a starting point for creating real politics.

Regarding the Mapuche case, I maintain that their political organizations – grounding their political face in what has been defined in this thesis as the Mapuche 'political truth' – present specific features that tend to avoid the mentioned internal process of depoliticization. I explain this argument in the next and last section of this Conclusion.

1.2.2. The current organizations of the Mapuche as carriers of 'the political'

From the dawn of the colonial times, the Mapuche (or actually the Reche, see Chapter 1, p 45) had a characteristic form of political organization (see Bengoa, 2007; Boccara, 2007): the *lov* as an independent territorial unity (separated by geographical means such as mountains, rivers,

[116] The 'universal' in this dissertation has been used in terms of Badiou and Rancière, referring the scopes of the process of subjectivation of the 'no-part' as an open category that integrates the oppressed people grounded in a principle of equality. The 'universality' of this process is given due to the generic features of their claims (in the name of humanity, or the totality of an oppressed category), as well as due to their intrinsic irrefutability (such as, 'The slaves are not free.'), as they are not based in principles that need to be verified.

lakes, etc.), integrated by several familiar nuclei in a relation of consanguinity, led by a *lonko* (the head of the extended family, normally the oldest man of it). Each family nucleus had a high level of political autonomy in taking their own decisions in daily life issues. The *lov* was a structure for coordinating (mostly socio-economic) issues, and cooperation in times of crisis.

In a macro level, the *lov* were part of different levels of *lov* unions called *aiyarewe*, which could have enormous territorial extensions (including several *aiyarewe*), forming a 'regional confederation' (historically, there existed four of these confederations called *futalmapu*). However, according to the chroniclers of that time, these big alliances were formed only to confront important crisis and/or threats such as the war with the Spanish (Boccara, 2007). The authority of the *toki* (war leaders of those confederations) was limited to leading the military union of these indigenous people (i.e. they could take only military decisions), and the number and identity of these *toki* was subject to change according to the contingency of the war. There was never a special linage, group, or other kind of category of people that managed the political power of the whole *Wallmapu* in a permanent way, nor any kind of state or other centralized system of redistribution. The Mapuche, thus, according to the chroniclers as well the Mapuche oral memories, never constituted a hegemonic kind of political control from them to themselves, nor existed a clear identity that grouped them as a homogenous nation. Rather, they continuously developed a series of diverse and geographically divided political groups (the *lov*) (Lobos Camerati, 2016: 19-25), which were closely linked by networks of socio-political and economic relations. After centuries of war and the confrontation of external hegemonic forces (the Spanish Crown and afterwards the Chilean State), those alliances were consolidated as semi-permanent.

This feature of Mapuche political organization in the past is relevant for understanding the bases on which their 'political truth' is installed today. Notably, the historical processes of land reduction, the creation of a new territory under a capitalist logic of land control, involving the extraction of resources, as well the insertion of new institutions, authorities, etc., configures nowadays a totally different order of things. However, as I have stressed, the Mapuche political organization must be analysed also internally, not as a reproduction of the Badiouan 'state of the situation' but as a political creation that emerges according to their own historical precepts, logics of organization, etc. This is based on a relation of fidelity with the Mapuche 'event' and concretely organized as collectives according to a 'political truth' (see Chapter 1, pp 42-44) which is genealogically linked with the political struggles carried out by their ancestors.

In explaining this specific kind of subjectivation, is necessary to revisit the Badiou's idea on the workings of the sequence of the 'event-truth-subject. The Mapuche event in the decade of the 1990s emerged according to its own sense of history, as part of a sequence of events that evoked the uprisings of the Mapuche ancestors in colonial times (see Chapter 1, pp 44-45). In Badiou, the 'political truth' exists only in the history of concrete subjects: The Being in relation with the 'event'[117]. But at the same time, it is eternal because it carries the infinite consequences of an 'event', being extended in different contexts, through multiple acts and subjects (Meillassoux, 2011: 3-4). Hence, I have approached the Mapuche history in its material dimension of subjects living in specific given situations where the 'events' took place, and at the same time, in a diachronic-genealogical sequence of 'truth' constitution from colonial times to the present. This is reaffirmed because the 'truth' – according to Badiou – is not conditioned by the 'state of the situation' and its production of knowledge, its version of history, etc. – on the contrary, it interrupts it (Ibid.: 5).

