Rhythms of Resilience:

Transcending Legacies of Indigenous Loss in Wallmapu

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Abstract

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Current reparation and strategies of political recognition towards Indigenous populations obfuscate resonant histories of oppression through a rhetoric of multicultural inclusion. Chile is no exception to this phenomenon with regard to the Mapuche. Despite state rhetoric promoting Indigenous rights through identity-focused development, a pervasive sense of loss continues to impact Mapuche communities. This work utilizes interviews and conversations with Mapuche individuals to demonstrate what the author terms, rhythms of localized resilience, in the face of a rising collective concern regarding loss of Indigenous knowledge in everyday practice among Mapuche. The work examines how loss operates as a space which galvanizes resurgence strategies and individual agency towards recovery and rehabilitation. I offer an analysis of loss—examining the kinds of losses (material, political and affective) experienced by Mapuche individuals and communities, to argue that loss is in fact, paradoxically, a productive component within revitalization efforts. This work will examine one Mapuche practice, *trueque,* which

emphasizes reciprocity as a mechanism for social wellbeing, as a lens for understanding Mapuche resilience and empowerment in six local communities in southern Chile. This work will contribute to the discussion of Indigenous revitalization efforts and knowledge production by examining the localized actions of resurgence taking place in response to state-imposed conceptions of Indigenous peoples' needs. I suggest that the forms through which Native peoples interact on a daily basis as a method of intentional resistance against the colonial conceptions of indigeneity matter, they operate as rhythms of resilience, fostering long-term transformation stirring personal responsibility and collective commitment.

Key words: Chile; Mapuche; loss; resilience; Indigenous knowledge; resurgence; *trueque;* reciprocity; exchange.

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Introduction: Stories as Sacred Truths

"It is sacred. These stories…they are sacred…"[1] the warmth from the fire slowly begins to subside as the coals turn to ashes. Mariana, the wife of lonko Jacob, the headman of their community in Lliulliucura, southern Chile, looks at me with eyes that shimmer with tears. It has been four long hours of emotional exchange, as we discuss Indigenous identity, political representation, Mapuche knowledge and values within daily life. Mariana culminates our conversation by offering me a gift: a sacred story of resilience and survival.

I know of another story of when the Spaniards persecuted the Mapuches. Many women were pregnant and when it came time for them to give birth, they were in hiding, there in the mountains…and it was a time of great suffering. And many mothers had to have their babies on the mountain. They say that every baby born on the mountain did not die, by the power of God...and that's where the copihues[2] came from. Do you know the copihues? The copihues appeared where the babies were born through the spilling of the mother's blood during birth. Copihues are not found everywhere. Further north there are no copihue. Yet here in Araucanía, there are copihues.

Mariana's story concerning the origin of the copihue, Chile's national flower, is one of challenge and endurance, birth and rebirth—the copihue emerges amidst pain and struggle and remains a sign of delicate beauty and overwhelming resilience. Like the copihue, efforts by participants in this study, who engage in creative resurgence in the hopes of transforming a region and a people that have long endured the impact of colonial violence and erasure, these projects of cultural revitalization and knowledge production demonstrate a subtle magnificence.

This is where my research begins. This thesis seeks to delve into the ramifications and values of localized approaches to Indigenous resurgence and communal resilience in the southern

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[1] Lliulliucura, Interview August 23, 2018, Participant B, Mariana

[2] The copihue is Chile's national flower—also known as the Chilean bellflower. For Mapuche, the copihue is a symbol of joy, friendship and gratitude.

cone states of Latin America, specifically how this takes place among Mapuche communities in southern Chile through the everyday responses to loss as it emerges materially, politically and affectively.

The Challenge

The question of Indigenous rights and representation within Chile's public discourse has been a driving aspect of political concern for the past thirty years. Since the return to democracy in the early 90s, Chilean governments have weighed the costs of recognition of Indigenous peoples alongside the impetus of development and economic growth. Amidst this rhetoric of recognition, conflictive patterns of engagement have emerged. Land, though central to the narrative of oppression offered by most Mapuche, is a partial aspect contributing to the lived experience and marginalization of Indigenous communities.

In light of Chile's social policies promoting Indigenous rights and Mapuche cultural identity—from the creation of *"Trato de Nueva Imperial"* under President Aylwin to the implementation of *"Plan Impulso Araucania"* under President Pinera most recently—the concern for integrating the largest Indigenous population into the national body has encountered resistance and fueled contention. In the summer of 2017, official state apologies were conducted during President Michelle Bachelet's announcement of *"Plan de Reconocimiento y Desarollo Araucania"*. In her address, she publicly apologized to the Mapuche people for the "failure of the country" and the "mistakes and horrors" committed and tolerated by the state in its relationship to Mapuche communities.[3]

[3] El Mostrador (2017). Bachelet a lo Aylwin: pide perdon por los "errores y horrres" al annunciar Plan de la Araucania. https://www.elmostrador.cl/noticias/pais/2017/06/23/bachelet-a-lo-aylwin-pide-perdon-por-errores-y-horrores-al-anunciar-plan-de-la-araucania/. 24 Horas Central (2017) Presidenta Bachelet pide perdon al pueblo mapuche y anuncia nueve medidas para la Araucania. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p7SHAVB0628

Less than a year later, Sebastian Pinera put forth *"Impulso Araucania",* a plan to institutionalize the recognition of Mapuche people, generate economic development in the Araucania region and promote Indigenous culture through bilingual education and the protection of Indigenous medicinal forms in health fields.[4] Despite efforts towards repairing the impacts of historical wrongs through the restitution of land and an emphasis on addressing problems of regional development, these approaches appear cursory, operating upon surface-level assumptions about Mapuche needs, desires and expectations. Amidst this social and political focus on the challenges facing Indigenous peoples, a sense of alienation, frustration and disconnection exists among many Mapuche individuals regarding their cultural identity, raising questions of authenticity within representation.

State attempts to recover Mapuche heritage and culture result in a complex tension when state-imposed "conceptions of supposedly Indigenous identity read to Indigenous peoples, from perspectives rooted in their own cultures and languages, not as moves towards justice and positive integration (as the strategy is framed in colonial discourses) but as indicators of an on-going colonial assault on their existence".[5] While recent administrations have attempted to form a discourse around peacebuilding and development within the Araucania region of Chile, actual events on the ground reveal a reality that includes ongoing harm to Mapuche life, detrimental impacts of poverty and the continuation of a rhetoric of discrimination.[6] Violence exerted upon

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[4] Sintesis agenda pueblos originarios y plan Araucania 2.0. Presidente Pinera: unete a los tiempos mejores. (2018). https://planaraucania.sebastianpinera.cl

[5] Alfred, Taiaiake & Corntassel, Jeff. (2005). Politics of Identity– IX: Being Indigenous: Resurgences against Contemporary Colonialism. Cambridge University Press. Pg. 598.

[6] Centro de Estudios Interculturales e Indigenas (2017). Estudio Longitudinal de Relaciones Interculturales: Resultados Primera Ola. http://elri.cl/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/RelacionesIntergrupales.pdf.; Vinagre, Antonia G. (2017). ¿Terrorismo en la Araucania? Una Falsa Interrogante. Serie Informe Sociedad y Politica. ISSN 0718-4093. Vilches, Jose Manuel. (2018). Desde el operativo de Carabineros hasta la salida de seis de ellos: Los cinco días tras la muerte de Camilo Catrillanca. Emol Nacional. Ayala, Leslie. (2018). Catrillanca: Una muerte en tres actos. La Tercera.

and amidst Indigenous communities, the literal loss of life combined with ongoing structural bias creates a disturbance that quietly cultivates a social reaction. Encounters between Mapuche communities and police forces have elicited major upheaval throughout the country.[7] While the current administration under Pinera has emphasized its concern regarding Indigenous rights, its approach is perceived as addressing solely the troubles affecting the region and not necessarily the people who reside there.

Tracing historical records to the mid 1970s, during the Pinochet regime, Indigenous identity was politically suppressed in order to create a homogenized, Chilean society.[8] A vision of unity within a context of discord and political repression. Thirty years later, Mapuche communities remain entrenched in a struggle to reclaim Indigenous identity and knowledge under a political structure that while openly supporting the plight of subaltern groups, discursively aligns beside the agendas of economic powers. The experience of structural marginalization and an essentialized existence resonates throughout Indigenous narratives. Within the context of contemporary state-indigenous relations, the political is often highly personal. An over-simplified rhetoric prevails which assumes a stance of militancy or overt dependency and victimization in relation to Mapuche communities and their actions towards cultural recovery.

In response to these conceptualizations of Mapuche struggles and demands, multiculturalism is framed as the best approach to engaging Indigenous desires and establishing

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[7] Centro de Estudios Interculturales e Indigenas (2017). Estudio Longitudinal de Relaciones Interculturales: Resultados Primera Ola. http://elri.cl/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/RelacionesIntergrupales.pdf.; Vinagre, Antonia G. (2017). ¿Terrorismo en la Araucania? Una Falsa Interrogante. Serie Informe Sociedad y Politica. ISSN 0718-4093. Vilches, Jose Manuel. (2018). Desde el operativo de Carabineros hasta la salida de seis de ellos: Los cinco días tras la muerte de Camilo Catrillanca. Emol Nacional. Ayala, Leslie. (2018). Catrillanca: Una muerte en tres actos. La Tercera.

[8] Crow, Joanna (2013) "The Pinochet Dictatorship: Conflicting Histories and Memories, 1973-1990". *The Mapuche in Modern Chile. A Cultural History*. University of Florida Press

peaceful relations. However, multiculturalism often "appears not as a cultural liberator but as a cultural straitjacket" forcing indigenous peoples "into a regime of authenticity".[9] This approach inherently denies them "the chance to cross cultural borders, borrow cultural influences, define and redefine themselves."[10] While many Latin American countries have adopted a politics of multiculturalism as a way to ensure Indigenous representation and voice, debate regarding the ways in which multiculturalism serves as a reifying mechanism—reinforcing particular tropes of cultural identity emerge to challenge the conception of multiculturalism as a freeing approach to minority and ethnic rights.

Notwithstanding state emphasis on Indigenous representation within national discourse, a profound sense of alienation and cultural loss predominate amongst many Mapuche in Chile. My research suggests, however that, paradoxically, "loss" may not be a disempowering experience. *How does collective loss, as related to affective, political and material experience, inform and influence Mapuche projects of cultural resurgence and knowledge production?*

To answer this question, I look at the ways in which Mapuche communities and individuals utilize cultural knowledge and practice to reengage their connection to an Indigenous identity and forms of living. I suggest that reciprocity and exchange relations is a key practice through which cultural resurgence takes place in the face of perceived cultural loss. Reciprocity rests at the heart of Mapuche community, social relationships and individual identity.

Exchange relations are integral to the life cycle and worldview of Mapuche communities—it connects individuals to the land, their kin as well as outsiders.[11] Drawing on

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[9] Phillips, Ann (2009) Multiculturalism without Culture. Princeton University Press.
[10] ibid
[11] Course, Magnus. (2011) *Becoming Mapuche: Person and Ritual in Indigenous Chile*. Urbana. University of Illinois Press.

Mapuche understandings of loss as a framework for understanding how Mapuche transcend cultural loss and subsequent alienation, this study identifies exchange relations, known as *trueque*, as a mechanism of cultural resurgence. Data collected through interviews conducted with Mapuche individuals from six communities in southern Chile demonstrates that cultural resurgence transpires through a process of realignment in the social body or community, wherein social responsibility is restructured in response to loss on both the individual and collective level as a way of revitalizing cultural knowledge.

This thesis is a multi-sited study of the discursive forms through which loss is experienced and how Mapuche actors respond to it. This work seeks to address the question of cultural resurgence, resilience and knowledge production in response to ongoing loss in Mapuche communities. I offer an analysis of loss—examining the kinds of losses experienced by Mapuche individuals and communities. I argue that loss is in fact, paradoxically, a productive component within revitalization efforts. The first chapter will provide a historical and contextual overview of resurgence theory, the history and particularities of Mapuche representation in Chile and my own approach to this phenomenon.

The second chapter will then delve into an examination of how loss is voiced among my Mapuche interlocutors and how it allows for a kind of work, a kind of transcendence to take place, amidst the cultural resurgence strategies of Indigenous actors. Chapter three will engage in an analysis of the work of a Mapuche cooperative and their engagement with cultural forms of interaction—predominantly their adoption of *trueque,* exchange relations, as a way of transcending cultural losses and rebuilding and reasserting Indigenous knowledge and community connections. Chapter four will provide a supporting analysis which will examine the work of the *Comunidad de Historia Mapuche*, an online and diasporic community of Mapuche

intellectuals dedicated to the production of counter-narratives as a method of intellectual reciprocity and exchange, changing the dominant national narratives to incorporate Indigenous experience and knowledge. Chapter five will encompass my epilogue, concluding remarks, predominantly engaging in a discussion of what I term, knowledge communities, examining the intergenerational transfer and exchange of cultural knowledge and practice as a way of creating sustainable social transformation.

Chapter One: Loss, Resurgence and Reciprocity

¡Libertad a los presos políticos Mapuches![12] I observe this graffiti painted on the side of a bus bench as I wait for the next transport to arrive. It is common to see this petition streaked across the buildings and bus stops of Santiago, bursting out of the landscape and ignored by most passengers as they go about their daily business. Yet this claim is indicative of a larger resonant history and struggle fought on the political and legal arenas of Chile's democracy as well as within the local spheres of everyday life in Chile.

Indigenous loss is often characterized as a thing of the past, something to which governments now seek redress and reparation without reasonably and morally considering the depth of emotional impact that prevails among the experiences of Native populations. Such is the case for Mapuche in Chile. One need not look much farther than recent history to see just how loss continues to impact Mapuche communities. In considering the implications of loss within the scope of affective, political and material experience among Mapuche, I understand the affective experience of loss to incorporate the emotional and psychological influences that haunt Mapuche individuals, presenting challenges in their everyday lives in connection to their identification as Indigenous and their knowledge of cultural praxis and values.[13] I refer to the material experience of loss in relation to the physical dispossession of land and the economic ramifications that continue to impact Mapuche communities today. I speak of the political experience of loss as it relates to the representation of Mapuche by governing structures, the

[12] Translation: "Freedom for Mapuche political prisoners"
[13] Flatley, Jonathan (2008) Affective Mapping: Melancholia and the Politics of Modernism. Harvard University Press. Cambridge.

policies that have addressed the "Mapuche question" without ears that have truly listened to Native answers.

Among many Indigenous groups in Latin America, multiculturalism as a political tool of inclusion appears a watered-down form of democracy—the depths of loss experienced by Indigenous peoples rarely analyzed at length beyond the material level of dispossession and its social implications. But if we think of dispossession as an act that encompasses material, political and affective spaces within the experiences of Mapuche communities—understanding how individuals and their communities respond to loss can lead to greater discussions surrounding resilience and resurgence.

Resurgence Strategies and Approaches to Native Loss

Indigenous movements worldwide engage in a struggle against state-based policies that offer contradictory conceptions of Indigenous rights, identity and heritage. Scholars have debated the effectiveness of recognition against the difficulties of Native Nations struggling to assert their sovereignty, autonomy and representation, often questioning the methodologies practiced by different Indigenous communities in search of some measure of political authority and cultural authenticity.[14] Demands for the "recognition of difference" drive social and political conflicts—"from campaigns for national sovereignty and subnational autonomy, to battles around multiculturalism", the claim that difference and cultural distinctiveness be legitimated and respected creates a whirlwind of social and moral struggles.[15] Empowerment through

[14] Coulthard, Glen Sean. (2014) Red Skins, White Masks. Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition. University of Minnesota Press. London; Fraser, Nancy. (2009). Scales of Justice: Reimagining Political Space in a Globalizing World. Columbia University Press. New York.

[15] Fraser, Nancy (2000). Rethinking Recognition: Discussion on Identity Politics. New Left Review. Hale, Charles. (2004). Rethinking Indigenous Politics in the Era of the "Indio Permitido" NACLA Report on the Americas, 38:2, 16-21.

"regaining freedom" and becoming "self-sufficient" through confronting the "disconnection and fear at the core" of Indigenous existences under colonial structures offers a reimagining of Indigenous conceptualizations of self-hood and community.[16]

Resurgence strategies often take place on the boundaries of the state. Bruyneel offers a conceptualization of what he terms the "third space of sovereignty", as a space in which Indigenous people operate as agents inside and outside the political boundaries of the settler state under which they reside as nations.[17] Politics "on the boundaries" means that indigenous political actors, in their "words and deeds…work within and outside American [or other nation state] politics and history to generate the greatest possible sovereignty".[18] These boundaries lie somewhere between the hope for Indigenous sovereignty and ongoing realities of settler state hegemony. "Politics of recognition" as a model of liberal pluralism which seeks to reconcile Indigenous assertions of nationhood with state sovereignty, utilizes accommodation as a strategy. Approaches adopted by multicultural states regarding Indigenous demands only reproduces colonial power, exchanging policies of exclusion and assimilation to emphasize recognition and accommodation.[19] Coulthard suggests that we ought to question the contexts of tolerant, multinational, liberal settler polities such as Canada and the positive (when mutual and affirmative) or detrimental (when unequal and disparaging) effects that the politics of recognition can have on Indigenous peoples and their status as free and self-determining agents.[20] Colonized people groups should engage in self-affirmative cultural practices that allow them to empower themselves rather than relying on the tools and mechanisms of state institutions to do this for

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[16] Alfred, Taiaiake (2005). Wasase: Indigenous Pathways of Action and Freedom. Broadview Press.
[17] Bruyneel, Kevin. (2007) The Third Space of Sovereignty. The Post-Colonial Politics of U.S. Indigenous Relations. University of Minnesota Press. Minneapolis.
[18] ibid
[19] Coulthard, Glen Sean. (2014). *Red Skins, White Masks. Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*. University of Minnesota Press. London.
[20] ibid

them.[21] From this vantage point, Indigenous people are able to empower themselves within the boundaries of the colonial state.

Much of the scholarship surrounding Indigenous conflict over lands adopt a socio-historical approach to the connections between identity and geographic or social space. In the context of Chile, the impact of laws that appropriated land from the Mapuche has played a major role in the conceptualization of Mapuche identity within society.[22] This contributes to the perpetuation of social conflict in that views held by those in positions of power concerning marginalized groups have significant consequences on people's self-image and the ways they chose to cope with their situation. Such views are "integral to most relationships of dominance and subordination, wherein superiors behave in ways or say things that are accepted by their inferiors who, in turn, behave in ways that serve to perpetuate the relationships".[23] Hau'Ofa examines how his own Oceanic community created an identity based on colonial perceptions that regarded oceanic cultures and Indigenous populations as primitive, small, with limited resources, dependent upon the power and structure of colonial powers. Hau'Ofa points to Indigenous responsibility to refrain from victimization as a way of moving towards alternative conceptualizations of sovereignty and autonomy—understanding identity and resource, not in measure of size or proportion but in value of relationships[24] which serve to challenge widely accepted ideas of resource and wealth.

Similarly, Arjun Appadurai's framework of "terms of recognition", borrowing from Charles Taylor's examination of recognition and Hirschman's analysis of voice, suggests that "there is no shortcut to empowerment. It has to take some local cultural form to have resonance,

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[21] ibid
[22] Bengoa, Jose. (1999). Historia de un Conflicto: El Estado y los Mapuches en el Siglo XX; Alwyin, Jose. (2002) Tierra y Territorio Mapuche: Un Analisis Desde Una Perspectiva Historico Juridica.
[23] Hau'Ofa, Epeli. (2008). *Our Sea of Islands*. A New Oceania: Recovering our Sea of Islands.
[24] Hau'Ofa, Epeli (1994) A New Oceania: Rediscovering our Sea of Islands. Our Sea of Islands. The Contemporary Pacific. Vol. 6. No. 1

mobilize adherents and capture the public space of debate."[25] Indigenous resurgence and regeneration of cultural foundations must be restored, reshaped and reimagined into the daily experience of Native communities in order for political and economic rights to be successfully attained.[26] Part of this process encompasses Indigenous response to the impacts of cultural loss—how Indigenous communities address the kinds of loss brought about by the colonial project will also determine how they are able to engage in projects of cultural resurgence. Alfred Corntassel and Mick Scow suggest that it is the everyday actions, though they appear "routine" represent "sites of regeneration in terms of renewing relationships with community, family and homelands".[27] Acts of resurgence occur at the micro-level through the everyday commitment of individuals towards their Indigenous roots. Resurgence emerges from the a "web of community relationships and daily responsibilities".[28] Practicing resurgence within the everyday is an intentional form of decolonization—it adheres to a vision of "life beyond the colonial state".[29]

Understanding how Indigenous loss is conceptualized and accounted for becomes essential for strategies of revitalization. Kirsch examines loss as both related to material objects, such as property as well as to loss as related to notions of "kinship and belonging",[30] in many ways connoting a powerfully affective feature existing among Indigenous populations regarding their relationships and their histories. Affect or emotion in this sense, is "proto-political".[31] It

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[25] Appadurai, Arjun. (2004). "Chapter 3: The Capacity to Aspire: Culture and the Terms of Recognition". *Culture and Public Action. A Cross-Disciplinary Dialogue on Development Policy*. By Michael Walton and Vijayendra Rao. World Bank Publications. Taylor, Charles. Gutman, Amy. Appiah, Kwame Anthony. (1994). *Multiculturalism*. Princeton University Press. Lucero, Jose Antonio (2008). *Struggles of Voice: The Politics of Indigenous Representation in the Andes.* University of Pittsburg Press. Chicago.

