

Gertrudis Payàs  
Fabien Le Bonniec *Editors*

# Intercultural Studies from Southern Chile

Theoretical and Empirical Approaches

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# Preface<sup>1</sup>

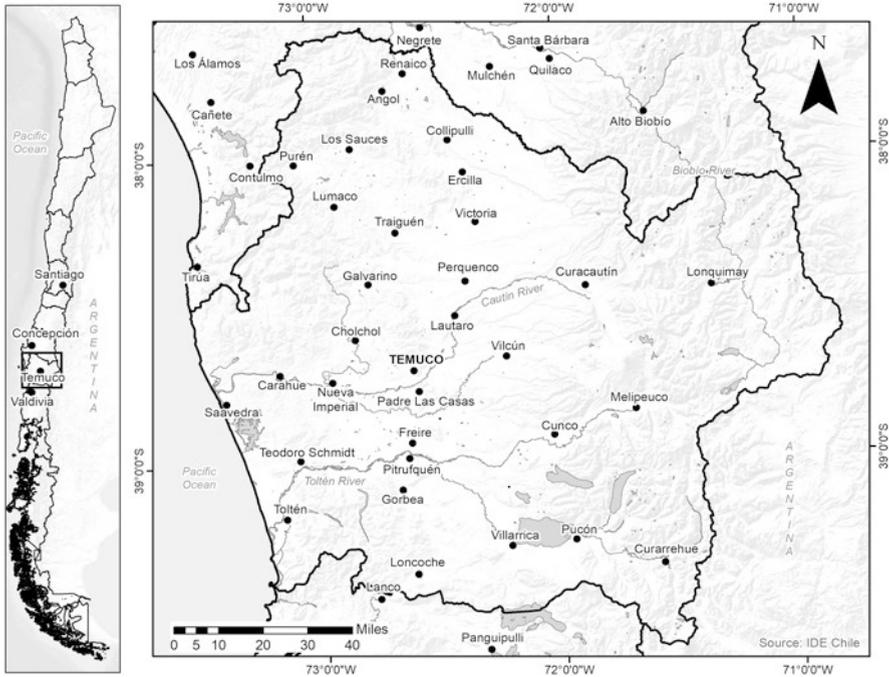
The Chilean region currently known as Araucania (see Fig. 1) is a historic enclave with a strong indigenous imprint in a liberal economy that was, until the recent outbreak of social unrest, regarded as one of the continent's most successful. In a territory that is home to scarcely one million people, with an area of 32,000 km<sup>2</sup>, primarily agricultural land and forests, bounded by the ocean on one side and the mountains on the other, there is a concentration of social and economic problems rooted in a colonial—and, above all, neo- or post-colonial—history. Despite the marginalisation of the Mapuche people (historically known as the *araucanos*) and lack of representation in State politics, its activism has brought these problems to the fore, and they are symptomatic of all multicultural societies in a time when the liberal capitalist model is facing crisis, with different developmental models clashing, together with territorialities and rationalities. While the fiercest protests in the Chilean capital of Santiago and the country's main cities have focused on rejecting an economic model that creates more poverty and inequality, a peripheral region like Araucania has the added complexity of a history of racism and interethnic conflict.

In the sixteenth century, the Spanish named the indigenous peoples south of the Biobío River, whom they never fully conquered, the *araucanos*.<sup>2</sup> In contrast to a historiography that characterises these peoples as dispersed and semi-nomadic, without organisation and thus destined to be assimilated or disappear, recent studies in the disciplines of ethnohistory and archaeology reveal their social structure, cultural unity and longstanding political and economic organisation, highlighting the

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<sup>1</sup> Translated by James Kelly.

<sup>2</sup> From the name *Arauco*, which the Spanish gave to this territory (possibly derived from the Quechua word *auka*, meaning “rebellious”). In the early chronicles, the description “Indians of Chile” was used to refer to the speakers of a common language (the language of the “Kingdom of Chile”), spoken in most of the Western Andean region. With the advance of the Spanish conquest, the Spanish language came to be imposed on the land, such that from the seventeenth century, the latter was identified as Arauco, with the term “araucanian language” used to refer to what is now called Mapudungun.



**Fig. 1** Map of Chile and Araucania with main cities. (Source: Infraestructura de Datos Geoespaciales, IDE Chile. Elaboration: Felipe Castro G.)

dynamism of their contact, first with the Incas and later with the Spanish. Combining archaeological and ethnohistorical sources with ethnographic research makes it possible to identify a number of continuities, such as the spaces and rituals related to practices of resistance, providing evidence of the historic depth of the “Mapuche resilience” and the aspirations of these groups to maintain their independence.

The advance of their army was effectively halted at the Biobío River, which became the frontier: to the north lay Hispanicised Chile, while the *araucanos* remained to the south, with the ambiguous status of free vassals, bound to the Spanish by peace treaties that were solemnly agreed with certain regularity. The treaties underpinned peaceful coexistence for over two centuries, ensuring the free passage of goods and people. However, when the Spanish were expelled from the territory at the start of the twentieth century, the new republican authorities sought to consolidate the limits of the new nation. The *araucanos*, who had largely remained loyal to the Spanish as a result of the peace treaties, resisted the advance of the Chilean military into their territory. However, in 1882 they were finally defeated. Their land was confiscated, their population decimated and the survivors displaced and relocated. They began the twentieth century marginalised, as poor peasants, their education entrusted to Catholic or Anglican missionaries. Many migrated to cities in the centre of the country. The women found work as maids, the men as

labourers, mixing with the Chilean working class. Nonetheless, they maintained strong ties with their historic territory, where part of their families remain, farming the land and raising animals, spatially confined to reductions, where they preserve their language and traditions. Some of the young people, brought up in the local mission or the first lay schools, are the first literate generations and have a strong sense of identity.

