University of Nevada, Reno

From El Campo to Santiago:
Mapuche Rural-Urban Migrations in Chile

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Anthropology

by

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Mapuche Rural-Urban Migrations

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study about Mapuche rural-urban, indigenous migration in Chile and how Mapuche have experienced their individual and familial migratory processes. Previous studies on Mapuche migration have taken a macro approach to examine this phenomenon and have concentrated on the experiences of migrants after their migration has taken place. This thesis, adding a new perspective to the current body of knowledge, studies the migration of Mapuche beginning with the inception of the process and continues through to trace their settlement in Santiago. With this, the study analyzes the character of Mapuche migration, examining the reasons and expectations behind this migration as well as how this process has been initiated and sustained through time. In addition to this, the study focuses on the social and cultural consequences that stem from Mapuche migrating and settling in Santiago, and pays special attention to the role that kin networks have in this process. This thesis, then, analyzes the particular characteristics of Mapuche rural-urban migration and considers the significance of individual agency in constructing different migratory paths by examining individual migration stories. In this thesis, I also examine the different mechanisms that Mapuche in Santiago have put in place to grapple with the social and cultural challenges behind their migration to and settlement in the city.

Key words—migration, Mapuche, indigeneity, land, kinship, urban, rural, agency, el campo

DEDICATION

Para el Risto, la Juani, el tata Gonzalo, el tata Jaime, Ignacio
y todos los que partieron antes de poder compartir esto conmigo

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CHAPTER 1: THOSE WHO MIGRATE

Filomena: *I moved to Santiago more than 30 years ago. I was young, only 17 or 18 years old. My dad had just died and since I was the oldest one in my family, they told me I had to move to Santiago, find a job there, and sent some money back to them. I had an aunt and a cousin already living in Santiago and we thought it would be easier for me to find a job than my brothers because I was a woman and I could work as a housekeeper. My brothers had to stay behind to take care of the fields and they are still living there. So I came to Santiago and stayed with my aunt for the first year or so and then my sisters decided to move to Santiago and stay with my aunt, so I had to look for a place of my own.*

R.A.: *Do you go back and visit?*

Filomena: *Well, now I try to go back at least once a year, but during the first years I had no money to do it because all that I could save went straight to my family back in* el campo. *Then my sisters moved here and both of my brothers got jobs back in the south, so I didn't need to send money to them anymore.*

***

Filomena was one of the first Mapuche women I met in Santiago and our first conversation still lingers in my head as it sharply captures the primary characteristics of Mapuche migration, a translocal movement initiated at a young age and sustained over time through the use of kin networks—networks that are frequently severed after settling in Santiago.

The history of indigenous groups in Santiago, the capital of Chile, differs greatly from the one experienced by these groups in other large urban settings of Latin America. While in other cities—take for example, Lima, Mexico City, or La Paz—the presence of indigenous groups has been part of the landscape since their birth, in Santiago, indigenous groups have not become substantially visible until the past century (Gissi 2004: 3-6; Aravena 2000: 169). Within the ethnic groups existing in the capital city—and in most urban settings in Chile—the number of Mapuche, Chile's largest indigenous group, outweighs that of every other ethnic group: according to the 2002 Census, more than 95% of all individuals that belong to a native or indigenous group in Santiago are Mapuche (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas 2002).

Due to a series of historic, social, and economic factors, beginning in the first decades of the 1900s Mapuche started a migratory process through which they left their home communities in rural areas of southern Chile and settled into large urban centers throughout the country—particularly Santiago (Gissi 2004; Imilan 2010: 130-131). This process has continued over the years, as the 1992 Census, the first one to include a question about ethnic "self-identification" [*autoidentificación*], showed that more than 44% of Mapuche in Chile were living in Santiago (Ancán 1997; Aravena 2000: 170). By the 2002 Census, the wording of the question changed to include "belonging" [pertenencia][1], and the percentage of Mapuche population in Santiago decreased to 30%. The shift from self-identification to belonging in the Census questions could have had an

[1] In 1992, the question was: "If you are Chilean, do you consider yourself as belonging to any of the following cultures?" In 2002, the question slightly changed to "Do you belong to any of the following native or indigenous groups?"

effect on how Mapuche, and other indigenous groups, responded this question, especially those living far from their home communities. However, statistics still show that a considerable amount of Mapuche live in Santiago, as it is the second administrative region with most Mapuche population, just behind the IX Region of the *Araucanía*, where 33% of the Mapuche population resides (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas 2002).

The present study is centered on two major aspects stemming from this migratory process. First, it is important to analyze the character of Mapuche migrations and the reasons behind such a migratory process: Why are Mapuche migrating? What type of migration is this? How is this process being initiated and sustained through time? What role do kin networks play in this process? A number of scholars have studied Mapuche migration (Aravena 2000; Aravena 2003; Aravena et al. 2005; Gissi 2004; Valenzuela 2007), but most have focused on the experiences of Mapuche in urban centers after migration takes place and have paid less attention to the origins of this migration. By doing this, I argue, scholars have accepted the understanding that Mapuche migration has been set up primarily or even only by structural factors, obscuring the agency by part of migrants in this process. Instead, this study observes migrants' personal experiences, and the complexity behind differences within these experiences, in order to demonstrate the role that individual agency also has in constructing migratory paths for individuals and families.

Secondly, the study focuses on the social and cultural consequences that migrating and settling in Santiago has for Mapuche, paying special attention to the role of kin networks as well as the ways in which Mapuche have made sense of their new life in the city. Here, the overarching questions are: What are the main social and cultural

consequences of Mapuche rural-urban migration? How are these consequences affecting Mapuche in their everyday lives? How does migration shape ethnic identities for Mapuche in Santiago? Indeed, in answering these questions, I posit two central arguments. The first one is that, contrary to public opinion, Mapuche in Santiago are not losing their identity as Mapuche and instead have found new ways to perform and connect with indigeneity within the urban environment. Also, this study uncovers myriad mechanisms that have been put in place by Mapuche in Santiago to socially and culturally 'adapt' to their new life in the city.

Therefore, this study analyzes the particular characteristics of Mapuche rural-urban migration, and considers the significance that individual agency has in constructing Mapuche migration when observing the experiences of Mapuche who have undergone it—their motivations, expectations, and dreams. A focus on the intersection of migration, ethnicity, and kin networks can make at least two major contributions to the field of anthropology. In exploring the flexibility and multiplicity of Mapuche identities by showing numerous forms in which Mapuche perform and connect to their indigeneity, this study contributes by countering notions of ethnicity as static and fixed, especially among the public. Even though the literature that deals with the concept of identity shows how this construction is relational and fluid (Barth 1969; Gissi 2004; Deveraux 1975), the perception within Chilean society differs. For much of the Chilean public—and even among Mapuche, if recent data is included—the factors determining the existence of a Mapuche identity are land tenure and language (Valenzuela 2007). This, in turn, constructs the notion that by being away from their land, or not communicating in their native language, Mapuche in Santiago have lost their roots or are 'no longer Mapuche'.

This gives way to expressions I would usually hear from non- Mapuche during my fieldwork, such as: “How can they be Mapuche? They can’t do their rituals here,” or “For them to be Mapuche they would have to talk *Mapudungun* [native language], and do they? No, they don’t!” Initiating a discussion that sheds light to the multiple ways in which Mapuche identity is performed in the city is an important step in recognizing that Mapuche in Santiago are still Mapuche and should therefore be regarded as such.

Although previous research about Mapuche in Santiago has focused on questions related to their ethnic identity and the effect that migrating to the city has had on migrants (Aravena 2000; Aravena 2003; Course 2013; Gissi 2004; Valenzuela 2006), no major study has considered the importance of kin networks in this migratory process. Indeed, this focus becomes salient when considering the importance that family networks have in Mapuche migration, as well as other migrations occurring in different regions of the world (c.f. Boehm 2012; Castellanos 2010; Hernández Castillo 2012; Ong 1999; Stephen 2007). Ethnographic research focused on kin networks sheds light on social phenomena that was earlier ignored or left unnoticed, such as how perceptions of identity are channeled through these networks, or how family networks are (de)constructed through migration. Thus, a focus on kin networks expands knowledge about Mapuche living in Santiago as well as rural-urban migration in general.

Mapuche Migrants

The Mapuche make up the largest indigenous group in Chile. For centuries, Mapuche have occupied the territories of the *Araucanía*, which extends from the southern bank of the Bío-Bío River down to the northern bank of the Toltén River—encompassing the

Bío-Bío and Araucanía Regions. The long-standing occupation of these territories has lead Mapuche to consider this their ancient land, what they refer to as the *Wallmapu* (Antileo Baeza 2010). Today, most Mapuche communities speak Spanish, and their native language, *Mapudungun*, is considered to be a dying language—although the development of bilingual public schools in southern Chile could, hopefully, change this. Mapuche have also developed various subsistence strategies over the centuries, ranging from hunting and gathering to more established practices of agriculture and animal husbandry, always adapting to present circumstances (Bengoa 1996; Zapater 1998). What has been consistent through time, though, has been their relationship with the land and their particular geographies, considering how Mapuche rituals and festivities revolve around offerings to the *Pachamama*[2] and how these rituals vary depending on each locality. However, the convergence of a series of historic, economic, and social factors beginning in the mid-1800s has pressed Mapuche to abandon their ancient territories, a process that continues until today in the form of rural-urban migration.

Motivations for Migration

There are a number of individual factors that could explain Mapuche rural-urban migration, such as the allure of living in a bigger city or the search for higher wages outside of their home communities. However, there are also structural factors, particularly land and economic pressure, which have set up the conditions for these

[2] Although *Pachamama* is a Quechua word, used to refer to the goddess that rules over nature, some Mapuche have adopted the word to refer to their surrounding environments and the power that the spirits of ancestors have in controlling the natural topography (lakes, volcanoes, or rivers). In Mapuche cosmology, once someone dies, he or she becomes a part of nature, a part of the *Pachamama*. Not all Mapuche use the term *Pachamama*, but instead refer to this as *la tierra* (the earth or the land), but in order to be consistent and avoid confusions, I have decided to use *Pachamama* throughout this study.

migrations to happen, especially considering the current economic situation of most of these communities.

After 1881, once the Chilean government seized the *Araucanía*, Mapuche communities were put into small reservations and Mapuche experienced the loss of 90% of their ancestral territories (Imilan 2010: 87; see also Parentini 1996: 47). However, not only did Mapuche lose most of their territories, but the structure of land possession also saw dramatic changes. Before, land was 'owned' by the whole community, meaning that these lands had no single owner. After being put into reservations, the Chilean government gave each family a plot of land, which they now owned, shifting from a communal structure of land ownership to a private one. Even though in theory these lands were still considered to be a part of the community, in practice, families had the final say in decisions regarding their own plots (Bengoa 1996: 330-331). In addition, these territories were now under the control of the Chilean government and its laws, which meant that after the death of the family head—and owner of the plot—these lands had to be equally divided among his or her children. This meant that Mapuche families would receive smaller and smaller plots of land after each generation.

Therefore, after a couple of generations, Mapuche families began experiencing land pressures caused by the shortage of available land in their farms, which were now too small to feed large families. One of the ways to counter this was to send young family members to urban centers in order to reduce the family and alleviate the pressure on the farm as available land was shrinking.

Secondly, with their 'incorporation' into Chilean society Mapuche were introduced to a capitalist, wage labor economy and cash was needed in order to survive.

Initially, Mapuche were able to shift their survival strategy by selling excess crops—the residual crops left after accounting for family needs—in rural markets in exchange for cash. However, as plots became smaller after each generation, the production of excess crops was challenging. As a Mapuche woman in Santiago once told me about her family's farmland: "I knew that no matter how many potatoes and other vegetables [my father and friends] could harvest, the money [my father] got out of it was never enough." In addition, as a way to make the farmland produce more crops each year, Mapuche families began using expensive fertilizers and machinery.

Therefore, the reduction of their farmlands also created an economic pressure that in turn created a vicious circle: as their farms could not produce enough crops to feed their families nor excess crops to sell in markets for cash, Mapuche resorted to fertilizers and machinery, for which they also needed money. With this, young members of their families were encouraged to migrate to urban centers, where they could earn higher wages and be able to send back remittances to help their families.

Mapuche migration is usually a rural-urban migration, as most Mapuche who migrate do so to urban centers, where there is the expectation of higher wages and better job opportunities. Although some Mapuche migrate to southern cities like Concepción and Temuco to be closer to their home communities (Aravena 2005), Santiago—eight to nine hours north from their home communities—is the primary destination for young Mapuche (Imilan 2010: 130-131). The capital city is seen as the "land of opportunities," where they can make a new life for themselves, away from poverty and "underdevelopment," as some would describe their previous lives in home communities.

Unfortunately, like many other contemporary migrants, these dreams not always become a reality.

Multi-Sited Fieldwork

The ethnographic fieldwork for this research was done during the months of May through August of 2014 in two different locations within Chile: Santiago and Huechelu—the latter a pseudonym for a small rural town in southern Chile. This research, thus, uses a multi-sited fieldwork approach, where participant observation is done in more than one location. Within the field of anthropology, scholars studying transnational and translocal migration (c.f. Boehm 2012; Holmes 2013; Stephen 2007) have used this method to observe research participants in the various locations where migrants and their families live their lives. With such an approach, it is possible to examine the different ways in which migration has affected these communities and the individuals that make up the social and cultural life of these locations.

Within my research, the goal of using a multi-sited fieldwork approach was, first, to gain a better understanding of the geographies where most Mapuche in Santiago come from—namely, small rural towns in southern Chile, or *el campo* [the countryside], as Mapuche would usually call the place where their home communities are located. Given that an important sociocultural aspect of Mapuche migration and settlement in Santiago has to do with the substantial difference between life in *el campo* and life in the city, research in both locations—Santiago and Huechelu—became a critical tool of analysis. Secondly, fieldwork in Huechelu allowed me to not only observe the place of genesis of

this migratory process, but also see the consequences that such migration has had for some of these communities.

The City: Santiago

Santiago is Chile's capital city, and it is considered to be the place where most of the population and services are concentrated—hence giving Chile the description of being a "centralized" country. The capital is where the best schools, universities, and hospitals of the country are located, as well as being the center of commerce and government. Santiago is also the city where most Chileans live, as its population surpasses 7.000.000—more than 40% of the total Chilean population estimated at over 17.000.000 (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas 2012). In sum, Santiago is a cosmopolitan city that greatly differs from any other Chilean city in terms of population, infrastructure, urban landscape, and services provided.

Santiago is where most of the research for my project was done, where I met most of my research participants, and where I was invited to attend Mapuche celebrations and activities. I met around 20 individuals—mostly women—and although most of them had family members in Santiago, I only met with five families in the city—for reasons that will be further explained in chapter 4. The women I met, all worked, or used to work, as housekeepers, usually Monday through Saturday and had migrated to Santiago decades before, commonly at a young age. I was never personally introduced to men, and whenever men were present during my conversations with their wives or partners, they were not keen to talk and share their experiences with me. With these 20 individuals, I recorded 10 structured and unstructured interviews. All of them were open to talking

with me, but not all of them wanted me to record our conversations. There were also times when recording was either not possible or inappropriate, such as the midst of a celebration or at intimate family meetings.

Most of the research participants I met in Santiago were introduced to me through two different channels. The first and most important one was one an uncle of mine who is a Jesuit priest. For nearly three decades, he has run a small chapel and formed a small community in a low-income neighborhood within the *comuna* (administrative division within the city) of Peñalolén. Within this community, and among his parishioners, there are a number of Mapuche individuals and families—most of whom were introduced to me. The second channel was also a religious organization that worked with Catholic Mapuche in Santiago. The organization coordinated rituals and gatherings, and acted as an economic and social support for Mapuche. Through this organization I was invited to a Mapuche New Year celebration—*We Tripantu*—where I met a number of Mapuche. I was also personally introduced to other Mapuche individuals through their connection to this organization. I met the rest of Mapuche families and individuals through the use of "snowball sampling" as Mapuche I talked to would introduce me to other Mapuche they knew who would be willing to meet with me.

El Campo*: Huechelu*

Huechelu is a pseudonym for a small rural town in southern Chile that is about a 10-hour bus drive from Santiago and has a large Mapuche population. The differences between Huechelu and Santiago are stark in terms of population, infrastructure, and landscape. Huechelu's population barely surpasses 10,000 people (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas

2012) and it is scattered between the town itself and the surrounding countryside. Its rural landscape is marked by the presence of lush forests, the Pacific Ocean, the main river that flows into it, and low buildings—in contrast to Santiago's skyscrapers and lack of parks. People in Huechelu normally have jobs in the service industry, family-owned restaurants and shops, the local government, or in neighboring towns. Those who live in the countryside, where most of the Mapuche population is concentrated, usually live off of earnings from their farms.

During my fieldwork, I took two separate trips to Huechelu, each one lasting about a week. Through my uncle, I was introduced to Father Claudio, another Jesuit priest, who was in charge of a small mission in Huechelu. For the last two decades, Father Claudio had been working with Mapuche in Huechelu and its surroundings, and enjoyed great prestige within Mapuche communities. For my first visit, Father Claudio invited me to stay in the Jesuit mission's house for a week, during which time I was able to accompany him as he visited Mapuche families. I then had an opportunity to revisit most of these families during my second stay in Huechelu.

Whereas in Santiago I mostly met with individual Mapuche, in Huechelu I had the opportunity to spend time with Mapuche families. Here, I met with 15 individuals, who were part of five different families, and recorded four unstructured interviews. Migration was always part of our conversations, as all of the individuals I met either had family members in the city, had visited Santiago, or had plans to themselves migrate in the future.

Contextualizing and Reflecting Upon the Research

Following Dorinne Kondo's conception that "any account... is partial and located, screened through the narrator's eye/I" (1990: 8), I believe it is essential to reflect upon my ethnographic research in order to better understand how this particular work is the result of interactions between a specific ethnographer, specific people, and specific settings (Kondo 1990: 25). Anthropological research of this type is always delineated by the interplay between power differentials, worldviews, and each actor's position within these spheres. Working with Mapuche in Santiago and Huechelu, my social position and the ongoing political environment within which the research was done should be considered when evaluating the development and results of this study.

"But You Wouldn't Know" – My Social Position

Whenever I met a member of the Mapuche community for the first time, whether it was in Santiago or in Huechelu, I always sensed—and often experienced firsthand—how my position influenced the initial perceptions Mapuche would have of me. In general, there were two, somewhat related, views that would arise during my first interactions with Mapuche. The first one had to do with my assumed socioeconomic position that was perceived by them through my appearance and language, as well as the channels used to approach them—usually through someone of a more privileged socio-economic position. The second one had to do with my position as a researcher, particularly as an anthropologist, and was impacted by a fragile history between Mapuche and anthropologists, especially in southern Chile. Even though these preconceived notions and perceptions would usually shift after our initial interactions, there were also times

when these attitudes hindered my access to information and participants or put me in uncomfortable situations.

One of the most common threads that would arise when talking to Mapuche in Santiago was *el campo* and their life there before migrating to Santiago. Furthermore, when reminiscing and describing their lives back in *el campo*, depictions of hardship and sorrow—paradoxically intertwined with feelings of nostalgia—would frequently come to light. It was during these conversations that their perceived notions of my social position became most apparent. For example, the first time I met Jenny, a Mapuche woman in Santiago, we began talking about her life back in *el campo*, the people she missed, and the things she remembered most vividly. Her most vivid memories were precisely of hardship and suffering and it was during her recollection of one of these memories when I realized how my social position could potentially affect my research:

> I remember not wearing any shoes... having to walk everywhere, but with no shoes. Imagine, we didn't even have money for buying shoes... but you wouldn't know what that is like.

Her final remark was explicitly directed at my social position—assuming (correctly) that I was a middle-class student who had never experienced that kind of economic scarcity. Later on, she admitted to me that she did not mean those words to be rude, but that instead she was being honest and did not feel she could explain those hardships to me any further; she felt embarrassed and did not think I could relate to her story. Her words made me aware of the ways in which my social position could be perceived by other Mapuche and the potential effects this might have for my research.

Furthermore, as I learned while working with several people in Huechelu, the relationships between Mapuche and anthropologists coming to study them has been problematic. For the Mapuche I met, anthropologists were considered “freeloaders” [*parásitos*], profiting from our research without ever reciprocating, and sometimes even Government “spies” who come to their home communities “to see how they can keep Mapuche under their control.” Although none of them gave me specific examples of their experiences, it was during a Mapuche meeting in Huechelu that I myself experienced how damaged this relationship actually was and how this could potentially affect my research.

I was with Father Claudio as him, other Jesuit priests from his mission, and several Mapuche people were meeting to organize the next *We Tripantu*. The meeting started with a short ritual consisting of dancing around a cinnamon tree—the same tree that was to be replaced during the *We Tripantu*—and asking the spirits for guidance in the deliberation process ahead. The ritual was then followed by a breakfast, where I had the chance to share with the group, in the hopes of building trust before I introduced my project and started my research. However, my plan began to sink mid-way through the meeting, when one of the elders stood up and said: “Wait a minute, everyone. We have been discussing and arguing for almost an hour now, all the while we have two strangers here who we don’t know yet.” She was referring to a Brazilian priest and me; indeed, we had not yet had the chance to introduce ourselves. After the priest made his introduction, it was my turn, and so I explained I was an anthropologist who was interested in Mapuche and migration, and that I was there to learn more about Mapuche life in *el campo*. The moment I finished, she gave her response:

> You know we don't like anthropologists, don't you? You come here, take information from us, write your books, and what do we get? Nothing. Anthropologists are just freeloaders [*parásitos*] who take what is ours and make it theirs. You are always misinterpreting our words and saying what you think, but not what we think.

My efforts to explain to her that those were the old anthropologists, that we do a different kind of anthropology now, and that I was there to learn *with* them and not just *about* them did not do much to convince her. As I learned during my second visit to Huechelu, I was lucky to be Father Claudio's guest that day. While having breakfast with Rodrigo—the son of the non-Mapuche lady who hosted me during my second trip—he asked what my plans were for the day. I told him that I was visiting some Mapuche families I had met last time around and perhaps meet other families on my way there, to which he responded:

> Are you crazy? You're going to walk around the countryside telling Mapuche you are an anthropologist? Do you want to get killed? No man, you wait until I get back home from work and perhaps I can introduce you to some of my Mapuche friends. We should start with that.