[26] Alfred, Taiaiake (2005). Wasase: Indigenous Pathways of Action and Freedom. Broadview Press.

[27] Corntassel, Alfred; Scow, Mick (2017) Everyday Acts of Resurgence Indigenous Approaches. New Diversities. Vol. 19, No. 2

[28] ibid

[29] ibid

[30] Kirsch, Stuart (2001). Lost Worlds: Environmental Disaster, Cultural Loss and the Law. Current Anthropology. University of Chicago Press.

[31] Massumi, Brian (2015). Politics of Affect. Polity Press. Cambridge.

concerns "the first stirrings of the political, flush with the felt intensities of life. Its politics must be brought out"[32] The historical context of discrimination and marginalization among Mapuche has created deep-seated emotional and psychological wounding which informs a sense of loss in identification with traditional lifeways. Amanda Kearney developed the concept of cultural wounding in her work with Indigenous communities in Australia to examine the ways in which structures of power harm and marginalize certain groups within society. "Cultural wounding, whilst inflicting injury upon people and their relational worlds, manifests in the human psyche as insult or anguish for the recipients of cultural and actual violence."[33] Kearney adheres to a logic that examines this wounding through the forms of its expression in the reactions within communities having been harmed by such wounding. Kearney conceptualizes wounding in relationship to healing—considering what happens when the "wounded survive", and how survival enacts healing.[34]

My research expands to analyze the ways in which these "wounded communities" showcase resilience through their responses stemming from the damaging impacts of long-term historical wounds. What if loss were understood as a catalyst inviting collective response rather than social immobilization and victimization? Many studies have suggested that historical trauma, the loss of territorial sovereignty, cultural practice, language and knowledge within the experience of Indigenous peoples in the Americas has been a driving cause of social instability and stagnation, impacting levels of poverty, illiteracy, alcoholism and violence among Indigenous populations. The impact of historical trauma and the loss which ensues as a result of waning cultural values suggests an immobility—an inability to account for or address the loss

[32] ibid
[33] Kearney, Amanda (2016). "Chapter 7: Cultural Wounding and Healing: Change as Ongoing Cultural Production in a Remote Indigenous Australian Community." Identity Destabilized: Living in an Overheated World.
[34] ibid

experienced and suffered by Native communities.[35] While historical trauma and the impact of discrimination is proven to have had an impact on the health, wellbeing, and quality of life of many Indigenous peoples and communities, loss as a result of a historical wrong need not necessitate indolence or helplessness. I argue that loss among Mapuche, which encompasses both a physical component in the experience of territorial dispossession as well as elements of emotional and psychological distress, can also fuel resilience, a conscious motivation towards empowerment and the recuperation of identity.

Cultural loss, the declining of traditional forms of coexistence and identification, impacts the lived experience of Mapuche individuals, often informing the personal and political lives of individual actors. I conceptualize loss in the context of Mapuche communities to not only refer to territorial dispossession occurring under the context of colonial expansion but to encompass a deep-seated perception among Mapuche concerning the waning of traditional knowledge, the fading of engagement based on a holistic value system which incorporates both tangible and intangible elements of heritage and culture.[36] While scholars address loss through the lens of its damaging effects, absent from the conversation is an analysis of how loss can function as a place from which resilience and resurgence emanates. Mapuche respond to loss through engaging in cultural praxis and knowledge production based on Indigenous forms of living and seeing the world, addressing the gap, the perceived absence of Indigenous identity and knowledge in the spheres of everyday life.

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[35] Whitbeck, Les; Walls, Melissa; Johnson, Kurt; Morrisseau, Alan; McDougal, Cindy (2011). Depresses affect and Historical Loss among North American Adolescents. American Indian Alaskan Native Mental Health Research. Brave Heart, Maria Yellow Horse; Chase, Josephine; Elkins, Jennifer; Altschul, Deborah (2011). Historical Trauma Among Indigenous Peoples of the Americas: Concepts, Research and Clinical Considerations. Journal of Psychoactive Drugs.

[36] Lenzerini, Frederico. (2007). Reparations for Indigenous Peoples: International and Comparative Perspectives. Oxford University Press.

The loss of fundamental values that characterized the everyday existence of Mapuche communities, that defined identity and sociality, were partially expunged under the impact of state formation strategies and development policies. Important to note, is that fact that these state strategies operated upon the premise of *intervention rather than exchange*. The perceived absence of cultural value and practice carries personal ramifications among Mapuche individuals as well as inherent motivations that aim towards recovering what became lost in the milieu of a burgeoning development and rights discourse. The state adopts and celebrates aspects of Indigenous culture that serve to profit nation-building above *active* engagement with Mapuche communities. This ignores the importance of community in addressing loss through personal and collective transformation.

Neoliberal Policies, Legacies of Fear and Lost Roots

As international focus dawns upon the rights of Indigenous peoples endeavoring towards a trace of healing, states face the discomfort of recognition and the problem of reparation. Latin America is no exception to this phenomenon.[37] In 1993 Chile introduced the Indigenous Law as a form of political recognition crafted to enhance Indigenous representation and participation for Mapuche, Aymara and Atacameño communities. Alongside this legislative measure, CONADI, was created to ensure the stipulations of the Indigenous Law were carried out, operating as the largest organization to manage Indigenous policy in the country.[38] A variety of subsequent Indigenous policies, (*Programa Orígenes,* promising development with identity; *Reconocer:*

[37] Ader, David (2013). People of the Land without Land: A Socio-Demographic Study of Mapuche Poverty. Pennsylvania State University.
[38] Latta, Alex (2005). La Politica Mapuche Local en Chile. Las Comunidades Pehuenches del Alto Bio-Bio: Un Estudio de Caso. Research Gate. De la Maza, Francisca (2014). State Conceptions of Indigenous Tourism in Chile. Pontificia Universidad Catolica de Chile.

Pacto Social por Multiculturalidad, assured support for Indigenous political representation; *Plan Araucania,* projecting peace in the southern regions of the country) sprang into existence in the attempt to uplift the southern regions of Chile from poverty, addressing issues of poor infrastructure, lack of educational opportunities impacting upward social mobility, while emphasizing "*development with identity*".[39] However, the past twenty-five years reveal tense relations between the state and Mapuche communities, where claims over land rights, political representation, legal discrimination, the militarization of southern zones and the impact of extractive development characterized by Goliath forestry industries, have dominated discourse.[40]

Charles Hale and Rosamel Millaman identify a growing paradox within Latin America regarding Indigenous political representation, arguing that cultural rights have become both "…a battle cry of opposition to neoliberal regimes" while also becoming "a leading idiom through which these same regimes domesticate and govern their opponents…"[41]. Multiculturalism offers the rhetorical incorporation of marginalized groups, offering inclusion within the national sphere, while also disregarding the values of community and life ways deemed intrinsic to furtherance of Indigenous sovereignty.

The years between 1973 and 1989 saw an aggressive attempt to reformulate the social structure of Chilean national identity and political allegiance. Gone were the socialist reforms of the Allende government, and in its place the government under Pinochet turned the countryside

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[39] De la Maza, Francisca (2014). State Conceptions of Indigenous Tourism in Chile. Pontificia Universidad Catolica de Chile. CONADI (2018) http://www.conadi.gob.cl. Rivera, Ignacio Krell (2012) Unpacking Ethno-tourism: "Development with Identity" Tourism, and Mapuche struggles in South-Central Chile. University of Oregon.

[40] Wakeham, Pauline. (2012) *Reconciling "Terror": Managing Indigenous Resistance in the Age of Apology*. American Indian Quarterly. Pp. 1-33. Bialostozky, N. (2007). The Misuse of Terror Prosecution in Chile: The Need for Discrete Consideration of Minority and Indigenous Group Treatment in Rule of Law Analyses. *Northwestern Journal of International Human Rights*, 1-10.

[41] Hale, Charles; Millaman, Rosamel. (2006) "Cultural Agency and Political Struggle in the Era of the Indio Permitido". *Cultural Agency in the Americas*. Duke University Press.

into a "highly capitalized, labor-intensive, commercial" farm.[42] Pinochet replaced Allende's strides towards socialism and state intervention within the economy with a neoliberal model which placed the market as the "regulator of both economy and society".[43] Chile has been praised to be an economic success story in Latin America due to market oriented policies implemented under the Pinochet regime, basing development on a capitalist agenda. However, this inevitably meant that in many ways there has been a regional disruption as governments led by the Concertación continue to operate under this logic to the detriment of Indigenous populations' relationship to land and territory.

Most detrimental was the way in which the Pinochet regime sought to "return to the punishing assimilationist ideology of times past", asserting a political and ethnic erasure of Indigenous identity.[44] Many of my interlocutors' were raised in a context in which it was deemed safest to assimilate into the dominant culture. Therefore, many of those interviewed throughout this project recount the decision made by their parents to not teach Mapudungun, their native language, to their children as a way of ensuring cultural similitude. This is not to discount the existence of an Indigenous counter-resistance during the dictatorship years, with Mapuche Cultural Centers (CCM) implementing strategic networks of solidarity among communities in the southern regions.[45] It is simply to point to the impact that years of repression and

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[42] Crow, Joanna (2013) "The Pinochet Dictatorship: Conflicting Histories and Memories, 1973-1990". *The Mapuche in Modern Chile. A Cultural History*. University of Florida Press

[43] Winn, Peter (2004). Victims of the Chilean Miracle: Workers and Neoliberalism in the Pinochet Era. 1973-2002. Duke University Press.

[44] Hale, Charles; Millaman, Rosamel. (2006) "Cultural Agency and Political Struggle in the Era of the Indio Permitido". *Cultural Agency in the Americas*. Duke University Press. Crow, Joanna (2013) "The Pinochet Dictatorship: Conflicting Histories and Memories, 1973-1990". *The Mapuche in Modern Chile. A Cultural History*. University of Florida Press

[45] Crow, Joanna (2013) "The Pinochet Dictatorship: Conflicting Histories and Memories, 1973-1990". *The Mapuche in Modern Chile*. A Cultural History. University of Florida Press. Mallon, Florencia (2005) "When the Hearths went Out". *Courage Tastes of Blood. The Mapuche Community of Nicolas Ailio and the Chilean State, 1906-2001*. Duke University Press.

authoritarianism had on the erasure of Indigenous identification and cultural connection, as is evident in the worry among Mapuche respondents concerning loss of communal associations.

One of the policies put in place during Pinochet's regime that impacted Mapuche communities and individuals specifically, serving to sever the ties to land and territory, was Decree Law 2568 of 1979, which would privatize and divide indigenous communal lands.[46] This would effectively ensure the military government's ability to erase the presence of an Indigenous population from the national scene—claiming instead that in Chile, there are only Chileans.[47] Decree Law 2568 dissolved what was considered to be a major "roadblock to free market expansion" in southern Chile.[48] This effectively restructured the forms in which Mapuche communities were able to access and hold onto their rights to land, both communally as well as individually. It also created an environment of development based on market demands, which have transformed the region as well as Indigenous relationships to land.[49]

The neoliberal multicultural policies that proceeded from the return to democracy under presidents Alywin and Frei, while focusing on Mapuche demands for greater representation, did little to change the economic approach to land reforms and agricultural development established under Pinochet—a decision that has since evoked conflict that continues to impact social and political relations. Hale and Millaman argue this stems from the fact that during early neoliberal reforms, Mapuche cultural difference was viewed as an "impediment to progress and therefore,

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[46] Crow, Joanna (2013) "The Pinochet Dictatorship: Conflicting Histories and Memories, 1973-1990". *The Mapuche in Modern Chile. A Cultural History*. University of Florida Press.
[47] Crow, Joanna (2013) "The Pinochet Dictatorship: Conflicting Histories and Memories, 1973-1990". *The Mapuche in Modern Chile. A Cultural History*. University of Florida Press. Lucic, Milka Castro. (2005). Challenges in Chilean Intercultural Policies: Indigenous Rights and Economic Development. American Anthropological Association. Political and Legal Anthropology Review, Vol. 28. Nov. 1.
[48] Crago, Scott Dempsey (2015) Plan Perquenco and Chile's Indigenous Policies under the Pinochet Dictatorship 1973-1988. Doctoral Dissertation submitted to the University of Mexico.
[49] Hale, Charles; Millaman, Rosamel. (2006) "Cultural Agency and Political Struggle in the Era of the Indio Permitido". *Cultural Agency in the Americas*. Duke University Press.

by force or fate, destined to disappear".[50] This relegation of Indigenous peoples to times pasts creates a problematic assumption of their place within the future.

While emphasis on the material conditions of Mapuche communities is evident in the work of the CONADI in its land redistribution efforts, Mapuche continue to be one of the poorest demographics in the country.[51] In my encounters with interlocutors in southern Chile, many pointed to the difficulty maintaining values and wellbeing of community alongside the impetus of economic regional development. The rhetoric of modernization has created a struggle to define Indigenous rights within the context of ongoing democratization and state formation in ways that actually make a difference, showcasing the impact of characteristically Chilean values upon customary forms of social engagement among Mapuche.[52] While recent political rhetoric has addressed historical injustice through cultural vindication, upholding a political portraiture of future prosperity with the opportunity for "collaboration across difference", there continues to exist a sense of cultural absence among some communities.[53]

In the midst of ongoing violence and physical destruction, there remains an intrinsic element to the condition and experience of Mapuche in Chile—a concern that points to the erasure of traditional values and knowledge as another form of Indigenous loss. "…we are a people and a country without deep roots and without much sense of identity,".[54] When people are uprooted from their cultural foundations, their identity inevitably goes into a state of flux.

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[50] ibid

[51] Lucic, Milka Castro. (2005). Challenges in Chilean Intercultural Policies: Indigenous Rights and Economic Development. American Anthropological Association. Political and Legal Anthropology Review, Vol. 28. Nov. 1.

[52] Risør, Helene & Jacob, Daniela (2018) 'Interculturalism as treason': policing, securitization, and neoliberal state formation in Southern Chile. Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies. Wakeham, Pauline (2012). *Reconciling "Terror": Managing Indigenous Resistance in the Age of Apology*. American Indian Quarterly. Pp. 1-33. Latta, Alex (2005). La Politica Mapuche Local en Chile. Las Comunidades Pehuenches del Alto Bio-Bio: Un Estudio de Caso. Research Gate.

[53] ibid.

[54] Llaima, Interview, August 22, 2018, Participant A, Liam

Indigenous peoples worldwide have been uprooted, becoming "disoriented, dissatisfied, and disconnected from each other and from the natural world."[55] Colonial nation building projects successfully adopted a politic of erasure in regard to Indigenous peoples, relegating them to a place within the past and excluding them from the future.[56] Loss experienced among Mapuche is not simply one of physical dispossession, although land is part of this disconnection and felt injury, but rather, loss creates an affective state within Mapuche communities which points to the social, political, emotional and spiritual impacts of dispossession.

Ontologies of Loss

One might read the experiences of Mapuche communities as an ontology of loss. Beyond the material influence of Pinochet's Decree Law 2568, the politics of the 1970s and 1980s also influenced family relations, political affiliations, and cultural expressions—diffusing beyond material impacts of territorial disbanding to impact the affective, psychological experiences of individuals.[57] The Pinochet regime categorized people based on their perceived affiliation to leftist-ideology.[58] The reign of terror that ensued would create an internalization of fear, a repression that redefined everyday life towards a "turning inward" to avoid the potential threat of being labelled subversive or having ties to political opposition.[59] In the context of Pinochet's regime's treatment of Mapuche, Crow suggests this repression manifested itself in an erasure of

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[55] Alfred, Taiaiake (2005). Wasase: Indigenous Pathways of Action and Freedom. Broadview Press.
[56] Wolfe, Patrick (2006) Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native. Journal of Genocide Research Pgs. 387-409
[57] Stern, Steve (2006) Battling for Hearts and Minds: Memory Struggles in Pinochet's Chile, 1973-1988. Duke University Press. Durham.
[58] Crow, Joanna (2013) "The Pinochet Dictatorship: Conflicting Histories and Memories, 1973-1990". *The Mapuche in Modern Chile. A Cultural History*. University of Florida Press
[59] Stern, Steve (2006) Battling for Hearts and Minds: Memory Struggles in Pinochet's Chile, 1973-1988. Duke University Press. Durham.

Indigenous identity whilst also discriminating Mapuche individuals for physical characteristics that distinguished them as such.[60]

Loss of cultural identity was experienced in different ways by different generations. The period during the dictatorship of Pinochet meant a hovering fear that encapsulated the lived experiences of many Chilean families.[61] In the context of Mapuche individuals, it meant the concealment of their Indigenous identity in order to safeguard against the potential link to a leftist ideology. Those raising their children during the Pinochet regime, made a conscious decision based on a need to protect their families and so, ruptured a cycle of cultural knowledge transmission.[62] The ways loss of cultural identity and practice manifests itself is in a generation who desires a return, a regeneration of their identity and therefore commits to a project of both personal and collective response towards cultural loss.

Harsh political rhetoric under a right-wing government in which "conservative politicians and the military government conceived of the Chilean nation as homogenous and egalitarian in respect to rights" meant that Mapuche living under the regime were forced to assimilate and conceal their indigenous identity[63]. In this way, much cultural knowledge was suppressed from the public eye—thirty years since the return to democracy has seen several attempts to reinsert a rights-based ideology in reference to Indigenous populations in Chile to varying degrees of success. Under the context of Pinochet's regime, the state explicitly and consistently denied Chile's ethnic diversity, returning to "punishing assimilationist" ideologies.[64]

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[60] Crow, Joanna (2013) "The Pinochet Dictatorship: Conflicting Histories and Memories, 1973-1990". *The Mapuche in Modern Chile. A Cultural History*. University of Florida Press

[61] Mallon, Florencia (2005) Courage Tastes of Blood: the Mapuche Community of Nicolas Ailio and the Chilean State, 1906-2001. Duke University Press.

[62] Leftraru, Interview August 23rd, 2018, Participant A, Mauricio

[63] Lucic, Milka Castro (2005) Challenges in Chilean Intercultural Policies: Indigenous Rights and Economic Development. Political and Legal Anthropology Review

[64] Crow, Joanna & Stebbins, Robert. (2013). "The Pinochet Dictatorship: Conflicting Histories and Memories, 1973-1990". *The Mapuche in Modern Chile: A Cultural History*. University Press of Florida; Mellor, David; Merino,

For those with whom I spoke whose generation had grown up during or shortly after the Pinochet era, there is a subtle distinction between the kind of loss experienced by their parents and the kinds of loss they are aware of experiencing today. While their parents were faced with a reality of forced concealment of Indigenous identity and cultural practice in certain spaces, their children now live with a sense of loss in identification, a sense of disorientation in regard to their roots.[65] These ontologies of loss among different generations exhibit a resilience, however, paradoxical, in the sense that the circumstances required divergent responses. Survival during the dictatorship often meant some level of concealment whereas today, resurgence emanates from a sense of personal and collective responsibility to address and respond to the loss resulting out of a desire for protection—meaning that the current of cultural practice although ruptured was not effaced.

Conceptualizing Mapuche Understandings of Exchange, Personhood and Resilience

Many clinical studies, particularly those spearheaded by scholars such as Maria Yellow Horse Braveheart, suggest that historical trauma, the loss of territorial sovereignty, cultural practice, language and knowledge within the experience of Indigenous peoples has been a driving cause of instability and stagnation, impacting levels of poverty, alcoholism, depression and violence among Indigenous populations.[66] While this is proven to have had an impact on the

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Maria Eugenia; Saiz, Jose L.; Quilaqueo, Daniel (2009). Emotional Reactions, Coping and Long-term Consequences of Perceived Discrimination among the Mapuche People of Chile. Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology. Lucic, Milka Castro (2005) Challenges in Chilean Intercultural Policies: Indigenous Rights and Economic Development. Political and Legal Anthropology Review.

[65] Leftraru, Interview August 23, 2018, Participant B, Felipe; Llaima, Interview August 22, Participant B, Julia

[66] Whitbeck, Les; Walls, Melissa; Johnson, Kurt; Morrisseau, Alan; McDougal, Cindy. (2011) Depressed Affect and Historical Loss among North American Indigenous Adolescents. American Indian Alsk. Native Mental Health Research. Brave Heart, Maria Yellow Horse; Chase, Josephine; Elkins, Jennifer; Altschul, Deborah (2011). Historical Trauma Among Indigenous Peoples of the Americas: Concepts, Research, and Clinical Considerations. Journal of Pyschoactive Drugs.

health, wellbeing, and quality of life of many Indigenous communities, there exists an alternative narrative to the impact of loss upon Indigenous peoples, one that illuminates the roles of individual agency and communal resilience in the response to cultural and historical loss.

During my time in Chile, the focus on relationship, community and empowerment based on Mapuche understandings of society and life was a central conversation based around exchange. The ethnographic experience itself was centered around acts of reciprocity, demonstrative of the high value placed on exchange relationships. I brought mate, a loose tea drink that is commonly shared among many Mapuche, or some kind of honorific gift and was received typically with a meal. Interviews were most often conducted around the dining room table. The very encounter itself was a reflection of Mapuche values of engagement that would then allow the relationship to grow into one of trust and respect. This was the embodiment of what was so often referred to as "*trueque*".