Until the second half of the twentieth century, the appropriation of this territory was the norm, with the republic awarding lands to European or Chilean settlers. Indigenous protests were expressed in the political domain, frequently supported by the missionaries themselves. The processes of agricultural reform and the fraudulent occupation of lands continued over the following decades, and the dictatorship pursued a policy of developing the forestry sector by providing tax benefits and favourable conditions. This led to the replacement of natural forests by plantations of non-native species, which further marginalised indigenous communities, and resulted in low- to medium-intensity resistance movements, which have been constant and have generated broad media coverage. Over the years, the sense of injustice and marginalisation has hardened and successive governments—whether on the left or right of the political spectrum and regardless of whether they were proponents or hostages of neoliberal economic policies—have been unable to find durable solutions to this conflict, whose current flashpoints are the forestry sector, hydro-electric projects and the ownership conflict over the lands occupied by the descendants of settlers. The so-called “Mapuche conflict”, arising from this secular history of intercultural and interethnic relations, has been present both in the national agenda and in international forums for over two decades. The organisations and communities that seek territorial and political rights have made their voice heard beyond the country, making the Mapuche a respected force in the fight for the recognition of indigenous peoples throughout the world.

The city of Temuco was born in this climate in 1884, first as a military fort and then linked to the rest of the country by a major rail network, growing to become a city, complete with its own court, school, station, market and classic checkerboard layout. The city is currently divided by two lines, which constitute social boundaries. The first is the former Pan-American Highway, which separates the old town, with its mestizo and migrant neighbourhoods, from the “modern”, residential city. The second is the Cautín River, which runs to the south, beyond which lies a largely working-class and industrial district that is also home to small-scale farmers, mostly Mapuche. In total, the city is home to half a million people.

The political and economic dimensions of the problems alluded to here are beyond the scope of this collection, as are other equally important dimensions, such as the territorial and religious ones. The contributions in this volume offer new, arguably personal, perspectives that reflect how, as insiders, situated in the geographic centre and at a given point in time, the authors have sought to understand and explain the problem.

In 2010, a platform was created for researchers working in the field of intercultural and interethnic relations in the macro region of the south of Chile.<sup>3</sup> This Centre was established in response to the Universidad Católica de Temuco's desire to promote research in this area but also to respond to the interest among specialists in different disciplines of the social sciences to be able to understand these highly relevant issues for the region and the country from an interdisciplinary and collective perspective. The study of intercultural and interethnic relations is rooted in a previous tradition of regional studies, with scholars such as Milan Stuchlik (1932–1980) in the field of social anthropology and Adalberto Salas (1938–2000) in the field of sociolinguistics. This tradition allowed the development of sociocultural anthropology, sociolinguistics and ethno-literature, alongside bilingual intercultural education that was primarily applied in the local context. This has made the Universidad Católica de Temuco a leading institute in the region, with the tensions, inequalities and asymmetries that characterise it. This has been especially true since the 1990s, when the notion of interculturality became a common feature of public policy in Chile, with the enactment of the Indigenous Law (No. 19.253). The law promoted—with debatable success—the adoption of intercultural measures, primarily in education and health, with academia interpellated to provide analysis that would help understand the various dimensions of this new configuration. This is the context of the origins of our research centre Núcleo de Investigación en Estudios Interculturales e Interétnicos (NEII).

The NEII initially comprised ten distinguished academics and researchers working in the fields of intercultural philosophy, linguistic-cultural mediation, ethnohistory and intercultural education and grew to become associated with numerous research projects, collective publications and international conferences and seminars. This work allowed the creation of the Master's degree in Intercultural Studies in 2013, followed by the PhD in Intercultural Studies in 2016, which in turn opened up new lines of research. As part of the process of linking research activity, dissemination and internationalisation to postgraduate development, NEII has incorporated new members, with the same goal of helping to better understand the different dynamics of intercultural relations that traverse the reality of the region and to produce new researchers.

This publication provides a selection of works first published in Spanish and French with European and Hispano-American journals and publishers and that are representative of the first phase of NEII since its founding in 2018. This context, with its time frame, conditions and disciplines, seeks to draw attention to a process of constructing a multifaceted object of study, whose elements are discussed here in this collection. Since its inception, NEII has produced significant research on the dialogue of knowledges and social justice from the perspective of Latin American intercultural philosophy, the study of the Hispanic-Indigenous mediations and diplomacy from the perspectives of ethnohistory and translation studies, of linguis-

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<sup>3</sup>The macro region of the south runs from the Biobío River to the Strait of Magellan. It shares historic and geographic-environmental features and distinctive socio-economic problems.

tic practices and the issue of Mapuche education with respect to Chilean models of teaching. These issues have been gradually complemented by others, such as the revitalisation of the main indigenous language, Mapudungun, the anthropology of globalisation, intercultural communication and the dilemmas of justice and interculturality. These issues do not only constitute scientific approaches, theories or specific research projects that may have similarities to work produced in other universities, they are also closely connected to the concerns of the university and researchers and the local contexts in which they work. Some of the chapters of this selection are linked to continuous education programmes, applied research projects or the necessary expression of academic opinions on relevant problems. Looking back over the years, we believe that when these articles were published, they represented the cutting edge of intercultural studies from a non-central and peripheral *locus*, whose specificity, even within the Latin American sphere, is remarkable.

The collection is divided into three parts, grouped around themes instead of disciplines. Each part is introduced by a commentary from a distinguished external scholar who has been involved in some way with the work of NEII and who contextualises and even problematises the work in question. The historian and recipient of the Chilean national prize for history, Jorge Pinto, comments on and responds to the first two pieces by José Manuel Zavala and Gertrudis Payàs, which focus on aspects and practices that constitute representations of the nation in the literature of the nineteenth-century creole elite and the ethnographic discourse at the end of the nineteenth and the start of the twentieth century. Together they illuminate the construction of nationalisms in Latin America during this period, indigenous identities, the associated linguistic practices and the permanent ambivalence between the inclusion and exclusion of indigenous peoples.