Although not all Mapuche had the same attitude towards anthropologists—and indeed most of them accepted and welcomed me into their houses—Rodrigo's words speak to the underlying feelings of mistrust that Mapuche have developed towards non-Mapuche people, or *winkas*[3]. These feelings, in turn, have been

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[3] *Winka* is a word in *Mapudungun* to designate something foreign, which was historically associated with Spaniards first and later Chileans who are not Mapuche.

intensified due to the current political situation encompassing Mapuche and the Chilean state.

Politics and the "Mapuche Movement"

The relationship between Mapuche and the Chilean state has always been problematic, a damaged relation inherited from previous Spanish rule during colonial times. However, over the last couple of decades, this relationship has become even more fragile, as some Mapuche groups in southern Chile have initiated a movement to regain the ancestral territories that were taken away from them during the mid-1800s—often resorting to violent measures in response to a rigid state unwilling to open up fluid channels of negotiation. With this in mind, a number of Mapuche have organized and protested, blocking major roads in southern Chile by setting trucks on fire and seizing several farms in the area, all of which has led to confrontations with law enforcement.

The social consequences of the "Mapuche movement," and especially the action taken by these groups, are further explained in Chapter 4. The existence and development of this political situation has framed my research. Most of the ramifications that influenced my research were experienced in Huechelu, as shown by Rodrigo's words above, or the time I was not able to visit a Mapuche family because the road between Huechelu and their house had been blocked by a group of Mapuche. Furthermore, the "Mapuche movement" had an overarching effect on my research that goes beyond particular situations, as the different discourses behind this movement had an underlying presence in interactions I had with Mapuche in both Santiago and Huechelu. Here, I

noticed that the ways in which they would talk about themselves and other Mapuche were heavily influenced by discourses stemming from the "Mapuche movement".

Against the backdrop of the "Mapuche movement," thus, some Mapuche shaped their stories in a way that showed the importance land and land possession had for them and for the 'survival' of their culture—a major discourse behind the recognition of Mapuche as rightful owners of the territories in southern Chile. Others would often try to move away from narratives that displayed any sort of aggressiveness or violence from their part, as a way to counter the notions that "Mapuche are violent people." Regardless of the motives behind various discourses, what is clear is that the heightened presence of the "Mapuche movement" during my fieldwork had considerable effects in the ways Mapuche communicated with me and represented themselves and their communities.

From *El Campo* to Santiago

The structure of this thesis tries to mirror the path taken by Mapuche migrants, starting with their sojourn to Santiago, followed by their settlement in the city, and ending with the ways in which they are able to develop a new life there. In Chapter 2, I introduce Mapuche migration, focusing on individual narratives and exposing disparities between these narratives in order to demonstrate the role that individual agency—and not only structural factors—has in paving the migratory path of individuals and families. In chapter 3, I analyze the social and cultural consequences that stem from Mapuche moving away from *el campo* and settling in Santiago, leaving behind kin and friends and a familiar setting in exchange for a new life in a foreign environment. After analyzing these sociocultural consequences, chapter 4 looks at the various mechanisms that Mapuche in

Santiago have put in place to, in a way, counter some of the challenges of migrating, especially those that have to do with living away from home communities and the loss of connection to kin in both *el campo* and Santiago. Finally, as an end to the thesis, chapter 5 identifies the major results of this study and outlines future research endeavors that could expand our knowledge about Mapuche migration.

CHAPTER 2: MIGRATING TO SANTIAGO

It was a cold, but busy night in Santiago's Bus Terminal. Even though I had made the trip down south multiple times, I had never been to Huechelu, a small rural community in the South of Chile. Of course, I was nervous and anxious. My uncle had put me in contact with a Jesuit Father who had been living in Huechelu for over two decades, and he said I could shadow him for a couple of days, but I did not know what to expect: how would Mapuche families living in el campo *greet an anthropologist from Santiago, an urban Chilean? How different is life for Mapuche in Huechelu? Wondering around my mind was also the fact that Huechelu had been the focus of attention of some news stories regarding the "Mapuche conflict" as the media and the Chilean government had come to term the "Mapuche movement," and was seen as a violent place.*

Even on a Wednesday night, the terminal was crowded and full of life: ticket-sellers yelling out the destinations that were departing soon, large families waiting for the bus that was going to take one of their members to the south either for holidays or because their visit in Santiago was over, and street vendors trying to sell their goods to passengers before they got on the bus. Once the bus that was going to take me to Huechelu—via Cañete— had parked, I realized that the diversity of people I could see around the terminal was reflected among my fellow travelers. There was a daughter and father who were leaving their mother/wife in Santiago, with tears in their eyes; there was a teenager who was going to visit his grandparents living in el campo*; there was an old*

man who was bringing back a sack full of potatoes that he was likely not able to sell in one of Santiago's produce markets.

As people started boarding the bus, I could overhear brief greetings, as people who knew each other passed by each other, and small talk being made, usually asking how long they were visiting Huechelu or how their visit to Santiago was. On my way back to Santiago, I could observe the same diversity in characters, situations, and dialogues. Not only did I realize that there were a number of people doing the Santiago-Cañete-Huechelu route often, but that the reasons and expectations behind these movements were varied.

The migration from rural to urban spaces of a large number of Mapuche has raised a concern within the ranks of the Mapuche elite, with a specific interest on the social and cultural prospects of this ethnic group (Antileo Baeza 2010). At the same time, this phenomenon has sparked some academic interest (Aravena 2000; Aravena et al. 2005; Gissi 2004; Imilan 2010), but there are still research avenues that have not been explored. Therefore, the potential exists to further expand our knowledge and understanding of this migratory pattern and its consequences. One of these opportunities is the study of the pattern itself: understanding the forces behind such a large movement of people. Scholars who have studied this phenomenon have looked at its social and cultural consequences (Aravena 2000, 2003), or how Mapuche have geographically and culturally occupied Santiago (Imilan 2010), but have not focused on the personal and familial motivations behind this process. Other studies, thus, have looked at the migratory pattern with a broader scope, and assumed that only structural forces—whether they are historical,

economic, or social—are constructing and shaping this migration, not paying close attention to the agency of migrants themselves. To add a different perspective to the current body of knowledge, here I focus on migrants' personal experiences. By looking at the complexity behind the disparities in these experiences, this study demonstrates the role of agency in paving the migratory path of Mapuche individuals and families.

This chapter looks at the migration process of Mapuche from rural to urban spaces; specifically form the rural south to Santiago, Chile's capital city. Although the primary aim of my project is to observe, analyze, and untangle the complexity that stems from the diversity of personal experiences related to Mapuche migration, the chapter begins with a discussion of overarching patterns that provide the backdrop to individual trajectories. I identify four main aspects that define the way Mapuche migration is structured. First, it is mainly the migration of an ethnic group from their ancestral territory in southern Chile, to urban centers throughout the country, with Santiago being the primary destination (Imilan 2010: 130-131). Secondly, this kind of migration can be characterized as "translocal" (Stephen 2007), through which cultural forms, ideas, knowledge, and people constructed in one specific place are transferred back and forth between different sites with the movement of migrants. A third pattern is the fact that Mapuche migration is, for the most part, initiated and sustained by kin relationships that have continued this migratory process over the years by connecting the rural south with Santiago. The final pattern that I observed within Mapuche migration is one related to age, as most of the Mapuche living in Santiago first migrated at a young age (Avaría Saavedra 2005: 56). Although most of the Mapuche I met in Santiago were over 35 years old, nearly all research participants had settled in Santiago before they had turned twenty.

The second part of this chapter deals with what studies of migration have termed "push" and "pull" factors. Push factors are characterized as social, cultural, economic, politic, or environmental elements that cause individuals to leave their home communities and migrate to a new place. Examples of these elements can include famine, political or religious persecution, or general quality of life. On the other hand, pull factors are aspects developed in certain geographies that motivate individuals to migrate to those areas. Examples of these factors can include better job opportunities, better educational prospects, or even family ties. I argue that, although structural, historical, economic, and social factors can be identified as constructing Mapuche migration, and generally categorized as "pushing" Mapuche out of their ancestral land, it is at the individual level where these factors can be negotiated. In other words, any particular factor can be considered either a push or a pull factor depending on each individual's negotiation and how they value the importance of that factor in their migratory process. At the same time, personal reasons and motivations behind the weighing of each factor are varied too, meaning that individuals might assess a factor similarly—for example, family ties become a pull—by having different reasons to do so.

The third and last section of this chapter presents ethnographic evidence that supports the idea that individuals play a significant role in evaluating and negotiating how structural factors can delineate their migratory path, instead of being completely determined by them. In showing the broad differences in the migratory experiences of Rosa, Natalia, and Luis, I consider the complexities of diverse migratory patterns, and argue that trying to fit these experiences into a set of categories leaves behind a crucial social actor in this process: the migrant. By exploring the intricacies stemming from these

experiences, it is possible to reveal the diversity behind this phenomenon, something that can be lost if looking at the picture only from a macro perspective and treating Mapuche migration as a homogenous process.

Patterns of Mapuche Migration

Before analyzing Mapuche migration and how it is experienced on the ground, it is helpful to outline the structural patterns behind this process. Although individual experience is not easily explained through a set of fixed categories, there are a number of migratory patterns that should be considered to understand the complexity of Mapuche migration.

From the Ancient Territory in the South, to the Big City in the North

Mapuche migration is characterized as being part of the contemporary process of indigenous migration, through which indigenous groups leave behind their home communities and insert themselves into a wage labor economy (Castellanos 2010; Green 2009) usually found in urban centers. Therefore, the primary characteristic behind Mapuche migration is that it involves a movement from rural to urban spaces. Unlike other indigenous migrations within Latin America (Hernández-Castillo 2012; Stephen 2007; Suárez-Navaz 2012), the movement of Mapuche usually takes place within Chilean national borders. Among the main urban centers in Chile, Mapuche have primarily gone to Santiago, the capital city. According to the 2002 Census, 30.3% (203,061) of the Mapuche population was living in the Región Metropolitana, the political administrative region where Santiago is located. None of the Mapuche living in Santiago who I met

mentioned coming from any city, town, or village that I had heard before, as they all came from small communities in southern Chile.

Translocal Mapuche

Leaving behind their home communities does not mean that Mapuche living in Santiago completely cut-off ties with *el campo*, although these ties often fade over time. In this sense, Mapuche migration is also characterized as being a "translocal" migratory pattern (Stephen 2007). Scholars have found that migrants do not necessarily forget or erase their sociocultural past in order to "assimilate" themselves into the receiving community. Instead, they develop and maintain social, political, familial, or economic relations that connect them to both their communities of origin and the receiving communities where they settle (Glick Schiller et al. 1992: ix). Given that Mapuche migration usually develops within national borders, and that transnationalism refers mainly to processes occurring across national borders, the movement of Mapuche from rural to urban spaces falls into what scholars studying transnationalism have termed the "translocal." Similar to transnationalism, "Translocal refers to the movement of place-specific culture, institutions, people, knowledge, and resources within several local sites" (Stephen 2007: 65). Translocal is, thus, the movement between different geographies of cultures, institutions, or knowledge that have been historically and socially constructed in a specific place, the rural south in the Mapuche case, and that are intrinsically associated with different places and moments. This is seen in Mapuche migration as Mapuche residing in Santiago have tried to reproduce a way of living in communities in the city that was common in *el campo*, as well as the political hierarchies that come with it.

Rituals and festivities have also been transported through translocal ties, as most of these communities celebrate the appropriate rituals of Mapuche life in Santiago, often inviting ritual specialists from *el campo* to perform and guide these celebrations. At the same time, knowledge of Santiago is often transferred from one place to the other, as people visiting *el campo* for holidays or festivities from Santiago share their experiences with others who have not yet migrated, as will be further explored in Chapter 3.

How Family and Kin Relations Initiate Migration

Similar to a number of migratory patterns in Latin America, Mapuche migration is often initiated and set up by family and kin relationships, as well as each individual's position within those relationships. I rarely heard a Mapuche in Santiago or Huechelu talk about their migratory experience without mentioning kin members helping, advising, or guiding in their journey. It is often the case that Mapuche in rural areas migrate after a family member—or acquaintance of a family member—calls offering them a job. This was the case of Luis, a seasonal migrant who migrates between jobs in Huechelu and other urban centers of central and southern Chile. As he explained to me, "You get a call from your cousin who tells you there's a job in a vineyard in Rancagua, and you call your friends and family, and go." At the same time, the absence of family ties can serve as an obstacle to migration, as there are those who have not been able to migrate because kinship channels have not yet allowed it. For example, a teenage Mapuche in Huechelu told me that he would leave if he could, and when I asked him if he had any plans to migrate soon, he responded that he had been waiting for an uncle to call about a possible job for him in Santiago as a construction worker. Family and kin relationships are also used as

support networks in the initial stages of migration (Imilan 2010: 132). Often, Mapuche in Santiago spend their first years living in a family member's house until they can save enough money to move out into their own houses. The character of these kinship relationships is varied, ranging from second cousins to older siblings. The latter is perhaps the most frequent pattern, as younger siblings follow the path of older ones who have already settled in the city. Therefore, when analyzing the impact of an individual migrant's agency within his or her migratory path, it is important to consider that this agency is also—if not always—influenced by kinship and the individual's position within that sphere.

Migration is for the Young

Finally, Mapuche rural/urban migration is generally characterized by being a movement of young people, or people that migrated at a young age. As I observed, the overwhelming majority of Mapuche living in Santiago had moved there in their teenage years or early twenties. Most of the Mapuche I had a chance to meet in Santiago were women who had migrated at an early age after a family member had negotiated a job for them, commonly as a housekeeper. Women were also those who were often more open and available to talk about their experiences. Even though siblings typically migrate to Santiago too—either before or after one another—there was rarely a mention of parents having made the same trip. When parents or older members of their families were mentioned, the conversation had shifted into talking about *el campo*, and how they had gone back to take care of them for a season or to attend their funerals. Of course, this is not always the case, such as when one Mapuche family brought their grandfather to live

with them in Santiago multiple times. However, after just a few weeks in the capital, he always ended up returning to *el campo*.

Although some overarching patterns can be recognized, this is not to mean that this study takes Mapuche migration as being a homogeneous process. While other scholars (Aravena 2003; Gissi 2004; Valenzuela 2007) have treated Mapuche migration as a homogenous process, I consider Mapuches' personal experiences as well as the particularities that stem from them. Ethnographic research shows how, while some of these experiences and migratory paths are similar to one another, others fall away from this homogeneity, shedding light on the diversity of migratory paths followed by Mapuche. In fact, I argue that heterogeneity provides a focused understanding of the overall processes of migration and ethnic identity.

Push and Pull Factors

Traditional studies of migration outside of anthropology—in geography, economics, sociology, among others—have tended to treat migrants as silent participants of a global circuit who leave their towns and countries that are lacking proper economic conditions, and migrate to—and presumably settle in—cities or countries that do offer those economic resources and opportunities. The reasons behind any migration are various, and they have been categorized as "push" and "pull" factors. "Push" factors have been associated with the local community, where the migratory process is initiated, and they might include such aspects as violence or lack of employment within the community. On the other hand, "pull" factors are to be found in the receiving community, where social networks and better job opportunities, for example, make these communities more

desirable (Holmes 2013: 17-18). With this in mind, scholars in economics and geography have tended to rationalize the migratory process in numerical terms, describing how migrants calculate the outcomes given by weighing these "push" and "pull" factors (see for example, Perloff et al. 1998; Zimmerman 1996).

Even though these factors do indeed trigger general migratory processes, macro conceptions tend to diminish the level of agency exercised by migrants within their own migratory trajectories. In the words of Deborah Cohen, "we must not see migrants as passive victims in a great diplomatic exchange, but rather, as actors with their own motivations and goals for migration" (2006, 82). By not considering migrants as agentive actors in a global economic network, these understandings are obviating the cultural nuance behind this sociocultural process: the personal reasons and expectations that relate to migration. In other words, although it is important to recognize the historical, economic, and sociocultural structural factors setting migratory patterns in motion, it is ultimately the motivations of the individual migrant as embedded within social networks that develop and maintain these patterns. Therefore, studies that aim at understanding the inception of migration and its consequences should identify existing "push" and "pull" factors initiating migratory processes, but also focus on individual migrants as actors with agency and determine the significance of the different factors behind their migratory experiences.

The Weight of History

When trying to understand present phenomena, it is essential to look back at history and observe the processes that gave birth to them. In the case of Mapuche migration in Chile,

historical aspects can be seen as putting in motion circumstances that later created the breeding ground for new generations to initiate the process of migrating out of their rural communities and into urban areas of the country. Furthermore, most of the Mapuche I met in southern Chile understand historical conjunctures as the catalyst that brought about the current social and economic conditions that lead to Mapuche migration.

The year 1881 is considered by a number of scholars (Aravena et.al 2005, Bengoa 1996, Gissi 2004, Imilan 2010, among others) to be the turning point in the history of Mapuche people: after the defeat against the Chilean army—in what has since been called "The Pacification of the *Araucanía*"—life was never the same. *Caciques* (heads of lineage) saw their social and political power altered (Bengoa 1996: 344-345), and communities shifted their economic sustenance from farming, animal husbandry, and gathering to subsistence agriculture (Imilan 2010: 92-94). What is more salient for this discussion, though, is that in addition to all these social changes, Mapuche territory was dramatically reduced. Indeed, the intention of the Chilean state in "pacifying" the *Araucanía*—in line with the Chilean public opinion—was not to exterminate the indigenous population, but to instead seize their land, in the hopes that Mapuche would eventually "assimilate" into Chilean society (Bengoa 1996: 343, Gissi 2004: 6). This way, the *Araucanía* territories were proclaimed as public land and sold by the government to colonizers—preferably, from the perspective of the state, European colonizers—in order to bring supposed development and modernization to an "underexploited" territory. Thus, public debates during the time centered on how to divide the remaining Mapuche population among the territories in southern Chile that had not been seized by the state (Bengoa 1996: 345-347).

The discussion of what was to happen with the newly seized land was decisive, given that 90% of Mapuche ancestral territory had been expropriated (Imilan 2010: 87; see also Parentini 1996: 47). The options were varied, but the Chilean government finally decided to relocate family heads, or *caciques*, with their respective families, giving way to the "reduction community" (Bengoa 1996: 330). It is estimated that the average size of a *Título de Merced* (land ownership bond given to families) was of 6.3 hectares—roughly 15 acres—and that some 40,000 Mapuche did not receive any land deed (Imilan 2010: 89). As José Bengoa, renowned Mapuche historian and sociologist, puts it "the eradication socially transformed the mapuche. Their space of production and reproduction was reduced, and they had to change their customs, habits of production, [and] food systems"[4] (Bengoa 1996: 330, translation mine). In sum, not only did Mapuche culture experience a dramatic change after the 1881 defeat, but also their territory was significantly reduced.

Within the historical developments that lead to the migration of thousands of Mapuche from their ancestral territories, the most prominent aspect would be, precisely, that of the reduction of available land. At first, the amount of land given to each family was not an issue, since it was sufficient enough to keep sustaining the community. However, problems began after the next generations inherited those lands; plots got smaller and smaller with each generation. Social changes have also had an influence in this matter, as Josefa—a young Mapuche born in Santiago and daughter of the *lonko*

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[4] The original quote in Spanish is "La radicación transformó socialmente a los mapuches. Se recortó su espacio de producción y reproducción, y debieron cambiar costumbres, hábitos productivos, sistemas alimentarios…"

(socio-political leader) of one of Santiago's biggest Mapuche communities— explained it to me:

> They used to live together as a community before the land was ever divided… If the head of family died, a *lonko* would incorporate them [the family and their land] under his authority. Later on [after the 1881 defeat], Chilean legislation began to be enforced in Mapuche territory, and we had to start plotting and dividing the land equally [among siblings]. So that was the mistake, because they passed laws without understanding the reality, without investigating the reality and how life was [for the Mapuche].

Josefa's words are significant in a number of ways. First of all, they appropriately summarize the consequences of what the state—and later scholars—called the "insertion" of Mapuche communities into Chilean society had for Mapuche. Josefa's narrative also speaks to the idea of community, how central it is to Mapuche culture, and how it relates to land and territory—notions that will be analyzed in the next chapters. Lastly, her words convey an understanding that becomes a common thread in Mapuche narratives of their recent history, namely the impact state policies—and the Chilean government in general—have had in accounting for present conditions. In terms of the Mapuche diaspora, as some have called it (Marimán 1997), Nicolás Gissi has argued that, indeed, this migration is not so much a natural effect of modernization and globalization, but instead "the necessity to emigrate to the capital is more a consequence of state interests and decisions that have become detrimental to native peoples"[5] (2004:6; translation

[5] The original quote in Spanish is "…la necesidad de emigrar hacia la capital es más bien una consecuencia de intereses y decisiones estatales que han resultado perjudiciales para los pueblos originarios."

mine). As land became scarcer after each generation, young Mapuche understood that a future closer to urban centers was more feasible than being able to live a life in the countryside under the current conditions.

In sum, historical developments created the breeding ground for future phenomena to occur. Beginning with the 1881 defeat, multiple situations concerning Mapuche and the Chilean state developed in such a way that they can be seen as creating the conditions for other socioeconomic factors to arise and contribute to the emergence of Mapuche migration.

Shifting Subsistence Strategies: Navigating a Currency-Based Economy

As argued above, historical conjunctions beginning in the late 1800s gave way to social processes that eventually drove hundreds of thousands of Mapuche to move out of their local communities and into large urban centers in Chile—mainly Temuco, Concepción, and Santiago. The history of the relationship between Mapuche and the Chilean state in the last 150 years has been intertwined with other structural factors—either springing out of this history or out of global circumstances—bringing about Mapuche rural-urban migration. Within these structural factors, socioeconomic ones are surely of great importance given the effects that historical developments have had in this realm for Mapuche.