Trueque operates based on a moral economy of understanding about fairness, respect and responsibility. *Trueque* is a practice centered around reciprocity and is considered an "exchange of mutual sentiment".[67] Historically, *trueque* was a form of community building within Mapuche communities, a way of building trust between individuals, of literally "seeing the other".[68] Within the internal structure of Mapuche communities, *trueque* operated as a method of exchange to ensure survival and good relations between distinctive Mapuche communities, between different Lofs, a tradition that continues today, although in less overt ways. From a Mapuche perspective one need not define a thing so comprehensibly it loses its fluidity of meaning, according to one interlocutor, "in a word we cover many other concepts. The white man, no. The white man is dedicated to explaining concepts found within a word. Yet this has a pure meaning, but for

[67] Huaiquinao Juan Ñanculef (2000) El Trafkintun en el marco de la cosmovisión mapuche. Mapuchexpress
[68] ibid

Mapuches it has a lot of meaning and so then, the concept is broad, and it cannot be fully explained"[69]—in this sense, *trueque* can mean many things. It is not lexically bound and therefore can manifest itself in different ways. It is both reciprocity and exchange relations—emphasizing a horizontal transaction of mutual benefit.

Reciprocity instills in Mapuche communities a sense of responsibility towards the other, a manner of engagement in which value is placed upon the interaction itself. The concept of exchange and its importance within Mapuche communities reveals that the act of exchange is a pivotal aspect of Mapuche socialization and interaction yet also identity construction.[70] Through engaging in a discussion of *trueque* as a framework for understanding Mapuche response to loss in southern Chile, I engage an alternative perspective, one "less orientated around obtaining legal and political recognition by the state and more about indigenous peoples empowering themselves through cultural practices of individual and collective self-fashioning."[71] To understand how collective loss informs cultural resurgence and knowledge production among my Mapuche interlocutors, it is first necessary to understand how loss is addressed within the social body, within the community. Magnus Course's analysis of Mapuche sociality provides a lens for understanding Mapuche responses to loss within community.[72]

Mapuche sociality revolves around the construction of "che", the person in relationship to others. One becomes a true person only in relationship with one's community and other individuals.[73] Course examines the logic of funeral ceremonies through identifying the loss of a community member which creates a gap within the social body and community. Course's logic

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[69] Llaima, Interview August 22, 2018, Participant A, Liam
[70] Course, Magnus (2011). Becoming Mapuche: Person and Ritual in Indigenous Chile. University of Illinois Press.
[71] Coulthard, Glenn (2014). Red Skin, White Mask: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.
[72] Course, Magnus (2007) Death, Biography and the Mapuche Person. London School of Economics, UK
[73] Ibid

of funeral practice among Mapuche argues that within Mapuche communities the experience of losing a member necessitates the re-designation of social responsibility upheld by the now deceased member—it requires the community's response to ensure that the obligation of exchange be completed, finished. In lieu of the gap created by the absence of community member, realigning social relations occurs through engaging in exchange as a method of healing and restoration. Loss is addressed through a response of exchange. Borrowing from this framework, I suggest that reciprocity also rests at the heart of Mapuche processes of cultural revitalization—on both individual and collective levels.

The response to cultural loss among Mapuche on a social and political level employs a similar logic. Mapuche cultural loss due to the impacts of colonialism and repressive state policies under the Pinochet regime has consequently left a gap. This gap in cultural identification has led to a sense of alienation generated by the loss experienced by Mapuche individuals—especially Mapuche individuals being raised in a context of fear based on a social environment which threatened their cultural identity and custom. Mapuche individuals revive reciprocal relationships to close the gap generated by cultural loss, a strategy that allows Mapuche individuals and communities to not only face the loss they've experienced but to also engage in a revitalization of cultural practice and empowerment. The relational connections and reciprocity that endows a member of Mapuche communities with personhood at death, also operates on broader level—the response of the collective to cultural loss under the colonial project.

The response to loss within Mapuche communities necessitates exchange as an avenue for the establishment of responsibility—each member within the social body of a Mapuche community becomes a person through their engagement in reciprocity and exchange, therefore the obligation to engage in exchange must be concluded in order for closure to take place within

the community.[74] Mapuches conceptualize the life of a person as inevitably constituted through "open-ended relations with others."[75] Mapuche social relations extend outwards, centrifugally through exchange relations which constitute a method of engagement in which a person's identity is confirmed, recognized and completed through community.

Mapuche sociality requires the reorganization of exchange in the face of loss, reciprocity becomes a tool, a mechanism for social realignment and cultural rehabilitation. *Trueque* becomes the mechanism of social recalibration that allows Mapuche individuals to seek to revitalize their own social responsibility towards cultural knowledge and identification. As the embodiment of cultural values based on reciprocity, *trueque* functions as process in which Mapuche cultural identity can be performed and uplifted in the face of perceived cultural waning.[76] In the aftermath of cultural loss there is a need to realign towards accommodation—a need to re-establish a new currency or form of engagement. In this way we can see how cultural loss and erasure elicits a collective response that devolves on the value of reciprocity and social responsibility which leads to a collective rhythm of resilience. This study understands the deep-seated alienation from cultural identity experienced by Mapuche communities and individuals as an affect generated by the weakening of communal ties consequent to territorial loss, social exclusion and cultural assimilation. *Trueque* emerges as a tool for rehabilitating cultural practice in Mapuche communities. The cultural valence of *trueque* lies in its ability to revitalize cultural knowledge production by determining responsibility among Mapuche individuals and within Mapuche communities.

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[74] Course, Magnus (2007). Death, Biography and the Mapuche Person. London School of Economics, UK.
[75] ibid
[76] ibid

Methodology

Interviews were conducted in southern Chile, primarily within the Araucania region, discursively termed the "red zone" or "conflict zone" of the country. In order to account for variability within location and context, interviews were conducted in three main locations in the southern region of Chile: Ralco, Lautaro and Melipueco. Many participants lived in rural communities on the outskirts of these towns, such as Pitril, Lliulliucura and Tracura.

Figure 1.1. is a map depiction of the areas in which I conducted interviews in southern Chile. Predominantly in three main locations, Lautaro, Melipeuco and Ralco. Lautaro and Melipueco are both towns located in the ninth region of Chile, what is considered the Araucania region of the country. Ralco is located in the eighth region, what is known as the Bio-Bio region of the country. Figure 1.1. orients the reader to Santiago and Temuco, two of Chile's largest metropolitan areas, demonstrating the proximities of the locations in which interviews were conducted to these urban areas.

Threading through all my interviews was a consistent expression of "collective loss", a shared lamentation that spoke to an affective experience related to cultural absence, even as it urged a response to it based on exchange and knowledge transmission. Many of my ethnographic encounters revealed what I have come to term an affect of absence, in which interlocutors pointed to the seeming lack of integrated traditional knowledge and practice within their lived experience, despite a widely accepted rhetoric of multiculturalism often based on folkloric trademarks.

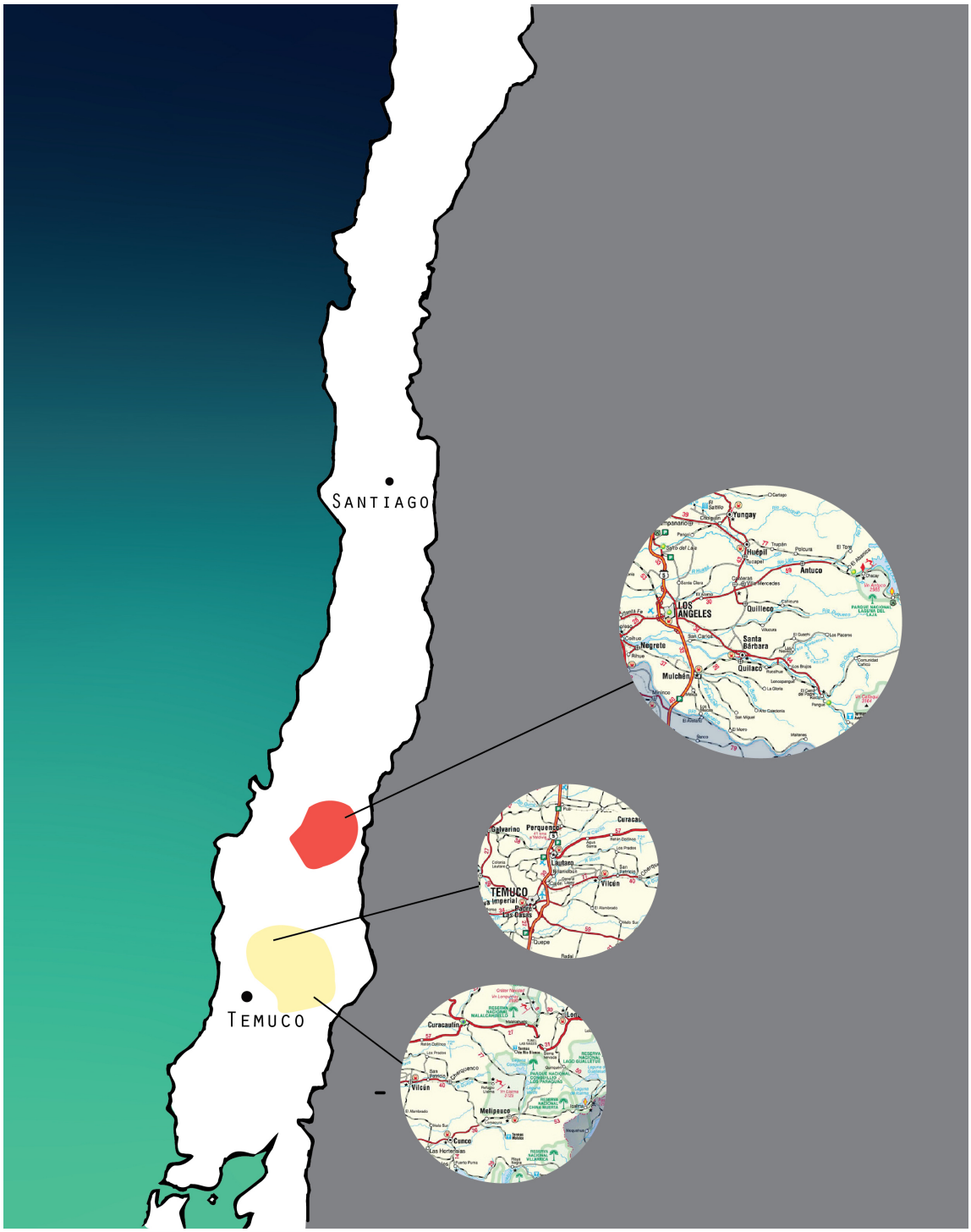

Figure 1.1. Map of the Chile—Primary locations in which interviews were conducted. Lautaro, Melipeuco and Ralco. In these places, interviews were held in particular Mapuche communities of Lliulliucura, Llaima, Tracura and Pitril.

Table 1.1 depicts the demographics of participants involved in this study. This information is meant to provide a sense of orientation in terms of the identities of participants and to demonstrate the localized contexts in which these interviews took place. In this way, I hope to show how loss predominates across local contexts. Interviewees resided mainly within three different locations in the Araucania region of Chile and ranged from diverse ages and occupations. All participants made references to the experience of loss in relation to their identity—revealing how loss in connection their Indigenous roots affected them and how they choose to respond to it.

Names	Age Range	Location	Occupation	Speaks Mapudungun
Mauricio	35-40	Lautaro	Assistant Director of Cooperativa Amuntun Leftraru	No
Felipe	30-35	Lautaro	Director of Cooperativa Amuntun Leftraru	No
Reinata	55-60	Tracura	Community President/Representative	Yes
Lonko Jacob	65-70	Lliulliucura	Lonko/Community headman. Farmer. Agriculturalist	Yes
Mariana	65-70	Lliulliucura	Mother, Artisan, Community Volunteer	Yes
Sebastian	35-40	Lliulliucura	Farmer, Agriculturalist	No
Barbara	25-30	Pitril	Mother	Yes
Patricio	25-30	Pitril	Seasonal Firefighter, Farmer	Yes
Julia	30-35	Melipeuco	Mental Health and Family Therapist	No
Liam	30-35	Llaima	Scholar	No
Fabian	45-50	Lautaro	Farmer, Agriculturalist, Artisan	No
Amelia	45-50	Lautaro	Mother, Horticulturalist	No
Ramon	45-50	Santiago	Accountant	No
Gerald	35-40	Santiago	Accountant	No

Table 1.1 Participant demographic. All names have been changed to ensure participant anonymity.

The transgenerational dimension of cultural absence is a salient feature within this study. Table 1.1 displays the demographic and particularities of the individuals involved in this study. The majority of participants engaging in conversations throughout this work grew up in a context in which their parents experienced a well-founded fear of emphasizing their cultural and ethnic

identity as Mapuche on the basis of potential political danger and discrimination.[77] Participants now live with a sense of alienation which some attributed to be due to the impact of state practices that at the time sought overt assimilation. One indicator of this is the fact that most participants, especially those within a certain age (30-50 range) lamented the fact that their parents never taught them their native language. This was lamented as an aspect that has contributed to a sense of disconnection with particular values.

One of the main reasons that interlocutors suggested that their parents chose to not pursue educating them in their own language and custom had to do with the period of time in which they were growing up. As this chapter has laid out, the years under the Pinochet regime as well as subsequent years after the 1989 plebiscite saw a social fear that resonated with a large section of the population—in the case of Mapuche individuals and communities it was the fact that they were viewed by the state as non-existent—as Chileans rather than Indigenous. "…at that time the Chilean state through its governors wanted us all to be Chileans. We were classified as Chileans."[78] This classification would mean an adherence to a certain identity which would slowly cause a dissonance among generations of Mapuche, dividing not only lands but in some cases, community ties as well. "Look, all the governments, especially the most important, the government of the dictatorship, was horribly hard…the dictatorship did one thing that was to divide the lands, privatizing them. So, they divided a family that had land, dividing the Mapuches…they divided us."[79]

In lieu of multiculturalism's embrace of indigeneity as an approach towards the inclusion of Mapuche bodies into the larger Chilean polity, there remains an entrenched sense in which

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[77] ibid
[78] Leftraru, Interview August 23, 2018, Participant B, Felipe
[79] Santiago, Interview August 16, 2018. Participant A, Ramon

this form of representation, adhering to a neoliberal economic model of development, is simply not enough to address the deeper concerns that plague many Mapuche communities and individuals. While state development policies tend to focus on land as the dominating issue among Mapuche communities, participants in this study referenced the fact that territory, whilst an important component of Indigenous identity and struggle, is only a partial facet related to the ways in which loss is experienced within Mapuche communities.

In a study conducted on 50 Mapuche participants in Santiago and Temuco, researchers reported that the long-term impact of discrimination upon the coping mechanisms of participants includes a "re-affirmation" of ethnic identification as Mapuche.[80] This re-affirmation of being Mapuche includes a return to knowing cultural values and ways of living. Mapuche often find themselves within a complex temporal situation in which traditional cultural values appear at odds within the context of Chilean society in which the majority of Mapuche live and reside.[81] Referencing back to my discussion on Pinochet's policies, the majority of participants in this study grew up within a social and political context in which incorporation into Chilean society was critical for establishing some semblance of security.

> We were the uprooted generation of our culture…about the language, our parents told us "no, you better not learn because they are going to discriminate against you ..." and so the chain was cut, you see? That was what the state wanted. We do not speak Mapudungun because our parents never wanted to teach us. And when people ask, I explain to them that that was why we supposedly did not have problems in life. At least, that's why they did not teach us. What I learned, I learned from my grandmother because that generation…well, they did not have the same fear. It was my mom who had to go to work and faced problems and did not want me to have to deal with the same.[82]

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[80] Mellor, David; Merino, Maria Eugenia; Saiz, Jose L.; Quilaqueo, Daniel (2009). Emotional Reactions, Coping and Long-term Consequences of Perceived Discrimination among the Mapuche People of Chile. Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology.

[81] Merino, Maria-Eugenia; Mellor, David John; Saiz, Jose Luis; Quilaqueo, Daniel (2009). "Perceived discrimination amongst the indigenous Mapuche people in Chile: some comparisons with Australia".

[82] Leftraru, Interview August 23, 2018, Participant A, Mauricio

Similar expressions of cultural suppression were shared among most participants in the study. “During the government of the military coup, the ability of Mapuches of becoming native speakers was taken away. The state took away the possibility of being able to live in community.”[83] Interlocutors were asked to first share their life stories—in the specific context in which I conducted the interviews, often in the very homes of my interlocutors, it was culturally appropriate to invest time in the conversation as a method of establishing a relationship. Therefore, the interview became a semi-structured encounter, in which I, as the researcher, allowed the participants to often guide the interview according to their primary concerns and perspectives. As the interviews proceeded, participants were asked to describe their experience regarding their representation as Mapuche, their experience with state programs, whether or not they perceived such programs to be useful and effective in promoting quality of life among their communities and families as well as to speak further about the loss in cultural identity that was seemingly felt throughout most of the interviews.

[83] Leftraru, Interview August 23, 2018, Participant B, Felipe

Chapter Two: The Affect of an Uprooted Generation

"Conversations lead to knowledge and knowledge leads to wisdom. We learn from each other."[84] These are the words that Liam speaks as I sit in his house in Llaima, a small Mapuche community on the outskirts of Melipueco near the foothills of the volcano Llaima, one of the largest and most active volcanoes in Chile.[85] According to Liam, having the humility to listen, to engage in conversations openly so as to foster trust and work towards understanding is the only way that a community reaches wisdom.[86] It is a collective effort. I had brought a gift, as is customary when visiting a Mapuche and their household, and though we'd never met, Liam graciously received me and my regional contacts in his home and we sat around his dining room table. The goal of the exchange became to simply have an earnest conversation and through this, be led into knowledge and together gain wisdom.

Liam is in his early thirties—a young Mapuche weichafe,[87] and approaches our conversation from an ontological point of view—referring often to Mapuche conceptions of being and relationships to oneself and others. He represents a particular generation that has operated between two worlds—having to negotiate his identity and viewpoints as an indigenous student in a Chilean academic space. "…it is getting a little bit easier now, but we were of a generation that paid a high price to say what we really thought in the academic realm…"[88] The knowledge that Mapuche students brought to the classroom was often disregarded or ridiculed as

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[84] Llaima, Interview August 22, Participant A, Liam
[85] Servicio Nacional de Geologia y Mineria, Volcan Llaim, Chile. (2019) https://www.sernageomin.cl/volcan-llaima/
[86] Llaima, Interview, August 22, Participant A, Liam
[87] A weichafe is a warrior—I characterize Liam in this way because of his approach to the political and social conditions of Mapuche communities and his resistance towards the essentializing forms of state practices towards his community. In many ways his approach was one of an intellectual warrior.
[88] Llaima, Interview August 22, Participant A, Liam

incorrect. Important to note, is the fact that the knowledge a Mapuche student might bring or dare to share in the classroom was also dependent on the context in which they were raised and how their parents chose to deal with the issue of discrimination. Being the son of the wise-man in his community also adheres a responsibility upon Liam to take up an understanding of his culture and roots.

Liam utilizes both his experience within a Chilean academic setting, obtaining a business degree, he now works to motivate entrepreneurship in his community in Llaima. While maintaining a pessimistic view of state practices and economic endeavors in the region, Liam reflects a particular kind of approach to cultural loss—one in which his training within a Chilean institution can assist in his work towards healing the psychological and social ruptures caused by marginalization and poverty, discrimination and bias. "…my psychological constellation is also affected so that now, I am dedicated to giving motivational speeches. I work in all that is micro entrepreneurship, I study anthropology a bit and now we are working with my dad on a project to build a ruka, so that he can work on…linking Mapuche knowledges to somehow bring healing within our society".[89]

A main concern, from Liam's point of view, was the idea that one of the reasons for the social condition that many Mapuche face today is connected to the fact that violence has been inflicted upon their communities. One form of violence is the slow tactic of cultural disbanding—although the violence may not be of a physical form, it may engage other strategies of erasure that lead to a reality in which individuals feel a disconnection to their heritage as Indigenous persons—especially individual's whose experience brought them in contact with much discrimination.

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[89] Llaima, Interview, August 22, 2018, Participant A, Liam

> From such simple details, you create a reality…. we are a people who do not recognize their identity: that is, that we come from the Mapu, from the earth. As Mapuches we have much work ahead of us, where we seek empowerment…we are special as Mapuche, we are different. This does not mean that we do not have our own limitations, but we are a different people, we are a people with a different culture. We are not terrorists when we want to recover a land that once was ours. When violence is generated it is as the Pope said, if you make a promise and do not fulfill it, this also, is a form of violence. So, we have been promised much, much that has not been fulfilled…[90]

Liam points to the reality of broken promises that many Mapuche communities face in relation to their land, communities, and political representation. The erasure of identity occurs not only through the disconnection and loss of land but also through this structural violence—understanding that Mapuche view all things through an inter-related web of connections, we cannot dismiss the importance that territorial dispossession holds on other kinds of dispossession, whether of a political or affective nature. From such discursive strategies as self-erasure, the colonial structure creates a reality—in which all aspects, material, political and affective must now be addressed in forms that resist the dominant narratives, redeeming lost forms of knowledge and ways of being.

The importance of story and personal narratives came to the forefront of my conversations with participants. The shared experiences of loss served to create a network of resurgence practices occurring within diverse context but pointing towards a similar outcome—that of cultural revitalization and realignment of core traditional praxis in response to colonial erasure and multicultural acceptance of certain forms of indigeneity against others. Dian Million's conceptualization of how narrative can serve to restore order, make links and seek inclusion, has been adapted to the reading of these conversations among interlocuters.