The Argentinian anthropologist Claudia Briones comments on the following three works by Fabien Le Bonniec, Fernando Wittig and Matías Hernández Heinrich, and Daniel Quilaqueo, César A. Fernández and Segundo Quintriqueo. Their perspectives from different disciplines show how different intercultural practices in the spheres of language, education and justice reveal the limitations of models and public policies that, despite paying lip service to the recognition and promotion of cultural and linguistic diversity, can only reproduce the asymmetries of the power on which they are founded.

The final part, which comprises contributions from Ricardo Salas, Mario Samaniego, and Gonzalo Díaz Crovetto and Mario Samaniego, is more unified than the previous parts in terms of discipline. The Argentinian philosopher Alcira B. Bonilla highlights the contribution of these chapters: the critique of a functional notion of interculturality, Euro-centric thought and the limits of a democracy that has recently emerged from a dictatorship and that is subject to a liberal economic rationality when it comes to the full recognition of the other. The contributions of this section go beyond the local to situate themselves on a theoretical plane that connects with other expressions and other contexts of intercultural relations, leading to a critique of the State and the neoliberal economy.

When taken as a whole, these texts, including the introductions to each section, contribute to the understanding of socio-historic dynamics and the ethic-political,

cultural and philosophical foundations of the different conflicts that currently affect societies in Latin America and even in other parts of the world. They show the need to recognise the heterogeneity that characterises these societies, the inequalities and asymmetries that run through them, and the collective discourses and mobilisations for a justice that comes from various groups. The situations, dynamics and local practices developed and inspired by the “bicultural” context of Araucanía enter into a dialogue—or, rather, a polylogue—with intercultural studies and are even more relevant when contextualised from perspectives that provide an account of more global processes and problems. The macro region of the south of Chile may have its own distinctive features when it comes to relations between different groups but the knots, conflicts and agencies currently at play there clearly stand out—now more than ever—as universal problems: the apogee of a market interculturality severed from its original critical perspectives; the complex connection between languages and cultures in multiple guises in processes of linguistic revitalisation and everyday intercultural mediations; the tension between different types of education and justice that submerge both institutional and indigenous actors in multiple and conflicting rationalities.

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Gertrudis Payàs  
Fabien Le Bonniec

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The manuscript has passed through the hands of translators, reviewers and, finally, external evaluators. We would like to express our gratitude to all of them.

## **The editors**

# Contents

## Part I Practices and Discourses About the Nation

- 1 Commentary to Part I: Nineteenth-Century Araucania: Chileans, Settlers and Indians . . . . . 3**  
Jorge Pinto
- 2 In Pursuit of the Ideal Chilean Citizen: The Discursive Foundations of the Colonisation by Immigration of Araucania in the Nineteenth Century. . . . . 9**  
José Manuel Zavala
- 3 “As Truthful as It Is Patriotic”: The Dispute Between Rodolfo Lenz and Manuel Manquilef Over Translation . . . . . 27**  
Gertrudis Payàs

## Part II Contemporary Intercultural Practices

- 4 Commentary to Part II: Interdiscursivity and Interlegality as Key Dimensions of Intercultural Coexistence . . . . . 53**  
Claudia Briones
- 5 Indigenous Juridicity and Cultural Differences: When Judges Discuss Culture in Cases of Domestic Violence in the Mapuche Community Context (Chile) . . . . . 59**  
Fabien Le Bonniec
- 6 Meaningful Spaces for Language Socialisation in the Discourse of Mapuche Young People: A Qualitative Approach . . . . . 75**  
Fernando Wittig and Matías I. Hernández

**7 Episteme for Intercultural Dialogue  
Between Mapuche Education and School Education . . . . . 89**  
Daniel Quilaqueo, César A. Fernández, and Segundo Quintriqueo

**Part III Intercultural Philosophy**

**8 Commentary to Part III: Notes and Comments  
from the Perspective of the Liberating Intercultural  
Philosophy of “Nuestra América” . . . . . 103**  
Alcira B. Bonilla

**9 Challenges for an Intercultural Democracy  
and Politics in the Chilean Wallmapu . . . . . 109**  
Ricardo Salas

**10 The Endless Apogee of Interculturality:  
Critical Anthropological and Philosophical Reflections . . . . . 123**  
Gonzalo Díaz Crovetto and Mario Samaniego

**11 Words, Relationality and Recognition:  
Apropos Axel Honneth . . . . . 137**  
Mario Samaniego

**Index . . . . . 147**

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**Part I**  
**Practices and Discourses About the Nation**

# Chapter 1

## Commentary to Part I: Nineteenth-Century Araucania: Chileans, Settlers and Indians



Jorge Pinto

The two works I shall introduce here are the products of research by two distinguished academics at the Catholic University of Temuco: José Manuel Zavala and Gertrudis Payàs. They thus have the solidity of serious work backed by previous publications that attest to their status as national and international experts in their fields. In the following paragraphs, I shall provide a separate commentary on each contribution, since both address different issues that converge on developments in Araucania region since the Chilean State's decision to invade the territory.

The contribution of José Manuel Zavala, "In Pursuit of the Ideal Chilean Citizen: The Discursive Foundations of the Colonisation by Immigration of Araucania in the Nineteenth Century", has the merit of summarising the main ideas that guided Chilean immigration policy in the nineteenth century through readings of the most influential authors: Vicente Pérez Rosales, Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna and Nicolás Vega. As the author himself notes, his piece does not seek to address the thought of the Chilean elite with respect to our society but to provide a specific commentary on immigration policy.

Here, Zavala touches on certain aspects of the opinion of the elite regarding settlers in our territory. The elite believed immigration would solve a series of problems that Chile needed to overcome in order to make progress as a country. Zavala notes that immigration policy was based on a liberalism that sought to "manufacture" a Chilean (as opposed to a citizen, a task that imposed different requirements, which would be achieved over time) who would be instrumental in achieving this goal, especially in Araucania, whose lands were first occupied by the State in the 1850s. To do so, the elite assigned positive and negative values to individuals

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Translated by James Kelly.