Settled into reductions, and having to form small nuclear-family communities, Mapuche had to shift away from the way their ancestors had done agriculture. Before, when ample extensions of land were available, a crop rotation system was used and complemented with animal husbandry and the gathering of pine nuts and other seeds

(Parentini 1996). Now, Mapuche are inserted within a capitalist, wage labor economy, where cash was needed to subsist. This meant that the new, smaller, plots of land given by land deeds now had to produce crop surplus, so that the immediate family could take from it what they needed and sell the rest. Therefore, this meant the common agricultural practice of crop rotation was not feasible anymore, because the land had to be producing crops all year—or most of it. In order for land to become productive, in turn, expensive fertilizers and modern machinery were needed.

A life story I would usually hear from Mapuche in Santiago and *el campo* was useful in explaining to me the effects of this situation. Since the family needed larger amounts of cash to buy fertilizers and machinery, a larger surplus in crops was needed, which in turn meant reducing the amount of harvested food available for the family. Even if families were to sell their entire harvest, this was usually not enough to maintain a large family—a common occurrence among Mapuche families. Therefore, the main solution adopted by Mapuche was to reduce the size of the family by sending their older children to work at urban areas. This was done in the hopes that they would earn money and send part of it back to them. However, researchers have shown that Mapuche living in Santiago do not usually generate a considerable surplus while working there, so the act of migrating is, in itself, an economic strategy (Imilan 2010). After a family member migrates, that small plot of land begins to sustain a reduced household. This strategy is similar to the ones adopted by other indigenous groups in Latin America, where people have migrated in search of wage labor to supplement their agricultural production (Castellanos 2010, xxi; 7; Green 2009, 331).

Working to make the farmland more productive or more aligned with market demands—as an old couple did in Huechelu with their strawberry plantation—was one of the strategies adopted by Mapuche against land reduction and their insertion into Chile's capitalist economy. A common change in the habits of production that I observed with Mapuche in Huechelu was the adoption of a forestry economy of subsistence, again aligning with market demands.

Father Claudio, one of the Jesuits that hosted me in Huechelu, has worked with Mapuche communities for over 20 years. Every time I had the chance, I asked him to give me his perceptions on Mapuche communities and their reality. And time and time again I would see his insights had been accurate after I had the chance to observe Mapuche families and hear their stories. Shortly, I realized that his observations were worth keeping in mind while talking to Mapuche families. One of these insights was related to the adoption of pine and eucalyptus plantations and the effect this adjustment has had in "pushing" young Mapuche to migrate.

If one were to drive south through the Ruta 5 Sur from Santiago to the heartland of the *Araucanía* it would be practically impossible to ignore the presence of large extensions of pine and eucalyptus plantations. These belong to forest and timber companies for the most part. However, these companies also focus on buying crops from private growers. A number of Mapuche, thus, have seen this as an opportunity to move away from the risks of agriculture and have decided to invest in planting their plots full of eucalyptus. This novel form of subsistence consists on a considerable initial investment, years with no—or minimal—earnings, in exchange of years with little land work and large amounts of cash after each harvest.

Besides the social, cultural, and economic consequences this new forestry economy will bring to Mapuche living in southern Chile, what concerns this discussion are the effects this economy has had on the overall migratory pattern. During the years that eucalyptuses are growing, minimum workload efforts yield a maximum profit, which means that fewer people are needed to manage a eucalyptus forest than other sorts of agricultural production. With this in mind—and considering the sizable amount of capital needed at the beginning of each crop—Mapuche families that have adopted a forestry economy are seeing youth and young adults migrate to urban centers. The reason for this is clear in the most elemental economic sense—what would matter the most for an impoverished family—as most of these youth are seen as 'unproductive' in *el campo*. They are not providing for the household while still benefiting from its earnings. Migrating to urban centers, thus, diminishes the economic pressure for the household and at the same time some of these migrants often send remittances back to help with those initial investments or with the income lagoons between harvest seasons.

In sum, it is possible to characterize economic elements—stemming from state actions and policies—as influential "push" factors in Mapuche migration causing large numbers of Mapuche to leave their home communities (Course 2013: 774-775). Integration to a capitalist economy that requires cash to develop, in addition to land scarcity and unproductive farmland, has caused Mapuche to modify their habits of production and consumption, so they can be a part of this capitalist system. A major consequence of this adaptation—and an adaptation in and of itself—has been the migration of young Mapuche to urban areas. There, they become part of the wage labor

economy and perhaps send remittances back to their kin, or at least alleviate the economic burden of the household.

"La Vida Acá es Dura [Life Here is Difficult]"

In addition to the economic elements that are seen as crucial catalysts of Mapuche migration to urban centers, there are also social and cultural developments that have been bolstering this phenomenon. The first one of these factors is education and "cultural adaptation," a realization that came to me through my interaction with Mapuche living in Huechelu. In this small community, most of the Mapuche families I came to know had their older children studying in schools in Cañete, the biggest town an hour and a half bus ride north of Huechelu, while their younger children still attended Huechelu's only elementary school. This was because, as a Mapuche woman working for Huechelu's municipality put it, "the quality of our schools here is awful." Therefore, parents who see "western" education as a valuable tool to thrive in *winka* society—and most do—end up sending them to Cañete and other neighboring towns for an education. When I asked them why they would rather have their children living by themselves far away from their family, most of them answered that it was a low price to pay for their children's brighter future. A future with more opportunities they ever had in their lifetime. Besides that, some would admit that is was a great chance for the children to get used to living far from family—hinting at a likely future away from the community because of migration. Although none of them explicitly mentioned it, the fact that these children usually live with friends and family during the school session—meaning free or inexpensive

housing—and that they often receive a meal while in school, surely works in favor of the family's economy.

This tendency, it should be added, is not only a current phenomenon, but can be seen throughout Mapuche history ever since the 1881 defeat and their ensuing "insertion" into Chilean society. On the one hand, formal education of the recently "incorporated" Mapuche population was an important stipulation within the Chilean state's assimilation project during the second half of the 19th century (Gissi 2004: 6). On the other hand, after accepting their military defeat and their "insertion" into Chilean society, *caciques* understood that the best option for their children was to attend these schools so they could know the 'norms' of the *winka* society that they were now part of (Bengoa 1996: 386). The Chilean state, thus, slowly began opening public schools in these 'newly acquired' territories, but only in the bigger towns, initiating the migration of a number of Mapuche children to attend these schools.

A second social factor within Mapuche migration that has come into play in recent years is the devaluation of *el campo*—and life there—for many young Mapuche. Certainly, modernity, and the inequalities it creates, has had an impact in the devaluation of the social imagery of *el campo*. Young Mapuche have become more aware of the dichotomy between the rural and the urban world than their parents, due to the spread of new technologies, social media, and their insertion into a global world. On the one hand, this has amplified their awareness of the characteristics of the urban world out there. On the other hand, however, some young Mapuche have become annoyed at the fact that they cannot fully belong to this urban world.

While visiting the Melicuras—a Mapuche family in rural Huechelu—on a rainy winter afternoon, the implications of this rural/urban dichotomy became evident to me. It was around 3:00 p.m., and I was talking to Claudia—a middle-aged Mapuche woman—and her 80 year-old mother, Adela, when Claudia's son, Iván, and his girlfriend showed up. After the customary introductions, I continued my conversation with the two ladies, who explained to me the difficulties they had encountered ever since Adela's husband died a couple of months ago, and how they suspected their neighbors of sending bad spirits to kill him. Of course, I was more interested in following the intricacies of an esoteric topic such as evil spirits within Mapuche culture, something I had only read in books, than anything else. However, from the corner of my eye I could notice something. From the time that the teenage couple had come into the room, both of them had been texting and playing with their cellular phones from time to time, and turning them off once they were done. I wrote a comment on my fieldnotes and kept on with the interesting conversation.

Because it was winter, by 4:30-5:00 p.m. natural sunlight was fading away, so I asked if we could turn on the light so we could see each other's faces while we talked—a better excuse, I believed, than my inability to write fieldnotes in the dark. It was at this moment when it all made sense. The answer to my question had been: "I wish we could, but we have no electricity here. I can bring candles if you want." I finally understood Ivan's fixation with turning his cell phone on and off; a charged cell phone battery is a scarce good in their situation. After this realization, I shifted my attention to Iván, trying to delve into his perception of the present circumstances. I began with the common, trivial question: "Have you ever been to Santiago?" He had, and though he had enjoyed

it, it was a world he was not used to and he felt out of place there. His final statement perfectly captures the feelings of many young Mapuche towards life in *el campo*:

> I could not get used to being away from my family and my house. Everything is so quick there [in Santiago]. But I could live with all those things [including feelings of alienation], I could get used to them. If I had a stable job in Santiago that would allow me to escape from here, I would take it right away.

Ivan's words resonate for other Mapuche families in rural Huechelu, and when I tried confirming my impressions with Father Claudio, he agreed. He added that it is common to see Mapuche youth disenchanted with life in *el campo* and that most of those who have a chance to leave, take it without hesitation. Knowing that there are other options outside of their rural realm—and even outside of Huechelu and its surroundings—with promises of inexistent extreme poverty and hard labor, has encouraged young Mapuche still living in rural areas of Huechelu to consider migration as an escape, or at least as a route to a more promising future.

As much as the economic and social elements described above can be characterized as "push" factors, it is important to reiterate that recognizing the existence of these factors does not nullify the social strength of individual agency by the part of migrants and their families. As stated, I argue for an understanding that admits the presence of these factors as catalysts for migration, but not until after migrants have negotiated the relevance of these factors or motivations within their personal migratory path.

Different Reasons, Different Expectations

Consideration of the individual experiences of migrants sheds light on intricacies that otherwise would be left unnoticed using a broader scope that looks at Mapuche migration as a homogeneous phenomenon. It is precisely in observing, analyzing, and disentangling these experiences and their complexities where migrants' agency can be perceived as paving each of these individuals' migratory paths. One of the realms in which Mapuche experiences in migration differ—and therefore express individual and familial agency—is, precisely, the reasons and expectations behind their journey. At the same time, by exploring these differences it is possible to observe how each migrant negotiates the different influences that "push/pull" factors will have in their migratory path.

"At the end of the day, I would rather be here"

I had just arrived to Huechelu and was having breakfast at Victoria's house—the owner of one of Huechelu's most popular diners and my host. I sat on the table, by myself, trying to shake off the fatigue of my 10-hour bus trip and writing some notes about it. Next to me, doing the dishes everyone had used for breakfast before I had arrived was Rosa, Victoria's domestic worker. Rosa was a 40 year-old Mapuche woman who lived in town and not in the surrounding rural areas where Mapuche generally live. Since it was my second time in Huechelu, I knew the typical initial question would arise sooner rather than later. When she asked me where I came from, I answered Santiago pausing at the end of the phrase on purpose, knowing this might cause her to give an opinion about the city. In this case, Rosa had been there, and she had an experience common to young Mapuche who are still living in *el sur* (the south).

She told me she had lived in Santiago for two years or so working as an *empleada* (housekeeper) for different families in several neighborhoods. Like many other Mapuche, she had initially moved to Santiago into the house of a family member, who also got her an initial job. She had seen an opportunity to improve her and her daughter's life and took it. As she said, she had heard from other acquaintances and family members about the possibilities Santiago could offer her. When asked about her opinion of the city, she said that she found it big—too big for her—and that the first thing she noticed was how stressed-out people are in Santiago. She said she never understood why people in Santiago were always in a hurry, bumping into each other on the streets, and not caring about the people around them. Regardless of the stress, she acknowledged that wages are much higher in Santiago, which explains why the city has drawn people in search of a better economic stability. However, she also recognized that life is also considerably more expensive in Santiago. As she puts it, "I was not able to save one penny while working there."

When I asked her why she decided to come back to Huechelu, Rosa said that she never really liked the life in Santiago. She was not earning enough money to save for her family back in Huechelu, she never got accustomed to the hectic way of life in Santiago, and she did not appreciate the way people treated each other. In her words: "It was not worth it. At the end of the day, I would rather be here." For her, the positives of staying in Huechelu outweighed the benefits of migrating and settling in Santiago. In fact, although wages are generally lower in Huechelu, given that life expenses are also lower in *el sur*, she was able to save more money while living a happier life by staying in Huechelu.

These mixed feelings toward Santiago are common amongst Mapuche who migrated or visited the city, but who ultimately decided to stay in their home communities despite the economic hardships they might encounter there. In contrast to others who migrated and settled in Santiago, Mapuche who stayed in Huechelu did not see a move to an urban center—and its social and psychological consequences—as beneficial to them. Instead, they had made the personal decision to stay in their places of origin for their own sake, despite the adversities they might experience by not migrating.

Rosa's experience shows how similar factors, such as economics and lifestyle, are assessed and valued differently by each migrant. The economic benefits in Santiago—mainly higher wages—that might become a "pull" factor for others, actually pushed her away from the city and back to Huechelu. As she explained, Santiago was too expensive and wages too low—even if they were higher than in Huechelu—for her to be able to save money. At the same time, just as a number of young Mapuche see life in *el campo* and its drawbacks as a "push" factor, for Rosa—and others—a quiet life surrounded by lush landscapes becomes a "pull" factor.

Following Siblings

The last time I saw Natalia, we had a long talk about her life as a child in *el campo* and her first years living in Santiago. We met in a big one-room building that was next to the Neighborhood Association close to where she lived. As she explained to me, that building—that was meant to resemble a *ruka* (Mapuche house)—served the double purpose of being a kindergarten and the place where Natalia's Mapuche association met once a month. During our conversation, she was eager to tell me about her past life, in a

way using my presence as an excuse to reflect on memories, and a channel through which to connect to them (Hirsch and Spitzer 2002).

As Natalia started reminiscing her childhood in *el campo*, I realized her experience had not been the same as other stories I had heard before. Indeed, her family-owned farmland did not suffer the same economic and productive hardships I had heard about from others. In her case, her extended family—the Quilapans—owned larger extensions of farmland, which meant scarcity of land was not a salient "push" factor within her migratory path. Instead, it was family relationships, and her position within them, that pushed her to migrate to Santiago.

Even though her family was by no means affluent, the fact that they owned and exploited a fair amount of land provided them with a better economic position than a number of their Mapuche peers. Because of this, Natalia and her siblings were able to attend good public schools in the region and receive a better education than they would have otherwise. In addition to that, her parents were always encouraging her and her siblings to migrate to urban centers so they could have a better life for them and their future children. In Natalia's case, migration was not the solution to economic constraints created by land shortage, but the means through which to take advantage of the 'cultural capital' she had been able to acquire (Bourdieu 1990). In addition to this, her migration was caused by her position within her family and within family networks established through processes of chain migration.

Once Natalia's older brother, Roberto, finished high school, he moved to Santiago to live with an aunt of theirs who had migrated years before. As argued above, family and kin networks are a major factor in setting-up the terrain for initial and further Mapuche

migration. In this case, Roberto was to become the first of all the siblings from the Quilapan family to migrate to Santiago with the intention of settling there in search of better life opportunities. As years passed, Natalia—the youngest—could see how all of her siblings were migrating to the city once they finished, at least, middle school, and coming back for holidays and festivities telling stories about how life had improved for them after they moved from *el campo*. So after she finished high school, the time had come for her to migrate. As she told me,

> All my other siblings had done it, and now it was my turn, my parents said. They had given me an education and I was supposed to make something of myself with it, and Santiago was the place where I could do that.

Natalia's story is similar to a number of other stories of Mapuche migration, in which family networks can be seen as triggering movements between the rural South and urban centers across Chile. However, her story—and that of her siblings—also differs in the way these networks act upon individuals and the overall reasoning behind their migration. While in most cases family networks serve as safety nets and provide relationships that initially pull people to Santiago, for the Quilapan family these networks play a much deeper role. For them, it is family that becomes the major factor motivating migration, since land scarcity or economic hardship were not major issues. It was the social expectations of her own family that made Natalia and her siblings decided to migrate to Santiago.

Seasonal Migration

Most of the Mapuche migratory experiences conveyed during my research fall into one of two major categories. People who migrate and settle in Santiago or people who migrate to Santiago for some time, do not like it, and come back to their home communities. However there are other stories that would escape such a categorization, as some of these have to do with a different migratory pattern, namely seasonal migration. Luis' migratory experience speaks to this.

The last day of my first visit to Huechelu, Father Claudio told me that before dropping me off at the bus station to take my bus back to Santiago, we would make an interesting stop. The Llauquens—a Mapuche family that lived close to where the Jesuit priests lived—had asked Father Claudio if he could bless their newly remodeled kitchen. All of the priests had been invited by the Llauquens to share their first family lunch in the new kitchen with them, and I tagged along. Days before, Father Claudio had mentioned to me that in addition to Mapuche who had been migrating to Santiago and staying there, a younger generation had also started to initiate a pattern of seasonal migration. Initially, I did not see this pattern among the families I met, so I planned to go back to my sources and look for information about this once I was back in Santiago. However, everything changed when I met Luis during my last day in Huechelu.

As we were driving to the Llauquen's house, I thought about the intersection of traditional, indigenous religious practices and colonizing religions, as well as the influence these Fathers had within the Mapuche communities in Huechelu. However, it turned out that none of these aspects became salient during the visit, although another, long-awaited one did. As usual, after general introductions were made (generally "this is Raimundo, a friend of ours from Santiago") and we all sat at the table to start eating, our

hosts wanted to know more about me, mainly why I was in Huechelu. In what became a sort of learned monologue, I explained to them that I was an anthropologist studying Mapuche migration, and I was there to learn about their experiences as well as how life in *el campo* was.

In contrast to what is found in other ethnographies dealing with migrant populations escaping from the shortfalls of their rural life (Boehm 2012; Castellanos 2012, Stephen 2007), migration itself was not the first topic to naturally emerge from our conversation. The Llauquen focused on *el campo* and what it meant for them, the difficulties they have to struggle with every day, as well as the positive aspects attached to it. The conversation went on the same path for the next half hour or so, only interrupted by lighthearted jokes and anecdotes. However, after an initial trust between my hosts and I had been built—in addition to a couple glasses of wine—the topic of discussion took a turn.

I had been sitting next to Luis, the oldest sibling of the family, who after some time came close to me and said: “Hey, if you want to know about migration, you should talk to us,” signaling the only other non-relative guest: his friend Pedro. I asked him why was that, and he explained to me that they were both seasonal migrants who move around Central and Southern Chile looking for short-term jobs that allowed them to work for a couple of months and then come back to Huechelu. I could not believe it. I was hours from taking the bus back to Santiago—not knowing I would be back in Huechelu a couple of weeks later—and I had stumbled upon a type of Mapuche migration I had not read about or seen before. I was immediately intrigued by which were his reasons to do this, even though I had a feeling that they would be related to his perception of

Santiago—a city he had told me before he never liked. However, his response highlighted a different reasoning that was more in sync with what I learned where considered more ‘traditional’ Mapuche values. In his own words:

> I know some people like living in Santiago, and how much better it is. But not for me. I like working on the vineyards… going there for two or three months when the most people are needed. Then I can come here, rest with my family, be here with the nature. Have you seen how beautiful it is here? And then a cousin or a friend will call me, and there we go! Back to work. I am never away from home for more than a month straight… the wife doesn’t like it [Luis and Pedro laugh].

Luis’s words are significant in the way they express multiple interconnected reasons behind his migratory pattern, and at the same time portray similarities with the more general pattern of Mapuche migration. For Luis—in contrast to other accounts, such as Iván’s trajectory—it is *el campo* and what it represents that pulls him back to Huechelu every couple of months, as well as the connection between this particular space and the presence of his family. In addition to this, his feelings toward Santiago make him stay away from this urban center. In a way, while family and what the city had to offer pulled Natalia out of *el campo*, it was family and the perception of Santiago that constantly “pull” Luis back to Huechelu. Nevertheless, it is also possible to observe social networks once again having a triggering effect behind any kind of migratory experience. A Mapuche moving to Santiago to “try his/her luck” is hardly ever seen. Unfortunately, I was never able to meet with Luis in person again, because the next time I was in Huechelu he had already gone back to Puerto Montt to work in the salmon industry. We

did have a few chats over the phone after our initial meeting, and he would always mention other friends and colleagues, stating he might consider moving to where they were once his job in Puerto Montt would end.

The experiences of Rosa, Natalia, and Luis are useful in the way they express different migratory patterns that would escape any sort of general categorization when it comes to Mapuche migration. The migration of Mapuche from rural to urban areas, on the one hand, has not spurred an extensive academic interest among social scientists working with Mapuche in Chile (Aravena et al. 2005: 122-123). On the other hand, scholars who have actually studied this phenomenon have not typically tackled the roots of this movement. Indeed, this process has been generally thought of as initiated by overarching historical, political, and economic circumstances that escape the migrants' potency for agency (for example, Bengoa 1996; Course 2013; Imilan 2010). Thus, the contrasting experiences of these Mapuche migrants—and the personal reasons behind each migration—reveal two important considerations. First, even though historical, political, and economic circumstances admittedly had an influence in initiating the migratory process decades ago, there exist new factors that are also influencing and initiating migration: such as family, increasing awareness of the urban world, or personal choices. Secondly, migrants negotiate these factors in different ways: while some will prioritize staying close to family, others will decide to migrate because they have become an economic burden to their family; while some decide to stay close to *el campo* because of the tranquil lifestyle it ensures, others decide to leave *el campo* so they can escape a way of life they describe as "dull" or "undeveloped."

Intimate Factors: Individual Agency and Kinship Negotiations

Mapuche migration can be perceived as showing general patterns that would describe the overall experiences of these migrants—movement of young Mapuche from rural to urban areas, often triggered by kin relations at a personal level. In a similar fashion, there is no doubt that there are external historical, economic, and social factors that have led Mapuche to initiate this "diaspora" (Marimán 1997). Even though my research acknowledges the existence and importance of such characteristics and factors, I argue for an anthropological understanding of Mapuche migration, in which overarching aspects—history or economics—are seen as structural factors, without losing sight of personal ones found at the ground level, namely the individual complexities of each migrant's trajectory. Many studies dealing with Mapuche migration assume some sort of homogeneity in migrants' experiences, without considering the importance behind contradictions that may appear in the process.