Story has always been practical, strategic and restorative. Story is Indigenous theory. If these knowledges are couched in narratives, then narratives are always more than telling stories.

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[90] Llaima, Interview, August 22, 2018, Participant A, Liam

Narratives seek inclusion; they seek the nooks and crannies of experiences filling cracks and restoring order. Narratives lay boundaries. Narratives give orphans homes. Narratives both make links and are the links that have been made. Narratives are our desire to link one paradigmatic will to knowledge to discursive and material projects that have consequences…[91]

This chapter provides a glimpse of the manner in which loss operates among Mapuche individuals and communities. A current of shared experiences and histories exists within these narratives—"we are a people who do not recognize their identity, that is, that we come from the mapu, from the earth"[92]—showcasing how loss in its various forms affecting Indigenous populations allows for a certain kind activism and participation to take place, restoring stronger links to Indigenous values and lifeways.

This chapter initiates my reconceptualization of Indigenous loss as a place from which acts of resurgence are articulated. "As Mapuche we have much work ahead of us, where we seek empowerment".[93] This chapter uncovers varied ways in which the affective experience of loss is framed among interlocutors as a catalyst from which change and transformation take place on both social and personal levels. Loss operates among Mapuche individuals as a relational and affective reality that daily permeates individuals and community life, construed in terms of loss incurred through ongoing colonial logics. In this way, loss becomes a place from which Mapuche actors are able to respond to the ongoing impacts of state assimilation.

To demonstrate how perceptions of loss, the diffusion of Mapuche cultural identity generate a specific form of knowledge production to transcend loss, this chapter focuses on one recurrent pattern that emerged among conversations with interlocutors who offered their view of state responses to Mapuche claims for greater autonomy and more effective reparative

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[91] Million, Dian (2014) "Chapter One. There is a river in Me: Theory from Life". *Theorizing Native Studies*. Edited by Audra Simpson and Andrea Smith. Duke University Press.
[92] Llaima, Interview August 22nd, 2018, Participant A, Liam
[93] ibid

mechanisms. That is, in light of multicultural policies directed towards establishing peace with Indigenous peoples, individual perceptions appeared at odds with reparative goals advanced by Chilean state actors. Cultural loss, an affective state of uncertainty in regard to Indigenous identity as represented through mainstream media and dominant discourses of power, was a major concern.

The Material Implications of Loss

> There is a story about something that happened to a gentleman, called Norin, a lonko. It is super simple…something as small as going to ask for leftover firewood. It was lying in his field, but the land had been taken away by a large forestry company. Now, Norin did not want to be conflictive, he knew he didn't have the means to defend himself. He also knew, however, that that land was his. So, one day he goes and sees that this firewood is thrown about and that it will not be used and so he goes to ask for it to be given to him. Being his land and Norin, not being conflictive, he does not claim his land, but instead resigns himself to the fact that his fence was moved, and he now lives beside the land that used to be his. Now, Norin goes and he asks for the firewood and the first thing he receives are insults, ok? "What are you doing here, thief!" And so, he is made to leave…that experience generates a very powerful reaction. That happened fifteen, twenty years ago, but it was the spark that began the first conflict here in the region…it is as if someone were to take your house. And then you see that he is throwing things out like garbage, things from your house and so, you go to your house and ask, can you give me that? and he insults you! Because you did not have the legal means or knowledge to recover what was yours and so you were made to assume your reality: that someone bigger came and took everything from you. Well that happened here.[94]

Mauricio and Felipe, entrepreneurs and leaders of a predominantly Mapuche berry cooperative, (the subject of analysis in subsequent chapters), recount Anorin's story to me as we sit together in a small coffee shop in downtown Lautaro. It is not surprising that they would point to this story as reflecting a larger social condition and pattern within the region. Norin Catriman's story was widely known throughout Chile and even made a case internationally in the

[94] Leftraru, Interview August 23, 2018, Participant A, Mauricio,

Interamerican Court of Human Rights.[95] The reality that Mauricio and Felipe point to in regards to Mapuche experience of material loss through the story of one man is indicative of many communities and people's experience of removal and dispossession—including the particularly pertinent added detail of insult of having to live beside land that was once theirs.[96]

Such an experience evokes a powerful reaction—a response, inhibiting affective triggers. The experience of material loss, while the common thread that links many Indigenous people's stories, also incurs a sense of collective harm and therefore, collective motivation. Norin's story is made to represent Mapuche dispossession more widely—the experience of not only having land taken away but being made to ask for what once belonged to you, a condition which many Mapuche find themselves in—relying on state apparatuses, such as CONADI for the return of their land. In this sense, resurgence and resilience emanate from being able to motivate personal responsibility and collective commitment.

This story however, reveals a common thread of experience. In one particular community in the 8th region of Chile, I spoke with Barbara and Patricio, a young couple who lives in a small, rural Pehuenche-Mapuche community known as Pitril in the Alto Bio-Bio, that hugs the river Queco near the Andes mountain range. On the east side of the Queco, lies the community of Pitril—on the west side the land that used to belong to Barbara's community, which now belongs to a fundo, a large landed estate. From Barbara's house you can look out the window to see directly across the river, where eucalyptus plantations have been introduced in place of native trees. I asked Barbara and Patricio if their community knew how they had lost the land in the

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[95] Inter-American Court of Human Rights (2014) Case of Norin Catriman Et. Al. (Leaders, Members and Activists of the Mapuche Indigenous People) v. Chile. http://www.corteidh.or.cr/docs/casos/articulos/seriec_279_ing.pdf. For further study on this case, see Bialostozky, N. (2007). The Misuse of Terror Prosecution in Chile: The Need for Discrete Consideration of Minority and Indigenous Group Treatment in Rule of Law Analyses. *Northwestern Journal of International Human Rights*, 1-10

[96] Leftraru, Interview August 23, 2018, Participant A, Mauricio

first place. Barbara recounts how the loss of their territory was caused by deception under the pretext of friendship.

> …my grandmother's parents talked about that…how one day the gentleman arrived, this one that is now owner of the land. And I think it was said he came with a backpack nothing else, and I think he was asking for accommodation, whether someone could accommodate him for the night…then he started coming every summer. Finally, he asked for permission to make a rukita to arrive in the summer so as to not be bringing so much stuff…and so they gave him permission to make a tiny house. And after that, he said that the land was his, that he had bought it and everything.[97]

This story exemplifies the constant reminders of loss as people are made to live alongside land that once belonged to them, it points to deeper impacts of this everyday experience—the lived reality of territorial dispossession. It also reveals the levels of distrust that exist among Pehuenche and Mapuche communities in regard to Chilean promises—the experience of trickery that is recounted in many stories remaining a vivid daily experience. Similar to the story of Norin, Barbara and Patricio point to the fact that even on the land that they claim as their own, that they have legal title to and therefore legal recognition under a colonial structure, even with such prerequisites of ownership, when adhering to these rules, they are threatened and insulted.

> …if they [the police] respected us, they would not arrive like they do…for example, we put a gate in the terrain that is our property. With title of domain, legally owned, registered and everything. We put a gate up to encircle our property and they arrived and opened it. They cut the padlock. They arrived, and simply opened our gate. So, we fought against this, we told them (the police) that this was private property. Just as they take care of the fundo that belongs to the gentleman on the other side of the river, because they say they take care of it because it is "private property" so nobody can pass. And I told them that "this is also a private area, but you arrive and cut the padlock and pass through, and what's more you threaten us."[98]

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[97] Pitril, Interview August 20, 2018, Participant A, Barbara
[98] ibid

Utilizing a colonial logic of title—that police respect Pehuenches' land in the same way they respect the fundo they are made to guard, reveals a contentious reality in which Indigenous peoples are made to adhere to an argument which places the logic of the colonizer in the center, therefore, Barbara has to use the logic of private property, which is the same logic used to keep Pehuenche-Mapuche off of the land that once belonged to them.

One can see the similarities in the stories recounted, that even as people ask for the justice and reparation due to them in face of ongoing colonialism, they are received with added insult. Mauricio and Felipe argue that it is then unsurprising that the stirrings of a political and affective response take place. The response to this material loss takes place in various forms among Pehuenche-Mapuche communities in the Alto Bio-Bio. Many communities further up the mountain from where Barbara and Patricio live have begun "tomas", literal land take overs. Barbara and Patricio's community of Pitril has opted for the road of negotiation and dialogue.

Part of this is the belief that the only way to create a change that is effective and positive and less violent is through conversation—that in emulating the ways in which one wishes to be treated eventual change and transformation will take place. As Liam suggests, the idea of sitting down to have a conversation based on a horizontal relationship—such a fundamental, basic concept is not adhered to nor often considered as an effective form of change. However, justified the actions of communities further up the mountain from where Barbara and Patricio live, in Patricio's perspective it will only lead to further actions of aggression by police. "I believe that we should continue together, working just as we are, peacefully. Because if we do it more violently, the police and the armed forces, well they will just threaten us as they already have."[99]

[99] Pitril, Interview August 20, Participant B, Patricio

Throughout my time in Chile, my interlocutors pointed to varied forms of loss: that of land, language, life, practice and the identification of custom. This indicates that loss remains significant to the experience of Mapuche as a prevalent facet of life—a reality that is inescapably linked to Indigenous histories under colonial rule. Implicit in Mapuche discourse regarding loss is a taxonomy of its various forms and effects.

The Political Ramifications of Loss

On one level, the most commonly referenced, as the story above did, is the obvious impact of loss in connection to the dispossession of Native land. And yet, salient within participant discussions emerged concerns regarding the waning of native language and more traditional forms of coexistence, all of which have impacted the personal and political lives of individuals and communities. While concepts of sovereignty and territorial autonomy were referenced in regard to a lost past, as a present experience, loss was referenced to be endowed with political consequences. Consequences that demanded individual as well as collective response.

> Here there was a massacre, an invasion, where the people who were here, living in peace, were eradicated. Many dead people, and others removed, uprooted from their cultural origins. That is the reality. As long as people do not understand it that way, that was the reality…today, we are full of euphemisms, we like to use nice words…but that is the reality. While that is not understood, people will not understand what is happening here.[100]

This sense of collective loss and Indigenous erasure informs how Mapuche individuals and communities respond to their social reality as a population that has undergone historical oppression and racial discrimination. Interview data reveals the degree to which Mapuche

[100] ibid

attribute the complex and intractable conflict between state actors, economic entities and indigenous communities to causes that lay beyond territorial dispossession. Salient is the view that conflict perpetuates because the Mapuche have been dispossessed of values and modes of living once fundamental within the social composition of Mapuche communities. The political strategies of colonial structures has been the erasure of these values and ways of living and relating to the world—erasure that continues to impact the political identities of Mapuches.

> There is one super important thing. The wisdom of the people who live out in the country, the wisdom of Indigenous people, was in their way of living, in their language, yes? If you take their native tongue away, you cannot pass on that wisdom and everyone becomes ignorant because they do not understand the other world. Do you understand? Then, of course, it was super easy. If I prevent people from continuing with their tradition, they lose all their wisdom.[101]

"The wisdom of Indigenous people was in their way of living…" Mauricio, points to this logic of erasure that continues to impact Mapuche communities and individuals. This statement resonates with a logic that is connected to histories of colonialism that continue to impact many Indigenous communities—the division of land, extractive development that degrades Indigenous landscapes and their relationships to the natural world, policies of assimilation through either repressive means, or through more "palatable" forms such as multiculturalism, incurring the loss of language and daily custom.

Particularly relevant is Wolfe's analysis of settler colonialism and the logic of elimination through cultural and biocultural assimilation. As Mauricio persuasively points out, "prevent people from continuing with their tradition, they lose all their wisdom…"[102]. In impeding a people from full access to cultural praxis, the slow process of erasure begins to takes shape.[103] The

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[101] ibid
[102] ibid
[103] Wolfe, Patrick (2006). Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native. Journal of Genocide Research.

discursive forms through which colonialism and modernizing rhetoric have served to damage networks of values and praxis among Mapuche individuals and within their communities. "…they erased history. When old people die, when there is spoken culture, if a people's cultural knowledge is predominantly oral, if it is a group that has a spoken culture and you kill the old ones, that people's culture ends, because you cannot transmit your culture to the young ones…so then you have lost your history, there is no history."[104]

There is a recurrent narrative of loss present within the reflections of Mapuche participant—there is a particular point in history, during the dictatorship of Pinochet, where overt assimilationist policies were practiced. Added onto these practices was the risk of being categorized as subversive, with linkages to leftist ideology, which played into the fear that drove Mapuche parents, particularly those raising their children within the context of Pinochet's regime, to insist upon their children's full assimilation into Chilean society. The politics of this era carried personal ramifications.

> …Then we reached a point where many Mapuche people, because of the discrimination they received, changed their last name. And the Mapuche surnames were changed… Imagine what that means! Feeling embarrassed by the last name they bore. But that's what the Chilean state believed in those years. And after that, it was returned to democracy, but the same thing was followed.[105]

It was a purportedly discursive form of violence which led to a process of self-inflicted erasure based on a desire to protection of one's family and children from the possible ramifications of being labelled anything other than Chilean. Following this moment in history, discrimination begins to take place in other forms, in the workplace, in schools—it begins to take on a form of negative differentiation rather than assimilation.

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[104] Santiago, Interview August 17, 2018, Participant A, Ramon
[105] Leftraru, Interview August 23, 2018, Participant B, Felipe

Like many Mapuche today, Mauricio's family is mixed. His mother was Mapuche, his father a Chilean of Spanish descent who still has family residing in Spain. His experience is common among Mapuche—inhabiting two worlds with seemingly conflicting forms of living and knowing. It was his grandmother who taught him words in Mapudungun, and who was unafraid of the potential social implications that Mauricio's mother feared. In her defense, Mauricio admits that his mother experienced degrading comments and abusive behavior at work for her identity as "Indian" and chose not to teach her son cultural practices in order to shield him from the same treatment.[106] He suggests that loss of native language was a strategic move that has effectually eroded a connection to identity and cosmology among many Mapuche today.

The tension between Mapuche positionalities within Chilean society is that they are consistently made to juggle contradictory narratives, or at least, narratives that generalize an entire population's history and experience. Mauricio suggests that until people are made to confront the uncomfortable reality of colonialism, little reconciliation and or peace will ever be established. Ongoing tensions within the region cater a whole area as conflictive and yet the losses that are incurred by Mapuche have only in recent years begun to take on a national audience with the deaths of young Mapuche by the hands of police. What Mariana and lonko Jacob point to however, is that this kind of political loss has been going on for years without much deeper discussion.

> …right here in the ninth region, we have seen the policemen, how many Mapuche have they killed? Some Mapuches for their own reason have tried to discuss the law, and they have been killed. The government doesn't even seem to care. But, when they killed a large landowner by name Luchsinger-Mackay here in Vilcun, how many policemen and state representatives arrived? And that Luchsinger-Mackay, he'd killed a student just like you. A little mapuchita…that happened but the president did not arrive because they killed a student. It was not discussed. And who would not mourn the loss of a child? So,

[106] Leftraru, Interview August 23, 2018, Participant A, Mauricio

> he [Luchsinger-Mackay] had a tremendous debt. How many more lives have been killed than that girl's? How many more have been killed…? How many people have died, have been lost…?[107]

The case of Luchsinger-Mackay was an awful event in which Werner Luchsinger and his wife, Viviane Mackay died trapped in their house as it went up in flames, the result of an arsonist attack on their estate.[108] Several Mapuche individuals were arrested and put on trial.[109] The case quickly became high-profile, eliciting an emotional response to the tragedy while also evoking a contentious atmosphere surrounding the violence evinced in the region. It was one of the most violent incidences to have taken place and yet, Mariana's purpose in pointing to the case itself in our conversation, was to reveal the ways in which similar violence has occurred among Mapuche communities—like the death of the young student described—seemingly without similar social and legal response.[110]

The reality of violence and threat at the hands of police and the loss of life that has followed, demonstrates an experience of political loss that continues to impact Mapuche communities. While the recognition of conflict between multinational corporations, the state and more radical autonomist Mapuche groups has merited widespread analysis, I am more concerned with the forms through which the political rhetoric obscures the daily experience of Mapuche communities and their understanding of this political loss.

Mariana's point in recounting the story of what occurred with the Luchsinger-Mackay case is to suggest an imbalance in political representation of the cases in which people have been harmed by the violence in the region, regardless of instigation. The fact that such media attention

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[107] Lliulliucura, Interview August 21, 2018, Participant B, Mariana
[108] El Mercurio (2017). Cronología del Caso Luchsinger-Mackay: desde el Ataque a la Absolución https://www.emol.com/noticias/Nacional/2017/10/25/880703/Cronologia-del-Caso-LuchsingerMackay-desde-el-ataque-a-la-absolucion.html
[109] ibid
[110] Lliulliucura, Interview August 21, Participant B, Mariana

was placed on the murder of the elder Luchsinger-Mackay couple while other deaths, such as the death of the young Mapuche student, were barely addressed at a national level, reveals the political loss that is often experienced among some Mapuche communities. Mariana is not arguing that what happened to the Luchsinger-Mackay couple wasn't terrible, her point is merely to suggest that countless Mapuche lives have been lost and yet have received less attention as the death of a large land-owning couple. Yet these are the stories of loss that communities such as Mariana's and lonko Jacob have dealt with for many years.

"Who would not mourn the death of a child?" Mariana mourns the disparity within the discussion of loss. Who is represented within the stories of loss and violence that paint a region as the "red zone" of a country? Mariana is pointing towards the juxtaposition of the kinds of loss that are politically represented and those that are not. It is the fact that these kinds of stories of loss, the death a young Mapuche student, are not unique to one particular Mapuche community. The political does become personal as it affects the lives of individuals and communities, creating networks of shared experiences. It goes beyond territorial loss and past injustice to encompass the ongoing political ramifications that such experiences of loss have on the lives of Mapuche children, their families and communities. People are political creatures—social relations engage every human being and affects their lived experiences.

Loss as an Affective Experience

I speak of affect placed in context with history, politics, individual choice and collective responsibility. All these social elements converge to have an impact on both individual and collective emotions and responses to systemic injustice. My reference to affect is to point to the manner in which Mapuche express the lived impacts of discrimination and histories of

oppression—this felt loss of attachment and connection to culture and identity as expressed by many. Affect encompasses the emotional and social wellbeing of Mapuche communities. I refer to affect, or the feelings and viewpoints expressed by my interviewees, to address the deeper psychological and emotional ramifications that pierce Mapuche communities and influence their efforts towards cultural recuperation.

Loss was explicated among interlocutors as including not only the impact of the physical dispossession of land but even more so, a shared sense of absence—absence in cultural knowledge and practice, an overwhelming sense that, even as more discussions surrounding Indigenous representation have taken place, there remains a concern regarding emotions of alienation and estrangement from cultural values and praxis. This section of my analysis frames loss as an affective experience, one which marks the lives of Indigenous communities and which propels engagement and interaction on both an individual as well as a collective level towards acts that regenerate and recovery what is perceived to have been lost. Affect is characterized as having an effect on an object or person, it is an action that makes a difference to an individual, it is an action that carries emotional clout, affect can move people.[111] The utility of thinking in this way allows us to analyze beyond discussions of territory, autonomy and land to understand how this experience of dispossession has led to a deeper deficit. This loss has a deeply affective experience among Mapuche interlocutors.

There is an affective, characteristically emotional response surrounding Indigenous identity and the perception of loss of cultural traditions among participants. This affect of absence in cultural praxis and knowledge triggers a response to reestablishing and redressing the impacts of loss. One example of this occurs at a personal level—in which the individual chooses

[111] Flatley, Jonathan (2008) Affective Mapping: Melancholia and the Politics of Modernism. Harvard University Press. Cambridge.

to respond to and address the sense of loss created by colonial structures through intentionally choosing to live a life that leads, even if in small ways, to a decolonized future. The process is slow, it literally means raising children to think about indigeneity in a way that engages their roots and reestablishes their identity.

Julia is a professional marriage and family therapist, one of a handful in her community of Melipueco near the foothills of the Andes. In her mid-thirties, she finds herself on a personal journey of cultural recovery, seeking to establish stronger ties to her community and her identity as a Mapuche. Julia has a gentle, caring spirit. I met her at the Center for Family Health, CESFAM, in Melipueco. She was open and willing to discuss her cultural journey, revealing a sense of purpose and social responsibility towards recuperation. For Julia, it is a matter of engaging not only Mapuche but also non-Mapuche into the conversation regarding relational approaches to revitalization. According to Julia, too many people have lost the ability to create and form meaningful ties to their communities because they have been brought up within a context in which individuality was the only way to success, one's responsibility is to oneself, not the collective.

During our conversations, she exhibited a heightened sense of awareness when it came to her lack of knowledge concerning cultural roots. "Since they took something from you, so you never truly knew it. So, we feel that…there is a feeling today of losing our people. And now we are looking for how to recover, and we say that the Mapuche is great…there are things that happen to me that do not happen to others when it comes to my culture."[112]

Julia's conceptualization of her Mapuche identity is constituted by what is missing, what is absent. This feeling of loss becomes a personal trigger, a motivator to search for meaning and

[112] Llaima, Interview August 22, 2018, Participant B, Julia

cultural understanding, and resulted in a growing consciousness of a *"feeling today of losing our people…"* [113] Julia's response has been one of reviving her own sense of cultural knowledge and passing this onto her son. Much like Corntassel and Scow, Julia responds to loss through every day acts of resurgence[114]. While I visited her, she showed me a very special collection of Mapuche pottery and cooking utensils which she had gathered over the years. She plans to build her own *ruka,* (a traditional Mapuche dwelling, typically cone-shaped, with thatched roofing) to invite her neighbors, both Mapuche and non-Mapuche, to visit her and participate in rogations and traditional celebrations as a way of reestablishing a connection to her culture.