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depending on their race. As Zavala states here, “theorisations from European anthropology, which were read and adapted by the Latin American elites, provided the matrix for such classifications”.

It goes without saying that these ideas did not only arise in Chile. They were an expression of the positivism embraced by young liberals who had travelled to Europe, which deeply penetrated elites all over Latin America, from Mexico to Tierra del Fuego. Zavala traces its origins in Chile to Esteban Echeverría and Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, whose work, *Civilización i barbarie* (1845) was widely read among Chilean intellectuals, who adapted it to the local reality.

In a real sense, I believe, this was the starting point of the conflicts that now affect the region of the Frontier (Araucanía). Faced with negative discrimination, the Mapuche was the victim of abuses and injustices that saw it lose its lands and reduced to poverty. This generated resentment and anger that explain the radicalisation of certain communities with respect to the action of the State that initiated the invasion of its territory, a State that denied its status as part of the “Chilean” unless it repudiated its very essence, its identity and its political, economic and cultural practices, all of which resulted in a policy of ethnocide and, in some cases, genocide.

The three authors chosen by Zavala are those that most explicitly set out and defend the ideas of the groups they represented, conservatives and liberals alike, who agreed on this point. The paradox of this episode in our history is that the elite needed to deploy a dual discourse: on the one hand, for those outside the country, for whom Chile—including its population—was depicted as an exceptional nation, crowned with virtues, in order to attract immigrants; on the other, for those inside the country, the ancestral peoples and working classes, it argued that they lacked the conditions to promote development, less still attain a certain amount of power. This latter argument was used to justify their domination: the elite considered itself the only group that could shape the destiny of the country, as various historians have noted.

In this respect, Bernardo Subercaseaux called this generation, whose formation dates back to the genesis of the Republic, the “enlightened despots”, who believed that their role was more important than the founding generation of the *Padres de la Patria* and that they were truly bringing about a new nation, supported by a new literature (Jalif, 2003). They also saw themselves as embodying the responsibility for leading the country to progress and helping change society, ensuring however that they kept the monopoly of power (Stuven, 2002).

This paradox is complemented by another: despite figures like Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna expressing a certain disenchantment upon arrival in France, they maintained the illusion that Chile not only was similar to Europe but, as Vicente Pérez Rosales noted, was indeed “Europe in this part of the world”. These ideas shaped a certain aspect of the national identity, which manifests in the conviction of being an island with little or nothing to do with its neighbours, the idea that “we are good but live in a bad neighbourhood”.

One point on which Zavala and I initially disagreed was the aim of the elite. Zavala argues that the idea was to create the “Chilean citizen”, while I argued that it was simply to create the “Chilean”. We both have a point: the final goal may have been to reach the ideal “citizen” but I insisted that this goal came after creating the

“Chilean”, a goal that could be achieved through the construction of a national identity that replaced the former subject of the Crown with “Chileans” subjected to the State. The “citizen” would come later, when the “Chilean” adopted certain qualities whose origins lay outside the Republic. In my opinion, the Chilean elite was caught between two sentiments: on the one hand, it feared “the rabble”, while on the other, it despised them. This impacted immigration policy because it allowed this “Chilean” to acquire the virtues of a superior race that would make them useful to the *patria*.

This is a debate that is still ongoing and forces us to reflect on our identity and the difficulties we face in the twenty-first century when it comes to modifying the patterns imposed by the elite of the nineteenth century. Here, Zavala’s work is of immense value to both Chileans and English-speaking readers interested in the history of Latin America.

In addition to the above, Zavala clearly summarises the three problems that could be resolved by immigration. The first was the scarce population of Chile. This issue was first raised in the eighteenth century and then by Juan Egaña at the start of the nineteenth century. Censuses became associated with the hope that our population would show the much-needed growth. A second issue was the sparse occupation of the territory and the danger of losing it at the hands of a foreign State. This is an issue of sovereignty highlighted by Zavala, referencing the testimonies of the authors, Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna reviewed and vehemently denounced, not just in his published work but also through the press and in parliamentary debates. Thirdly, immigration could contribute to the occupation of Araucania, which became crucial in the second half of the nineteenth century, with the threat of an economic crisis, which materialised in 1857 with the closure of the Californian and Australian markets to our exports of wheat and flour.

Finally, there is the conviction that agricultural modernisation would favour the progress of the country. The 1860s saw a certain disenchantment with the role of mining, and Araucania gradually emerged as a “promised land” that could promote a modern agriculture, underpinned by the work of immigrants who had been carefully selected to achieve this goal.

Zavala’s work makes an excellent contribution to the study of these issues. It clearly summarises their foundations, supported by the author’s own research and relevant references.

The contribution of Gertrudis Payàs, “‘As Truthful as it is Patriotic’: The Dispute between Rodolfo Lenz and Manuel Manquilef over Translation” is of a different nature. As Payàs notes, its purpose is to “unravel the ethnographic discourse in the late nineteenth—early twentieth century in Chile from the perspective of translation studies”, using as a touchstone the translations of the German philologist Rodolfo Lenz and the Mapuche teacher Manuel Manquilef. Payàs stresses the differences between both authors and their implications “for the representation of the Mapuche language (Mapudungun) and culture as well as for the constitution of a narrative on the Mapuche people that might have contributed to a national discourse”. In this respect, her contribution is close to the issue addressed by Zavala, although this time viewed from a different perspective to that of the historian (which is my case). It is

an extremely valuable perspective, broadening our horizons and allowing us to see issues from new angles.