The ethnographic research method, thus, becomes especially valuable in an exploration such as this one, where a number of particularities might remain hidden without close study of everyday life. In turn, two major factors are seen as shaping these differences, what I call "intimate" and "structural" factors. By structural factors I refer to circumstances that migrants have little control over, such as economic pressures, for example. In contrast to the overarching external factors shaping Mapuche migration more generally, intimate factors are those aspects that a migrant may have some control over, such as how they personally weigh the importance of structural factors, or their position within family networks. Thus, it is necessary to distinguish between the overarching

structural factors shaping Mapuche migration and how specific migration trajectories are also molded by intimate factors.

Individual agency is perhaps the most crucial factor behind the differences in particular experiences of migration. Scholars and the general public have seen the movement of Mapuche to urban centers as carrying negative implications for Mapuche communities and "culture" (Valenzuela 2007), a "forced urban migration" (Course 2013: 773) initiated solely by the loss of their ancestral territory. However, understandings like these obscure what takes place at a more personal level for each individual. Therefore, it becomes important to observe the ways in which structural factors, such as "push" and "pull" factors, impact each individual differently given the way they negotiate these factors.

The same factor—perception of the city, rural lifestyle, among others—can become a crucial impetus for migration, or it can become a barrier, depending on how each individual chooses to weigh this factor. Thus, although it is recognized that each migrant has a limited amount of choices, such as whether or not to migrate, or where to finally migrate depending on their unique situation, the way these choices are valued and balanced will depend on each migrant's individual agency.

A second major intimate factor has to do with family and kinship relations, and how each individual is able to negotiate their position within them. One of the patterns of urban Mapuche migration is the presence of kin as a crucial motivation for and support of each individual's migration. Every Mapuche I interviewed who wanted to migrate to Santiago would only initiate this sojourn after knowing that there is a relative—as distant as this relative may be—who will give them housing there. Thus, this intimate factor

creates particularities within the larger landscape of Mapuche migration in multiple ways. It seems that every extended Mapuche family has at least one member living in Santiago, due to the distant extension of family ties. Therefore, the critical issue is not whether someone has an immediate family member in Santiago or not, but instead one's position within the family as well as the position (in every possible sense) of the family. For example, it was typical to hear Mapuche women in Santiago say they were told by parents to migrate so they could work in the city and send money home, while their male siblings stayed for a longer time in *el campo* to help with farm work. In the case of Natalia, her family's economic position was one of the reasons behind her migration to Santiago. Also, the geographic locations of one's family in Santiago, and specifically the neighborhood where they reside, could potentially determine the trajectory of each migration.

* * *

In sum, causes and effects of Mapuche migration should be understood in terms of the relationship between structural factors such as economics, politics, or history, and intimate factors like individual agency and kin relations, and the constant negotiation of these factors by each individual. With such an approach, ethnographic research brings to light contrasts, discrepancies, and contradictions within different experiences which are later useful to understand the various sociocultural trajectories Mapuche followed when settling in Santiago. Focusing on personal experiences is useful to understand the

complexities within Mapuche migration, something that is usually left unnoticed when observing Mapuche migration as a homogeneous phenomenon.

CHAPTER 3: LEAVING *EL CAMPO* BEHIND

Begoña—or Bego as family and friends usually called her—is a Mapuche woman in her late sixties. She and her husband, Antonio, live around 40 minutes away by bus from Huechelu—plus the 20-minute walk from the bus stop to their farmhouse. We had planned for me to visit her to help with her huerta*, or garden, a couple of days before. However a group of Mapuche had obstructed the road between Huechelu and her farmhouse as a means of exerting political pressure as part of their movement to regain their ancestral land. That morning, the road was finally opened and some time before noon I was able to catch the next bus that would take me to Bego's farm. I had promised her I would be there for breakfast, and that afterwards I could 'help' her with gardening, or* huerteando *as she would call it. At the end of the day, I was glad I got there past one o'clock. After we had lunch and a lot of* mate*—the herbal infusion so common in multiple parts of South America (without which no work can be started, according to Bego)—we finally got ourselves ready for our day in the* huerta*. Once we were outside, Bego gave me a hoe, pointed towards an unplowed piece of land of about 8x32 feet, and said "Okay* gringuito*, you do this one and I will do the one on the other side of the greenhouse." I had some experience using this tool when I was younger, and thought I had it all under control. 20 minutes later—in what felt like an hour—Bego came back with a glass of apple* chicha*—a sort of apple cider—saying "it looks like my* gringo *worker is already out of breath. We wouldn't want him going back to Santiago saying that he was abused by Bego. Here you go!" she said while handing me the glass of* chicha*. I was actually exhausted and panting, and had been expecting a break. Given that she was at least twice my age, had done her chunk of land—which I later noticed was larger than mine—in less*

time, and did not seemed tired at all, I asked her how she did it. "There is no way I could not live this way. I know it is hard for some people, that some people consider it hard work. For me, being cloistered in an office all day, living for a low wage? That would be hard work. Here I am free, I can talk to the birds, I can decide if I work or not, at what time I do so, etc. In fact, I can't imagine a day in which I don't work on my huerta. *That would drive me crazy." While I was walking back to the bus stop that evening—with a horrible back ache and blisters showing on the palm of my hands—I couldn't help but think about Bego's words and my own experience that day. That way of living and working were the reason some of the Mapuche I knew moved away from* el campo*, yet also the reason why* el campo *has become a site of nostalgia for many Mapuche in Santiago.*

Mapuche who have migrated to Santiago and other urban centers in Chile have moved away from family and friends, but they have also left behind the place where they grew up and where their culture is seen to be based: *el campo*. For a number of indigenous groups, including the Mapuche, belonging and occupation of a territory is a crucial aspect in the construction of their collective ethnic identity (see for example Clifford 2001; Phinney et al. 2001; Smith 2006; Watson 2010). For Mapuche, this identity is not only constructed through the residence in an ancestral territory, but they also believe their indigeneity is better performed within this locale, *el campo*. The issue is in need of attention after a great number of Mapuche have decided to migrate to urban centers—away from their home communities—raising doubts about the 'true' nature of their

indigeneity. Instead, I choose to explore the ways in which Mapuche in Santiago have continued to perceive themselves as still 'being Mapuche.'

Following scholarly and public understandings of place-based indigeneity (Clifford 2001; Basso 1996; Gordillo 2010; Lee 2006), it is possible to observe the importance that Mapuche attach to the specific territories where their home communities are located. I argue, however, that these understandings obscure other expressions of 'indigeneity' for Mapuche, especially for those who no longer reside in these communities. In this sense, I also build on conceptions derived from a multi-layered (Barth 1969; Clifford 2007; Gordillo 2010; Smith 2006; Watson 2010; Wilson and Peters 2005) approach to indigeneity that argues for a more flexible interpretation of the concept that considers multiple expressions of ethnic identity and how they are given different significance through time.

Therefore, in examining Mapuche rural-urban migration, I contend for an analytical tool that integrates place-based (Clifford 2001; Basso 1996; Gordillo 2010; Lee 2006)) and multi-layered interpretations of indigeneity. On the one hand, place-based interpretations allow for analyses that consider the importance of land and territory for Mapuche communities. On the other hand, multi-layered interpretations are a way to observe other expressions of indigeneity without completely disregarding the relevance of belonging and rootedness.

This chapter looks at the second stage within Mapuche rural-urban migration, namely, settling in Santiago and leaving *el campo* behind after initiating a migratory process. The first part of this chapter focuses on a literature review concerning the relationship between land and territory and constructions of indigeneity. Here, I argue

that despite the importance of a relationship with ancestral territories—what I call the ‘ethnic locale’—for Mapuche, their indigeneity should not be solely thought in these terms. Instead, a more fluid conception of indigeneity is put forward, where indigeneity is understood as being performed in different ways through language, rituals, or ancestry, and not only land possession.

The second part of this chapter analyzes the social and cultural consequences ensued by leaving behind friends and kin, as well as the familiar setting of *el campo*, when migrating and settling in Santiago. Using the concept of deterritorialization as a framework to understand the issues behind this movement, I maintain that Mapuche in Santiago experience two different types of deterritorialization. The first one is ‘geographic deterritorialization,’ represented by the loss of their relationship with the ethnic locale. The second, ‘cultural deterritorialization,’ has to do with the social and cultural changes that come with their settlement in the urban setting.

The third and final section of this chapter explores the different ways in which Santiago and *el campo* are constructed as ‘places’ through deterritorialization and migration. Here, I look at ‘places’ not only as delimited geographies, but instead as territorial and imagined geographies dependent on perspectives constructed through personal and collective experiences. With this, it is possible to see how Santiago and Huechelu are described and experienced differently based on each individual’s trajectory and perspectives. This way, Santiago and Huechelu are one ‘place’ if lived from ‘within’ and a somewhat different ‘place’ when seen from the ‘outside.’

The 'Ethnic Locale': Territory, Land, and Indigeneity

Residence in and connection to a specific territory has usually been considered to be one of the central aspects defining an ethnic group's identity. Given that migration has become increasingly common among indigenous groups, the significance of this aspect has also been transferred to individuals. Thus, the movement of indigenous people away from their 'ethnic locale' has raised academic attention to the implications these movements have for indigenous people and their attachment to a particular ethnic identity. By 'ethnic locale,' I refer to the geographical area that a specific indigenous group considers to be the spatial foundation of their culture. In other words, as the space in which indigenous communities understand culture and ethnicity residing.

The ethnographic literature has identified multiple ways in which an ethnic locale is perceived by a group as being the link to an identity that connects them to their culture and their ancestors. The variety within these social constructions is ample. Working with aboriginal groups in Australia, Benjamin Smith (2006: 224-225) found that the connection to an ethnic locale has been partly constructed through a long-standing settlement in the area. As Smith notes, however, this connection goes further than simply an emotional relationship to a place built through time. For Australian aboriginals in the central Cape York Peninsula, "these places are 'home' because the essential foundation of particular Aboriginal identities is understood and felt to be vested there" (Smith 2006: 225).

This is similar to Mapuche and their connection with their land and specific territories. After centuries of settlement in the same area, Mapuche have constructed the geographical notion of *Wallmapu* to refer to the extension of their territory (Antileo

Baeza 2010). The *Wallmapu* not only represents the Mapuche territory, but it is also the ethnic locale—the place where Mapucheness resides. At the same time, Mapuche have developed a strong connection to specific territories within the *Wallmapu*—their home communities. These communities represent an important aspect of each Mapuche's identity. As will be explained in the following chapter, communities of origin play a crucial role in determining the different ways in which Mapucheness will be performed by each individual (Briones 2007: 110; Imilan 2010: 127), such as differences in how rituals and ceremonies are carried out or the meaning behind different words. Therefore, similar to what Smith (2006) saw with Australian aboriginals, Mapuche have developed a strong spiritual and affective connection to their ancestral territory—as well as the specific territories within the *Wallmapu*.

Other groups have understood their connection to a specific ethnic locale as part of a process to return to earlier ways of living understood to be attached to that place. Gastón Gordillo's work with Guaraní families in Northern Argentina shows the wishes of an indigenous group to return to an ethnic locale in the hopes of "living 'like before,' working the land, raising animals, and free from the urban poverty" (2011: 855). For this group, the return to a specific place is guided by the loss of ancestral practices and the lifestyle attached to that ethnic locale, all of which are difficult to be carried out while in an urban setting.

Even though the demand from Mapuche for the restitution of their ancestral lands is not new, the magnitude of the process has increased considerably over the past decade in terms of the number of Mapuche—and non-Mapuche at times—involved in it, as well as the intensity of the actions taken to call attention to the problem. Within what the

Chilean state and the mainstream media have termed the 'Mapuche conflict'—in a clear attempt to increase the public sense of violence within this movement—it is possible to find peaceful protests that gather thousands of people as well as smaller groups that organize violent acts in Southern Chile, terrorist acts in the eyes of the Government.

Unfortunately, it has been the latter representation that has been the focus of the media, and not some of the peaceful and civic ways in which some Mapuche in the rural south have dealt with this problem. Hence, similar to the hopes of the Guaraní in northern Argentina—and many other dispossessed indigenous groups in a post-colonial world—the Mapuche aim to regain their ancestral land in order not only to go back to a previous way of life, but also to reinforce a spiritual relationship that has been lost for years.

Finally, there are yet other groups that construct a relationship toward an ethnic locale in terms of a specific relationship with the land (understood as nature, as the earth) itself. This is the case of the Anishinabek in Canada. Interviewing Anishinabek living in different Canadian urban centers, Kathi Wilson and Evelyn Peters (2005: 403) found a strong tie between the maintenance of an ethnic identity and a relationship with the land in urban settings. The land becomes an important part of Anishinabek identity due to its role as "provider of all things necessary to support life" (Wilson and Peters 2005: 403).

In this sense, even though the ethnic locale—in this case, the reservation—and the desire to return to it are central aspects of Anishinabek identity in urban settings, sustaining a spiritual relationship with Mother Earth has become the main channel through which to sustain their ethnic identity in the city. Anishinabek living in Canadian cities have created what Wilson and Peters (2005: 403-408) term as 'spaces of cultural safety.' These spaces can be a tree at the nearest park where you can make a tobacco

offering, or even the backyard of your house where you have a garden with wild plants that are native of your ethnic locale (Wilson and Peters 2005: 404). Thus, through the relocation and accommodation of practices common in the ethnic locale into the urban setting, Anishinabek living in cities have been able to maintain a spiritual connection to the land, therefore creating "individual, small-scale cultural spaces within the city" (Wilson and Peters 2005: 404).

For Mapuche, there exists an inherent personal and collective connection to the land—their land—and what it generally represents to them as an ethnic group. The first evidence of this relationship is given precisely by their name. In *Mapudungun*, their native language, Mapuche means 'people of the earth' (*gente de la tierra)*, the people that work the land, the people that feed themselves from the land. Following this, all of the small ceremonies I was able to attend were related in some way to the land, especially those invoking the spirits of ancestors who are a part of the *Pachamama*. Whether it was one of grace and offering or one of petition, there was always some indication of this connection, either through explicit dances or subtle symbols like the recurrent presence of a cinnamon tree or its leaves.

The ethnic locale becomes essential in the way that it is the unique place that possesses the spiritual power from where each individual can restore this personal relationship. As Josefa, the young daughter of a *lonko* in Santiago, once told me, "if I ever get really sick, I need to go to my mother's or my father's land to ask for help from the spirits, because there is a different energy there [than in Santiago]." It is in these specific places where ancestors are buried and where their spirits lay; it is there where ceremonies have been done forever. However, as explained in the previous chapter, many

of these territories were taken away from Mapuche families in a process that began in the late 1800s.

Thus, the relationship between territory, land, and indigeneity for Mapuche can be understood through three discourses. First of all, the *Wallmapu*, occupied for centuries, not only represents the place where Mapuche culture was born, but it also means the place where Mapucheness is located, as Mapuche communities in *el sur* argue. Secondly, the land, their own land, embodies the relationship between Mapuche, *Pachamama*, and the spirits that govern their particular communities. Finally, the demand for their ancestral lands not only encapsulates the first two channels, but it also represents the idea that by recovering these lands, there exists a possibility to go back to previous indigenous practices that are no longer possible given land scarcity—and the consequent migration of thousands of Mapuche to urban centers.

While it is important to identify the relevance that territory and land have for Mapuche and their culture, it becomes necessary to also identify how this relevance may be analyzed from an anthropological perspective. Even though I argue that it is the place of indigenous groups to recognize the value given to each aspect of their ethnic identity, I believe it is also our duty not to let these assessments obscure other aspects of their indigeneity. Mapuche seem to give greater significance to land and territory than other aspects in constructing their identity, but this is not to say that land and territory should be taken as the only ones. This becomes especially evident when considering the large number of Mapuche who are currently living away from their ethnic locales.

Placing Indigeneity

Conceptualizing indigeneity generally has attached to it an idea of a specific geography from where a particular indigenous group comes from, and where their indigeneity is contained. Escaping the boundaries of that geography or ethnic locale, some would say, would mean that part of that indigeneity has been lost. Scholars that argue for a 'place-based indigeneity' (Gordillo 2010: 858), meaning that a certain ethnic identity is 'pure' as long as it is enacted in that particular geography (Basso 1996; Lee 2006), have followed this understanding. Indeed, a conception of this kind is supported by the ways in which indigenous people themselves relate—and belong—to their territory, as argued above.

For some authors, this belonging to a territory is precisely what separates indigenous and non-indigenous notions of occupying a space and 'living' it, especially when it comes to history and the role that 'space' plays in it (Basso 1996: 33-34; see also Gordillo 2010: 858). Keith Basso's (1996) ethnography on the Western Apache is telling in this sense, as he unravels the role that place-names—and the landscape attached to these names—have in Western Apache language and how these place-names relate to their identity; an identity rooted in an ethnic locale. Adhering to a notion of 'stable spatiality' (Gordillo 2010: 857), Richard Lee contends that:

> the most compelling feature that sets indigenous people apart [from non-indigenous] is their sense of place… What indigenous people appear to have is what migrants and the children of migrants (i.e. most of the rest of us) feel they lack: a sense of belonging, a sense of rootedness in place" (Lee 2006: 460; emphasis on original).

A number of scholars have, thus, supported the notion that “indigeneity is always a matter of attachment to place” (Clifford 2001: 481), a matter of belonging to a place and making that space their own.

Given the importance that land and territory have for Mapuche, an understanding of ethnic locale as the source of indigeneity seems logical. For Walter Imilan, the Mapuche demand for ancestral territories has to do with what he calls a ‘territorial identity,’ which “does not only refer to a determined geographical habitat but rather an original space in which culture is reproduced; a geographical space that is the source of Mapuche culture” (2010: 117).

Notions of place-based indigeneity have in turn constructed the idea that there are places where indigenous people can remain ‘indigenous,’ and that a move away from those geographies would mean moving away from an authentic representation of their cultural identity (Watson 2010: 269). In connection with essentialist representations of ethnic identity, sedentarist theory (Watson 2010: 269) assumes that the ‘native space’ is where indigenous culture belongs, and that ethnic ‘performances’ outside of this space—and the indigenous people behind these ‘performances’—are “out of place” (Wilson and Peters 2005: 398-399; see also Watson 2010: 272). In relation to the present discussion, then, sedentarist theory assumes that an authentic ethnicity is not possible when indigenous groups migrate to urban centers, as the physical connection to their ethnic locale is lost—and so is the connection to their identity (Course 2013; Valenzuela 2007; Watson 2010: 269; Wilson and Peters 2005: 400).

These conceptions have moved beyond the boundaries of scholarly theorizations and have been instilled into the public realm. During my fieldwork in Santiago, a typical

response to the descriptions of my research among non-Mapuche was: "But why? They are not Mapuche anymore; they are living in Santiago now. You should go to the south if you want to study Mapuche." At first, I was always inclined to explain the complexity behind fluid understandings of ethnic identity, only to find myself frustrated by the constant arguments of "Yes, but they don't dress like Mapuche, they don't speak *Mapudungun*, they are not in *el campo*. How can they be Mapuche?" Eventually, I conceded and gave up on explanations and nodded away their concerns. What came to be more interesting to me were the small—yet significant—amount of times that I heard similar expressions from Mapuche living in *el campo*. Similar to what Magnus Course (2013) observed in his research, these expressions came in the form of "those who are living in Santiago are no longer Mapuche" or from a more personal perspective, such as a young Mapuche in Huechelu who told me "I am afraid that if I leave for Santiago I will become a *winka*."

It can be difficult to take out conceptions of place-based indigeneity constructed by indigenous people and those posited by researchers observing them. However, the fact is that sedentarist perceptions have been bolstered by indigenous' land rights movements and their claims for ancestral lands. As Wilson and Peters put it, "Indigenous peoples around the world have identified their relationship to land as an important surviving marker of indigenous culture and they have used this relationship as a basis for negotiating rights and title" (2005: 400; see also Watson 2010: 269, 272). The demand for the restoration of ancestral territories by indigenous groups has reinforced the idea that indigenous culture resides in specific places, and only there.

Flexible Indigeneity

Denying the fact that an attachment to an ethnic locale constitutes an important aspect of identity for most indigenous peoples would be misdirected. The term 'indigenous' itself recognizes the belonging to a specific locale, in opposition to those who were not there before them (Clifford 2007: 197-198). However, advocating for this relationship as being the primary, or sole, aspect defining what an 'authentic' ethnic identity is—if there even is an 'authentic' ethnic identity—certainly has its issues. The first one has to do with ethnocentric ideas that assume that all indigenous groups express their identity in terms of a relationship to the land.

Indeed, as Fredrik Barth (1969: 12) argued, ethnic groups construct ideals of identity in terms of the external circumstances existent at a given moment within their environment. In other words, what constitutes being 'indigenous' for a specific ethnic group is a "collective, strategic, and situational" construct that shifts through time as the relationships they establish with their environments shift (Aravena 200: 166). Moreover, even if a particular indigenous group has developed an ethnic identity that is heavily influenced by a connection to the land, this relationship may be rearticulated after a movement away from the ethnic locale, as Wilson and Peters (2005) research in Canada shows.

A second issue is related to the current situation of indigenous groups around the globe, where mobility has increasingly become the norm. The argument does not imply that in the past indigenous groups where completely sedentary, as these groups are known for their movement in trading, warfare, and even population relocation. However, the migratory process that is currently taking place differs from previous movements in the

way that it is increasingly inserting indigenous people in an environment that is, at times, radically different from theirs, especially if it is an urban environment. In addition, the insertion into this new environment usually can have negative social consequences, such as extreme poverty and discrimination, among others.