Transmitting Mapuche language and traditions to her children provides Julia with a channel through which ruptured identity can be mended and loss transcended. Enrolling her son in an intercultural kindergarten in Melipeuco, called Nehuen, Julia prioritizes that her children are granted the right to exercise and develop their own indigeneity.

> I am living something very beautiful with my son he is entering the kindergarten and he is in Nehuen in Melipeuco and there is something very nice that is happening…that is…they are playing a kultrun[115]. So…my son listens to this sound…and automatically, he starts dancing to the sound of this instrument (kultrun). So, this is something very beautiful to me, because before I couldn't really familiarize myself with this, I didn't know it…I mean, [I did] a little bit with my grandfather. Since I was little, my grandfather participated in all ancestral ceremonies, but never with the level of energy that I see in my son…[116]

Julia's expectation is that through encouraging the cultural exposure, her children are given the opportunity to embrace the values and concepts that she was never taught as a child, which further will help to heal the loss she feels present within many families in her community

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[113] Llaima, Interview August 22, 2018, Participant B, Julia
[114] Corntassel, Alfred; Scow, Mick (2017) Everyday Acts of Resurgence: Indigenous Approaches to Everydayness in Fatherhood. New Diversities. Vol. 19. No. 2. University of Victoria.
[115] Mapuche instrument—it is a drum used by the machi (Mapuche healer or shaman) for religious and cultural rituals.
[116] ibid

among future generations. Her hope is that intentionally engaging Mapuche cultural roots will shape her children's identity and sense of communal pride, an opportunity she felt was either insufficiently provided or otherwise denied her. Her children will no longer carry the affective scars that she in some ways has had to bear.

Attendant upon the choice to regenerate tradition and customs in the face of its absence or diminution is the implicit acceptance that this is a personal responsibility that can directly impact the wellbeing of community and kinship relationships. One indication of this can be seen in the salience of the role played by exchange strategies as a means for Mapuche communities and individuals to regenerate and recover a stronger sense of collective cultural identity in the midst of perceived loss. This serves to foster trust and communal ties among members in the face of collective injustice. This responsibility informs a Mapuche conception of object relations among humans and even towards the animal and spirit realms.

For example, Barbara, a young mother of two, who earlier recounted the story of territorial dispossession by her people in Alto Bio-Bio, spent most of her childhood in what she termed an Indigenous home for children, a kind of state-funded boarding school, reminiscent of the North American and Canadian systems. She states she was "interned", the word choice is particularly alarming, hinting at an experience tinged with the trauma of separation. Barbara began the personal journey of reclaiming her cultural roots after returning to Pitril. When I visited her and Patricio in their small home in Pitril, I noticed that their window looks to the west, to other side of the Queco river, to land that used to belong to their community but that is now owned by a large fundo, a Chilean landed estate. What strikes me is the close proximity to such a painful physicality—the literal existence beside a past wrong.

What is even more harming is the rupture in relationships between Pehuenche-Mapuche and their colono neighbors. Barbara explicates the importance of reciprocity as a form of establishing communal and personal responsibility—towards primarily God, and then from there, towards others. It is a worldview predicated on one's responsibility towards others.

> …if we take food to eat there in the pinions (native trees to southern Chile), we carry mote, tortillas whatever it takes. First before eating one, you have to give back to the earth, to God, who provides for us. We are like that…when we make mudai, we make a prayer before we drink it and we throw it to the earth in the name of God…before we eat, He has to first because He is the one who gives us things. [117]

"It is like to thank God for what He gives us."[118] Reciprocity places responsibility on the individual towards community, land and God. Exchanging relations, giving back what has been gifted to you, is a response that is indicative of social responsibility and the maintenance of order and harmony. In the wake of loss, exchange ensures right relationships with others. Barbara points to this logic as one reason for why there continue to be discursive forms of hostility between Pehuenche-Mapuche individuals in Pitril and colonos. "They live here [colonos in Pitril] and yet when they gather for some celebration, they do it among themselves. They do not invite their Indigenous neighbors to participate."[119]

In refusing to engage in reciprocal relationships, there is no effort made to enact closure and realign relationships in the face of loss and harm. Patricio, Barbara's husband, similarly points to the divisions caused by a refusal to engage in reciprocal relations with Mapuche neighbors by non-Mapuche.

"We, as Indigenous, as Mapuche, still want to share with them. If they want to be separate, I still want to share, to speak."[120] Barbara explains that in response, colonos are rarely if

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[117] Pitril, Interview August 20, 2018, Participant A, Barbara
[118] Pitril, Interview August 20, 2018, Participant B, Patricio
[119] Pitril, Interview August 20, 2018, Participant A, Barbara
[120] Pitril, Interview, August 20, 2018, Participant B, Patricio

ever invited to participate in ngillantunes or other Mapuche celebrations. This maintains distrust and division. Only non-Mapuche who have engaged in reciprocal relationships, forming bonds of trust and ties of friendship, are invited to join and observe certain celebrations. Without engaging in reciprocity and exchange relations, at some level, there is no way of recognizing and redressing the existing impacts of loss between Mapuche community members and their non-native neighbors.

It is a matter of praxis which engages cultural values as a way of challenging the ways people think about their role in response to both personal and communal loss.

> …people from outside [the community] tell us…you should think about your children in the future…you should leave, go to the city, study. Give your children a good education. We say, yes, it is true that children need a good education, but for us wealth is not found there. For us, the wealth is not in being, I don't know, having a good vehicle or living well off. Of course, it is good to live better than before, you always have to improve yourself. But for us, wealth is not in that. For us, wealth is to be here...[121]

Barbara's choice to stay in her community reflects a commitment that resists the choice to forget, which she views as driven by the convenience brought about by Western, often urban models of modernization and development. As a mother, Barbara consciously chooses to utilize her experience with loss to revitalize her heritage through raising her children in her community. The importance of values—knowing the worth of connections to kin, land and spirit is far more meaningful than adhering to a particular kind of economic dream of prosperity and wealth.

Despite the discrimination suffered by many Mapuche, the victim narrative was not a dominating factor obstructing agency. In fact, it operated more as a feature that motivated distinctive approaches of cultural revitalization by individuals who felt estranged from their roots, their identity as Indigenous Mapuche. The recognition of this felt loss encouraged actions

[121] Pitril, Interview August 20, 2018, Participant A, Barbara

of recovery. The ongoing reference to the experience of loss does not necessarily imply a sense of immobility or helplessness. Rather, among many participants, it tended to act as an influential factor for response—the logic seemingly to denote: loss was experienced, whether material, emotional, or spiritual, creating a gap in knowledge and practice, therefore requiring a response from both the individual as well as the collective. This is addressed both implicitly and explicitly through an adoption of reciprocity as a form of engagement with cultural praxis.

One of the last conversations I had during my time in southern Chile, I spoke with Reinata. Reinata lives on a small plot of land about fifteen minutes outside the town of Melipeuco in the community of Tracura. She has held the role of president of her community for the past 18 years. Working extensively as a delegate for her community, Reinata travels often to regional conferences, representing her community's needs to state sponsored programs such as CONADI[122] and INDAP[123]. She began becoming very involved in projects during the inception of the Programa Orígenes, whose goal was the strengthening of Mapuche identity and culture.[124] She remains the representative at INDAP for her community.

As I sat in Reinata's small kitchen, the fire from her wood stove warming the house, I watched her as she methodically rolled out the dough for empanadas, flour caking her wrinkled hands. Reinata spoke of an imbalance brought about by loss in identity, which she argues has created a disruption of cultural values as a result of growing economic dependency. This has caused people to become greedy, wanting more for themselves without understanding the importance of reciprocity. Understanding the value embedded in the act of reciprocity is at the core of maintaining a healthy community and healthy relationships. However, according to

[122] Corporacion Nacional de Desarollo Indigena (CONADI)—National Corporation for Indigenous Development
[123] Instituto de Desarollo Agropecuario (INDAP)—Institute of Agricultural Development
[124] Ministerio de Hacienda (2004) Sintesis Ejecutiva. Programa Origines. Elaborada por la Direccion de Presupuestos. http://www.dipres.gob.cl/597/articles-139541_r_ejecutivo_institucional.pdf

Reinata, this aspect of Mapuche culture is slowly being lost. "People no longer understand the meaning of trueque [exchange relations/reciprocity]..."[125] Reinata made the argument that modernization and the rhetoric of economic development has created division and distrust amidst Mapuche communities. "…even when someone has little, they refuse to give to their neighbor, to assist with their neighbor's needs, because they see that their neighbor has more and say, 'why should I help them if they are rich!'…this, this is not Mapuche culture."[126]

In Reinata's perspective, it is about reorienting relationships and cultural values to everyday practice. She believes that at the heart of the conflict between the Chilean state, multinationals and Mapuche communities lies an imbalance. People no longer understand how to reciprocate and engage in relationships that operate from a horizontal level. Reinata suggests that the issue is understanding how *trueque*, reciprocity, as a practice, embodies a form of social interaction that can serve to reestablish balance and order. Materialism is, in Reinata's view, damaging to the core composition of Mapuche communities and other communities as well, creating division instead of cohesion and unity.

This idea that there is an imbalance echoes throughout people's conversations. Jacob is the lonko, the headman of his community in Lliulliucura, on the outskirts of Lautaro. His role as the headman of his community is to ensure communal harmony and to safeguard and pass on Mapuche traditions and values to the next generation. Jacob and his family voice their concerns regarding the impact of cultural loss and the fear of indifference. Part of this is due to individual choice—Jacob alludes to the possibility of choosing not to lose cultural identity—of choosing to pursue instead its regeneration, a choice which entails agency. "…I always tell people, 'come,

[125] Tracura, Interview August 22, 2018, Participant C, Reinata
[126] ibid

come, let's not lose our culture.' Our culture was the first here in Chile. The Mapuche people were the first here in Chile."[127]

The reiteration of being the first, the first culture in Chile points to a history of resilience and survival, enacted through localized forms of resistance. Yet Jacob also points to the fact that individuals have a choice, the collective has a responsibility. — *"let us not lose our culture",* there is a sense in which in the wake of loss, individuals have the agency to choose their tradition, customs and values. The responsibility is incurred upon each community member to choose not to lose a sense of their indigeneity and to together fight against its disappearance. The idea is that individual agency leads to collective responsibility to produce effective long-lasting, sustainable work in the area of cultural revitalization and knowledge transfer. Sebastian, Jacobo's son, explains:

> …once we talked to him [Jacob] and [he] started crying because he has some memories of what it was like before, what the Mapuche really were. …I've noticed with the passing years, that the Mapuche used to get together. Before, the Mapuche took a week to bury [a member of the community]. Nowadays, people are buried two or three days after….and people do not feel the person. And before, [the Mapuche] felt very much.[128]

Sebastian, Jacob's son, laments the changes in which Mapuche communities have in some ways had to give up certain practices that were in many ways core to the social and spiritual cosmology of Mapuche. Rituals surrounding death and loss become a crucial component for the establishment of community bonds and social responsibility—just as exchange is important to ensure the wellbeing of a community in life, so it is also in necessary in to engage reciprocity as a way of addressing loss. [129]

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[127] Lliulliucura, Interview August 21, 2018, Participant A, Lonko Jacob
[128] Lluilluicura, Interview August 21, 2018, Participant C, Sebastian
[129] Course, Magnus (2005). Death, biography and the Mapuche Person. London School of Economics.

There is an affect of absence in the experience of Mapuche communities. Yet this absence is not only brought about by physical loss, such as the loss of land or the loss of a community member, it is also caused by a deep-seated sense of alienation among Indigenous Mapuche due to systems of colonialism still in place. The division and imposition of Chilean society upon Mapuche communities has meant, not only an external division between Mapuche and non-Mapuche individuals, but an internal disruption as well. The communal harmony and group dynamics that once existed within Mapuche communities has led to the slow breakage of social relationships and bonds that formed the basis of trust and responsibility in a social body.

According to Sebastian, Mapuche loss is implicated in the diffusion of exchange relations found within the procedural function of mourning that symbolizes a sense of closure and adaptation in the wake of communal loss. Similarly, exchange and reciprocity in terms of cultural knowledge and praxis is an approach towards creating communal resilience in the face of perceived loss and connection to Indigenous roots. This is done in community—collectively, it is the responsibility of individuals to share with each other and to invest in relationship in order to create new knowledge and new ways of engaging the world. Sebastian's lamentation that the person is no longer felt, speaks to the deeper forms of connection and bonds that are created through these forms of interaction within Mapuche communities.

This recalls Patricio and Barbara's observation that the absence of channels through which to carry out reciprocity to establish relationships of trust precludes closure of divisions between Pehuenche-Mapuches and their non-Mapuche neighbors in Pitril. The fact that there is no closure is what motivates Mapuche agency. The affective experience of loss propels individuals and their communities into claiming their own responsibility for changing the social and political dynamics long challenged but futilely addressed.

> I believe that people, the more they educate themselves while they gain more knowledge, they inform themselves more, they go to history, but the way in which they face society is still a mistake…we have not prepared as a Mapuche culture. We have prepared ourselves as Chileans and we face it like this, but we have not prepared as our ancestors prepared. We had a different vision, we had a way of seeing, of acting, differently. It was all different. And today we are Mapuche, but we think like everyone, like everyone else in the world. And I think it's not bad, because we're from the twenty-first century, but we cannot forget the wonderful culture that our ancestors had. And that nobody is rescuing, that it is something that was lost, and that people are not interested in anymore.[130]

Felipe, the director of the *Cooperative Amuntun Leftraru* points to the importance of agency and intentional recuperation. His pessimism regarding the fact that "nobody is rescuing" Mapuche culture, that it is lost and people are not interested in and reviving it, is not entirely true and he knows it. Felipe's lamentation, however, can be read as a social critique of both the state approach to reparation of past injustice and Mapuche communities' acceptance of dependence. Felipe's observation, that "no one cares" seems more to imply that enough is not being done. The efforts that have been put in place are not enough. Felipe's performance of loss in his statement that no one is doing anything is a call to responsibility and action. The fact that economic approaches to development in the region are not enough, keeps Mapuche agency responding to this felt loss, to the perception that Chilean democracy, in its approach to reestablishing peace, has ignored the deeper haunting that continues to affect Indigenous peoples.

Instead of mimicking the Chilean social structure, it is the imperative of Mapuche individuals and communities to address such felt loss in ways that fight against the logic of dependency—to self-create, redefine and break away from models imposed by colonial structures to reestablish a vision based on Mapuche values and conceptions of personhood and community. Transcending loss through revitalizing cultural praxis appears to hinge heavily on

[130] Leftraru, Interview August 23, 2018, Participant B, Felipe

transforming people's epistemologies in relation to Indigenous identity. To this end, Mapuche individuals adopt distinctive strategies. These strategies of resilience and resistance may emanate from a personal level, causing one to seek to reencounter a lost sense of indigeneity through studying and questioning, returning to one's community, engaging elders. It may be the rejection of certain conceptions of success, choosing to face the struggles of poverty and economic hardship, in exchange for the wealth found in relationship and connection to one's community. It may be on a social level, choosing to enroll one's child in an intercultural kindergarten, or creating projects that engage the community and utilize Mapuche values and core conceptions of personhood and community.

In the case of Julia and Barbara, as mothers, the approach towards cultural revitalization and regeneration of identity, is focused on their role in raising their children to know and enjoy their Mapuche heritage. At the core of all these approaches, is the fact that inevitably, exchange is employed in order to sustain the process. Reciprocity becomes a mechanism of resilience and resurgence, it is the channel through which Mapuche identity is extended outwards.

We can see an immense source of resilience in Mapuche responses to colonial, Euro-centric approaches to reconciliation and regional development. The motivation to make a move, however small, to create change and resist further colonial encroachment. It is about effectively engaging and restoring relationships based on a new model of engagement, one which uplifts and considers Mapuche perspectives and ways of being.

> …when you want an objective, whatever it is, you have to somehow make a move. You have to stretch out your hand to reach it. Although the movement may be minimal, but you have to make the personal movement. And I think that is one of the errors that all these political systems have committed in the sense of giving us everything. It's like: "here, there it is. Do not stretch out your hand, here it is! It's done." What is the value in that? Nothing. It creates dependency. From a Mapuche point of view ... we, as Mapuche,

> have been badly accustomed. The state, as a form of reparation, gave us everything and in this way, also limits our ability to create. Although it is true that everyone at some point would like assistance in some form, from an ontological point of view, I would like my shoulder to hurt, so that I can say tomorrow that this is part of my effort, as a result of my work. Where is the intellectual development?[131]

I return to Liam, the son of wise man from Llaima, to think about the importance of agency, personal motivation and community resilience. Liam offers the analogy of personal movement, the decision to accomplish an objective as a way of understanding how Mapuche communities struggle against the confines of dependency in the wake of poverty. The notion is that while reparations made by the state are efforts towards healing, they are insufficient because they play into the creation of tropes such as the lazy Indian and they allow these tropes to become realities.

There is a self-criticism that exists within Mapuche communities in which individuals have realized that part of the problem is an adherence to a dependence model. Liam suggests that one of the errors that "all these political systems have committed is in the sense of giving us everything."[132] In seeking reparation, the state has limited Mapuche self-creation and innovation. That is a deeply felt reality among many Mapuche—what has been done is simply not enough. But it also calls individuals and communities to consider what actions they might take to reverse this sense of frustration. It is recognizing that "we as Mapuche, have also been badly accustomed."[133] It is a call to change that reality into one that relies on self-sustaining practices and systems based on Mapuche knowledge and ways of being.

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[131] Llaima, Interview, August 22, 2018, Participant A, Liam
[132] ibid
[133] ibid

Conclusion

This chapter has shown how the affective experience of loss, paradoxically, becomes a place from which practices of resurgence and resilience emanate. Loss does the work of catapulting individuals and communities into a framework of responsibility and action. The major takeaways of this chapter are three-fold. First, the generation particular to this study, people such as Julia, Liam, Felipe, Mauricio, Barbara, are recovering a connection to their Indigenous identity as a result of policies of assimilation that caused their parents' generation to fear the transfer of knowledge and heritage. In this sense there was a generational skip which has now motivated particular individuals towards the goal of healing that rupture in knowledge. People point to loss as a place from which their motivation emerged.

Understanding the affective impacts of loss, whether this be through specific forms of erasure, such as the discontinuing of one's native tongue, or through a sense of disconnection and alienation to one's cultural roots, allows for us to truly engage the dialectics of feelings that appears to engulf a region and a people despite the wide political emphasis on reparative measures. If the conversation does not engage these feelings of sadness and these moments of connection and resistance, then the deeper ramifications of colonial dispossession will never be completely assuaged nor addressed.

Secondly, the localized ways in which Mapuche choose to resist colonial mentalities and structures are particular to individuals and communities but are nonetheless, immensely valuable for the future transformation of the region. Resilience emanates from the choices of individuals and the actions of communities, the agency that is exercised therein, to be able to engage in an exchange in order to build trust and heal the ruptures created by colonial wounds.

Lastly, engaging in reciprocity as a pathway towards healing engages the importance of collective responsibility—Indigenous knowledge transfer is key to the long-term success of Mapuche projects of knowledge production and revitalization. This chapter establishes the impacts of cultural loss and colonial erasure among Mapuche communities. But it also points to the depth and beauty that emanates from these approaches towards regeneration and renewal.

"When you have an objective, whatever that is, you have to make a move." Interviewees have an objective of changing the narrative surrounding their communities—it is a vision that fully engages both worlds, colonial and Indigenous, to create something new for future generations. The next chapter will analyze this personal movement in the context of the work done by the members of the *Cooperativa Amuntun Leftraru*, as a way of engaging these ideas of transcendence and transformation in the face of communal loss and cultural erasure. "We, the Mapuche in general are very much guided by dreams but that has been lost due to technology, obviously we are connected all the time. So, how to recover that, how to get back to that? Well, we will have to return to our territory and return to do pedagogy from our thinking and our understanding…"[134]

The call to return to an Indigenous pedagogy, to revitalize Mapuche forms of engagement, values, and processes in the context of modern-day Chile presents a challenge. It is a challenge of social responsibility towards return; a return to understanding Mapuche cosmology and life ways, by both individuals and communities. It is a call to engage in both personal and collective response as a process in which closure is effectuated. Loss no longer remains an inhibiting force, but rather, it becomes a place from which cultural resurgence and personal and collective healing can begin to take shape.

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[134] Llaima, Interview August 22, 2018, Participant A, Liam

Chapter Three: *Trueque*, a Different Way of Thinking

> "Practicing everyday acts of resurgence and personal decolonization entails having the awareness, courage and imagination to envision life beyond the colonial state."[135]

Decolonization, understood from an Indigenous framework, emphasizes recreating right relationships.[136] Working towards this decolonial reality requires a commitment to a vision that is based upon establishing right relationships with those around us, both human and non-human, it is about redefining how we engage with the world. In this sense, decolonization offers a space from which we can stand with and work alongside Indigenous communities as they engage in resurgence practices based on their own desires.[137] It also engages creative forms of engagement with society and politics. In the case of Mapuche communities, practicing resurgence and personal decolonization adopts varied forms.