Like the work of Zavala, the contribution by Payàs contributes to the debate on the meaning of our nationalism. I agree with the author that this becomes more evident after Independence, with the proposal of the elite—as I mentioned in my response to the previous contribution—to transform the vassal of the Crown into a “patriot” or a “Chilean” subject to the State and able to contribute to the progress required by the country. Yet the idea that the figure of the valiant *Araucano* has no place in the national imaginary is debatable. In fact, the motto on the Chilean coat of arms “*Por la Razón o la Fuerza*” (“*By Reason or Force*”) is inspired by the struggle of the Mapuche people to preserve their freedom and defend their territory. Major Mapuche chiefs and other figures like Lautaro, Caupolicán, Fresia, Galvarino, Colo Colo and Michimalonco have always been present. The characters mythicized by the soldier and poet Alonso de Ercilla in *La Araucana* (1776) have enormous and undeniable weight when it comes to our sense of identity. However, the Mapuche that is so portrayed is the epic *araucano* of the sixteenth century, illustrating the supposed bravery of Chileans, who are never defeated, while, for the elite, there is no room for the nineteenth-century Mapuche, whose barbarity holds back progress and precludes the possibility of “being European” in this part of the world, an interesting issue raised by Payàs.

Regardless of the translation studies approach contributed by the author, it is crucial for historians to observe developments in Chile as regards our perspectives on the Mapuche and their history through the lens of translations, which are derived from other texts that are often validated as sources of information, largely because in the case of indigenous languages, this issue has not been widely studied. On this particular matter, this work is of great importance for it alerts to the risk of overlooking the translation factor.

The text notes that translations began early in America, almost always under the responsibility of the missionaries sent by the religious orders of the church to evangelise the indigenous peoples. Even though this practice was not as widespread in Chile as in other more important centres of the Spanish Empire, in the southern cone, the efforts of the Jesuits of Juli had an impact on the actions of father Luis de Valdivia (1560–1642) and subsequently other missionaries. I believe that father Diego de Rosales (1601–1677) played a strong role. I am not familiar with the texts he prepared in Mapudungun but he spoke the language and he was decisive in preparing the *Parlamento of Quillín*, in 1641 (Zavala, 2015). It would be interesting to explore his work, and this is one of the lines for further research opened up by the article by Payàs.

Before focusing on the work of the two authors chosen to develop her argument, the philologist Rodolfo Lenz and the teacher Manuel Manquilef, Payàs establishes the differences between Mapuche ethnographic discourse and autoethnographic discourse, an issue she associates, in the case of the teacher Manuel Manquilef, to the target audiences he acknowledges in his work: the scientific intellectual community, the Chilean and his own Mapuche people. Manquilef went to great lengths to defend both his people in the face of the discrimination it suffered and its rights. He was convinced that the struggle could be carried out using the “arms of the other”: its language, education and insertion in the State. This explains his connex-

ion with Tomás Guevara, a schoolteacher in Temuco and researcher of the Mapuche culture, and the German philologist Rodolfo Lenz, who was commissioned by the Chilean government to lecture at the recently created Instituto Pedagógico in Santiago in 1890. This explains too Manquilef's participation in national politics, being elected to congress in the 1920s and 1930s and serving as governor of the province of Lautaro.

For a scholar studying the past, the work of Payàs is of particular importance on account of its suggestion of rereading works translated from other languages into ours. Indeed, Payàs had already drawn our attention to this in one of her most recent publications, a version “for the present reader”, as she has called it, of *Los Parlamentos Hispano-Mapuches 1593–1803. Textos fundamentales. Versión para la lectura actual* (Payàs, 2018), whose first version was made possible by the work of José Manuel Zavala and his team of researchers at the Catholic University of Temuco (Zavala, 2015). The contribution of Payàs highlights the importance of recently published bilingual Mapuche–Spanish or Spanish–Mapuche texts, written in Mapudungun by speakers of the language who also undertake the revision of the Spanish versions.

Reading and commenting on both these contributions have been highly rewarding, and I hope this will also be the case for non-Spanish-speaking scholars with an interest in Latin American history.<sup>1</sup> These works, which focus on a small peripheral territory with respect to the centres of intellectual production, help us understand how, from different domains, a social imaginary of the nation was built and spread.

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<sup>1</sup>In my case in particular, it is of great help for the project financed by the Chilean National Fund for Scientific and Technological Development, FONDECYT, entitled “The Socio-Imaginary Construction of the State and Democracy in the Discourse of the Personal Memoires of Political, Military and Religious Actors in Chile” (Project No. 1161253), directed by Juan Manuel Fierro and for which I am co-researcher.

# Chapter 2

## In Pursuit of the Ideal Chilean Citizen: The Discursive Foundations of the Colonisation by Immigration of Araucania in the Nineteenth Century



José Manuel Zavala

### 2.1 Introduction

The rural and urban colonisation of Araucania following consolidation of Chile's military occupation of the region in the last quarter of the nineteenth century was founded on a flow of immigration from Europe. This European immigration played a dominant role in the model of citizenship promoted by the state, despite being relatively small in demographic terms (Estrada, 2004; Martínez, 2015; Norambuena, 1991, 1998; Zavala, 2008; Zavala & Durán, 2005).

The rural colonisation policy—and its urban corollaries—implemented in Araucania from 1880 determined the type, quality and number of migrants, together with how they arrived, set up and settled on the land. The policy was underpinned by a liberal ideology that determined the model of citizenship and development proposed for the newly incorporated region, assigning positive and negative traits to individuals based on their ethnic profile. Theorizations from European anthropology, which were read and adapted by the Latin American elites, provided the matrix for such classifications.

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This chapter analyses the thinking of three authors who are representative of three different periods in Chile's nineteenth-century immigration policy. It begins by examining the ideas of Vicente Pérez Rosales, the main figure behind an early scheme to establish a German colony in the second half of the nineteenth century. It then analyses the arguments of Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, a polemicist and law-maker who authored an official proposal for immigration policy in 1865. Finally, it considers the ideas of Nicolás Vega, who acted as Chile's colonisation agent in Europe in the 1890s and published a major work on immigration in 1896.

It should be noted that this study does not set out to analyse the prevailing ideas of the Chilean elites of the nineteenth century regarding the types of society and citizenship advocated and nor does it seek to cover the full spectrum of the thought of the three authors selected. Its scope is limited to trying to understand some of the ideas that served as the basis for the immigration policies that impacted Araucanía through the study of some of the main agents. For a broader understanding of the intellectual and political frameworks of these ideas, see the detailed and comprehensive studies by Pinto (1988, 2015, 2017), Pinto and Valdivia (2009) and Subercaseaux (2011).