In this regard, it has been important to stress throughout the dissertation that the Mapuche claims go beyond mere land restitution, or the reform of certain policies, established within the limits of 'the sensible'. But at the same time, as a new and specific proposal of emancipation, I argue, it goes also beyond any ethno-nationalist discourses understood as the emergence of One virtuous community. The *taiñ mapuchegen mew* (see Chapter 2, pp 41-42) is not the declaration of a Mapuche elite[118], nor it is of specific groups aiming to take the control of a hypothetic autonomous nation or to influence the levels of political autonomy that could be negotiated within the Chilean nation. Groups and individuals with ethno-nationalist views do exists, but they are not self-presented as 'the Carriers' of the Mapuche 'political truth', but just as giving one more perspective within the heterogeneity of the Mapuche organizations. The

[117] Here I must be very clear that for Badiou, as well that for Rancière, there is no pre-given subject, but it is constituted in a relation of oppression with the dominant order, arising in specific moments or periods of the history. In Badiou, the Being is void. No substances can be pre-attached to the Being. The Being, or the *Che* in the Mapuche case, gets its content through the arising of the 'event' (see Chapter 1, pp 43-44). This ontological conception strongly differs from the ideas on socio-political essencializations when referring to archaic-politics in the indigenous world (as mentioned above).

[118] The Mapuche elite can be understood as certain linages coming from important *lonko* (or other authorities) of the past, as these families today have a relative better position in political and social terms. Moreover, they are often respected within the Mapuche groups, due to their ancestors' leadership skills, spiritual condition or wisdom and knowledgeability. However, the new generations of these Mapuche linages must prove their worthiness of such high esteem based on their ancestors; normally, they will not become authorities or important persons just because they carry a famous surname.

A second form of the Mapuche elite concerns only the economic dimension, being comprised of families, groups, or individuals that historically have had the control over relatively big extensions of land and were thereby able to concentrate capital. This kind of elite normally does not have an influence over political issues under the influence of the *azmapu,* but is commonly relevant for the links with Chilean politics, as well as for potentially extending nets of clientelism among the Mapuche.

same is the case for Mapuche who integrate or sympathize with the different official political parties in Chile, from the right side to the left.

This acceptance of political heterogeneity is demonstrated by the Mapuche reproduction, creation, and reconfiguration of spaces and places as political platforms/instances where the internal contestation is also addressed by open deliberation, such as ceremonies, political speeches and meetings (the *trawun*, see Chapter 3, pp 101-102), the social protocol of sharing, the *palin* game, etc. Indeed, violent confrontations among Mapuche groups due to political reasons are almost inexistent. Cases in point are for example the inter-group cooperation for land recuperation issues as well the horizontal insertion of communities as ongoing organizations within the 'political truth', once these groups start such recuperation processes (see the land occupation and political demonstration case according to the *azmapu* in Chapter 2; the case of Ranquilco in Chapter 1, as well the 'political' *palin* in Chapter 4).

In resume, the idea of Mapuche Nation today (the *taiñ mapuchegen mew*) must not be analysed under the logic of the 'state of the situation' (as a reproduction of it, and as problem to be resolve inside its logic), nor in terms of the emergence of an ethno-nationalist movement in a Latin American level during the decade of 1990. Rather, following the idea of genealogical sequence crystallized in a concrete and specific subject, I argue that the Mapuche today aim the consolidation of a new normative and hierarchical configuration grounded in the idea of the re-constitution of the ancestral *Wallmapu*. That means, respecting the political autonomy of the *lov* as well of each Mapuche family or group that could emerge as an internal antagonist[119]. Thus, I argue that the Mapuche are performing a real process of politicization, democratically, from the inside.