Florencia Mallon has argued that contemporary Mapuche identity "evolved from a mix of state action and the Mapuche's own resistant and creative strategies" challenging state-imposed conceptions of indigenous needs and concerns.[138] Others have characterized Indigenous selfhood and strategies of resurgence as complex interactions, entanglements, between Indigenous conceptions of Native community, governance, and identity and state practices that often perpetuate legacies of colonial coercion and expansion.[139] This chapter analyzes how loss, in its affective, political and material dimensions, is addressed through methods that challenge state-

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[135] Corntassel, Alfred; Scow, Mick (2017) Everyday Acts of Resurgence Indigenous Approaches. New Diversities. P. 56

[136] Tallbear, Kim (2014). Standing With and Speaking as Faith: a Feminist Indigenous Approach to Inquiry. Journal of Research Practice. University of Texas.

[137] ibid

[138] Mallon, Florencia (2005). Courage Tastes of Blood: the Mapuche Community of Nicolas Ailio and the Chilean State 1906-2001. Duke University Press. Durham and London.

[139] Dennison, Jean (2012) Colonial Entanglements: Constituting a Twenty-First Century Osage Nation. University of North Carolina Press. Latta, Alex (2005). La Politica Mapuche Local en Chile. Las Comunidades Pehuenches del Alto Bio-Bio: Un Estudio de Caso.

imposed structures within a particular setting, through the work done within the *Cooperative Amuntun Leftraru*. This section seeks to demonstrate how creative strategies of resurgence, even through small-scale efforts based in localized contexts, serve to strengthen and indeed, drive Mapuche forms of knowledge production and revitalization.

Mauricio and Felipe direct the *Cooperative Amuntun Leftraru*, a local cooperative which produces and sells raspberries to national and international markets. The excerpts of the interview are drawn from a conversation in which Mauricio and Felipe discuss how the cooperative works towards its goal of revitalizing Mapuche forms of knowledge to strengthen community ties to Indigenous identity. Mauricio and Felipe explicitly and implicitly showcase the importance of reciprocity as a mechanism for transcending perceived cultural losses, redefining Mapuche identity in their analysis of the cooperative's value within their community.

The *Cooperative Amuntun Leftraru* operates as a community in which associates within the project are taught to engage in ties of kinship-like affiliation with their co-associates. This is especially true in the manner in which associates interact and the responsibility that is incurred upon each individual as a member of the project. Consisting of 29 Mapuche families and a few fellow Chilean associates, the cooperative adopts *trueque*, reciprocity, as a practical tool to realign those who participate within the cooperative with Mapuche values. The internal dynamic of the cooperative is predicated on each individual member adhering to the responsibility of reciprocation as a primary response to communal wellbeing and production.[140] This is a guiding principle, a rule of function within the cooperative.

The cooperative sits in an industrial site, one of many joint ventures. Members of the cooperative transfer their harvest to the site to amass together a larger yield of raspberries to sell

[140] Leftraru, Interview August 23, 2018, Participant B, Felipe

on the market. They then distribute the earnings equally—regardless of the amount that any individual was able to contribute in the original yield. This process reflects Mapuche conceptions of communal engagement through contribution and exchange, pointing towards a form of sociality based on early survival techniques established between distinctive Mapuche communities in an effort to withstand natural challenges, ensuring security between family groups inside a Lof.[141]

Felipe is the director of the Cooperative. A young Mapuche in his mid-thirties, Felipe works as the cooperative's lead representative and organizer. Educated within the Chilean schooling system, Felipe returned to his community only to find himself at war with his institutional training and the reality of poverty and social dissatisfaction which he saw at work among Mapuche communities in rural Chile. Struggling to reconcile the social and economic conditions that beset not only his community, but many Mapuche communities as subsistence farmers, Felipe put to use his entrepreneurial skills to create a cooperative that would engage his community through networks of trust and collaboration. His vision became to awaken his community to the practicalities of their own cultural values amidst the exigencies of everyday life and work within a Chilean reality.

Felipe recounts a sense in which people have felt the need to choose between fully embracing their identities as Mapuche and feeling that in order to succeed in the world, (in this case, a predominantly colonial world) they must somehow relegate their Indigenous identity to the past—or at least to the private, intimate space of the home in order to fit into a prescribed social category.[142] Because the recovery from assimilationist policies put in place during the

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[141] Course, Magnus (2011) Becoming Mapuche: Person and Ritual in Indigenous Chile. University of Illinois Press. Lof is considered the basic social organization of Mapuche people, characterized familial clan and lineage ties that recognize the leadership a lonko.

[142] Leftraru, Interview August 23, 2018, Participant B, Felipe

Pinochet era is still ongoing, Felipe suggests that his generation particularly, has felt a need to embrace a responsibility towards addressing this loss of connection to Indigenous roots. "In the seventies, eighties, during the government of the military coup…the state took away the possibility of being able to live in community."[143]

Mauricio comes to the cooperative project from a mixed background—one in which his identity as Mapuche growing up was often not distinguished in any significant way from his Spanish heritage. He remembers seeking the teaching of his grandmother to gain any sort of knowledge of his Mapuche heritage, his mother rarely instigating these moments. Due to this imbalance, Mauricio now approaches the work at the cooperative with a vision of creating a space in which Mapuche cultural practices and knowledge are held to similar value as other forms and practices more widely accepted by Chilean society.

The motivation behind Felipe and Mauricio's work within the cooperative emanates from a sense of responsibility towards cultural recovery and rehabilitation—towards an intentional transformation of communal engagement and personal mentality. Belonging to a generation whose parents were forced, in order to ensure survival, to conceal and withdraw cultural values and practices from their children, Felipe, Mauricio and others are now motivated to respond to the effects of such assimilationist histories. Agency is enacted through this affective, emotional experience of loss, this sense of alienation and cultural disconnection that propels individuals and communities towards resilience and responses of return and recovery.

[143] Leftraru, Interview August 23, 2018, Participant B, Felipe

Trueque, an Embodiment of Resilience and Communal Commitment

Due to the fear imposed by policies of assimilation and the emotional impacts of discrimination, exchange of cultural knowledge was severed. The emotional impact of this reality upon a generation of now adult Mapuches has meant a quest of rediscovery. The type of loss identified throughout this work expands beyond territorial dispossession to encompass cultural conceptions of personhood and communal engagement. The reification of Mapuche identity as a figure that is either relegated to the past as a fierce warrior or existing within the present as an at-risk, vulnerable population, tends to occlude more nuanced understandings of Mapuche resilience and creative re-emergence. The cooperative in an effort to reassert the value of Indigenous forms of coexistence adopts *trueque*, the practice of reciprocity, as the embodiment of Mapuche values of group relations, responsibility and trust in order to engage in forms of creative resistance and regeneration.

Addressing loss within Mapuche communities is to engage in reciprocal relations. The experience of loss, whether in the form of physical death through the loss of a community member or through larger systemic losses such as the gradual process of cultural eradication through the obstruction of Native linguistic acquisition and the demands for overt assimilation into the dominant population, necessitates exchange as a form of restoration. This use of exchange serves to close the rupture created by the loss and accommodates towards a future through realizing a renewal of responsibility within the community. This experience of loss, though impacting Mapuche on an emotional and spiritual level, is not altogether an inhibition to Indigenous agency. The cooperative adopts *trueque* as a way of reviving modes of coexistence and reestablishing forms of communal commitment. *Trueque*, reciprocity, performs a relational paradigm, to borrow the term from Heidi and Jason Stark, in which responsibility is the basis

through which relationships are sustained among communities and between people and other entities.[144]

> I see it as we work in the cooperative, when we are going to build, we are all going to build. To put a door, to put cement, to put the sewer, everything. There is nobody worried about the time. There is no one with a long face. They are all happy. Because they are convinced that they work for something in common and healthy, that they are doing something good. Independent that they will not receive anything…then this feeling is reflected in everything. If that is practiced from school, from kindergarten, and within all the formative aspects of a person, we would have more people supporting their community….[145]

When something is broken, someone needs to fix their roof or mend their fencing or build a greenhouse, it is the cooperative associates that assist that member. Reciprocity engages the entire community of associate members as each member has a responsibility to the other. According to Mauricio, this is because "…they are convinced that they work for something in common and healthy, that they are doing something good."[146] This attitude is placed as the source through which community and exchange emanates to establish healthy relationships—with the land, spirit and people. It is something good. It is something binding. A reclaiming of right relationships—a return to foundational forms of coexistence. Felipe and Mauricio argue that people are compelled to this relationship regardless of whether or not they receive anything because it is emotionally fulfilling to engage in these affiliations. The divide between work life and social life is irrelevant within this kind of system. People are compelled emotionally to participate in *trueque*, because it is the foundation through which trust is established. It recognizes the value of the other, placing everyone on a horizontal sphere instead of a

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[144] Stark, Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik; Stark, Keke Jason (2018) Nenabozho Goes Fishing: A Sovereignty Story. Academy of Arts and Sciences
[145] Leftraru, Interview August 23, 2018, Participant A, Mauricio
[146] Leftraru, Interview August 23, 2018, Participant A, Mauricio

hierarchical order. It is not based on an economic model. The goal is holistic communal edification not economic absorption.

Mauricio points out that, because of its organic form in everyday relational development, engaging in *trueque* becomes a more profitable form of interaction, both on an economic and a social level, transcending beyond issues of economic gain to ones of social and personal responsibility. "Trueque is the day to day…we make trueque in everything. In fact, every day I want to have it in my life. Integrate it in the day to day, in everything I do. In fact, there are some people that I advise, that I do it that way, I do not earn more money, but it is more profitable to do it in this way."[147] This form of interaction reverses the terms of engagement between state functions and Mapuche individuals, through utilizing a process endemic to Indigenous ways of being.

Instead of basing development on modes of material production, Mauricio and Felipe suggest that the cooperative is successful because its associates are able to engage in a process that requires them to see beyond economic consumption and historical trauma, towards a system of values based on everyone's ability to contribute—whatever that contribution may mean—as a way of surpassing loss and instilling value in each other. It creates the conditions through which resilience emerges in the face of great loss through the adaptation of forms of engagement that require a return to Mapuche ways of knowing and relating to the world and to others. The process is gradual and meant to be sustaining—it is about transforming how people think in order to reestablish Indigenous legitimacy. It is a way of reinvigorating "principles embedded in ancient teachings" to address "contemporary problems".[148] *Trueque,* reciprocity, is a form of

[147] Leftraru, Interview August 23, 2018, Participant A, Mauricio
[148] Alfred, Taiaiake (1999) Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto. Oxford University Press. Pg. 5

Mapuche resilience which leads to communal wellbeing and which, both Felipe and Mauricio hope, will eventually contribute to regional change, one community at a time.

The work of the cooperative allows for a recognition of a cultural rupture, acknowledging the felt experiences of its members, their emotional struggles and providing a way in which associates are able to recover through engaging in a collective commitment towards revitalization. *Trueque* is one strategy that is utilized in this endeavor—an effective one because it allows for each individual to invest in a relational transaction that is predicated on one's responsibility towards one's community and towards future generations. In this sense, the loss that was experienced by the person is addressed through their ability to reengage cultural practices such as reciprocity, forming communal ties and relational bonds—rehabilitating forms of trust. In order to truly create something lasting and impactful, collective and individual responsibility must be enacted—in this way, the affective experience of not having had the opportunity to engage their Indigenous identity—the feelings of sadness, frustration or disconnection that emanate from this reality, are addressed through the cooperative's intentional embodiment of reciprocity which leads to social responsibility, establishing a relational connection and fostering trust. It creates a positive dialectic between feelings of sadness and mourning and the possibility of connection and commitment.

Beyond Economics

> …we dedicated ourselves to a focus that is not about economic gain. Yes, we want to improve the standard of living, but we could give a thousand pesos to every associate, who may not do anything [with it] or…we can give their children a different way of thinking, right? Where they can develop themselves in the areas they want, defending their land, their environment, their culture…right? That is our goal. It is time to change the mentality a bit and see what things can be done. And that is a little what the cooperative does. We need to eat and live. Another aspect is to produce and harvest the

> fruit, sell the fruit, process it, give it a higher value, but that is in second place, okay? In first place is something more important. It is to be able to generate the development of the mind for people in the future.[149]

The efforts of the cooperative extend beyond economic gain—the goal is to change the way people think about development, Indigenous identity and personal and collective responsibility. While the work of the cooperative responds to material loss through tackling issues of poverty and development within the region—functioning in ways that reflect an adherence to sustainable development and economic growth, its members take this a step further. Improving the standard of living is a major concern for members of the cooperative. An even greater concern is the transformation of a generation's mindset. "…we could give a thousand pesos to every associate, who may not do anything [with it] or…we can give their children a different way of thinking…".[150] This partly stems from the realization that the state's efforts towards development with identity is not enough to truly advance Indigenous claims and concerns. It also stems from a self-reflective realization that Mapuche communities and individuals themselves have not done enough either. Here lies a complex contention, one in which social dissatisfaction on account of state efforts collides with a similar disillusion of Mapuche efforts to push for greater representation and recognition. Often, as Liam pointed out in the previous chapter, reparation, though well-intended, has served to enhance dependency contributing to a state of stagnation in the region, instead of development and security.

Exchange relations are utilized to renew conceptions of community and identity based on an Indigenous model, reflective of Mapuche values, despite operating within the economic parameters of a Chilean, neoliberal market. In this way, the cooperative functions within a

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[149] Leftraru, Interview August 23, 2018, Participant A, Mauricio
[150] ibid

capitalist system, adhering to its economic rules whilst maintaining an identification with Indigenous forms of community based on collective participation and social responsibility. "…it's great because all of it is a system of exchange, *trueque*. For example, I needed lupine, Rodrigo gave me lupine and [in exchange] I gave him plants. Right? The person who gave me the plants, I was able to give technical advice and so on, because it is about mentality…"[151] The cooperative allows Mapuche families within the community that may otherwise struggle to meet their economic needs, to bolster their gain through yearly consistency. Pulling resources together, these families produce more berries in a single harvest than if they were to attempt each year to harvest alone. Each family is given an equal share and say within the proceedings of the cooperative—in essence, each associate has the responsibility of reciprocity. Creating a project based on a system of exchange places relationality at the core of the cooperative's functioning.

Through employing *trueque* as a strategy of resurgence, Felipe hopes to not only engage in economic production but also, incite a careful consideration of the value found in collective responsibility. The atmosphere amongst cooperative associates resembles more traditional Mapuche forms of engagement through emphasizing exchange relations based on the value of each individual's *knowledge* and *capacity* rather than on the volume of production. It is the embodiment of Mapuche values in action that addresses the gap in knowledge, realigning and accommodating cultural loss through the intentional praxis of exchange, *trueque*. Mauricio emphasizes that the focus of the cooperative, while engaged in economic transactions, is about reinforcing Mapuche heritage and custom as a legitimate and productive way of life. It is about communal engagement and the creation of a deeper connection to each other. Among cooperative associates, this occurs through reversing the terms on which the economic system is

[151] Leftraru, Interview August 23, 2018, Participant A, Mauricio

based. Instead of grounding interactions only on monetary exchange, associates accept reciprocity in the form of other goods, whether of a material nature or knowledge-based kind, reviving dormant forms of engagement based on Indigenous values. Mauricio suggests that this process of engagement allows for a better sense of communal well-being leading to a greater sense of personal satisfaction and happiness. Similarly, Felipe reiterates this by pointing to the fact that the goal is not economic accumulation but something more intrinsic. Focusing on money only serves to create division—a focus on values serves to create cohesion and internal harmony[152].

"The underlying issue, although connected to land, the underlying problem of the Mapuche people is not money. The underlying issue is never going to be solved by money. The main issue, our concern, and what we can leave as a legacy, is our culture."[153] Worry over cultural survival, the continuation of practices, language and worldview, establishes the foundation upon which the cooperative operates in the forms it does. *"...the underlying problem of the Mapuche people, is not money…"*. Quite often solutions brought forth by the state reduce Mapuche claims to an economic angst. And yet, the impact of poverty as a result of social marginalization and ongoing modes of structural violence is not the predominating concern, according to Mauricio and Felipe. Instead what is at the core of Mapuche motivation and agency is the desire to recover identity, values and tradition—objects that are inherently affective and relational in nature—to transcend the erasure of Indigenous identity. This is achieved through an intentional engagement with reciprocal relations that implicate a renewal of relationships.

Resilience occurs through emphasizing *"mentality"*—changing the ways in which people think about Indigenous identity and forms of interaction. The practice of incorporating *trueque*,

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[152] Leftraru, Interview August 23, 2018, Participant B, Felipe
[153] ibid

reciprocity, as a legitimate form of production and development within the cooperative engages a kind of agency that motivates associates towards recovery of cultural roots. Mauricio prescribes changing people's mentality through exchange as one of the most effective ways of creating sustainable and long-lasting change among cooperative associates, "…we can give their children a different way of thinking…where they can develop themselves in the areas they want, defending their land, their environment, their culture…"[154] The aim, beyond economic growth, is intellectual, spiritual and personal development through the revitalization of Mapuche values and forms of engaging with the world. *"In first place, is something more important…"* and that is ensuring that the work that is done by the cooperative, that the knowledge that is being produced in community, is changing the ways people think about their identity as Mapuche and their relationship towards others.[155] It is about transcending loss and discrimination to redefine Indigenous lifeways to establish healthier communities with a prospect of futurity.

While the approach to revitalization and knowledge production that members of the cooperative adopt in the form of exchange relations occurs at a localized level, within a specific context, the vision that is offered is one of collective endurance, an approach to resurgence that offers an understanding of social responsibility and collective commitment to both present and future generations. "…in first place is something more important. It is to be able to generate the development of the mind for people in the future".

The Politics of Responsibility

In the face of perceived loss in Mapuche identification, the cooperative leaders engage reciprocal relationships as a way of restoring Indigenous values within a specific localized

[154] Leftraru, Interview August 23, 2018, Participant B, Felipe
[155] ibid

context. Politically, this means that the work done by cooperative members allows for a kind of resilience, in which members adapt to the structures already in place under the Chilean state, while reasserting Mapuche forms of being which hinge on the responsibility of the individual towards the collective. The cooperative as a political space serves to create opportunities of recovery. It adapts the benefits of the dominant culture without disregarding the value of embodying indigenous forms of practice and interaction based on a relational framework.

> We often have no other option in life. We have to adapt to these days but without losing what we were. And with that make our people a little more dignified…dignify the Mapuche people and in general the campesino who is already badly off…we want to make him worthy, we want to make him feel proud to be a campesino. Because it is a pride to be a campesino but all this western influence, influence on the part of the Chilean state, has made the campesino[156] to feel inferior.[157]

Just as Mapuche recognize the personhood of another through reciprocity and address physical death through reciprocal relations, so the cooperative addresses cultural erasure through exchange as a way of restoring the responsibility of knowledge production upon cooperative members.[158] *Trueque*, reciprocity, is the way in which responsibility is transmitted throughout the cooperative. "We have to adapt to these days but without losing what we were. And with that make our people a little more dignified…".[159] Adapting to the time without losing intrinsic values and forms of engagement—the philosophy resonates with notions of creative emergence and determined resilience. The acceptance that adaptation is part of the process through which Mapuche will gain greater freedom and self-expression is not viewed as a limitation but rather,

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[156] Campesino refers to a farmer in rural Chile. This individual may or may not be Mapuche. It is a word that refers more to occupation rather than ethnic or racial identification.
[157] Leftraru, Interview August 23, 2018, Participant B, Felipe
[158] Course, Magnus. (2011) Becoming Mapuche: Person and Ritual in Indigenous Chile. Urbana. University of Illinois Press.
[159] Leftraru, Interview August 23, 2018, Participant B, Felipe

reveals a grounded sense among interlocutors of the need to establish responsibility rather than victimization as a way of addressing the impacts of protracted injustices.

In the endeavor to build a model of engagement that sustains the economic growth of the associates involved in the cooperative, as well as the socio-cultural values of the project's members, it is made explicit that everyone's voice counts, and everyone is held to a position of responsibility and future leadership. The result of such a political form of organization is a much more effective approach to economic development and social wellbeing within the community of those involved in the cooperative. Mauricio and Felipe explain how this works in the statutes of the cooperative. Within the cooperative, an associate's economic volume does not matter. Every person has the exact same value in their voting process, in decisions, and leadership appointment. In this way, the cooperative adopts a politics of responsibility in which every member is compelled to engage their individual agency towards collective development. It motivates a rhythm of resilience among cooperative members—an ongoing commitment to change and transformation.

> You have access, you can be president, you can be director, because in fact, the cooperative's bylaws are arranged that way. Our statutes are worked in that way. That by obligation all must be managers at some point. In fact, we recently created the figure of the apprentice, where the directive always has to have an apprentice. And that apprentice in the future has to participate and there is no one who escapes this, it is an obligation. Because the way to generate the development that we want will occur on an intellectual level, to generate new leaders, so that everyone feels the ability to lead. That's why we put it as an obligation in our statutes…[160]

The cooperative operates institutionally and politically through its adherence to specific rules of engagement and responsibilities placed on each individual member. Its statutes operate to provide a formalized mode of Mapuche governance in the context of a particular space. The

[160] ibid

leadership within the cooperative is encouraged to build from below. It functions politically in providing a space through which members are able to participate within the decision-making process of the cooperative. They have *"access"*, the ability to become president or director. In fact, the cooperative creates a system through which everyone adheres to its bylaws, meaning that each member, has as an obligation, the responsibility to hold a position of authority, to engage within the leadership. In arranging the leadership of the cooperative in this way, Mauricio and Felipe suggest that they are able to invest in the intellectual development of their members and through such investment create opportunities for further growth and innovation. The actual practice of engaging in exchange relations, adhering to the rules of the cooperative as an economic endeavor as well as a social and political project, drives Mapuche resilience.