Therefore, the idea of place-based indigeneity should not be completely discarded, especially given that in some cases it is indigenous groups themselves who recognize and emphasize this relationship. However, there is a need for a concept that is more accurate in answering the nuanced question of what it currently means to be indigenous. Namely, a concept that captures and examines the ways in which indigenous populations in urban centers still self-identify as indigenous, even after the belonging to an ethnic locale is lost; a concept that dismisses essentialist notions of indigeneity and shows that "rootedness and sense of place are not necessarily the defining features of actors who self-identify as indigenous" (Gordillo 2010: 858). This concept would help to dismantle the notion of indigenous people as 'confined' to their native places (Appadurai 1988).

Following a number of authors (Barth 1969; Clifford 2007; Gordillo 2010; Smith 2006; Watson 2010; Wilson and Peters 2005), the concept of 'multi-layered indigeneity' (Gordillo 2010: 858) appears to be a more flexible term that gives space to nuanced expressions of identity. Understanding indigeneity as built through varying layers of adscription to an indigenous identity allows for multiple expressions of selfhood and identity—"a key aspect of the reproduction of late-modern societies… [that] marks a person's inclusion within the social and cultural horizon of these societies" (Smith 2006: 228). In other words, a multi-layered approach to indigeneity would shed light on social

expressions of identity that a placed-based approach would obscure. In addition, it moves away from essentialist ideals that determine how indigenous groups should act in order to be considered indigenous, and explores the richness behind various constructions of indigeneity.

Ultimately, a multi-layered approach to indigeneity favors the notion that the increasing number of indigenous populations in urban settings does not mean the end to indigenous culture. Rather, the current scenario has caused urban indigenous populations to negotiate their rootedness in a particular ethnic locale, and just like transnational migrants, they have been able to "formulate identities of belonging to more than one place" (Wilson and Peters 2005: 409; see also Fogel-Chance 1993: 95). Watson's use of the term 'diasporic Indigeneity' to refer to "the fluid negotiation and extension of modern Indigenous identities and histories in nonlocal settings" (2010: 273) adds a new dimension to the discussion. For Watson, indigeneity can be constantly negotiated to include new territories given that indigenous groups have increasingly begun to migrate out of their home communities. Not only are indigenous people identifying with one place and the other at the same time—like the Anishinabek case illustrates—but they are also, in a way, spreading the geographical boundaries of their ethnic locale (Ramirez 2007: 58-59).

In analyzing the case of Mapuche migrating to Santiago, I argue for an understanding that incorporates components from both place-based as well as multi-layered interpretations of indigeneity. Mapuche in Santiago construct idyllic, nostalgic depictions of *el campo*—and the communities they left behind—while at the same time portraying living conditions in *el campo* as one of the main reasons they—and others—

migrated. At the same time, this paradox becomes even more complex when Mapuche in Santiago recognize other forms of identity—besides rootedness in an ethnic locale—as symbols of indigenous belonging.

When trying to understand the way indigeneity plays out for Mapuche in Santiago, it is important to consider two main aspects: First, the salience of 'place' in constructions of "being Mapuche," and the social and emotional consequences this has for Mapuche living far from their home communities, but also, the multiple ways in which Mapuche in Santiago have negotiated the "loss" of their geographic relationship with their ethnic locale and constructed new forms of connection to their ethnicity.

Deterritorialization: Loss of Land, Loss of the Community

When moving away from their home communities, Mapuche who have migrated are not only leaving behind family and friends, like many other migrants (Green 2009: 334), but they are also 'abandoning' their ethnic locale. Given the salience that land and territory have in the construction of belonging for this indigenous group, it is important to consider the social and cultural effects that this movement has had for Mapuche living in Santiago. In analyzing these effects, I turn to the use of 'deterritorialization' as a framework to understand what is happening with Mapuche who have left *el campo*.

Deterritorialization is used here primarily to refer to the loss of the territory, but it also touches on the social aspects that stem from this loss, because for Mapuche migrating to Santiago, deterritorialization has become a dramatic, two-fold process. On the one hand, they may experience dispossession, as some have lost their rights to inherit land once they migrate—in theory leaving them with no place to which to return. On the

other hand, for Mapuche, migrating to Santiago means moving away from social practices attached to their territory—like living in community—as well as having to negotiate their relationship with a new territory and its environment.

Loss of Land Rights

As explained in the previous chapter, land ownership for the Mapuche drastically changed after the Chilean state's military occupation of their territories. While land was once communally owned and inherited, after Chilean legislation was introduced, the land was divided into individual lots. Thus, even though the land was still considered to be part of the community, each plot was now individually owned. This also meant that once the owner of a plot died, it would have to be divided into smaller plots among his or her heirs, giving way to the migration of young Mapuche to urban centers. This migration, in turn, has also come to affect the ways in which land is divided upon inheritance. By the beginning of the 1950s, renowned Mapuche ethnologist Louis Faron recognized these circumstances:

> In legal theory, those who have migrated can have access to rights over land when the community was divided, but this rarely happens. What really happens is that family opposes the rights over land of the migrated family members not out of purely economic reasons but out of moral considerations, too: in the mind of the Mapuche, *those who have migrated now find themselves outside of Mapuche society* (Faron 1997: 25 in Imilan 2010: 127-128; emphasis mine).

Therefore, the first aspect of deterritorialization for Mapuche migrating to Santiago has to do with the concrete loss, for many, of their rights to land ownership. Filomena's case of

land ownership speaks to the fact that this is still something to consider when analyzing Mapuche deterritorialization.

Filomena migrated to Santiago in the 1970s and has been working as a domestic helper ever since. Out of her five siblings, she was the first one to migrate, and was later followed by her two sisters. Her two brothers, however, never migrated and stayed back in *el campo*. In 1993, the Chilean government passed Law N°19,253, otherwise known as *la ley indígena* (the indigenous law), and with it came the creation of a national corporation for indigenous development, the CONADI (Corporación Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena). One of the many tasks that have been assigned to CONADI are 1) to be an aid for Mapuche communities trying to recover their lands through the use of lawful historic demands of land ownership, and 2) act as an intermediary between Mapuche communities and the current owners of those lands within these demands.

A successful outcome is not always the case for many Mapuche communities—mostly depending on how negotiations are carried out[6]—but Filomena's community had been able to recover their lands a year earlier. The problem, however, was that neither her nor her sisters were living in the community, so one of her brothers took everything that belonged to their family for him. Indeed, his argument was that since none of them were actually living in *el campo*, they had lost ownership rights to that piece of land—even though they go back to visit at least once every year. She told me she would try to get the plot she deserved by any means possible, "but as long as I am here [in Santiago], there is not much I can do about it." The situation, as she told me, made her very anxious. Her

[6] Father Claudio told me how even in a small area like Huechelu there had been numerous ways in which Mapuche communities had tried to get their lands back, ranging from extreme violence, to somewhat peaceful takings, to civilized talks. As he explained, the latter were the most common and successful ones, but only the violent ones are the ones that make it to national television.

retirement plan includes going back to live in *el campo*, but she does not have a definite place to go back to now. At the same time, she feels like she should go back and settle in her community soon, so that she can reclaim what is hers, but commitments in Santiago—and a lack of savings—restrain her from doing it.

Filomena's case, then, speaks to an aspect of deterritorialization that some Mapuche undergo when migrating to Santiago and other urban areas. All of them experience a 'geographical deterritorialization' when leaving behind their home communities and the cultural ties to their ethnic locales, but some also have to deal with the loss of land rights after migrating. However, it is important to mention that this loss of rights does not mean a complete abandonment of their connections with their home communities, since there are always family members who are willing to host them in their visits back to *el campo*.

New Territory, New Environment

A second way Mapuche living in Santiago undergo deterritorialization has to do with how they relate to the new territory and the social and emotional changes that come with this adjustment—a 'cultural deterritorialization.' As argued, land and territory play an important role in how Mapuche perceive their culture. Within this social construction of 'self,' place and belonging are crucial aspects. When migrating to urban centers, Mapuche fall away from this construction and have to renegotiate their relationship with the ethnic locale they left behind, as well as their affinity with a new place—Santiago—and what surrounds them.

In addition to this, through time, Mapuche communities have developed a lifestyle that is synchronic with centuries of inhabitance in *el campo*: communal organization, a sense of solidarity, and rituals and festivities that renew their relationship with nature and the spirits of their ancestors each year. Mapuche living in urban centers, thus, see this lifestyle change drastically as, for some, life in community is no longer possible, and their surroundings become foreign—something unusual in *el campo*. Even though some Mapuche communities have developed in Santiago, there are still a number of Mapuche who are not part of them, or who at least have a chance of living in one of them. Therefore, for many Mapuche in Santiago, the city initially becomes an alien place where anxiety and dislocation become daily concerns. In turn, these feelings are amplified when considering that given the extension of the city, and sometimes their inability to move around it due to job commitments, Mapuche in Santiago live a scattered life.

Gladys's story was one of the most compelling I heard about the social and emotional impact of suddenly leaving *el campo* behind. For her, and many others, this meant leaving behind a life of certainty in terms of routine activities and expectations, and a life where you are completely aware of what is happening in your immediate surroundings. Every time we began talking about her life in *el campo* she would start by expressing how safe it was in comparison to Santiago, how everything was to be expected and familiar, even scarcity and hardship:

> You knew how your year was going to be, every single time. I knew that the year was about to end when my dad was sowing the fields with potato seeds; that after the summer you would have to start school; that the summer was

> over once the fields were full of potatoes and I could see my dad and friends picking the potatoes that had grown. I also knew that no matter how many potatoes and other vegetables [my father and friends] could harvest, the money [my father] got out of it was never enough.

And things were different in Santiago, as she explained. In the city you have an unreliable job, from which you can get fired unexpectedly, without any fair reason, and then everything crumbles down into pieces again. In the city there is also the fear and anxiety of not knowing your surroundings very well at the beginning, and the fact that the only other people you know are your immediate family members who are hosting you for some time. People that you eventually leave behind, as you scatter through the city. For instance, Gladys only meets up with one of her sisters, Carmen, on a regular basis, and that is only because they live a 20-minute walking distance apart from each. As she admitted, she only sees her other two sisters that live in Santiago every so often, because they live far from where she does.

Coming from a knit-tight community, not knowing their surroundings is also something that greatly affects Mapuche when they leave *el campo* behind and experience the city for the first time—and even after they have lived there for years. This becomes even more dreadful as they start hearing stories about how dangerous the city is, especially in comparison to the quiet life they had been used to living in *el campo*. Gladys recalls that for the first year or so, she was terribly scared of going outside the house she was living when she got to Santiago. She would only dare doing so during the day and only for a short period of time:

> When dusk came I locked myself in. For me, the city was gigantic. What if I went out and got lost? And then the sun came down and I couldn't find my way home? No. I got invited to places, but I never said yes because I didn't want to get lost in this huge city.

Eventually, these feelings tend to disappear, but there are always remnants of that initial anxiety:

> No, now I walk everywhere, or I take the bus. I usually walk though, just like we did in *el campo*. Although there are still places I do not dare to go, there are still places I do not know. This city is huge, you know? And there are still people I do not trust, like cab drivers. I have heard so many terrible stories about them.

Gladys's description of her first experiences in Santiago is similar to what many Mapuche in Santiago that I had the chance to meet would say about those first months: the initial shocks of the lifestyle change as well as how the large distances within the city forced them away from family members and friends. Changing the certainty of a peaceful and quiet life with abundant nature for a life in the chaos of the 'concrete jungle' definitely has an emotional toll on migrants coming to Santiago from rural areas, amongst which are Mapuche. Even for me, after living in Santiago all my life, the returns to the city after a week in *el campo* proved to be somewhat uncomfortable.

When talking about cultural deterritorialization, one of the most important aspects has to do with the loss of the connection with the 'place' you live in, with the environment that surrounds you. Describing the week she spent in Santiago, Silvia—a social worker employed at the Municipality of Huechelu—recalled something about

people in Santiago that I, as a native from Santiago, had never stop to consider. For her, Santiago was overwhelming and unfriendly, a complete opposite to her life in Huechelu, and even Concepción, where she went to college:

> It was strange, it was fun; there were such stark contrasts for me. One day we were at a park, a huge park, Parque Forestal, which was great because it reminded me of home, its nature. We had met there with other people from Huechelu and other students from Universidad de Concepción. We had so much fun all that day, walking around downtown, all the buildings, etc. But that was when I was with them, with my group of friends. I would have probably been bored if I was by myself. The buildings are dull, all of them white and gray. And the smog! Also, the next day we were meeting somewhere else, so I took the subway (Metro) by myself. Exiting out of it there must have been a thousand people! And what impressed me the most was that no one knew each other, no one greeted each other. Out of all those people, no one stopped to say 'hi' to someone. Here in *el campo* you can see how everyone greets anyone that walks past you, even if you don't know them. In Santiago, it is totally different, everyone minding their own business. I could never live there. Not like that.

Although Silvia never lived in Santiago, her words echo the thoughts of other Mapuche I met in Huechelu—and some in Santiago—that saw the city as a place that was too strange for them; a place where they do not see themselves fitting in. As Silvia told me, she had less problems while she was living in Concepción—some four hours north of Huechelu—were nature and the outdoors are present everywhere, and not just in scattered

places, like in Santiago. In addition, there is a considerable amount of Mapuche communities around Concepción, which means that a large part of the population is either of Mapuche descent, or has had a long-standing relationship with their culture.

This sociocultural environment has had an effect not only in Concepción, but also in other cities of the VIII and IX Regions (Aravena et al. 2005), where being Mapuche is perceived and lived in ways that are rarely present in Santiago (Antileo Baeza 2010: 28). Silvia explained to me how when she was living in Concepción, there were at least two Mapuche associations that exclusively dealt with students coming from rural areas of the south and their anxieties. These associations would provide student lodging, organize parties, and celebrate Mapuche rituals and festivities. Here, young Mapuche were able to meet other Mapuche coming from different places and discuss their personal urban experiences, all the while staying connected to their ethnic roots through the performance of rituals and debates about what it meant to be Mapuche in Concepción. In Silvia's words, "After some time, we became our own community. We had that sense of community that helped us cope with the feelings of solitude and nostalgia from being away from our homes."

This is hardly the case in Santiago, where a sense of community and a connection to the surrounding environment is a long—if ever achieved—process. Unlike other indigenous groups that form socio-political organizations based on their communities of origin when settling in a foreign country (see Suárez-Navaz 2012), Mapuche in Santiago, for the most part, live disconnected from other Mapuche. This does not deny that some of them have had the opportunity to live in Mapuche communities in Santiago, and neither does it mean that they completely fall apart from their ethnic counterparts. Mapuche in

Santiago do celebrate important festivities in the city, but most of those who I met lacked regular participation in activities with other Mapuche, and others chose to return to their home communities to celebrate these festivities.

Places as Territorial and Imagined Geographies

Following Aristotle (2001), humans are a *zoon politikon* (a civic animal), meaning that unlike other animals, human beings possess the ability to relate politically—from the Greek polis, or city—to one another and create societies and communities, where human relationships develop. At the same time, humans possess culture, which enables them to scrutinize their surroundings and construct symbols that represent their experiences. One of these symbols is related to the immediate environment where societies develop, which leads to the construction of 'spaces' as "lived experiences" (Smith 2006: 228). Furthermore, within the conceptualization of spaces it is possible to find social and cultural understandings that construe 'places' as particular representations of bounded geographies and the correspondent ideologies that characterize them.

This, at least, is how many Western intellectuals have thought of space and place for the past centuries (Escobar 2001: 143). However, following recent scholarship in the social sciences (see Escobar 2001; Watson 2010), I argue for a more fluid and unrestrained conception of place that sees geographies as being constructed through individual and collective perspectives: territorial and imagined geographies. The notion of place is more than a "static geographical location" (Watson 2010: 271)—which supports the idea of extended ethnic locales—as well as a personal representation of

individual and collective histories and experiences—or individual and collective memories (Aravena 2003). In other words, places are geographic, but also significantly constructed through experiences and daily life, since "Landscape is as much cultural as it is physical. Individuals create landscapes out of experience and hope" (Maynor 2005: 153).

This is indeed the case with Mapuche, both living in Santiago and in rural areas, and the ensuing consequences of their migration and deterritorialization. Mapuche who migrate to Santiago do so with a specific idea of how the city is and what it represents, a construction of place that is primarily built through a number of perspectives stemming from their life in *el campo*. At the same time, not only do these perspectives—and the consequent constructions deriving from them—change over time, but also some of them have extended the limits of their ethnic locale to include Santiago as part of their own 'indigenous place.' On the other hand, perspectives of *el campo* also shift after years of living in the city, resulting in novel and often dichotomous understandings of what this 'place' is.

Santiago from El Campo

In constructing territorial and imagined geographies, we find how Mapuche living in Santiago have different perceptions of what the city is, resulting in descriptions that differ from the ones 'Chileans,' as well as Mapuche still living in Huechelu, would offer. During my fieldwork, I met a number of non-Mapuche people in Santiago that were not native to the city, and their perceptions were mostly centered on the undeniable fact that Santiago had a completely different infrastructure and 'culture' than other Chilean cities.

They recalled being amazed by the amount of people everywhere, the extensive public transportation system, and especially the gruesome coat of smog that seemed to cover its skies year-round. When talking to Mapuche living in Huechelu that had visited the Santiago, similar descriptions emerged, as was the case with Roberto.

The day I met Roberto I was following Father Claudio, who was looking for families that would host a Brazilian Jesuit priest who was touring rural towns of southern Chile; we were there to ask Roberto if he would host the Brazilian priest for a couple of days. As father Claudio explained to me—always in-sync with Mapuche culture—you are not supposed to just come into someone's house and ask for a favor. Instead, it is expected that you take your time to socialize with your host before 'getting down to business'—something that would be considered unthinkable and impolite in Santiago, where time is seen as 'precious.' Certainly, I could not argue with this, since it gave me ample time to talk to Roberto.

Even though he had lived all his life in Huechelu, Roberto had family in Santiago, which he visits now and then. When I asked him what he thought of the city, he said that he liked going there sometimes and that he enjoyed spending time there but "only for a couple of days." He recalled how every time he goes to Santiago, the city is always different, there is always something new that had been built or a new highway that he was not aware of before. Although he has always been impressed by Santiago's public transportation, he admitted that he usually rather walk to different places, "because that is the way I am used to moving around." This was similar to other descriptions I heard from Mapuche living in Huechelu that had visited Santiago, but who never actually lived there.

In a way, these constructions of ‘place’ have more to do with exterior perceptions of the city, focusing on the overall environment, but with no personal histories or experiences that make constructions more complex. Whenever Mapuche migrants actually settle in the city, Santiago as a ‘place’ becomes a much more complex experience. It becomes a ‘lived experience’ where individual histories and social connections integrate with each other in creating a more intimate sense of ‘place.’ In other words, descriptions of Santiago from Mapuche who are living there are more rooted in the feelings that have derived from their personal experiences over the years.

Santiago as a Lived Experience

For Mapuche who have long lived in Santiago, the city represents something more than just a visiting ‘place’—like it was for other Mapuche—or a move to the big city—as non-Mapuche migrating from other cities see it. For these Mapuche, Santiago is socially built as a ‘place’ through the convergence of stories of discrimination, ethnic dislocation, and social isolation. When asked to describe the initial thoughts they had of Santiago when they first migrated there, Mapuche usually would not depict the city itself: infrastructure, population density, or smog, like others did. Instead, they would start by portraying their personal experiences attached to how they had constructed ‘place’ at that time. In other words, Mapuche would describe Santiago by recalling how they felt about the city during their first years there.

This is precisely the case with Gladys, introduced above. When asked about her first impressions of Santiago, she immediately started reminiscing those first years when she was afraid to go out after dusk, scared that she would get lost and would not be able

to get back to where she was staying before it was night time. Years later, she is now confident about her knowledge of the city and her ability to get around it, even if "there are still places I do not dare to go, there are still places I do not know." Therefore, instead of enumerating several tangible aspects that grabbed her attention of Santiago, Gladys—like many other Mapuche in the city—used her 'lived experience' to portray her personal journey in constructing Santiago as a place. These personal journeys, however, are not to be understood as individual constructions, as numerous times Mapuche in Santiago would incorporate the stories of other Mapuche acquaintances in their narratives. When recalling her initial perceptions of Santiago, for example, Carmen—Gladys's sister—would often mention instances of discrimination felt by other Mapuche she knew when describing her own initial isolation in Santiago.

In sum, Mapuche living in Santiago construct the city as a 'place' through their own perspective—a personal negotiation (Blackhawk 1995: 16)—built by the entanglement of individual and collective stories that have come to convey the way they relate to their urban life. While other social groups describe their perceptions of Santiago in terms of tangible, structural components, Mapuche in Santiago do so in terms of emotional and sensitive attitudes.

Life in El Campo *is Hard*

For Mapuche still living in *el campo*, 'place' is constructed through their own representations of a rural lifestyle as well as the perceptions of how life is in other places. Mapuche in *el campo* are aware of what lies outside of their rural world—through the narratives of those who visit them and especially through a national media centered on

news stories coming from Santiago—and how their rural lives are perceived by others who are not part of this world. In this sense, most of the Mapuche I met in Huechelu would describe *el campo* as a place where life is hard, hinting on a comparison with the perceptions they have come to construct of other 'places.'

Bego and Agustín have lived all their lives in the peripheries of Huechelu, but have seen their children migrate to urban centers and have hosted a number of groups of young people coming from different Chilean cities over the years. Through these encounters, they have created for themselves an idea of what life is outside of their realm. After Bego and I finished working on her *huerta*, and especially after all the aches I was suffering from after less than an hour of work, I asked her how it was that she could do this every day. Her response was insightful:

> I know that young Mapuche do not like it here, because it is hard work, because bigger cities offer things that you will not find here. Yes, it is hard work, but it is your work. And sometimes they say they are migrating because they can earn more money. But look, for example, my daughter lives in Cañete, and she has a job a there. But she has to buy bread every day, and that is $7 every day. Then she wants to buy vegetables, and she needs to go to the market and spend more money. Here, Antonio and I bake our own bread; we gather our food from our garden. Life is actually cheaper here for us.