1.2.3. The universality of the Mapuche proposal

A last issue that is necessary to emphasize in this conclusion concerns the universal condition of the Mapuche 'political truth'. Throughout the dissertation, it has been argued that this universality is grounded in the Mapuche as 'the no-part' of the Chilean society, voicing their claims in the name of it. In discussing this, these two challenging questions can be helpful: Can they really be categorized as 'the part of no-part'? Are their politics really grounded in a sense of equality with the rest of non-Mapuche population?

[119] The term 'agonism' in the sense proposed by Chantal Mouffe (2005) is relevant to understand the process that I mean here (see Chapter 2, p 74).

As I have argued in Chapters 2, 3 and 4, according to Rancière (2006, 2011) the 'part of the no-part' is a segment of the population that remains at the margins of the State, the uncounted, portrayers of undesirable aesthetics and, at the same time, limited in terms of their capacity to understand what is socially allowed (the 'distribution of the sensible'), from the perspective of 'the police' (institutions and norms aiming to define and protect this distribution). When they are aligned constituting a political subject, they interrupt the order of things, and thereby demonstrate the spuriousness of the universal condition of late-capitalism (the 'distribution of the sensible' today). By doing this, the 'no-part' counterpoises real universal claims of a subordinated subject, voicing demands and statements in a very generic way (e.g. power to the people!), or focused, also in a rather generic way, on the subordinated group in question (e.g. the slaves are free!). Taking this into account, some points must be clarified:

First, many Mapuche, especially those who participate in the land occupations, are not included as indigenous beneficiaries by the State. Hence, they must be formally considered as the 'no-part' of the State metastructure. They belong (to the *Wallmapu*) but are not included. As it was shown in Chapter 1 (pp 58-60), this is the case of the Mapuche group in Huentelolen, represented in a trial by their *werken* (messenger). Under the same conditions, multiple groups (many of them by their own decision) keep performing land recuperation from the margins of the State. However, as it was also noted in Chapter 1, a significant part of the Mapuche population does register under the counts of the State land restitution programme and combines different strategies to recover land. The argument of this thesis is that, insofar they appropriate by disagreement those tools of the State by using and reconfiguring them according to their own 'political truth', they must be also categorized as the 'no-part'. Indeed, they perform a strategy of emancipation in the name of one generic oppressed group, defined as the Mapuche.

Furthermore, the Mapuche 'truth' is universal due to its relationship with the rest of the oppressed population in Southern Chile, especially non-Mapuche inhabitants of rural areas that are affected by the same industrial-capitalist impacts, for instance, the same processes of land grabbing performed by the agroforestry industry during the past centuries. In this regard, an important antecedent is the research carried out by Mallon (2004), who describes the internal dynamics of Mapuche and non-Mapuche within the rural community of Ailío (see Introduction). Indeed, nowadays these alliances do exist. Landless workers and poor peasants have come to identify themselves with the Mapuche truth, and Mapuche groups as carriers of process of land recuperation accept them. A case in point is, again, the example of Huentelolen (Chapter 1, pp 58-60), where the radical land occupation, which is carried out completely from

the margins of the State, is open to receive the above-mentioned categories of individuals and groups, who formally are Chilean.

This being the 'part of no-part', or the supernumerary of the State´s second count in Badiouan terms, makes the Mapuche truth 'truly' universal, as it implies the negation of the fake universality of late capitalism in Chile. Thus, I conclude that the Mapuche are not confronting a Chilean ontology, nor another ethnicity, nor even a nation. They confront, in the name of the Mapuche representing a form of humanity, a specific oppressor: the Chilean oligarchy, the multinational capital, and the neoliberal-multicultural State, all of them aligned in one unequal 'distribution of the sensible'.