## 2.2 Vicente Pérez Rosales: Progress Through Spreading Civilisation

The first successful experience of a German colony in the provinces of Valdivia and Llanquihue in the south of Chile during the second half of the nineteenth century stimulated discussion and reflection on the contribution of European colonies to the occupation and development of indigenous lands that had yet to be fully integrated into the Chilean state. This initial experience of colonisation by immigration began in 1850, and 11 years later, there were around 263 German families that represented around 1375 immigrants (Martínez, 2015).

The legal framework for this project was established by the government of Manuel Bulnes by the Colonisation Act of 1845, which authorised the President of the Republic to establish Chilean and foreign colonies on tracts of land referred to as *baldíos* (literally "barren land") (Zenteno Barros, 1896). The text makes a clear distinction between the region between the rivers Copiapó (27°S) and Biobío (36°S), which had already been populated and was firmly under state control, and outlying areas to the north and south of these rivers, which were mainly inhabited by indigenous peoples and over which the state had limited control.

Between the rivers, the land granted to colonies was limited to eight blocks (one block being equivalent to approximately one and a half hectares) per father of the household and a further four blocks for each son over 14. In contrast, in the outlying areas, up to 25 blocks per father and a further eight per son over ten could be awarded (Zenteno Barros, 1896). It is clear from this first piece of legislation that the territorial development and integration promoted by the state would not be based on the autochthonous populations, which were regarded simply as part of the

landscape and an obstacle to progress. This conception of indigenous peoples prevailed elsewhere in the Americas and the West, where similar projects sparked a wave of mass migration from the Old World to the new lands of the Americas and Oceania, most notably Australia, New Zealand and the United States.

This first attempt at colonisation by the Chilean state was masterminded by Vicente Pérez Rosales (1807–1886), a prominent politician and intellectual who laid the philosophical and organisational foundations for an immigration policy that would be taken up with renewed vigour—albeit with some modifications—from the 1880s and would prevail for some three decades, above all in Araucanía. All this raises the question: what were the ideas that motivated Pérez Rosales to use German colonies to colonise the southern provinces of Valdivia and Llanquihue?

Generally speaking, the ideas were those shared by his contemporaries in the Chilean élite and powerfully expressed by a group of intellectuals known as the “Generation of 1842” (Latcham, 1942; Orrego Luco, 1924). Rooted in the French Enlightenment, this group perceived human progress to be linear and believed that cultivating the arts, science, trade and industry would lead to the perfection of the individual and society as a whole. In neighbouring Argentina, the principles of a race-based social evolutionism were outlined by Domingo Faustino Sarmiento as early as the 1840s, first through his journalism and then in his work *Facundo* (1845).<sup>1</sup> Sarmiento’s ideas were inspired by the works of French thinkers such as Tocqueville, Guizot and Thierry (Dujovne, 2005), while in Chile, we can find José Victorino Lastarria championing the positivist theory of Comte in 1868 (Subercaseaux, 1990). In the vision of humanity of the liberal, enlightened intellectuals of the second half of the nineteenth century, the apex of progress was in non-Iberian Europe, from where it worked its way down to Europe’s fringes, moving further and further away from the model depending on the kind of human (racial) types found on other continents.

However, as well as being inspired by fashionable intellectuals of the time, Pérez Rosales’ thoughts on immigration were also shaped by his reflections as a man of action responsible for a colonising project. His arguments can be read in two texts regarding the policy he was responsible for, the 1854 and 1870 official reports on colonisation. He also returns to some of the ideas in these works, written when he was in charge of establishing the colonies in Valdivia and Llanquihue, in his best-known work *Recuerdos del Pasado* (1886).

Pérez Rosales’ opinions combine a catholic view of liberal progress with Eurocentric racial evolutionism. They formed the foundations of his colonising project and are grouped around three main points: first, that modernised agriculture is the cornerstone of all progress; second, that peoples have different aptitudes and it is advantageous to promote the expansion of those who favour progress and third, that contact between a superior people and an inferior one favours civilisation of the latter.

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<sup>1</sup> Sarmiento wrote during a second period of exile in Chile (1840–1851). However, between his first period of exile (1831–1836) and the second, he spent time with the intellectuals of the Generation of 1837, a group over which the writer Esteban Echeverría exerted a significant influence.

### 2.2.1 *The Modernisation of Agriculture as Key to Progress*

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the prevailing liberal consensus among Chile's intellectual elite was more in tune with the interests of the mining industry in the north and the commercial cities of Santiago and Valparaíso than with the conservative ideas of the owners of large swathes of agricultural land in central Chile. This consensus saw the need to modernise the country's extensive and inefficient latifundia agriculture, which the elite perceived as a sort of "mediaeval colonialism". Such modernisation entailed three types of change: technology, land ownership and labour relations. In this respect, European immigration was perceived as a catalyst for change in Chile's agrarian economy, a transformation that would not impinge on the interests of central Chile's land-owning oligarchy, since it would be implemented in "new lands", not on those controlled by large-scale ownership of Spanish roots. Immigration would allow the required changes to be introduced in a society that was growing ever more complex and needed to increase food production for new classes of workers converging in cities and mining centres.