The value of the way the cooperative functions is that its members are offered a space in which to collaborate and revitalize their relationships to cultural roots and identity. This in large part emphasizes the importance of intergenerational connection and knowledge transmission—there is a future-oriented focus to much of what the cooperative strives towards. The role of the apprentice within the cooperative could be understood as a response to the impact of concealment and assimilation adopted by the generation living under the Pinochet regime in relation to their children, who are now the leaders of the cooperative. In this case, the apprentice is invited to learn leadership skills that incorporate both the values of Mapuche epistemology and the value of a business structure common to the Chilean economic system. Ensuring that elders play an active role in the goals, values and practices of the cooperative, coming alongside the leadership of the project, accounts for and addresses the lack of traditional instruction experienced by the generation of leaders within the cooperative, people such as Felipe and Mauricio.

The intentional investment in relational reciprocity as a means of fostering the sustainable growth of the cooperative is a feature of counter-resistance against forms of reparation and development often advanced in the region by state-led programs such as CONADI, which spend a considerable amount of attention on the return of land titles to Mapuche communities.[161] It reveals the agency existing among Mapuche communities and individuals in the fact that these actors utilize the tools provided by state programs or other such mechanisms of institutional power, while also incorporating knowledge and practice based on a distinctively Mapuche conceptualization of relationship and responsibility, effectively creating something new. "…the same warrior force that we have within us, we have to maintain but…dedicate ourselves to other things. There was a time when it was fighting, but today there are other tools at our disposal with which we can go to war with the present system…that is using strategies as was done before, but that are appropriate to this time."[162]

One could delineate the goals of the cooperative as a political entity under three primary strategies. The first is the intentional investing in the long-term, sustainable development of the cooperative and its members through a system of responsibility—promoting equal access to leadership. The second form of engagement emphasizes intergenerational relationships to transmit knowledge—this is predominantly reflective of the role of the apprentice and the elders. The third form of engagement focuses on an adaptation to the times while recovering traditional values based on Mapuche conceptualizations of community relationships—this occurs through the implementation of reciprocity and exchange.

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[161] Coorporacion Nacional de Desarollo Indigena (translation: National Corporation of Indigenous Development). CONADI is in a Chilean institution founded in 1993 by indigenous law 19253. Its intent was to coordinate and promote the state's work towards the support of indigenous development in Chile. Most often, CONADI is known for its work in land restitution, particularly in cases of estate take-overs by Mapuche claimants.

[162] Leftraru, Interview August 23, 2018, Participant B, Felipe

Exchange relations become the mechanism through which Mapuche communities and individuals address the loss suffered by their people through years of colonial rule and assimilationist policies and even in the wake of multiculturalist approaches that promise a celebration of culture whilst offering little room for Mapuche approaches to reproducing their own identity and their own forms of sociality. In the context of the cooperative, reciprocity is used as a tool of cultural reproduction and regeneration. Intentionally engaging in *trueque*, an essentially primordial Mapuche practice embodying values of community and personhood, cooperative members are able to rehabilitate knowledge that has remained absent or lost from social relations, realigning the responsibility of cultural resilience upon members within the cooperative. In this way, the associates engage in a recovery of cultural forms of interactions that are then transferred to their children. That is why the figure of the apprentice becomes crucial to the long-term goals of the cooperative. It is the responsibility of the community to respond to loss through engaging in reciprocity as a way of ensuring that the currents of cultural praxis which constitute the rhythms of resilience continue to circulate.

Conclusion

Felipe and Mauricio's work envisions a future in which Mapuche values and forms of interaction are accepted and utilized—not necessarily by state programs but by Mapuche communities themselves. It reframes the focus of success from one predominantly catered towards economic development (a thus far Chilean formulation of indigenous needs and concerns, predicated on Mapuche connections to land as a part of their indigeneity) towards one that acknowledges the deeper emotional, spiritual and intellectual values critical to healing and

restoring personal and communal relationships as a way of redressing all the forms in which loss has impacted Mapuche people.

This chapter demonstrates how resilience is emulated within localized contexts among Mapuche communities—specifically utilizing the operation of the cooperative as an example of Mapuche values in practice. It reveals how strategies of resurgence implemented by the process of reciprocity, *trueque*, serve to address the emotional impacts of cultural loss and erasure experienced by Mapuche individuals, inciting a response of resilience through commitment to communal relations. *Trueque* as a legitimate form of engagement reveals how agency, on both an individual level and a collective level, enables the creation of innovative approaches to development based on notions of social responsibility and a return to cultural roots. This chapter analyzed how an emphasis on economic growth through monetary gain is but a partial fix—addressing only superficial concerns. Economic growth is not enough—emphasis on money risks creating division and dependence on state aid, while reciprocity engenders communal commitment to emotional, spiritual and intellectual development, and reaffirms Indigenous forms of coexistence. Resilience occurs through emphasizing the transformation of mentality—the way people think of the value of Indigenous forms of being in the world. Finally, recognizing the importance of intergenerational connections as a response to the rupture of Indigenous knowledge transfer occurring during the Pinochet years, motivates a revision of contemporary approaches to development, creating opportunities for future generations to engage Mapuche values with confidence in order to create good relationships—engaging the world not through binary categories but through relational commitments to social responsibility and individual agency.

Chapter Four: *Trueque* as a Transnational Exchange

It seems research culminates in a return to the path of its inception. For me, this meant returning to the *Comunidad de Historia Mapuche* as a site imbued with reciprocal relations and engaging in an analysis of its work. This thesis began as research often it does, with a preliminary scan of the depositories of knowledge and information already available. That is when I found the *Comunidad de Historia Mapuche*, a site that hosts a trans-national conversation, engaging Indigenous peoples throughout Latin America and inviting diverse voices, histories and knowledges to the table. This site hosted me—bringing me into the conversation surrounding Indigenous resurgence, Mapuche counter-narratives and intellectual discourse. The *Comunidad de Historia Mapuche* as a site of contact and connection allowed for my own pursuit of the subject of this thesis, understanding the varied forms of Mapuche resurgence and knowledge production and the importance of *trueque* as a mechanism of resilience.

So far, this thesis has explored *trueque* as a multivalent, salient strategy for awakening a sense of Mapuche belonging in the wake of cultural diffusion wrought from Chilean state conceptualizations of progress. Through an interpretive ethnographic approach with a micro-focus on small scale social mechanisms deployed by the Mapuche to enhance collective cultural identity, I have demonstrated how practices of *trueque*, reciprocity, constitute as much an element in the enactment of resurgence as a response to cultural loss. In this chapter, I step back to examine how this practice also provides a means for Mapuches to reify cultural identity on the global stage. Turning from an analysis of local praxis among cooperative members within the *Cooperativa Amuntun Leftraru* and how this reciprocity ensures cultural resurgence, this chapter

addresses similar kinds of work that takes place at the trans-national level through an analysis of *Comunidad de Historia Mapuche*, a diasporic online community. *Trueque* in relationship to the *Comunidad's* work as a form of intellectual sovereignty, operates in the construction of a trans-national imagined community, hosting a conversation based on values of reciprocity and communal engagement.

The *Comunidad's* goal is the dissemination of knowledge predicated on Mapuche values, with the intent to reverse dominant narratives to provide the exchange of information based on Indigenous histories, lifeways and experiences. It was created as an online forum in 2010 as a response to ongoing social tensions between state representatives, development programs, multinational corporations and Mapuche communities battling over land rights in the southern regions of the country.[163] The *Comunidad de Historia Mapuche* consists primarily of a team of twenty-five Mapuche professionals, all having obtained or are working towards obtaining, Ph.D.'s in diverse areas of scholarship ranging from history, public health, geography, philosophy and anthropology.[164] Many teach in the Universidad de la Frontera in Temuco, others work as activists for self-determination, writing and researching as well as collaborating with Mapuche communities towards revitalizing forms of engagement and knowledge production.[165] They define themselves as a "heterogeneous collective of Mapuche people from different histories and territorial spaces, gathered around community and horizontal work."[166] This horizontal work is meant to instigate collaboration—the ability to create dialogue and reignite a critical consideration of the conditions that undergird Indigenous representation in Chile.

[163] Comunidad de Historia Mapuche, (2019) https://www.comunidadhistoriamapuche.cl/
[164] Comunidad de Historia Mapuche, (2019) https://www.comunidadhistoriamapuche.cl/miembros/
[165] ibid
[166] ibid

While the cooperative exhibits a response to cultural loss through engaging in *trueque* as a method of renewing social responsibility towards revitalization, this occurs at a localized level. The analysis suggests a specific context in which Mapuche individuals engage in strategies of resurgence. While the data presented in my analysis of the cooperative demonstrates how Mapuche actors respond to loss in ways that are reflective of local processes of empowerment and resilience, *trueque* as a strategy of cultural resurgence can operate in other spaces. I return to my discussion of the definitions of *trueque* as the embodiment of Mapuche values—emphasizing a horizontal exchange, a reciprocal transaction of mutual sentiment. This chapter will operationalize *trueque*, exchange, in relationship to intellectual sovereignty as a form of Indigenous resilience that translates across borders. The *Comunidad de Historia Mapuche* is a useful example of how *trueque*, exchange, is operating on a trans-national level as a site of connection and resistance among Native communities.

A Hosting of Indigenous Connections and Exchange

Trueque emphasizes a horizontal relationship in which everyone has something to offer. The *Comunidad* adopts this approach through an invitation of participation. While it is true that the nature of all websites in some measure operate upon a logic of exchange, what is unique about the *Comunidad de Historia Mapuche* as an online group is the method in which *trueque* is utilized to advance greater conversation surrounding Indigenous experiences and ways of being. *Comunidad de Historia Mapuche*, in a similar fashion to the cooperative, utilizes exchange as a form of intellectual reciprocity towards revitalization and counter-resistance—creating a mechanism for challenging essentialist notions of Mapuche culture and history and Indigenous identities more generally. The *Comunidad's* purpose is the dissemination of Indigenous

frameworks that allow for a space in which political work can take form. The *Comunidad de Historia Mapuche* engages in what I term an intangible form of *trueque*—offering an exchange of ideas and knowledge production with the vision of stirring social and intellectual transformation at a global level.

The *Comunidad* responds to the affective, material and political losses that Mapuche have suffered through what they term "political-intellectual" events.[167] "…situating in our horizons the will to position our thinking and doing, from a sense of self-determination and sovereignty in the territories of knowledge, discourse and historical representation."[168] It is a reclaiming of these "territories", an attempt to rewrite the mainstream histories imposed by colonial structures to include the realities experienced by Indigenous groups throughout Latin America with a special emphasis on the Mapuche. The goal of the *Comunidad* is to respond to and resist colonial mentalities through engaging an intellectual form of sovereignty, showcasing a distinctive form of Indigenous resilience. This is done through the operationalization of *trueque* on the website.

[167] Comunidad de Historia Mapuche (2019) https://www.comunidadhistoriamapuche.cl/quienes-somos/
[168] ibid

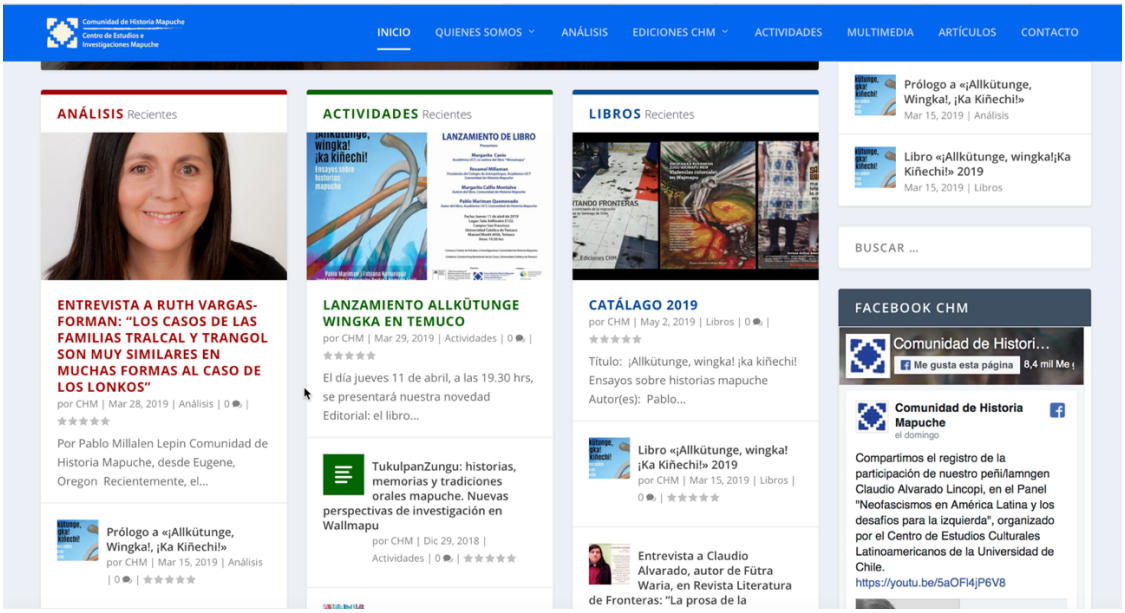

Figure 1.2. Comunidad de Historia Mapuche initial webpage

Comunidad de Historia Mapuche creates a meaningful alternative discourse by showcasing an emphasis on the visual graphics it presents to its audience in the first visit to their webpage. The elements chosen as visual aid enhance the audience's experience and understanding of the deeper ramifications of political erasure that have taken place and continue to shape Mapuche life. The elements of incorporation include usage of native language as a tool of communication and analysis. Many of the articles posted utilize Mapudungun as the written form of expression and then translate the article into Spanish. This is done intentionally; the authors provide Mapudungun as a relevant interlocutory tool within the realm of intellectual discourse, challenging Spanish dominance. The representation and usage of Mapudungun on the webpage of *Comunidad de Historia Mapuche* is the first step towards reimagining and exploring the realities of Indigenous positionality within society. Instead of a dying language with no relevance to modern Mapuche experience, it is brought forth as a legitimate form of communication and knowledge production.

Posting analyses is a main method of response to material, affective and political loss. The *Comunidad* adopts an approach predicated on intellectual challenge. The online website operates as a contact space in which the voices and perspectives of Mapuche and other Native peoples can be projected to higher volumes. It is a sphere in which the potential for resurgence invites solidarity and efforts towards greater dialogue and debate. As a scholastic community, the *Comunidad* strives for the creation of critical thought—the questioning of dominant forms of thinking about history, politics and representation within not only Chile, but all Latin America. The work of the Comunidad takes us from the local concerns of Mapuche communities towards a trans-national forum of dialogue and debate.

> Our organization has established the field of education as the central axis of its political-social work, working within several parameters. In the first place, addressing the discussion for their own [Mapuche] education and for the implementation of Intercultural Bilingual Education in Chile. Secondly, by working on training activities and transferring knowledge and wisdom through instances of discussion, debate and analysis such as congresses, seminars, forums, *nütram*, *trawün*. Third, articulating with different [Indigenous] communities and organizations that today fight in this area.[169]

The *Comunidad's* response to crisis relies on an approach that emphasizes *Nutram Trawun*, Mapudugun for Mapuche conversation and narratives, which inspires a creative resistance. Much like the way that the cooperative and other communities adopt *trueque*, exchange, as a way to re-engage cultural roots and communal commitments to Mapuche values, the *Comunidad* engages in exchange to create collective action. This takes us back to Liam's discussion of how conversation is understood among Mapuche as pathways towards wisdom. The goal of the *Comunidad* is changing the mentality and the way people think about Indigenous identity and histories—branching beyond the conceptualization of Indigenous peoples as figures

[169] Comunidad de Historia Mapuche (2019) Áreas de Trabajo. Comision de Educacion https://www.comunidadhistoriamapuche.cl/areas-de-trabajo/

of the past or victims of the present, towards creating an image of Native peoples as active agents within their own communities as well as society more generally.

The *Comunidad* operates as a host—a site of connection and even contention. It is a space in which individuals are invited to participate and to learn—to share in knowledge and wisdom. To take part in the conversation. *Trueque* is employed throughout the website in which the audience is also the participant in a reciprocal relationship. It forms a site of connection in which individuals are made to view the colonial situation through a lens of Indigenous values. In this way, the *Comunidad* is the host through which Indigenous sovereignty is enacted—resilience showcased in the mobilization and successful implementation of Indigenous forms of knowledge transfers through horizontal relationships. It is both situated in the current realities and struggles facing Indigenous peoples and their responses to this—as well as a return to examine the resilience of Native peoples throughout history. While the *Comunidad* is a group of Indigenous scholars and activists working towards furthering Mapuche forms of recovery of Indigenous knowledge and histories—it is also a site from which Indigenous actors are able to exercise sovereignty to directly challenge colonial mentalities. The *Comunidad's* role as a host employs *trueque*, reciprocity, through a focus on education—transforming mentality and the ways people think about Indigenous identities within society.

Trueque is the invitation to interact with the knowledge available on the website, incurring a responsibility to reciprocate a response. In this sense, the conversation requires an exchange of ideas, but it also motivates action. It is like a menu of opportunities in which one need only chose which dish is best suited into order to engage with the site. In this sense, the Comunidad uses *trueque* as a way of reframing social responsibility.

Trueque as a Trans-national Tool

The *Comunidad* acts politically through its organization of diverse symposiums in order to teach and share stories, experiences and transmit knowledge. This is done through forums and gatherings that are characterized as initiatives created in condemnation of colonial violence and the criminalization of Mapuche people and the militarization of Wallmapu.[170] Some events, such as a series named *Allkutun*, which is Mapudugun for listening or hearing—observing both balance and imbalance—[171] were created as a way to establish networks of conversations to achieve understanding. The currents through which resilience is showcased is in the exchange that occurs between actors. The focus surrounds topics of self-determination, the impacts of colonialism and the forms through which Mapuche are made to rethink themselves and their communities within a broader social and political context. These events are calls for individuals to reclaim Indigenous agency. *Trueque* is again the key through which loss is addressed—through which resilience emanates within different spaces.

The *Comunidad* organizes in various forms. The website offers listing of events and activities that are sponsored by the *Comunidad* in order to foster a larger, social commitment towards individual responsibility and collective commitment. These events typically take place on different college campuses across Chile, most predominantly within Temuco at the Universidad de la Frontera, where many of the *Comunidad'*s members form part of the faculty. The *Comunidad* hosts and organizes talks, rallies, and academic forums. They range from talks concerning "…*self-determination, education and linguistic revitalization*…", "*public policies*

[170] Comunidad de Historia Mapuche (2018). Actividades: Allkutun #7 Mapuche domo y vidas-territorios en sacrificio. https://www.comunidadhistoriamapuche.cl/allkutun-07-mapuche-domo-y-vidas-territorio-en-sacrificio/
[171] ibid

and dilemmas of pluralism in Chile", "*resistance and the circumstance of the Mapuche nation*" to name a few headings of events that have taken place.[172]

The ways in which this takes place is through the gathering of Mapuche and non-Mapuche in a setting that allows for the discussion and exchange of ideas—a form of *trueque* manifested at the intellectual level. Conversations and stories connect people to experience—they "form bridges that other people might cross to feel their way into another experience".[173] The *Comunidad* operates as a vehicle through which transnational conversations take place between Indigenous actors. It is a form of Indigenous resurgence that engages peoples across borders—forming a diasporic community of resistance. This showcases the forms through which sovereignty and resilience is enacted. Activities have included the invitation of other well-known Indigenous activists from Latin America, such as the Uruguayan journalist, Raul Zibechi and Boaventura de Sousa Santos, to engage in conferences and forums of solidarity in Temuco.[174] These activities perform of a kind of sovereignty, showcasing the ways in which *trueque* supports this endeavor, activating rhythms of resilience within local communities as well as across national borders. *Trueque* is utilized by this group as a way to ensure Indigenous connectivity throughout the region—it invites a response and a reaction. It instigates reciprocal relations. Just as in the cooperative *trueque* was utilized in order to establish an awakening to a personal responsibility and a collective commitment—in the same way, *trueque* operates within the *Comunidad* through an exchange of knowledge and a call to action.

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[172] Comunidad de Historia Mapuche (2018) Activities https://www.comunidadhistoriamapuche.cl/category/actividades/. Translation provided by author.
[173] Million, Dian (2013) "Felt Theory." In Therapeutic Nations: Healing in an Age of Indigenous Human Rights 67-77. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
[174] ibid

Figure 1.3. Comunidad de Historia Mapuche Activities and Events Page

Social mobilization is a key component to the activities organized among members of the *Comunidad*. The website itself offers a space for the organization of protests and marches on behalf of Mapuche rights—members of the *Comunidad* then post the results of these marches on activities webpage. It is a form of resistance and a recognition of the resilience that emanates from the instigation of conversation and dialogue—to propel collective action. In this way the *Comunidad de Historia Mapuche* motivates a response to political responsibility at a collective level. The *Comunidad* through engaging in these conversations and discussions allows for the room for connectivity to take place and for resurgence measures through social mobilization to emerge.