2. Theoretical and methodological contributions

In this last section, I will briefly elaborate on my use of some relevant concepts proposed by Badiou and Rancière in this dissertation and discuss how my work contributes to further developing their theoretical approaches.

Firstly, it is important to emphasize again that 'the truth', according to Badiou (Badiou and Hallward, 1998: 122), is not a pre-given transcendent norm. Rather, it is a production, where the people have spaces for deliberation, producing this 'truth' as a collective subject. Badiou (2010) proposes that this production is mainly made within the 'truth's organizations', as an independent enclosure within the situation. For the Mapuche, the *azmapu* constitutes an avenue for enabling this organization/enactment of the 'truth'. It cannot be repeated enough that such a position is opposed to the idea of dialectic mediation and continuous change. This can be understood as an underestimation of the complexity of societal configurations (Sotiris, 2011: 37). Indeed, the Mapuche in their struggles must face antagonist forces, and conjunctures, opening their organizations for participating in processes with the State (especially with the land restitution programme and multicultural platforms such as the Museum of Cañete) as part of the situation in which they set out to enact their *azmapu* 'truth' procedure.

Thus, unlike the view of Badiou about a total enclosure of the organizations triggered by the 'event', I consider the analysis of the Mapuche (grounded in an 'event' and a 'truth') in relation to the situation in Chile.

Secondly, how should we differentiate the triangle 'event-truth-subject' from simple isolated facts, void discourses, and/or opportunistic strategies? To put the whole weight of such important concepts on the shoulders of 'pure conviction' or 'fidelity to fidelity' – as Bensaïd (2004: 101) remarks that Badiou tends to do – entails a high fragility, due to the multiplicity of reasons, needs, desires, temptations, etc., that surround a subject in a given situation (taking into account the complexity of human behaviour, that normally is not flat nor unidirectional). The thin line between a loyal subject and a traitor, for example, is sometimes extremely complex to delineate. This is the complex field of tension the Mapuche face when engaging governmental promises to give them back their land.

In this regard, I stress also the use of governmental tools (framed under a capitalist logic) by the Mapuche subject not necessarily in terms of a betrayal to their 'truth' but as part of an emancipatory strategy of appropriation of those instances.

Regarding the Rancièrian framework, I must highlight how, from the beginning, this was a relevant guide to frame the methodological aspects of this dissertation. A 'political' ethnography plan was designed according to Rancière's understanding of 'the political' as an aesthetic regime from the margins. In this regard, and in the same sense that I have done the comments on Badiou´s logic of 'independent enclosure', I do believe that marginal regimes are highly present within the 'distribution of the sensible'. These regimes of the 'no-part' use, by disagreement, the configurations of 'the sensible' without necessarily being neutralized by the 'police'.

Thus, the conditions of these supposed processes of articulations, and finally integrations (including commodification) of cultural elements of dissent as part of the dominant order of things must be permanently reviewed and critically defined (ethnography plays a key role here). The latter is relevant, I argue, because following a mechanization of categorizations in this regard (element of 'the sensible' – marginal cultural element of dissent) tends to create a binary logic that, eventually, stresses the aesthetic conditions of 'the police' as impenetrable, and tends to simplify its arbitrary operation of exclusion/inclusion.

This said, I consider this dissertation as a contribution to thinking the future of the Mapuche subject radically different: A future of emancipation, universal, avoiding the traps of depoliticization coming both from the external intervention of the State and from the internal risk of a possible ethno-nationalist essentialization. I would like to invite the readers of this thesis, especially Mapuche thinkers and activists, to open and engage in new critical

discussions based on the proposals I have brought forward. I would also be very grateful if students of the social sciences and other areas of knowledge can find in these arguments an inspiration to further the work on radical indigenous politics.

Peucayal! (‘good bye’!)

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