In his 1854 report, Pérez Rosales is highly critical of the Chilean latifundia system:

The rural tenant farmer is a genuine serf of feudal times; laden with misery and the burden of his family, he works tirelessly for the wretched loan of a miserable tract of land for his crops and some pasture for a few domestic animals. He does not work for himself, he is exposed to eviction from the land he occupies. Whenever his master wants, and how he cries and begs when that happens. (1854, pp. 134–135)<sup>2</sup>

Pérez Rosales believed that awarding ownership of the land to the people that work in it could promote justice and progress in the countryside:

If the owner of the land would dedicate a proportional part to ensuring the continuous supply of the labour required in order to make sure that the remaining land can yield as much as possible; if the part dedicated to such a humane and beneficial purpose is divided into small farms granted under ownership to an equal number of honourable and hard-working families, under certain obligations and moderate terms, this would permanently ensure the labour required to cultivate the rest of the land. (1854, p. 135)<sup>3</sup>

He was, however, acutely aware that this was highly unlikely in Chile, since the traditional latifundia system would resist reform and the transformation of tenants into owners (in fact, it would take over a century before agrarian reform attempted to change this structure). Only a colonising project on "new land" that guaranteed the colonisers' ownership of the land they were granted would generate a

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<sup>2</sup>Original: "El inquilino rural es un verdadero siervo del tiempo del feudalismo; cargado de miseria i de familia, se le ve trabajar sin parar por la triste retribución del préstamo de un mezquino campo para sus siembras, i pastos para tal o cual animal doméstico. No trabaja en lo suyo, i está espuesto a ser lanzado del lugar que ocupa. El día que plazca a su amo, i sin embargo llora i suplica cuando este caso ocurre." (Editors' note: in all citations in Spanish we keep the original spelling.)

<sup>3</sup>Original: "Si el propietario de terrenos dedicase una parte proporcional de ellos a asegurarse perpetuamente brazos necesarios para hacer dar al resto todo el producto de que es susceptible; si la parte dedicada a tan humano como provechoso objeto, se dividiere en pequeñas heredades, que se distribuyesen en propiedad a otras tantas familias honradas i trabajadoras, con ciertas obligaciones i fechas moderadas; aseguraría perpetuamente brazos económicos para el cultivo del resto de sus terrenos."

flourishing agricultural sector, which was the key to all development. In Pérez Rosales' words: "after the benignness of the sky, the idea of ownership is the first, most powerful argument for migrants to opt for one country over another" (Pérez Rosales, 1854, p. 39).<sup>4</sup>

### 2.2.2 *The Different Aptitudes of Different Peoples and the Need to Expand Those Who Favour Progress*

For the republicanism of the nineteenth century, agriculture was the key to national development, meaning it made sense to entrust its modernisation to people from societies having a particular aptitude for this activity and broadly similar climates and growing conditions. Discernment on this matter came from various anthropological ideas and reflections on the traits of different peoples and differences among them as expressed in the debate on immigration and colonisation in the mid-nineteenth century. These were not, however, systematic theories but ideas taken from fashionable thinkers of the time, combined with personal considerations, which resulted in a pragmatic and occasionally contradictory thinking, based on Catholic principles and incorporating elements of the Enlightenment, racial evolutionism and a certain geographic determinism. Pérez Rosales' ideas conformed to this description, adding a nationalist republican perspective that advocated immigration from a variety of nationalities in order to harness the different virtues of different countries, depending on the destination regions and categories (agriculture and industry), and to avoid the formation of national ghettos, which could occur with Germans. In this respect, the first agent of colonisation makes the following claim:

It is not desirable for the settlers to come from just one nation, if they are to be chosen; nor can any one nation provide the variable Chilean climate with the special labour needed to improve its production or develop new production at its many different latitudes. (1854, p. 82)<sup>5</sup>

It may seem somewhat paradoxical, then, that Pérez Rosales was the architect of the establishment of the single-nation German colonies in the south of Chile. However, this reflects the pragmatic and occasionally contradictory nature of his thought. Similarly, in his later life, he mused on the European nationalities desirable for immigration in areas that had not yet been colonised:

In terms of choosing the nationality to populate remote deserts with its offspring, when it comes to the choice between the Saxon or the Latin race—or, better put, between northern European and southern European man—as a rule of thumb, the north should be preferred.

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<sup>4</sup>Original: "Después de la benignidad del cielo, la idea de propiedad es el primero, el más poderoso argumento que impulsa al emigrante a decidirse por este u otro país."

<sup>5</sup>Original: "No es conveniente que los pobladores pertenezcan a una sola nación, si se quiere que sean escogidos; ni puede tampoco una sola nación proporcionar al variado clima chileno los brazos especiales para mejorar sus producciones, o crear nuevas en sus distintas latitudes."

Spoilt by the benign nature of the sky with which they are blessed, the southern races only leave home for short periods, like birds that migrate in winter, only to return to their homeland in the spring.

The races of the north, which owe little to the sky and everything to the energetic tenacity of their labour, hardly ever look back when they find luck elsewhere.

The Basques are an exception to this rule and can be excellent colonisers everywhere, and unsurpassable in Chile. (1886, p. 415)<sup>6</sup>

Here we have a blend of racialist ideas and geographic determinism: the differences in aptitude between the two main races in Europe (Saxon and Latin) are explained by the differences in climate and geography that render the former hard-working and less attached to the land as a result of a harsher climate, while the latter needs to make less effort and is thus more attached to the land on account of its benign nature.

### ***2.2.3 Contact Between a Superior People and an Inferior One Favours the Civilisation of the Latter***

The colonies of European immigrants were conceived as nuclei from which progress and civilisation would radiate. These were the thoughts of Pérez Rosales when reflecting on the German colony in the Llanquihue province. In Puerto Montt, the main city, he noted, the lack of crime means that houses and rural areas are not protected with metal fences like in the rest of the country, a phenomenon he attributes to the settlers' influence:

This shows the influence of foreign contact on the native offspring of these wilderness and savagery, in whose customs there is a deeply rooted spirit of dishonesty. Most of the inhabitants of Puerto Montt are Chilean, as are the labourers and servants who reside there on a temporary basis. The exemplary influx has already almost completely eradicated this vice from those peoples. (1870, p. 19)<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Original: "En cuanto a la nacionalidad que debe elegirse para poblar con sus hijos lejanos desiertos, entre la raza sajona i la latina, o más bien dicho, entre el hombre del norte i el hombre del sur de la Europa, debe elegirse por regla general el del norte.