[7] For the purposes of this study, whenever money is mentioned, an approximate conversion to U.S. dollars is given. Usually, $1 U.S. dollar is equivalent to $550-$600 Chilean pesos.

In her shrewd response, Bego points to several aspects that define the way in which *el campo*, as a place, is lived and imagined by Mapuche still living in rural areas. On the first place, she recognizes that life there is hard, that there is a great deal of physical labor involved in their daily lives, and that some people are not inclined to live this way and look for a different life somewhere else. In addition, her answer is reminiscent of the construction of *el campo* as a place in comparison to her social knowledge of other 'places'. In other words, a construction of place that is not limited to a bounded geographical location, but one that is built through its connection to other known spaces.

However, Bego's positive view of *el campo* is not a feeling that is shared by many other Mapuche families in Huechelu. The Melicuras—introduced in the previous chapter—were a Mapuche family that had experienced difficult times over the previous years. Ever since the recent passing away of the family head, the Melicura's had been struggling to keep up with the tasks involved in caring for a productive farmland—their main source of income. This was not trivial, since their family consisted of eight members, most of whom were under the age of 12. As mentioned before, the Melicuras were not part of the electric grid that powered Huechelu and its surroundings, so everything had to be cooked on a wood stove and multiple candles had to be lid after natural light was gone. Not only can these elements be considered safety hazards inside a house, but they also come to be seen by them as barriers to a better life and as symbols of the 'hard life.'

In a conversation with Claudia and Adela—who now seemed to run the family after Adela's husband's death—they explained to me what living in *el campo* under those circumstances meant:

> **Claudia**: For the last five years the [the local government] has been promising us that we will get electricity here… Imagine what we could do if we had electricity. My children come back from school and they have to do their homework and read by candlelight. And my mom, she can't do that anymore. We have managed to weave wool socks, sweaters, and other stuff but…
>
> **Adela**: But I have to stop after the sun sets down, I can't weave without natural light because I get a headache right away. That means less weaving time, which means less money. But you know what the toughest thing is? The winter. You can't feel it in here because we have the stove on, but outside? It is always raining, always cold and you don't want to be outside, but someone has to work the fields and take care of the animals…
>
> **Claudia**: Yes, the stove works, but we use a lot of wood. And we have to ask the neighbor for wood and that is always a problem. A friend of mine just got a gas stove. How different would my life be if we had a gas stove! But who am I kidding, we don't even have electricity!

Similar to Bego's perception, Claudia and Adela construct *el campo* as a place where life is hard, although with a more discouraged attitude towards it. At the same time, these three women formulate *el campo* as a 'place' in part by comparing their current situations to the conditions experienced in other 'places:' Bego uses her daughter's life in Cañete, while Claudia uses her friend's new gas stove. A final aspect that detaches from this conversation that is important to consider is climate. Adela's words describing winter weather and how it affects her labor is something that I constantly heard from rural

Mapuche in Huechelu, especially during rainy days. Not only is farm labor hard work, but in southern Chile you need to also add inclement weather. Of course, Mapuche have dealt with this for centuries, but I would argue that the current dichotomy between their 'place' and other 'places' has helped in creating this aversion towards winter weather—which at the same time adds to the equating of *el campo* with 'hard life.'

El campo, thus, is usually perceived as the embodiment of hard life and hard work—regardless of how each individual evaluates this perception. More importantly, the construction of *el campo* as a space—similarly to what happens with Santiago—is done through a blending of individual as well as collective experiences.

El Campo *from Santiago: "I have never seen a rainbow here"*

For Mapuche living in Santiago, describing *el campo* tells a completely different story from that of Mapuche who are still living in rural areas of southern Chile. For those in Santiago, their home communities are constructed as idyllic places where life, if not better, at least made more sense. During my initial chats with most of my Mapuche collaborators, the first topic of conversation that would naturally emerge was life in *el campo*, even if I was asking about a completely different topic. Often times, Mapuche I met would get sidetracked and start looking back into their memories and remember old anecdotes, or would go into long detailed descriptions of the landscape or the distribution of the community. Some of them were critical, like Jenny, who told me how she pitied her cousins that were still living in *el campo* and the "miseries" they had to withstand, only to finish saying that at the same time she envied them for being able to live there without "knowing any better." Others were more likely to overlook negative

circumstances they experienced in *el campo*—extreme poverty, lack of basic needs, or even child abuse—and say they wished they never migrated to Santiago.

These idyllic representations of *el campo* by Mapuche migrants in Santiago are paradoxical, since most of them made the personal choice of settling in Santiago. As shown in the previous chapter, their migrations, if not an entirely personal decision, may have been initially triggered by their position within family structures or other structural factors. However, leaving other variables aside, settling in Santiago was for most of them an individual decision. The paradox of these constructions of *el campo* is, thus, intriguing, but at the same time logical, given the position from which these are being established.

El campo as an idyllic place, for Mapuche living in Santiago, is mostly constructed through their experiences in the city, and not the past experiences in their home communities. Similar, in a way, to how Mapuche in Huechelu would assemble a perception of *el campo* by comparing it to other places, Mapuche in Santiago have come to perceive their home communities as the places that Santiago is not. If Santiago is perceived to be loud and noisy, *el campo* is peaceful and quiet; if Santiago is seen as dangerous and violent, home communities are calm and safe, where "we would never lock our doors and we would always know who our neighbors were." These perceptions often come with an exacerbation of the social milieu associated with the place that was left behind, similar to what Aihwa Ong (2003: 33-40) observed with Cambodian refugees in Oakland and their idealization of gender roles back home.

Here, it is also important to consider that memory is selective and that feelings of nostalgia influence the way in which memories might be chosen at specific times (Hirsch

and Spitzer 2002). In other words, what someone might remember, and select to remember, is heavily impacted by the current circumstances in which the remembrance is taking place. For example, analogous to Gordillo's (2011: 873) experience with Guaraní in Northern Argentina and their hopes of returning to La Loma, Mapuche in Santiago remember *el campo* as an idyllic place, often times consciously forgetting the hardships that initially made them migrate to Santiago.

For Mapuche in Santiago, constructions of *el campo* also touch on aspects of ethnicity and how *el campo* represents the ethnic locale from where Mapuche culture emanates. As stated above, there were a few times while I was in Huechelu when I could hear Mapuche saying that those who had moved to the city where no longer Mapuche, or others who were afraid of migrating to Santiago and becoming a *winka*. However, when talking about *el campo* and what it represented for them, Mapuche in Huechelu would hardly ever mention ethnicity as part of their construction. At the same time, Mapuche in Santiago would never consider themselves no longer being Mapuche, however much they might have admittedly drifted away from Mapuche culture. Paradoxically, nonetheless, most Mapuche in Santiago considered *el campo* and their home communities as "spaces of cultural creativity and resistance" (Avaría Saavedra 2005: 57).

Having lunch with Gladys one day, we started talking about the upcoming *We Tripantu*—the Mapuche "new year" celebration. Eventually, the conversation took a different path and she began talking about her experiences with *Nguillatuns*—an annual celebration of petition and thanking to the spiritual world—back in her home community. I took the opportunity to ask her if she thought that these celebrations were different in Santiago, and her answer hinted on this 'cultural deterritorialization:' "There [in *el*

campo], it is almost better because when it ends, a rainbow appears, and that rainbow announces that the ritual went well… But I have never seen a rainbow here…" Her final comparison bolsters the perception that Mapuche culture is 'better performed' in *el campo*, the ethnic locale.

* * *

The idealization of *el campo*, thus, is a cultural construction that merges two elements that are established at the personal level. The first one, similar to other constructions of 'place' analyzed here, has to do with building a perspective of *el campo* based on personal and collective experiences as well as the comparison of *el campo* with other 'places.' However, these comparisons are made by using Santiago as the standard measure, and not necessarily *el* campo. Mapuche in the city, thus, construct *el campo* through their experiences in Santiago, and not the other way around. The second element to be considered in this construction of *el campo* as a 'place,' has to do with the emotional aspects that arise from migrating and settling in Santiago. As I argue in the next chapter, the idealization of *el campo*—its landscape, its way of life, and the relationships that inhabit it—is one of a number of mechanisms developed by Mapuche in Santiago to cope with feelings of anxiety and alienation.

CHAPTER 4: MAKING SENSE OF THE CITY

Martín was a member of one of the Catholic organizations that I had been in contact with, and he was studying to become a priest. I had always been intrigued to know his story, as a young Mapuche who was born in Santiago and was now trying to become a Catholic priest. I had also heard stories of how young Mapuche in Santiago had started to become more interested in their culture, and so I wanted to know about his stance on this matter. On our way back from visiting Carmen, I asked him about his past, how he was taught Mapudungun and Mapuche culture. He told me that even though both his parents were Mapuche, he was never taught the language, and only occasionally would they talk with him about Mapuche practices. Everything he knew, he had learned it by himself. Once he joined the organization that works with Mapuche in Santiago by organizing rituals, and gatherings, and acting as an economic and social support, *he began having periodic contact with several Mapuche, and "all of a sudden I felt like I was missing something, like I was missing an arm." For Martín, not knowing about his culture was equated with being "half alive," as he considers himself to be a Santiago-native as much as a Mapuche: "I was missing an arm, because I only knew how to be a* Santiaguino *(native of Santiago), and not how to be a Mapuche." Five years had passed since that first epiphany, and even though I could still see him trying to learn new words and Mapuche manners, he was always eager to teach me more about Mapuche culture. Although Martín was born and raised in Santiago, his route to reconnect with Mapuche culture, and in trying to maintain it in the city, is similar to the stories of a number of Mapuche who had migrated to Santiago.*

Migrating and settling in Santiago has multiple social and cultural consequences for Mapuche, starting with their move away from *el campo*, and followed by their adjustment to this new environment. They have not only had to deal with the adjustments that stem from their migration, but also with external forces: discrimination and abuse, among others. Structural factors, then, are added to the loss of a connection to *el campo* and the dwindling of family relationships in the city to make it seem as if life for Mapuche in Santiago is full of sorrows and suffering.

However, I argue, following the cultural and geographic diversity that has characterized the Mapuche (Briones 2007: 110; Imilan 2012: 127), groups dwelling in urban centers, particularly Santiago, have made the city their new home—or at least a temporary or another home. Through the implementation of several social mechanisms—such as establishing connections with other Mapuche or joining social organizations—Mapuche in Santiago have been able to make sense of their new lives and the environment that surrounds them. Perhaps Santiago will never really be "home," but in some measure, through their continual adaptation, Mapuche are capable of making this place their own.

This chapter looks at one of the final stages of Mapuche rural-urban migration, when, after settling in Santiago, Mapuche begin to develop ways to make sense of their new lives in the city and counter some of the social and cultural consequences stemming from their migration. The first section of this chapter initiates a discussion around the use of the term "urban Mapuche" to refer to Mapuche who are now living in Chilean urban centers, although most of them are concentrated in Santiago. Here, I analyze the various discourses that derive from two different spheres, Mapuche themselves and the Chilean

state, to conclude that theoretically separating those Mapuche who are still living in their home communities in southern Chile, and those who are living in urban centers is detrimental for Mapuche. Making this distinction implies the existence of a “real” way of being Mapuche, which is contrary to the overarching argument of this thesis. In addition, being categorized as “urban Mapuche” has adverse social consequences for Mapuche in Santiago in the form of discrimination and abandonment in terms of public policies.

The second part of this chapter looks at the different mechanisms put in place by Mapuche to counter the social and cultural consequences specific to a move away from *el campo* and what it represents—discussed in the previous chapter. For Mapuche in Santiago, the idealization of *el campo*, the idea of one day returning to their home communities, and the coordination of periodic visits to *el campo* are integrated to preserve and imagine the existence of a relationship with *el campo* and those that continue to live there. I contend that the idyllic construction of *el campo* and the goal of once returning there are both used as a way to make sense of their new lives in the city, and to look toward a return to *el campo* one day. Periodic visits, in turn, are used as psychological and emotional outlets from the stress and anxiety of living in Santiago, as a way to renovate kinship ties lost while migrating, and to restore the vital relationship with their ethnic locale.

The third part of this chapter analyzes Mapuche kinship connections in Santiago: the reasons as to why they dwindle through time, their social and cultural usefulness, and the ways in which Mapuche have been able to ‘replace’—acknowledging the difficulties of totally replacing them—kin networks in the city. Something that I observed with Mapuche who had migrated to Santiago was the fact that, although kinship connections

were fundamental in the initial steps of their migratory path, giving them a home for the first few months, getting them their first jobs, by the time I met them—a couple of decades later—most of these connections had faded or lost completely. The reason behind this was, precisely, their settlement and 'insertion' into Santiago's society, as arduous working schedules and the extension of the city did not allow for much leisure time. Given that kin networks in Mapuche communities are the main vehicles of cultural reproduction as well as a strong social and emotional support, the loss of these networks can have profound effects for Mapuche in Santiago. However, Mapuche in Santiago have joined ethnic organizations, which act as channels of cultural reproduction, and non-ethnic organizations, where strong relationships are built, establishing a new social and emotional safety net.

"Urban Mapuche"

For Mapuche, the cultural consequences of living long distances away from their ancestral homes are various. As explained in the previous chapter, the Mapuche have developed a strong relationship with their land and specific territories. Within these specific territories, the spirits of ancestors accrue greater power, and that is what led Josefa to claim that if she ever got "really sick," she would have to go back to one of her parents' land to summon these spirits. *El campo* is where rituals and celebrations "go as planned," as Gladys's story of the rainbow after a *Nguillatún* celebration illustrates. When examining the life of Mapuche in Santiago, there are a number of cultural repercussions that could be identified as stemming from their migratory process, especially those related with the 'disconnection' to their ancestral territories.

However, I argue that the most crucial of these consequences does not concern particular individuals, or even all Mapuche currently living in Santiago, but Mapuche people in general: should Mapuche living in Santiago be considered Mapuche or "urban Mapuche" (Ancán 1997; Kilaleo 2002; Thiers Quintana 2014), a different group within the ethnicity? In other words, are Mapuche living in Santiago still "Mapuche," or should they be considered a different ethnic group that stemmed from the Mapuche?

This discussion has been circulating in public discourse, as well as among Mapuche intellectuals, since the 1992 Chilean Census provided an overview of the general situation of indigenous groups. This one was indeed the first Chilean Census to give the option to Chilean indigenous groups to self-identify with a specific ethnicity (Ancán 1997; Imilan 2010: 245; Antileo Baeza 2010: 5). The results showed that over 44% of the Mapuche population 14 years old or older lived in Santiago (Ancán 1997), giving way to the use of the category of 'urban indigenous' (Imilan 2010: 245). The results of this census were startling: a large number of Mapuche were now living in urban centers throughout the country, especially in Santiago, and away from their *Wallmapu* (Antileo Baeza 2010).

In terms of public discourse, among both the Chilean state and the general public, the discussion has leaned toward making a clear distinction between Mapuche who continue to live in *el campo* and those who are living in Santiago. Whenever a public authority mentions the Mapuche—their demands, their difficulties—it is always related to those who are living in rural areas of Southern Chile. State policies aimed at aiding and supporting the so-called "Mapuche situation," as their plight is often referred to—in contrast to the negative depiction of a "Mapuche conflict"—have overwhelmingly been

directed toward rural Mapuche communities, obscuring their urban counterparts (Ancán 2005; Aravena 2000: 168-169). This view is similar to the one adopted by the Chilean public in general, as was discussed in the previous chapter regarding my experience trying to explain why I was studying Mapuche in the city, and not in their rural communities. For a number of people in Santiago, it is in these communities where Mapuche are "authentic," and "where the most important traditional cultural elements of the Mapuches reproduce themselves freely" (Ancán 1997).

Here, I do not intend to categorize all Santiago residents as having the same viewpoint. Indeed, a number of *winka* who I met during my fieldwork, were conscious of the social quandaries of Mapuche in Santiago and recognized them as Mapuche, while others did not. Generally, these *winka* had developed this perspective out of their personal experiences with Mapuche in Santiago, in contrast to those who had constructed their perceptions through the media and public discourse. Still, these generalizing tendencies continue to prevail within Chilean society.

Unfortunately, the struggle initiated by Mapuche in the south to regain their ancestral lands, has not helped counter the flat construction of 'authenticity' for Mapuche in Santiago. For decades, Mapuche have pressured the Chilean state to return the territories in the *Araucanía* to their rightful owners. Their main argument is about the ownership of the *Wallmapu*, that they were wrongly stripped of these lands, and that the sustainability of Mapuche culture is threatened if the current situation is maintained (Imilan 2010: 117). In a way, this movement is establishing a discourse that heavily relies in the relationship between Mapuche culture—"Mapucheness"—and their ancestral territories. For the non-Mapuche public, thus, such rhetoric has been interpreted as "in

order to be Mapuche one has to reside within these territories," meaning that the considerable number of Mapuche living in urban centers outside of the *Wallmapu* are "not really Mapuche."

Therefore, it can be said that the migratory process of Mapuche from their rural communities into urban centers throughout Chile, particularly Santiago, has a created a public view that makes a distinction between Mapuche still living in rural communities and those who have migrated and settled in these urban centers. Mapuche in Santiago are seen, for the most part, as not being "entirely" Mapuche or indigenous and the most they can aspire to is to be recognized as "urban Mapuche" who should not have equal access to the same social programs that their rural counterparts do—scholarships, subsidies, and other state benefits that come with their recognition as an ethnic group. Furthermore, such a discourse, it has been argued, has not only affected the way in which Mapuche in urban centers are "culturally evaluated," but it also tends to weaken the "Mapuche movement" in general and diminish the cultural value of this ethnic group within Chilean society (Ancán 1997; Imilan 2010: 245-246).

Mapuche Discourses

Mapuche discourses, on the other hand, are much more complex with different attitudes coming from diverse viewpoints. The variety of discourses stem in part from the 'cultural schism' created by public and state discourses that differentiate between Mapuche in terms of their current geographical location—and the quintessential ethos grounded in these geographies (Kilaleo 1992: 13). The separation of these realities has divided the Mapuche discourse into two blocs: those who consider that 'pure' Mapucheness resides

in the *Wallmapu*, mainly Mapuche leaders speaking from the south, and those who consider Mapuche living in urban centers as a new expression of the inherent regional diversity within their culture.

On the one hand, and coming mostly from the southern territories, there are those who regard the large number of Mapuche residing in Santiago as "having lost their roots" after their 'insertion' in Santiago's society (Gissi 2004). Although I did not find this discourse to be common among the Mapuche population in Huechelu, there were still episodes in which the fear of becoming a *winka* had deterred young Mapuche from migrating. However, the more powerful and polarizing perspective comes from the ranks of Mapuche political leaders and organizations.

For a number of political leaders and organizations, generally stationed in Temuco, in southern Chile, the large Mapuche population living in urban centers is viewed through two different lenses. First, "urban Mapuche" are perceived as a potential peril to the "Mapuche movement" that is trying to recuperate ancestral lands (Ancán 2005). In these leaders' eyes, accepting and encouraging the existence of this large population weakens their argument of "Mapucheness resides in our ancestral land." Secondly, and following this belief of identity being rooted in place, Mapuche in Santiago, and other urban centers, are to be included within the "Mapuche movement" only after they return to their communities (Antileo Baeza 2010: 60).

On the other hand, it is possible to find those Mapuche who consider the large number of Mapuche living in Santiago to be an extension of the greater 'Mapuche nation.' As previously explained, Mapuche not only have developed a strong relationship

with the land, but also with the specific territories to which their communities belong—what some have called "territorial identities" (Avaría Saavedra 2005: 59).

So, within the larger 'Mapuche nation' it is possible to find geographical divisions depending on location: Picunches were the "people from the north"[8]; Pehuenches are the "people of the pehuen"—collectors of pine nuts living in the slopes of the Andes Range; the Lafkenches are the "people from the sea"; and the Huilliches are the "people from the south" (Avaría Saavedra 2005: 58; Faron 1968: 11; Zapater 1997: 139-141). Following this inherent cultural division, some authors and Mapuche intellectuals have come to term Mapuche living in urban centers as "Warriache" (Antileo Baeza 2010; Imilan 2010)—waria meaning "city" in *Mapudungun*. Therefore, for these intellectuals, those living in the city are considered to be a "part of the internal diversity of Mapuche society" (Imilan 2010: 247)—an extension of Mapuche culture. This rhetoric mainly stems from Mapuche leaders and intellectuals in Santiago, and is perhaps used as a political device to counter the rhetoric coming from rural communities in the south.

As some Mapuche intellectuals have stated, the divide created by these discourses within Mapuche communities does nothing more than add further obstacles to their land right claims cause, making it seem like Mapuche are disjointed and not united for a collective goal. As José Ancán, a champion for Mapuche unity, pointedly states: "A people-nation is constituted by the sum of its internal diversities and not by the subtraction of its factions, idealizations, and self-interested constructions" (Ancán 2005).

[8] Spoken here in the past tense because *Picunches* were the first group within the Mapuche who were conquered, and consequently killed, during the Spanish conquest.

Mapuche in Santiago

As explained in the previous chapter, for Mapuche in Santiago the social and cultural consequences of leaving *el campo* behind are various. However, the move away from their rural communities also has repercussions that impact daily interactions with *winkas* in the city. These effects mainly originate from public and state discourses, as well as lingering aspects of Mapuche discourses coming from *el campo*—namely the questioning of "real" Mapucheness. The major issue stemming from these constructions that Mapuche in Santiago have had to face is the naturalization of discrimination against them. Even though most of the Mapuche I interviewed felt that circumstances were improving, they confessed there were still remnants of the bitter discrimination they suffered during their first years in Santiago, especially in the workplace (Avaría Saavedra 2005: 57; Imilan 2010: 153-154).

Ever since the first wave of migrants coming from *el campo* settled in Santiago, Mapuche in Santiago have had to deal with discrimination, that has significant consequences for their lives in the city. A question I would ask Mapuche I met was if they knew how to speak *Mapudungun*, the Mapuche language. Even though some of them would tell me they were able to learn it in *el campo*, when they were young, others would admit that their parents never taught them the language, fearing that they would suffer the same discrimination they did.