Resilience is showcased through the forms in which the *Comunidad* strategically approaches loss and the crisis that appear around it. At a trans-national level, *Comunidad de Historia Mapuche* exemplifies how *trueque*, intellectual reciprocity connected to knowledge production and forms of truth-telling can work as a response to political structures. Because the *Comunidad* is a site that invites figures from all over the world who stand by Indigenous peoples and their rights, to join the conversation, it mirrors the logic of the cooperative in that everyone

has something to offer in recreating right relationships. This is the fundamental value of *trueque* in action in that it recognizes the humanity of the other through a process of exchange.[175]

Towards a Transformational Indigenous Agency

Loss appears indicative of Indigenous experience—how it operates as a place from which resurgence emanates can be examined on multiple levels. Throughout this thesis I have offered an analysis of loss as a place from which Indigenous resistance and knowledge production takes root and comes to fruition, showcasing the rhythms and patterns through which Mapuche resilience functions. By examining the actions of the *Comunidad*, I engage Indigenous loss through a lens of reciprocity and exchange, in this case, knowledge transfer through a site of connection, as the response through which this group seeks to create change. Like the cooperative, the *Comunidad* employs a re-centering of Indigenous narratives—they point towards the impact of dispossession yet go beyond the economic and material ramifications towards a focus on personal agency and collective responsibility.

The *Comunidad de Historia Mapuche* addresses the crisis of economic development and resource extraction through referring back to Mapuche resilience and histories of resistance. In this sense, the story continues to be told, the conversation carries on, and the demands for self-governance persist. The *Comunidad* operates as a space of resistance, a political platform from which conversations concerning rights and representation emerge from these circumstances of loss. The *Comunidad de Historia Mapuche* addresses loss as an avenue for the discussion of

[175] Course, Magnus. (2011) Becoming Mapuche: Person and Ritual in Indigenous Chile. Urbana. University of Illinois Press.

Indigenous representation, demands for self-determination and the freedom of cultural expression and dignity.[176]

One way in which Indigenous agency and sovereignty is expressed is through the demands that the *Comunidad* presents to the Chilean government in response to current political clashes. Shortly after President Bachelet's formal apology to the Mapuche people for historical abuses and ongoing disparities,[177] the Chilean police operating a covert investigation known as Operacion Huracan, arrested eight Mapuche individuals, many of them known for their connections to a Mapuche autonomist group known as Coordinadora Arauco Malleco or CAM. The case concerned several arson attacks on logging transportation vehicles.[178] The case quickly became one of the most controversial in recent legal history due to police corruption in implanting evidence. The scandal was followed by the more recent death of a young Mapuche campesino Camilo Catrillanca at the hands of newly appointed special police task force, shortly after the President Pinera announced his plan for the fostering of peace in the region.[179] Both incidents created an environment rife with emotional responses against systemic injustice,

[176] Comunidad de Historia Mapuche (2019) Comision de Analisis Politico y Articulacion Social
[177] El Mostrador (2017). Bachelet a lo Aylwin: pide perdon por los "errores y horrres" al annunciar Plan de la Araucania. 24 Horas Central (2017) Presidenta Bachelet pide perdon al pueblo mapuche y anuncia nueve medidas para la Araucania.
[178] Pinera, Sebastian (2018). Sintesis agenda pueblos originarios y plan Araucania 2.0. Presidente Pinera: unete a los tiempos mejores.
[179]Gobierno de Chile (2018) Presidente Pinera Annuncia el Acuerdo Nacional por el Desarollo y la Paz en la Araucania. Septiembre 24, 2018. Prensa Presidencial. Figueroa, Juan Pablo (2018). Las Otras Huellas del Comando Jungla. La Tercera. Matus, Javiera (2018) Informe de DD.HH. Comando Jungla "profundiza diferencias" en trato a indígenas y al resto de la comunidad. La Tercera. https://www.latercera.com/la-tercera-pm/noticia/informe-dd-hh-comando-jungla-profundiza-diferencias-trato-indigenas-al-resto-la-comunidad/407969/

resulting in massive social upheaval and political misgiving.[180] The death of Catrillanca propelled large scale demonstrations throughout the nation.[181]

In response to the death of Camilo Catrillanca, the *Comunidad* published a declaration on behalf of Catrillanca's community, Temu Kuy-Kuy. The *Comunidad* called for the demilitarization of Wallmapu, (the ancestral territory of the Mapuche in both Chile and Argentina), a call for higher standards of truth and accountability, and a demand for the right to autonomy and self-governance of Indigenous peoples in the southern cone states.[182] The *Comunidad* seized the chance to discuss Indigenous loss in light of a catastrophic event that shook the country—a loss that created deeply affective responses, even violent encounters across Chile as protests emerged in Santiago, Temuco, Concepcion and other urban sectors.[183] The *Comunidad* utilized the opportunity to address the systemic abuses that have impacted Indigenous peoples throughout history and recalling Indigenous resilience to these events.

The *Comunidad* motivates not only Indigenous connection but Indigenous agency. It is not a passive instrument but a tool through which Indigenous agency is enacted. It is meant to be transformational and decolonial in its response to the violence and injustice that exists towards Indigenous peoples around the world. In this sense, the *Comunidad* operates much like a megaphone. The ways in which the *Comunidad* operates as a space of exchange and engagement allows for Mapuche agency and collective action to take place—it is a space of organization and

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[180] Chechilnitzsky, A.; Navarrete, M.; Perez, O. (2018) Violentas protestas comienzan en el sur y llegan a Santiago. La Tercera. 15 de Noviembre, 2018. https://www.latercera.com/nacional/noticia/realizan-manifestacion-plaza-italia-muerte-comunero-mapuche-la-araucania/403753/. Soto, Alejandra (2018). Manifestaciones por muerte de comunero dejan destrozos, detenidos y caos vehicular en Concepción. Radio Biobío. Bonnefoy, Pascale (2018) Killing of Indigenous Man in Chile Spurs Criticism of Security Forces. New York Times.

[181] ibid

[182] Comunidad de Historia Mapuche, Declaracion Temu KuyKuy. (2018) https://www.comunidadhistoriamapuche.cl/declaracion-temu-kuykuy-01-de-diciembre-de-2018/

[183] Chechilnitzsky, A.; Navarrete, M.; Perez, O. (2018) Violentas protestas comienzan en el sur y llegan a Santiago. La Tercera. 15 de Noviembre, 2018. https://www.latercera.com/nacional/noticia/realizan-manifestacion-plaza-italia-muerte-comunero-mapuche-la-araucania/403753/.

representation—not only of Mapuche claims but broader Indigenous demands across the world. It is an example of Wallmapu (the Mapuche territory expanding through Chile and Argentina) at work in the world to reshape knowledge production and cultural regeneration. The *Comunidad's* use of *trueque* offers a vision of transformational engagement in its approach to the situation of Mapuche in Chile and Indigenous peoples throughout the world.

> We consider that the task of thinking or rakizuamün is a permanent and daily, mental, bodily and affective task, exercised in our broader family, community, organizational spaces, by men, women and people in general that do not necessarily belong to the profile of scholars. For that reason, our thoughts do not work around a messianic logic, nor is it our interest to mark the path our people should take or to point out guidelines to follow. The exercise of reflecting and thinking is intertwined with the collective construction of our future, of which we are part and not vanguard.[184]

In the same way in which members of the cooperative focus on transforming individual mentality concerning the role of Mapuche knowledge and ways of being, the *Comunidad* seeks to work towards a similar end—envisioning a future in which Indigenous Mapuche are able to define themselves based on their own conceptualization and values. The importance of return to an Indigenous pedagogy is predicated on the hope for a future in which Indigenous voice and identities are allowed the space to recreate themselves how they will. The goal of the *Comunidad*, is to push the boundaries that risk Native essentialism, to allow for the creation and implementation of spaces where resurgence can effectively take root and develop into fruitful social transformation. It is collective effort towards the construction of an Indigenous future based on Mapuche hopes and desires.

[184] Comunidad de Historia Mapuche (2018) Quienes Somos. https://www.comunidadhistoriamapuche.cl/quienes-somos/

Conclusion

The value of *Comunidad de Historia Mapuche* is it in its ability to produce an exchange of knowledge based on the localized experience of Mapuche communities. The *Comunidad* respond to the affective, material and political losses incurred through structural violence through a return to notions of collective and individual responsibility. The *Comunidad* responds to territorial dispossession through re-centering the conversation based on the long-standing demands of Mapuche communities—self-determination. They refocus the conversation, intentionally unsettling the present state of institutional practice. The *Comunidad de Historia Mapuche* respond to the loss of life characteristic of many Mapuche communities in their engagement with police forces, through addressing the larger structural and systemic issues at fault. Their response to Indigenous loss is of a political and philosophical nature, responding to loss through demanding reciprocal engagement from governing bodies and academic institutions—the emphasis is on horizontal relationships, interactions based on *trueque*. Only through the operationalization of horizontal transactions can the affective, material and political loss experienced by Indigenous populations be addressed in meaningful and effective ways.

The focus on *nutram kawun*, the exchange of ideas and the transfer of Indigenous knowledge and experiences enacts a form of cultural revitalization that serves to engage a national and international audience. This approach motivates collective action and collaboration across borders. It is a form of decolonization that allows for different kinds of relationships to take shape. It showcases the distinctive forms through which resurgence operates. The *Comunidad* engages in resurgence through the creation of a space for Indigenous agency and voices to be heard, showcasing the forms through which Mapuche resilience take shape. *Trueque* allows for individuals and collective bodies—whether communities in localized contexts or

trans-national imagined entities—to engage within a conversation in which the emphasis on horizontal relationships allows for a restructuring and re-ordering. It opens the space for the consideration of other lived realities that have long been suppressed or ignored. It also reorients individuals and communities towards a response predicated on social responsibility and collective action—it reverses the terms of engagement and recreates relationships based on mutuality. The *Comunidad de Historia Mapuche* hosted me on their site, providing me with knowledge concerning Mapuche histories, perspectives and daily, lived experiences. My interaction with this particular online community was one that I can now recognized to have been imbued with the spirit of reciprocity. In this sense, my relationship to the site is one in which I seek to honor what I have learned about Mapuche and other Indigenous methods of resilience.

Chapter Five: Epilogue

This last chapter turns our attention to a Mapuche strategy for the intergenerational transfer of Indigenous knowledge, which has been noted as a critical response to and a sustainable outcome of collective loss suffered under colonial imposition and cultural erasure.[185] Mapuche knowledge production and resurgence is not only concerned with changing the material reality of Mapuche communities and engaging in counter-narratives to mainstream thought but changing the way Mapuche think about themselves and their ability to rehabilitate their cultural identity. As we shall see, the strategy reflects the potency of adopting cultural forms of responding to loss as a way of reproducing and reimagining Indigenous identity. The ability to engage in an intergenerational exchange of ideas and knowledge allows for Mapuche resilience to carry a forward impulse because ultimately, it is people, the collective, who are the channels of change.

"Wisdom Comes from Everyone"

> So, I've realized that one does not necessarily have to know everything to do things because there are other people who have much more experience. Much more knowledge and one can approach these people and ask for help. So, things are built amongst everyone, there is no genius that solves all problems, right? And that is very clear to us.[186]

"Things are built amongst everyone, there is no genius that solves all problems…", communal wellbeing and knowledge production occurs through the acknowledgement that everyone has something to offer the collective body. It is in essence a knowledge community—a

[185] McCarty, Teressa; Romero, Eunice; Zepeda Ofelia. (2006). Reclaiming the Gift: Indigenous Youth Counter-narratives on Native Language Loss and Revitalization. American Indian Quarterly.
[186] Leftraru, Interview August 22, 2018, Participant A, Mauricio

space in which cultural regeneration and Mapuche knowledge production takes place in palpable ways. It is an approach that invites the incorporation of everyone's shared knowledge.

The affective experience of loss whether of language, community ties or knowledge of cultural practice, produces more than a simple catalyst motivating resurgence actions—it impacts future concerns for the continuation of cultural practices. Within Mapuche communities, loss creates an action-oriented response to learning and regaining cultural knowledge and literacy that can then be passed onto future generations. Having lost the privilege of engaging within their own cultural heritage during their youth, many of my participants now strive to ensure their children are given full opportunities to explore their cultural identity with pride and dignity. It is the ability to cultivate anew a connection to lost roots. In many ways, the work that is being done by Mapuche symbolizes a replanting—regenerating of roots. How this intergenerational cultivation of knowledge and wisdom is carried out by communities and individuals matters—it determines the good sowing.

> …in cultivating the earth, one grows cereals, grains. If you cultivate the earth well, there is good sowing. If you do not, there is little provision. Like a plant, the same is true for people. If a child is not correctly instructed, or straightened out at a young age, that child will grow to become crooked.[187]

> …we know this from the earth…[188]

Lonko Jacob speaks about the importance of Indigenous knowledge transfer as a form of not only Indigenous survival but a duty, not only to one's kin but also to the earth. Because much of the knowledge that Mapuche cherish is related to the earth, to the *mapu*, therefore the transfer of Indigenous knowledge also aligns with the respect for the earth and the wisdom that it gives to

[187] Lliulliucura, Interview August 21, 2018. Participant A, Lonko Jacob
[188] Lliulliucura, Interview August 21, 2018, Participant B, Mariana

a community. In speaking about Mapuche understandings of the earth and their relationship to it, Jacob described the importance of cultivation as a way of understanding long-term sustainable outcomes both in how one tends to the earth or raises a child. This logic however, applies to how one engages in the renewal of cultural identification. If the transfer of Indigenous knowledge is done the right way, then cultural wisdom will be cultivated and safeguarded by the next generation, creating stronger ties to Mapuche values and customs. This approach honors sacred relationships—"for indigenous peoples, sustainability is upheld by honoring longstanding, reciprocal relationships with the natural world, as well as by transmitting knowledge and everyday cultural practices to future generation."[189] It is about long-term goals not short-term concessions.[190] Indigenous knowledge "manifests in collective consciousness and survival, along with desires to reclaim, revive or reform the terms of belonging and value that constitute our humanity and the reconstruction of wounded cultural bodies and ethnic identities."[191] Safeguarding Indigenous wisdom through actively seeking to engage elders in the community is a response that ensures an intergenerational collaboration towards healing and community building. Rhythms of resilience and resurgence occur within the Mapuche context through engagement in *trueque* as a mechanism of transcending beyond loss and replanting cultural roots.

Just as the way in which one cultivates the land determines a good or bad harvest, this work has revealed the importance of resilience and the strategies employed to regenerate horizontal relations to create a transformation that will be sustainable within the lives of Mapuche and Chilean individuals. Within the cooperative intergenerational transmission is

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[189] Corntassel, Jeff & Bryce, Cheryl (2012) Practicing Sustainable Self-Determination: Approaches to Cultural Restoration and Revitalization. Brown Journal of World Affairs.
[190] Leftraru, Interview August 23, 2018, Participant B, Felipe
[191] Kearney, Amanda (2014). Ethnicity, Cultural Wounding and the "healing project": What happens when the wounded survive? Ethnicities. Sage.

crucial to the goal of cultural revitalization. This means inviting associates to bring their children to meetings and to involve them in the process of production and exchange. Mauricio points out that within the structure of the cooperative, leadership is surrounded by generational wisdom. "In the leadership of the cooperative, one of the things that strikes me is that every leader, or president is a young person, but everyone else around him is elderly…and that communion between generations, several generations is the interesting thing that the cooperative has. Because they [the elders] give a calm. They mark the times… ".[192]

Felipe attests to the impact of having an intergenerational exchange—he attributes his learning and knowledge to this intentional organization of the cooperative and its associates. "…what I know today, I learned from them [the elders]."[193] The cooperative bases its approach to development based on the wisdom passed down by the elders involved in the project. Their participation in the mechanism of the cooperative is crucial in advancing and teaching cultural knowledge and values to the next generation. Every leader within the cooperative is guided and advised by elders. Felipe, as one of the directors of the cooperative, points to the elders as the mentors from which he has learned all that he has in working for the cooperative. His motivation towards ensuring that the cooperative works within the parameters of the Chilean state while upholding Mapuche values and forms of interaction in order to rebuild and reimagine Mapuche cultural identity. "Especially that it serves the youth so that at some point if they can serve this region. It would be extraordinary. That is why we try to transfer everything we have learned and that the knowledge we have received is given to other generations to serve."[194]

[192] Leftraru, Interview August 23, 2018, Participant A, Mauricio
[193] Leftraru, Interview August 23, 2018, Participant B, Felipe
[194] ibid

The process of *trueque* as a form of collective participation engages notions of future responsibility. What is learned by one generation is then transmitted to other generations in an effort to serve future generations. Everyone has a responsibility, a *capacity,* to offer wisdom and knowledge, independent of age or experience—exchange relations through the engagement of *trueque* serves to activate this capacity. It is meaningful and transformational because it recognizes the value of each individual within the social body of the collective. Mauricio emphasizes the fact that within the social body of the cooperative itself, the responsibility of every member to transcend loss through reciprocity means a literal rebuilding of Mapuche cultural values into the everyday life experience of the community to create sustainable, long-term social change.[195] *Trueque* operates in the midst of this intergenerational exchange of knowledge as youth and elders bring differing knowledges and both are accepted as a valuable currency—forming a diversified knowledge community that is able to redefine Mapuche identity creating pathways towards healing. "I believe that a person who wants to have opinions has to look to the past, live in the present and project themselves into the future."[196] The ways in which Mapuche engage in resurgence strategies is through looking *"to the past",* living *"in the present"* and projecting *"into the future"*—doing so by investing in the next generations.

Transformational Engagement

This work has demonstrated the importance of reciprocity as a tool for the revitalization and resurgence of Mapuche Indigenous agency and cultural identity. This work has revealed how collective loss, instead of simply creating inhibiting behaviors of nihilism and discontent, creates incentives for resilience and creative revitalization—allowing Mapuche to reverse the terms of

[195] Leftraru, Interview August 23, 2018, Participant A, Mauricio.
[196] Leftraru, Interview August 23, 2018, Participant B, Felipe

engagement and challenge forms of mainstream representation. What we can learn from the work being done by Mapuche individuals and communities, in both a local context and a trans-national level, is the forms through which resilience is activated to respond to historical trauma and narratives of loss. Instead of falling victim to tropes of impoverishment, ignorance, or violent insurrectionism, communities and individuals adopt a method of resurgence based on the deeply felt concerns in regard to cultural heritage—knowledge transfer becomes a way of safeguarding Mapuche identity and creating communal wellbeing. This knowledge transfer reveals the rhythms through which resilience takes place and agency is enacted.

"The main issue, our concern, and what we can leave as a legacy, is our culture."[197] While state policies often center on regional development as the most sensible and appropriate strategy for reparation, this is deemed by Mapuche as a partial fix to the greater underlying issue: it is a matter of addressing the social dilemmas facing Mapuche communities holistically because conceptions of happiness, health, and community are based on more than mere economics and material development. It is the strength that is found in renewal of social responsibility—the agency that exists among Mapuche actors as they strive to recover and redefine what it means to be Mapuche in contemporary Chile. It is a demand for recognition based on the terms set by Mapuche actors instead of prescribed by state agents and institutions. It is a vision in which Indigenous ways of living are regenerated by Mapuche, in essence redefining what it means to coexist within and throughout colonial structures. They operationalize this vision through implementing *trueque*—reciprocity is the mechanism for the transcendence of cultural loss and establishing social responsibility upon community members.

[197] Leftraru, Interview August 23, 2018, Participant A, Mauricio

"Copihues are not found everywhere. Further north there are no copihue. Yet here, in Araucanía, there are copihues."[198] Mariana's explanation of the resilience of Mapuche communities through her story of the *copihue* symbolizes Mapuche endurance and survival. It is the consistent commitment towards endurable transformation that allows Mapuche communities in distinctive areas of Chile to transcend and respond to the loss they have suffered—much as like the copihue. In concluding my interview with Felipe and Mauricio concerning their efforts within the cooperative, Felipe offered this reflection as a call towards greater personal and social responsibility in reference to the ongoing struggles of Indigenous peoples more generally.

> For me, it is the person that exists; we are all the same, we are human beings of this world. We have the same abilities, the same intelligence…but we have to adapt it to the times. We have to think about the fact that there are many people who suffer, that there are many people who still have basic needs, in this country, in this region, and in the world, there are still people who are dying of hunger. So, if we are so intelligent as human beings, how we have not been able to look at this famine of the world?[199]

What this work reveals is a paradigm of reciprocity as a way of healing the wounds and scars of loss, which serves to instill personal agency and collective commitment towards a future in which all people are valued for their own capacity and knowledge. This is starting point towards transcending the impact of loss and motivating actions of resilience among communities haunted by cultural scarring. This work will hopefully incite a growing discernment of the ways in which resilience emanates amidst Indigenous and other communities. My hope is that this work provides a framework for understanding how even the seemingly small actions, such as *trueque*, have resonant impacts. The ways in which agency is enacted reveals a commitment towards rehabilitating relationships both locally and across borders. What Mapuche communities

[198] Lliulliucura, Interview August 21, 2018, Participant B, Mariana
[199] Leftraru, Interview August 23, 2018, Participant B, Felipe

and individuals have shown throughout this thesis is the importance of investing in reciprocal paradigms as a way of instilling not only collective but personal responsibility and communal commitment to address the affective, material and political impacts of loss. *Trueque*, understood as a mechanism of Mapuche agency allows for a transformational engagement within Indigenous communities which transcends narratives of loss to create rhythms of resilience.

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