When I asked Natalia this question, she confessed she had never learned it, and anticipating my follow-up question, she explained to me the reason why. She had always had the willingness to learn her language and culture, but every time she would ask her parents to teach her they would refuse to do so, explaining to her that speaking the

language would bring her more "pain than gain." In her parents' eyes, as with many other parents of Mapuche I met, knowing the language and speaking it, would make others perceive her as Mapuche, and she would therefore suffer from discrimination. Natalia's was not an isolated case, as many other Mapuche in Santiago told me similar stories of their parents never teaching the language with the assumption that sooner or later they would migrate to the city.

This has created a linguistic void for *Mapudungun* in the city, with many Mapuche in Santiago not speaking their language—or, at least until recently, refraining from speaking it in public spaces (Imilan 2010: 152). However, the picture for the future now seems to be more hopeful. Most Mapuche in Santiago expressed a feeling that things are changing, that people are becoming more accepting of Mapuche, and that acts of discrimination are less frequent. In addition to this, Mapuche families in Santiago are seeing how their young children have become more interested in learning their culture and language and developed a sense of pride in being Mapuche. Natalia's father admitted to me that he regrets not teaching *Mapudungun* to his children and that "now, with my grandchildren, I have a second chance. I am teaching them their language and their culture so that this knowledge doesn't die with me."

Nevertheless, despite the perception that discrimination against Mapuche has decreased, there are still underlying societal attitudes that make it seem that discrimination is likely to continue. This is especially true when considering the degree to which discrimination and injustice against Mapuche in Chile, particularly in Santiago, have been normalized or naturalized. The naturalization of any attitude—discrimination, in this case—refers to the process in which consistent negative acts and prejudices

against a social group become 'natural' and habitual given the constructed perception of 'inferiority' of the given group (Holmes 2013: 155-156). In other words, it seems 'normal' to discriminate against and mistreat a group of people because of their socioeconomic position. When working with Triqui migrants, a Mexican indigenous group working as fruit pickers in Washington State, Seth Holmes (2013) observed the mistreatment of this group by other workers and farm executives. In interviews with farm owners, crop managers, and other non Triqui fruit pickers, Holmes realized that the way in which Triqui were treated was seen as a natural thing, having no remorse of their deleterious living conditions or the fact that Triqui were paid less than the other fruit pickers for each bucket of fruit picked (Holmes 2013: 72-78).

Mapuche have also dealt with such naturalized discrimination in Chile, often as a form of structural violence (Farmer 1997). The naturalization of negative attitudes comes in different forms and is experienced in different settings. However, the most powerful way in which attitudes towards Mapuche has been naturalized in Chile is through the use of the word 'Mapuche' with negative connotations. While doing fieldwork in Santiago, one of the ways by which I funded my research was as an English tutor. During one of the conversations I had with the mother of one of my students, she told me that they needed my help because "he is like a 'Mapuche' for English." The negative connotations that stem from her words are various: his English language skills are horrible, equated with the perception that Mapuche are not very good at speaking Spanish; or he needs a lot of work in learning English, equated with the perception that Mapuche are uneducated and do not possess the skills to learn. Of course, the choice of the word 'Mapuche' in this context might have been influenced by her knowledge of my research topic, but the

negative usage given to the word is nevertheless telling. Furthermore, this is not an isolated case, as there were multiple times during my research in which I heard 'Mapuche' being used as a pejorative adjective to refer to someone as 'lazy,' 'violent,' 'stubborn,' or 'backward.' Sometimes, these discourses denigrated Mapuche in general, however most of the time the 'insult' was directed at a specific person, without considering the negative effects the words may have for Mapuche population more broadly.

Not only have Mapuche in Santiago heard their ethnicity being used in a pejorative way, but they have also had to deal with direct acts of discrimination and abuse, especially in their workplace. Here, it is important to mention that in interviews with Mapuche who had lived in urban centers in southern Chile—closer to their home communities—discrimination in these places was hardly ever mentioned. Silvia, the municipal worker in Huechelu, recounted her experiences in Concepción saying that due to the amount of Mapuche living in and around the city, the cultural and social atmosphere was different. In Concepción, discrimination was not an issue for her, because in her words

> Mapuche culture was alive, you could see it everywhere, there was always a cultural event going on that had to do with Mapuche culture. And there were so many of us, that people accepted us. I never felt like I had to hide who I was.

Mapuche living in cities in southern Chile are not only closer to their home communities, but they are also in a social and cultural environment where being Mapuche is not looked down upon, especially given the large number of Mapuche communities close to these

cities and the historical presence of Mapuche population in the area. In Santiago, however, circumstances are quite different.

From information gathered through Mapuche working in the baking industry of Santiago, Imilan posits that it was the “condition of the Mapuche— lack of education, respect for the winka, shyness” (2010: 154) and I would add the naturalization of their social position—what allowed employers to treat Mapuche unfairly. The first job that most Mapuche women got when migrating to Santiago was as housekeepers (Avaría Saavedra 2005: 57). Juana, a Mapuche woman in her late 60s, followed this migratory path. She migrated to Santiago days after she turned 18, “because it was time,” and just like her older brother did years before her, she lived with an aunt during her first months in city. For the next couple of years, she found several domestic, day labor jobs working for wealthy families as a maid, a nanny, or cooking and ironing. During this time, she also found more stable jobs as an empleada puertas adentro (a housekeeper who lives at the house she works in Monday through Saturday).

It was precisely through her work as a housekeeper that Juana experienced the greatest discriminations and abuses:

> One of the bosses I had would go out for dinner or drinks with friends every weekend, and they would call me, at midnight or 1:00 a.m. in the morning so I would open the electric fence for them. At first I was okay with it. I knew there were not many jobs out there and I was afraid that if I complained, they would fire me. One weekend, though, they got back home around 3:00 a.m. in the morning, and the next one at 4:00 a.m. The last night it happened, I didn’t say anything and held back on doing something rash. The next day, I decided to

> confront her. I told her, "I am not doing this anymore. I have to put your children to sleep at 10:00 p.m., wake up in the middle of the night to open the door for you, only to wake up once again at 8:00 a.m. to start working for you. I am not taking this anymore." Her response made me want to punch her in the face: "What? Who do you think you are? I am not taking orders from an 'Indian' [*india*]. If you work here, you will do what I tell you to do." When she called me an 'Indian,' it made my blood boil. Of course I defended myself, told her that I was proud to be a Mapuche, that I was not an 'Indian', but a Mapuche, because Indians come from India. The discussion got heated, we started yelling at each other, and she fired me. But I defended myself.

Juana's story is not an isolated case, as experiences of discrimination and abuse in the workplace were common among Mapuche women I talked to, most of them reacting in a similar way and defending their pride of being Mapuche.

However, there are others who reacted differently at first, trying to hide aspects that would give away their Mapuche background. In her study concerning affirmations and reconstructions of identity among Mapuche in Santiago, Andrea Aravena (2003: 90) found that a number of them would initially renounce to their ethnic identity as part of the cultural process of adaptation to the city (see also Kilaleo 1992: 5, 7). Similarly, Imilan noticed what he calls "ethnic invisibilization, concealing one's indigenous origins in the city" (2010: 152) among Mapuche bakers in Santiago as a way of avoiding discrimination from employers and fellow employees. This usually meant refraining from speaking their language while at work. Ethnic invisibility and renouncing of their ethnic identity was one of the main mechanisms used by some of the Mapuche women I met in

order to escape from the grief that came about with their experiences of discrimination in Santiago.

Camila, a Mapuche woman who had migrated to Santiago over four decades before, once told me her story of 'invisibilization.' After multiple uncomfortable situations and cases of mistreatment for being Mapuche during her first years in the city, she decided to hide her origins:

> Whenever I would hang out with other *empleadas* in the neighborhoods I worked at, I never told them where I came from directly. If they asked, I would always say Temuco. Sometimes they would blatantly ask: "Hey, you look Mapuche. Are you Mapuche?" and I would answer that I wasn't and that I had been asked that multiple times and that I thought it was because of all the intermixing that had happened between Chileans and Mapuche. "Perhaps a distant relative was Mapuche, but none of my parents or my grandparents are Mapuche," was what I would usually say. It was always awkward, but it was definitely better than being called 'Indian,' or being given dirty looks.

As she admitted to me, she was not proud of what she had done long time ago, but she also told me that at the time she felt it was necessary. She was also eager to tell me that now her situation is completely different, as she periodically participates in every Mapuche cultural event and ritual that takes place close to where she lives.

<u>Loss of *El Campo*</u>

For Mapuche in Santiago, discrimination is perhaps the most dramatic social consequence stemming from their migration away from their rural communities,

especially considering how the naturalization of discrimination is constructed through structural factors that are difficult for them to influence—namely, state and public discourses. Social mechanisms developed by Mapuche in Santiago as an attempt to escape from discrimination and abuse are various, ranging from forthright confrontation, to ethnic invisibility and denial. However, there are also cultural consequences to a move away from *el campo*—discussed in the previous chapter—that are also countered by social mechanisms aimed at negotiating this loss.

For Mapuche in Santiago life can be full of anxiety, nostalgia, and mistreatment. However, most of the Mapuche I talked to had found ways to both cope with the anxiety and keep a sense of indigenous belonging in their experiences in Santiago. A young Mapuche in Santiago sharply pointed out to me once: "We [Mapuche] have not survived 600 years by being rigid. We adapt; we are resilient. We take from others what we feel would benefit us and keep moving forward." His words echo the multiple changes that Mapuche have experienced over the centuries—that we know of—beginning with the adoption of horses and animal husbandry after their first contact with the Spanish and continuing today with Mapuche running for Congress in order to influence legislations that deal with indigenous groups. Mapuche migration can be considered yet another adaptation to an ever-changing environment, and the mechanisms used to cope with their new lives in the city, an adaptation to their current situation.

Idealization of El Campo

Perhaps one of the most common mechanisms used by Mapuche in Santiago to grapple with their move away from *el campo* is precisely the idealization of their ethnic locale.

Mapuche in the city have construed a paradoxical rhetoric, where *el campo* is both the place from which some of them 'escaped' looking for better economic opportunities, as well as the place that most of them continuously long for and yearn. I argue that despite the paradoxical nature of this rhetoric, there is still a logical reasoning behind it. First, the idealization and constant remembrance of *el campo* is part of the process of making a place for oneself in the city "by keeping alive a strong feeling of attachment elsewhere" (Clifford 2007: 206). In other words, acknowledging that Santiago will be the new place of settlement, without losing the sense of connection to the ethnic locale; in short, being a resident of Santiago *and* Mapuche, at the same time (Clifford 2007: 206). When they reminisce about past lives in *el campo*, Mapuche in Santiago are reinforcing their identities as part of a larger indigenous group, even if they are far from these places of origin. Thus, by developing an attachment to *el campo* and what it entails, Mapuche are able to make sense of their new lives in the city and comprehend their position within it. They are no longer *only* Mapuche, and they are not *only* residents of Santiago, they are now both Mapuche *and* a resident of Santiago.

Secondly, the idyllic construction of *el campo* comes from Mapuche living in Santiago, most of whom have long moved away from the poverty and hard work that a life in *el campo* entails. Memory is a selective process that takes place in the present and is determined by one's current position (Aravena 2003: 93)—whether a geographic or emotional position. In this case, the collection of memories is done from an urban center that lacks many of the characteristics associated with Mapuche life in *el campo*, primarily community life and a close proximity to nature in rural settings. This compels Mapuche to select memories that symbolize and intensify the characteristics of *el campo* that they

are missing in the city and leave behind memories that do not fit into this idealized construction—such as poverty, for example. In addition, the focus on specific memories is also influenced by the present conditions of Mapuche in Santiago, especially the anxiety that arises from feelings of not belonging in the city.

In a way, Mapuche in Santiago construct *el campo* as an idyllic place as a way of making sense of their lives in the city, assuming that their hard work here will one day bring them back to the place where they belong, *el campo*.

The Idea of Return

Strongly connected to the idealized construction of *el campo*, a second mechanism used by many Mapuche in Santiago to make sense of their new lives in the city is their life-long plan to ultimately return to their home communities once they retire. Anthropologists who have worked with Mapuche migrants have shown contrasting opinions on whether the desire to return ever becomes a reality. While some state that this return is hardly ever accomplished, mainly due to lack of available land in their communities (Imilan 2010: 141), others have argued that half of those who have migrated, eventually return to their communities (Avaria Saavedra 2005: 56). Nevertheless, most Mapuche do express a will to ultimately return to *el campo*, and whether this desire is actualized or not is not the primary concern here. What is relevant is the use of the idea of "return" as a means to overcome the anxieties behind their migration from *el campo* and to maintain some sort of connection with their ethnic locale.

Just like Filomena—introduced in the previous chapter—had the desire to one day return to her home community when she retired, most of the Mapuche I met in Santiago

mentioned the idea of someday returning to *el campo* once they could save enough money. Carmen, for example, would usually comment on returning one day whenever we would talk about her previous life in *el campo*. She would mention this while at the same time telling me about her long-term plans in Santiago, like remodeling and expanding her house, so that grandchildren could visit more often. Ultimately, Carmen's dream of returning was complex, especially given that she—and her family—did not own land in southern Chile where she could settle if she decided to return. Regardless of the complications for return, most Mapuche nevertheless developed the idea of going back, no matter how or when. As one old Mapuche in Santiago once told me: "I will go back. Maybe not while I'm still alive, but I have told my family they need to bury me in my community when I die. My body might not make it back there, but my soul will."

However, there are also those who have developed concrete plans and therefore have a clearer path toward accomplishing their dream. This is the case with María, a Mapuche woman in Santiago who, although settled in the city when I met her, had been migrating back and forth between *el campo* and Santiago. María's case was different from other stories, given that she actually owned a plot of land in her home community in the south—which she visits often—as well as a small house that she has been renovating over the last couple of years so that "when I go back, I can live a happy life, with no worries, and enjoy all the fruits of my labor over the years in Santiago."

Whether individual Mapuche in Santiago have the possibility or not to return to a life in their home communities at some point in time—and even if some of them are consciously aware they might not—there is nevertheless a common rhetoric of return. If this idea is linked to idyllic representations of *el campo*, there are two main ways in

which the idea of return can be interpreted as a social mechanism used to make sense of their lives in Santiago.

First of all, it could be argued that the idea of eventually returning to *el campo* is used as a way to accept their lives in Santiago, in a way constructing the notion that Santiago represents a middle stage in their lives which will finally end in *el campo*. This does not mean that Mapuche in Santiago follow an outcast life, not participating in Santiago's society because they know they will eventually return to *el campo*, as most of them indeed root themselves in Santiago. Instead, the argument here is that Mapuche use the idea of return as a way to counter the negative aspects of their lives in Santiago, 'knowing' that eventually they will return to their home communities.

Secondly, many Mapuche use the idea of eventually going back to *el campo* as a goal that motivates them to keep working hard and to endure the injustices and discriminations they might suffer in the city. Talking to Juana about her initial years in Santiago and her initial feelings of not belonging, as well as the injustices she suffered over the years, she mentioned how she has used the idea of return as some sort of emotional support:

> I am telling you, I will go back [to my home community]. That goal is what has kept me going ever since I got to Santiago, to know that my hard work will eventually take me back home. No matter what people say of me or how they treat me, I just need to keep working.

Like many other Mapuche I met, and similar to the construction of *el campo* as an idyllic place, Juana has been employing the idea of return as a means to accept her present conditions and justify the strenuous work schedule she has had for years.

Periodic Visits

For other Mapuche there exists yet a third mechanism used to cope with the ensuing consequences of leaving *el campo* behind, namely, periodic visits to their home communities for rituals and celebrations. Those who can visit do so for one or two weeks at least once a year, usually during the summer months, for specific rituals like *Nguillatuns* celebrated in their communities, or sometimes during the winter months for the *We Tripantu*, the Mapuche New Year celebration. For them to be able to visit, a number of factors have to coalesce, including having family and friends who will host them, being able to take time off from work, and having money saved for the trip. Unfortunately, these factors are not in place for all Mapuche in Santiago, and although most of them make regular visits to their home communities during their first years in the city, the frequency of these sojourns dwindles over time (Antileo Baeza 2010: 3; Imilan 2010: 139).

Filomena was one of a number of Mapuche who were able to regularly visit their home communities for rituals and celebrations. Even though Filomena lost her rights to her family's plot of land, she still has other friends and family members who host her every year when she visits her home community. She is the life partner of the cacique of her community in Santiago, and since they do not have children it is easier for her to save money for these trips, as she only has to pay for her trip, and not for other family members.

The latter is precisely the case with Jacinta, María 's daughter, a married woman with two children. Jacinta had not been back to *el campo* for several years, even though her mother owns a plot of land with a house where she can stay. She explained to me that

being able to visit was a challenge, mainly because saving money was difficult, given that she had two children to worry about first—by necessity, paying for school, food, clothes took priority.

Ultimately, there are those who have not been able to visit *el campo* for a number of years because they do not have time or resources, or simply because they have lost the connection with family and friends due to the extended period of time between visits. This was the case, for example, with Natalia, who visited *el campo* often when she was young. However, by the time I met her, she had not come back to her home community for over a decade because most of her family was now in Santiago and those who stayed in the community had already died. Other factors, like her family and job responsibilities in Santiago as well as her health condition—she had been suffering from a stomach cancer for years—had not allowed her to make the trip back to *el campo*.

Regardless of the intervals between visits, Mapuche in Santiago use their sojourns back to their home communities not only as a psychological and emotional outlet, but also as a sort of revitalization process. Mapuche who make regular visits to *el campo* told me how they used the weeks they spent there to forget about their worries in Santiago and, more importantly, to reconnect with family, friends, and the locales they grew up around. These visits, thus, are used by Mapuche in Santiago as a way to renovate kinship ties—usually lost while migrating to the city—and restore the vital relationship with their land.

Loss of Kinship Connections

Many of the Mapuche I met in Santiago suffered from the loss of connection to their home communities, but also suffered detachment from kin networks—both in *el campo* and in Santiago. On the one hand, for those who do not have the choice to periodically visit their home communities, sustaining familial relationships with those who stayed in the community is an onerous task. It should be considered that at the time most Mapuche I met migrated—at least two decades ago—the rapid contemporary communication channels of e-mail, cell phones, and social media did not yet exist. By the time these avenues were available, years had passed and ties were usually long fractured.

On the other hand, life in the city does not give one much breathing space either. Work schedules and commitments, as well as the large extension of Santiago, operate against peoples' ability to sustain strong kin relationships through time. As mentioned before, most Mapuche women I met worked, or had initially worked, as housekeepers, with an arduous working schedule from Monday to Friday, and even Saturday, usually living in the houses of the families that they work for, and leaving them with limited leisure time. In addition to this, although most Mapuche migrating to Santiago initially move-in with family members, once they get their first jobs, they usually move out and into their own house or apartment (Imilan 2010: 142). Often times, these places are far from each other, in different peripheral *comunas* (administrative divisions within the city), requiring inner-city bus drives that can last more than two hours. This was an issue raised by many Mapuche when explaining why they would not visit their relatives more often, as Gladys explained to me one day: "The only reason I see Carmen [her sister] more often is because she lives a couple blocks from me. We hardly ever see our other

sisters, because they live too far." In a way, this is contradictory, given that most Mapuche migrations to Santiago, as well as their 'insertion' into Santiago's society, are established through the process of chain migration.

Chain migration is described as the movement in which migrants gather information about the opportunities that are available in the city, and receive housing and job networking from those that migrated before them (MacDonald and MacDonald 1974: 227). Other authors (Imilan 2010: 143) have argued that Mapuche in Santiago settle in the city either through the use of chain migration networks or individually. However, as explained in previous chapters, all of the Mapuche I met used kinship networks to set up their migratory path, and none of them came to Santiago without the help of family members. These kin networks are the main channels through which individual migrations are initially put in place, and if they are not put in motion, it is likely that the possibility of migrating will not turn into reality.

However, even though these kin networks are used to prompt individual migratory paths and as a way for migrants to 'insert' themselves into Santiago's society, the intensity of these kin relationships dwindles through time once Mapuche have settled in the city. There are a number of consequences that stem from losing a strong connection to kin networks both in the city and with those still in *el campo*. Yet, I argue that the most critical consequence has to do with the loss of some of the cultural and social benefits of kin networks. Kin networks are the main channels of cultural reproduction for Mapuche in Santiago and extended family—including family friends—is the main social and emotional support for Mapuche in the city (Ancán 2005).

Disconnection from Kin Networks as Channels of Cultural Reproduction

When it comes to the reproduction of ethnic and cultural values, once Mapuche leave their home communities to migrate to the city, family networks become the principal means through which Mapucheness is created, transferred, and transformed. This, of course, is true only for those who do not live in Mapuche communities in Santiago, as they are able to continue living a life in community. However, for those who do not have this chance, losing ties with kin networks becomes a crucial issue when trying to sustain Mapuche cultural and ethnic connections while living in Santiago.

The fact that Mapuche cultural knowledge is transferred through kin networks in the city should come as no surprise. Natalia's father, for example, made himself responsible for passing on his knowledge to his grandchildren, largely because he "failed to teach all these things to my own children." The similar case of Filomena also speaks to the use of kin networks as channels of cultural reproduction. Filomena, partner of the *lonko* of a Mapuche community in Pudahuel, is seen by her family members in Santiago as possessing vast cultural knowledge, especially given her position within her community. Because of this, nephews and nieces came to Filomena when they decided to learn more about Mapuche culture and language. In addition to this, Filomena and her sisters had begun speaking in *Mapudungun* whenever their families met—which happened more often than for other families, since they all live in the same community. The reason for this was not only to give their children access to *Mapudungun*, but also so the sisters could keep practicing their skills. For Mapuche in Santiago, then, kin networks act as an important vehicle of cultural transmission. However, as connections to family members begin to fade away, the potency of these ties as means of cultural reproduction

dwindle as well.

This was the case with Bárbara, a Mapuche woman in her late 60s who had migrated to Santiago over four decades before. Like most other Mapuche, she had moved into the house of one of her cousins during her first year in Santiago. After that first year, she decided to look for independence and a life of her own, and began renting a small apartment in the eastern side of the city—whereas most of her family members lived in the western side. After years of living far from each other, Bárbara and her kin residing in Santiago—none of her siblings ever migrated—eventually lost touch with each other, and she admitted not seeing most of them in years. Barbara had not visited her home community in over two decades, which meant that most of those relationships were also fragmented.

Now, in her late 60s, Bárbara concedes that she has forgotten most of the *Mapudungun* she once knew and that she rarely attends Mapuche rituals and celebrations that happen throughout Peñalolén—the *comuna* where she lives, known for having a large Mapuche population. Before, when she lived with her cousin's family, they would try to have conversations in *Mapudungun* whenever they could, meet up with other Mapuche, and attend various celebrations. By the time I met her, however, this had changed:

> I don't go to Mapuche celebrations here [in Peñalolén]. I don't know... most of my friends are not Mapuche, I don't want to go by myself. I usually don't hear about these events until a couple of days before they happen, and by then I have other plans... Perhaps if I was still in touch with family members in

> Santiago we would go together, our children and grandchildren might talk in *Mapudungun* with each other... but I haven't seen them in years.

Filomena's and Bárbara's narratives poignantly point to the character of kin networks as channels of cultural reproduction. If individuals are able to maintain strong family relationships while in Santiago, the possibility of sustaining and transferring "Mapucheness" is increased. When these networks are somehow ruptured, however, the transmission of "Mapucheness" through time becomes implausible.

Loss of Kin Networks as Safety Nets

Today, for Mapuche, perhaps the most relevant social consequence of settling in the city is the loss of kin networks as social and emotional support. These kin relationships are hardly ever entirely lost; however, their strength usually wanes over time, especially after Mapuche migrants form their own family in Santiago (Imilan 2010: 150). Ties with family members and friends back in their home communities usually dwindle with time as well, especially for those who do not have the opportunity to visit these communities often, as argued above.

The intriguing aspect of this phenomenon is that, initially, kin networks are the main channel through which Mapuche migrants are able to begin their migratory path and settlement in the city (Aravena et al. 2005: 127). However, once settled or 'incorporated' into Santiago's workforce, Mapuche will usually start making their own living, establishing themselves in different neighborhoods, and distancing themselves from family members. This relocation is the first stage in the process of 'separation' from kin networks, and it is commonly initiated by a combination of individual and structural

factors. When I asked Mapuche in Santiago why they moved out of the house of the relative that hosted them during their first months or years in the city, they mentioned a number of reasons: lack of space in the house after other waves of relatives from *el campo* came in, exploring housing arrangements closer to their work sites, or a search for personal independence. Relocations away from family members that hosted them during the first few months or years, it should be added, were not intended to be an escape or liberation from family ties. All Mapuche who went through this relocation admitted that they thought they would still be able to stay in touch with those family members, but also added that lack of time and geographical distance made it difficult to sustain these ties overtime.

The consequences of dwindling kin relationships are not only feelings of loneliness and solitude—as many admitted to have experienced during this time—but also, more importantly, the loss of a social safety net (Aravena et al. 2005: 125). When Mapuche start residing in peripheral neighborhoods, far from family members, they are abruptly stripped from the certainty and security provided by the constant presence—and support—of kin and acquaintances. In *el campo*, Mapuche would live a life in community, where immediate help and assistance was to be expected. During the initial stages of their migration in Santiago—while living with family members—Mapuche could rely on their kin networks for aid of any kind. However, when moving to a different neighborhood, usually by themselves, that security fades away.

Jacinta—now in her late 40s and married to a *winka*, with two children—migrated to Santiago when she was only 16 years old. Following her older brothers' migratory path, during the first years in the city she lived with an aunt and her family in Maipú—one of

Santiago's eastern peripheral *comunas*. Her first jobs, as an *empleada*, were in the western *comunas* of Providencia, Las Condes, and Vitacura. This meant a long commute—about 2 hours by bus—especially during the time when she was working part time in different houses, which meant commuting every day. Eventually she began working as an *empleada puertas adentro*, and was able to save enough money to start renting a small apartment in the *comuna* of Peñalolén, much closer to the aforementioned *comunas* where she would usually work. There were multiple reasons for her to leave her aunt's house but the most important was being closer to work and diminishing commute time, in addition to the feeling that she was starting to be a nuisance for her aunt.

During one of our chats, we started talking about her family and how convenient it was for her to have her mother often around. However, as she was eager to note, things were not always this way, and there was a time when she was scared and felt isolated from others:

> It was during the time I moved out of my aunt's house and into an apartment that is around five minutes by bus from here [where she now lives]. It was hard. My aunt lived in Maipú, my older brother in Quilicura, and my other brother in Renca; all of them in the other side of Santiago. I would stay Monday through Saturday in the house I worked at, and by the time I got off work Saturday afternoon all I wanted was to get home and rest. My brothers and I would try to organize ourselves to meet on Sundays, but it was hard. Sundays were the only day I was off work, so it was the day I could go grocery shopping, clean my apartment, run errands, you know? It was my day. Besides, there were also Sundays in which my brothers had to work too. But that was

> not what worried me the most. What if something happened to me? I was still figuring out how things worked in Santiago, what if I did something wrong and got in trouble? Who would help me? I didn't know anyone besides my family and maybe some friends I made while living with my aunt. I didn't know my neighbors because I was never there. You have to remember this was over 20 years ago, when there were no cell phones, no e-mail, nothing. So that was my biggest fear once I moved out, being all by myself, with no one to reach to for immediate assistance.

Jacinta's experience echoes the stories I heard from a number of Mapuche in Santiago: work schedules and the city's geography had 'forced' them to leave kin networks behind, resulting in feelings of solitude, despair, and, most importantly, fear and anxiety. Thus, for the great number of Mapuche, losing the connection to other family members in the city meant abandoning the main source of social and emotional refuge in a relatively unknown and unfamiliar environment like Santiago. However, with the perseverance that characterizes indigenous groups in general, and Mapuche in particular, those who have detached from kin networks have found ways to replace these networks and their ensuing social functions.

Forming New Bonds in Santiago

When migrating to Santiago, Mapuche leave behind friends and family, crucial relationships that acted both as the source of Mapuche cultural knowledge as well as a safety net of emotional support. During the initial stages of their settlement in Santiago, kin networks in the city come to replace those relationships and their social purpose.

However, as has been discussed, during the process of settling in Santiago, familial connections are frequently lost, generating a cultural and emotional void. Nevertheless, Mapuche in Santiago have been able to fill that gap through their participation in several ethnic and social organizations.

Ethnic Organizations

Beginning with the major waves of Mapuche migration during the first decades of the 20th century, the founding of ethnic organizations has been the main way for Mapuche to stay connected and share cultural knowledge in Santiago. Today, there are over a hundred "cultural... labor-union, productive, artistic, sports, and youth" explicitly Mapuche organizations in Santiago (Antileo Baeza 2010: 33; see also Imilan 2010: 169). Their characteristics may vary, but their role is ubiquitous: to keep Mapuche together. This discussion, thus, focuses more in the capacity of these organizations to serve as cultural networks, and not only in their role as "spaces of cultural refuge" (Imilan 2010: 163-164).

Some Mapuche have been a part of these organizations since their first years in Santiago, while others—the great majority—did not get involved until years later, usually once kin networks had weakened. The latter was the case of Natalia, who decided to found a Mapuche organization after years of drifting away from her ethnic roots, as she explained to me. Like many others, Natalia lost touch with family members after she moved to a different *comuna* and work schedules did not allow her to visit them as often as she would have wanted:

> For some time, I didn't have contact with my aunt, my uncle, or my cousins. Yes, I had my husband, my children, and them my father moved to Santiago,

> but I still felt like something was missing. I was depressed and felt that my life was pointless; I had a job, I was able to provide for my family, and I was lucky to spend time with my father, who I hadn't seen in years. But still, I was depressed and didn't know why. Then one day, I read somewhere that a *machi* [medicine man/woman] from the south was coming to a neighborhood close to where we lived and do health and spiritual consultation. I decided to go and see if perhaps he could help me with my problems. When I got there, I saw everyone wearing traditional Mapuche garments: their *chamals*, *trariloncos*, everything, and I immediately starting feeling different, more upbeat. Then I talked to the *machi*, told him my problems and he said: "*Lamien* [sister], what you are missing is your connection to your *peñi* [brethren]." And then it all became clear to me: I had my family, but I also needed all my other Mapuche brothers.

After her meeting with the *machi* that day, Natalia talked to other Mapuche who she knew in her neighborhood and encouraged them to start meeting often and talk about their lives in *el campo* and their experiences in Santiago. 15 years had passed since those first meetings, and what began as a support group has turned into a small Mapuche organization that celebrates major Mapuche festivities together and runs a small day-care, where children "can learn about their culture at a young age."

For Natalia, as for a number of other Mapuche, joining an ethnic organization has allowed her to restore her relationship with Mapuche culture and maintain ties with other Mapuche in Santiago (Gissi 2004). Again, these organizations not only serve as spaces of cultural refuge, but also as crucial sociocultural networks through which Mapuche culture

is reproduced and reinforced. It is in these organizations where Mapuche coming from different parts of southern Chile can gather to share their knowledge and experiences and keep their ethnic roots alive. In Mapuche New Year celebrations organized by these associations, it was common to see children dressed up with traditional Mapuche clothing, showing how ethnic organizations in the city also become important channels of cultural reproduction.

Even though kin networks in Santiago are usually lost or weakened due to the contingencies of their settlement in the city, Mapuche have been able to recreate family relationships with sociocultural networks established through their participation in ethnic organizations. Acknowledging that kinship will never be entirely replaced, the use of these networks is nevertheless effective as sources of cultural sharing and dissemination.

Social Organizations

While a number of Mapuche have joined ethnic organizations to fill a cultural void, there are others who have joined different types of social organizations that come to replace the nature of kinship networks as social and emotional supports. Whether these are religious, sports, or parent associations, the main difference between these types of organizations and what I am calling "ethnic organizations" is the fact that ethnicity is not the primary unifying characteristic for social organizations. Mapuche who join these organizations are those who either do not have access to ethnic organizations or those who never felt a need to directly connect with other Mapuche in the city. This last group, it should be added, is not formed by Mapuche who reject or deny their ethnic identity, but rather, those who did not feel the urge to 'reconnect' with their identity because they never

considered that connection to be lost in the first place. Of course, there are also others who are part of both ethnic as well as social organizations. However, the discussion here focuses on the role of social organizations as restoring the social and emotional 'safety net' that was lost after the dwindling of kin relationships.

The life of Jenny, a Mapuche woman in her late 50s, follows this path. She had migrated to Santiago before turning 20 and, similar to others, after living with one of her cousins during her first year in the city, she decided to move out of there, looking for independence. Jenny and I were introduced by an uncle, a Catholic priest who ran a small chapel in Jenny's neighborhood. Jenny was a parishioner in that chapel, and had known my uncle for nearly three decades. By the time I met her, she had not seen her cousins in several years, but she had formed a family of her own, and her daughter and granddaughter lived with her—unfortunately, her husband had died a couple of years before. However, as she explained to me, there had been times when she felt like giving up, and going back to *el campo*: "But I couldn't go back to that life. Perhaps here [in Santiago] I didn't know anyone, and I was afraid, but at least I wasn't starving and walking around with no shoes." That was what kept her going, the dread thought of going back to a life in *el campo*. Yet, a series of circumstances made her reevaluate her options. One day, when returning home after working as a day laborer (ironing, cooking, cleaning the house for a family), she broke one of her ankles after getting off the bus. She was a couple of blocks away from her apartment, so she could make it back home without anyone's help, but then the bigger picture struck her: "How am I going to pay for the medical bills? I can't work like this, where am I going to get money?" Fortunately, that

time her cousins were able to help her financially, but she knew they were not going to be there every time something happened to her:

> I told myself that I needed to make friends, meet my neighbors... I couldn't live all by myself. And then, two weeks later, your uncle here knocks on my door and tells me that he was building a chapel around the corner and that I should come someday. God sent! I had never been a religious person, but here I was, a 20-something year old, all by myself in this huge city, so I went. I have never felt alone since then.

For Jenny, the connection was more than just religious, or spiritual in nature. In essence, for her it was sort of a way back to being part of a community. This was especially observable whenever my uncle was present, as she would often change the focus of attention to him while in the middle of an idea directed to me: "Oh Father, remember our trip to the beach last year? How much fun we had?" Whenever there was a mention of the parish in our conversations, it was always accompanied by anecdotes, collective times of suffering or joy, or plans for group vacations. It was actually uncommon to hear them talk about religious matters, and Jenny would always mention the "community" as the protection and safeguard that enabled her to feel secure in Santiago.

Mapuche in Santiago join different types of organizations, whether these are religious, sport clubs, or parent associations. However, the relevant issue here is not the nature of these organizations, but instead what these organizations grant to Mapuche who join them. As has been argued, one of the difficulties of fragile kin networks in Santiago is the loss of the social and emotional support provided by them. Indeed, most of the

Mapuche I met who had drifted away from family members in Santiago had joined some sort of organization during their time in the city.

* * *

In sum, for Mapuche, settling in Santiago seems to be process that is never really complete, starting with the sociocultural consequences of moving away from *el campo*, and followed by the loss of frequent interactions with kin. Although most of them finally settle and familiarize with the city, at some level, the idea of not belonging in that specific environment often emerges. These feelings are typically reinforced by idyllic constructions of *el campo* and the idea of return. However, at the same time, Mapuche are setting in motion various social mechanisms to make sense of their new lives in the city. Whether these mechanisms are joining different ethnic or social organizations, or periodic visits to *el campo* to replenish energies, the underlying matter is that Mapuche communities will continue to thrive.

CHAPTER 5: ONGOING MIGRATIONS

"We were coming back from Cañete, when, very close to our house, a group of armed Mapuche had cut-off the road and were asking for a 'toll' to let people through. We had spent all of our money in the market in Cañete, and they were asking for a ridiculous amount of money, something like $20,000 Chilean pesos (over US$40). My son-in-law, who was driving, decided to turn back and try a different road. Then, all of a sudden, he turned around again and said: "Hell no! I am Mapuche, just like them. I won't take this from them!" We were approaching the barricade they had set up, and he was not stopping. He just sped through their barricade and they starting shooting at us. I don't know how we made it alive. The car had bullet holes all over it and the rear window was destroyed. I was mad at him for doing that, but I was furious with those other Mapuche who the only thing they do is give Mapuche a bad reputation." The preceding words come from Bego and were meant as an illustration to show me what could have happened to me if I had come visit her the day before. Bego and I had planned for me to visit her earlier in the week, but the road that connects Huechelu and her house had been blocked by a group of Mapuche, cutting off the regular transit of buses between Huechelu and Cañete.

This thesis is framed against the backdrop of the specific political context of the "Mapuche movement," as the social and political movement of Mapuche wanting to regain sovereignty over their ancestral land is usually called. Before beginning my fieldwork, I was aware of the existence of this movement, but chose not to focus on it given its complexity, the amount and range of actors involved, and the short period of

time I had for doing ethnographic research. However, what I could not predict was that as much as I tried to move away from the political realm, and knowing the risks associated with this, people and circumstances would always somehow bring me back to it. Even though this thesis did not intend to delve into and analyze topics stemming directly from the "Mapuche movement," it was never able to completely move away from it.

At the same time, I argue that a study of this kind is, overall, beneficial for the future of the "Mapuche movement" as it helps gain new understandings of what it means to be Mapuche in urban centers, without losing sight of the significance for Mapuche to live in their ancestral territories. Trying to analyze Mapuche migration in a comprehensive and dynamic way allows us to observe the path in its entirety and gives the opportunity to recognize important issues that might be affecting Mapuche in different stages of this process.

Migration Trajectories

Mapuche migration is characterized by scholars as being the movement of Mapuche individuals from rural settings, where their home communities are located, to urban centers throughout Chile. Usually, Mapuche migrants are young and their migration is generally initiated and sustained through time by family networks, as most Mapuche follow the path of previous family members and receive lodging and job opportunities from kin in Santiago. This process, however, is somewhat paradoxical, as these kin networks can fade over the years due to work schedules and the expansive layout of the city standing in the way of regular family meetings.

The movement of young Mapuche out of *el campo* and into urban centers can be identified as initiated by "push" and "pull" factors such as the economic allure of bigger cities—higher wages, better job opportunities—or the current social, political, or economic conditions of *el campo*. While accepting the influence of these factors within the construction of this migratory process, this study has shown how the individual agency of migrants will also, and perhaps always, shape their migratory path. For example, Rosa, after living and working in Santiago for a few years, concedes that she would rather stay and live in Huechelu, close to *el campo*. And yet Jenny, who migrated to Santiago at a young age, admitted that if she were to be born again, she would choose to be born in Santiago and not in the striking poverty of *el campo*.

After settling in Santiago, multiple issues arise, with the loss of land and loss of a sense of community being perhaps the most critical. By moving away from their home communities, most Mapuche give up their rights to land ownership, meaning that they potentially lose their option to one day move back to their communities, and most importantly, lose their connection to their ethnic locale and friends and family who are still living there. Nevertheless, it is common to see Mapuche in Santiago develop the idea of returning to *el campo* once they retire and those who have the option use periodic visits to their home communities to try and preserve these relationships and the connection to their land.

An important aspect of Mapuche communities in the south is a life in community and the sense of safety that it entails, something that is usually lost in Santiago, where kinship connections are tenuous and Mapuche find themselves lacking adequate support in an unknown environment. In order to counter some of these consequences, such as the

loss of kinship networks as vehicles of cultural reproduction or as sources of social and emotional support, Mapuche in Santiago have begun to join or establish different ethnic and social organizations. Through these organizations, Mapuche have been able to build new relationships that act as "safety nets" in the city and strengthen their connection with other Mapuche to re-establish a life in community.

In sum, although Mapuche migration is often analyzed as the inevitable consequence of state policies and socioeconomic factors, this thesis has shown that migrants will exercise individual agency in the way they value and weigh these factors differently depending on their unique situation. At the same time, while recognizing the negative social and cultural consequences of settling in Santiago for Mapuche, this thesis has also shown that Mapuche have developed social mechanisms that allow them to counter some of these difficulties.

Future Movements

Mapuche migration is a complex phenomenon that involves a number of different actors and is shaped by various social, political, and economic contexts and circumstances. Therefore, there are still multiple aspects of Mapuche migration that could be explored in future research. One is the influence that discrimination may have in this process, such as the ways in which racism could affect cultural reproduction in the city. As discussed in chapters 3 and 4, a number of Mapuche have had to suffer acts of discrimination against them in Santiago. Although most contended that there were signs of change in the attitude of *winkas* toward Mapuche, the current state of affairs indicates that discrimination will continue to be an issue for Mapuche in Santiago. Therefore, a study

that further examines the consequences of acts of discrimination against Mapuche in Santiago can bring to light important knowledge about the workings of racism, such as the ways in which these acts influence migratory paths or the impact of discrimination on language acquisition or cultural transmission in the city.

Most of this research was done in participation with Mapuche women in Santiago, and although the role of gender was not the primary concern of this study, I believe that an explicit focus on gender would be beneficial, and could reveal particular differences between the experiences of Mapuche men and women when migrating. A study of this kind could guide questions related to gender roles and how they may shift due to migration, or how perceptions and expectations differ according to gender. Migration can effect cultural change in multiple ways and examining shifts in gender roles can shed light on changes that might be otherwise left unnoticed. Are gender roles performed differently by men and women in Santiago than in their home communities? How have individual perceptions of gender status shifted through time as Mapuche settle in Santiago? Have constructions of manhood and womanhood in different Mapuche communities changed because of migration (cf. Boehm 2012: 71)?

Furthermore, this thesis centered on the lives of Mapuche migrants in Santiago, but I argue that a study with the ability to follow migrants during their visits back to *el campo* can help answer a number of inquiries related to the interplay between migration and cultural change. Ethnographic research with migrants during their visits to *el campo* would pay attention to nuanced interactions between those Mapuche who migrate and those who stay in their home communities and could contribute new and engaging findings. For example, how are Mapuche coming from Santiago perceived in their home

communities? How have their roles in the community changed after migrating? How do Mapuche from Santiago experience these visits?

Finally, although the influence of the "Mapuche movement" in this research has been recognized, a study directed at looking at the social impacts of this political scenario on Mapuche migration would provide a more comprehensive understanding of this migratory process. Given that most of the research participants in this study migrated to Santiago decades ago, when the political situation was not as fragile and pervasive as it is now, it is hard to evaluate the effects the "Mapuche movement" had in initiating their individual migrations. However, focusing on Mapuche who recently migrated to Santiago could lead to questions related to how the "Mapuche movement" and Mapuche migration intertwine. How has violence in southern Chile shaped the decisions of those Mapuche who chose to migrate? Do attitudes toward the "Mapuche movement" change after Mapuche migrants settle in Santiago? How are Mapuche who recently migrated experiencing and performing "Mapucheness" in the city given the current political scenario?

The presence of indigenous populations in Chilean urban centers, as well as Mapuche migration "has been ignored for a long time and it has just recently begun to be a subject of inquiry" (Aravena 2000: 167; translation mine), and so Mapuche migration is a phenomenon that offers a rich variety of research avenues that are yet to be explored and considered. New generations of young Mapuche will continue to migrate to urban centers and present social, economic, and political conditions will continue to spur this process. This is especially true when considering how little progress has been made in the process of land return [*devolución de tierras*] on the part of the Chilean state. As long as

the state continues to stall in comprehending the significance and consequences behind the "Mapuche movement," violence and land pressure will keep motivating Mapuche to leave their home communities. At the same time, Mapuche in Santiago have managed to adjust to life in the city, but this has been done with little to no help from the Chilean state. As long as the state continues to avoid the needs of a large Mapuche population in urban centers within its public policies, the social situation of Mapuche in Santiago—namely discrimination, poverty, and lack of social support—will endure.

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