Las razas del sur mimadas por la benignidad del cielo que les ha cabido en suerte, solo se ausentan temporalmente de su hogar, como lo hacen las aves que emigran los inviernos para tornar en la primavera al suelo patrio.

Las razas del norte, que poco deben al cielo i todo al enérgico tesón de su trabajo, rara vez miran para atrás cuando encuentran su dicha en otra parte.

A esta regla general hace escepción el vasco, que en todas partes puede ser un excelente colono i en Chile inmejorable."

<sup>7</sup>Original: "Esto mismo prueba ya el influjo del contacto extranjero con los nacionales hijos de estas selvas i del desgüeño, en cuyas costumbres tenia echada tan hondas raíces el espíritu de ratería. La mayor parte de los vecinos de Puerto Montt son chilenos, como lo son también los jornaleros i los sirvientes que residen temporalmente en él. El influjo del ejemplo ha conseguido desterrar ya casi del todo este vicio de aquellas jentes."

He continues:

The current immigrants are few, very few, without a doubt, meaning we should not ask too much of them; nonetheless, these few missionaries of industry and labour are influencing the habits and customs of the neighbouring Chileans through their mere example and contact, something that is evident to the most stubborn enemies of the colony. (1870, p. 19)<sup>8</sup>

The author returns to his thesis of geographic determinism to explain the “bad habits” of the Chileans in the province of Llanquihue before their contact with the German settlers:

What were, after all, the natives of the country in those remote lands, unknown to many, before the outsiders began to moderate their customs? The forced isolation in which they lived, spread throughout the edges of the forests in the solitary bays of the Reloncaví Sound, did not even lead them to suspect the advantages of social life. The abundance of food, the absolute lack of stimulation and of the needs of men from civilised abodes, had familiarised them with idleness and vice, and with their repulsive consequences. (1870, p. 19)<sup>9</sup>

This is a curious thesis: in contrast to the writer’s opinions on Europeans, these southern inhabitants do not live in the warm Mediterranean climate that suppresses in Latin peoples the pioneering impulse that cold northern Europe gave the Saxons. In this case, however, the abundance of marine resources appears to be the origin of idleness, vice and a lack of initiative.

### 2.3 Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna: Progress Through Populating the Land and Imposing Civilisation

Pérez Rosales may have been the driving force behind the first large wave of European immigration in Republican Chile, but it was Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna (1831–1886)—just 20 years old when migration to the southern provinces began in 1850—who was responsible for its systematisation, setting out the fullest rationale for European immigration over the following decade. As secretary of the government immigration commission formed under President José Joaquín Pérez at the end of 1864, Vicuña Mackenna was author of a document providing background to a government report submitted on foreign immigration (1865). The liberal intellectual fulfilled his brief in less than 4 months, an evidence that he may have already

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<sup>8</sup>Original: “Pocos, mui pocos son, sin duda, los actuales inmigrados, para que podamos exigir de ellos mucho; sin embargo, estos pocos misioneros de la industria i del trabajo están operando con solo su ejemplo i su contacto tal cambio en los hábitos i costumbres de los chilenos circunvecinos, que saltan a la vista de los más empecinados enemigos de la colonia.”

<sup>9</sup>Original: “¿Qué eran en efecto los hijos del país en aquellos, para muchos, ignorados lugares, antes que el elemento extranjero comenzase a morigerar sus costumbres? El forzoso aislamiento en que vivían repartidos en las cejas de los bosques de las solitarias caletas del seno de Reloncaví, ni siquiera les daba a sospechar las ventajas de la vida social. La abundancia de las substancias alimenticias; la carencia absoluta de estímulo i de aquellas necesidades del hombre en los lugares civilizados, les había familiarizado con el ocio, con el vicio, i con sus asquerosas consecuencias.”

been engaged with the issue in his previous role as secretary of the National Agricultural Society. The society had shown a keen interest in immigration and had produced a report on the issue in 1856 at the request of the government (1865).<sup>10</sup>

Vicuña Mackenna's text reveals a polemicist who is familiar with the main figures of the time writing on immigration. Specifically, he based many of his arguments on the comprehensive work by Jules Duval, *Histoire de l'émigration européenne, asiatique et africaine au XIXe siècle*, published in Paris (1862). He was also influenced by the ideas of liberal economists such as Courcelle-Seneuil (1859) and his Chilean acolyte González (1848). This was complemented by works by liberal "Eurocentric" intellectuals and journalists,<sup>11</sup> such as the Argentinian Sarmiento (1845) and Frías (1844, 1847).

Vicuña Mackenna's ideas on immigration constituted a synthesis of empirical data and ideological statements, revealing his character of a man of action, as well as his concern and conviction for creating a society that reflected his ideals. The official report drafted by him included a significant portion of the data and arguments of Duval (1862), in addition to other authors, relating these to his own interests as an avowed republican and nationalist. This latter consideration meant that in defining the profile of the ideal immigrant for Chile, immigrants from European powers with expansionist interests in America, specifically Spanish, French and English were firmly at the bottom of the list.

### 2.3.1 *The Four Issues Resolved by Immigration*

Chile faced four main problems that this prolific author believed could be resolved by immigration: a demographic deficit, the need to occupy the land, the "Arauco question" and agricultural stagnation. Increasing the population was of paramount concern to nineteenth-century intellectuals keen to bolster the defensive and productive capacity of the American republics. For Vicuña Mackenna, the census figures for Chile were unflattering: the statistical yearbook of 1863 reported that the country could hold a population of 52 million and there was an extremely small foreign population (1865). This made immigration the quickest and most effective way to increase the population.

Closely related to the demographic deficit was the sparse occupation of Chile's extensive territories, all but deserted at both ends of the country and its borders. For Vicuña Mackenna, this was a matter of national sovereignty, exacerbated by the first moves by Latin American nation states to mark out their borders, with the ensuing disputes. Immigration was the only way to quickly assert sovereignty over territories that would otherwise remain empty and at risk of being occupied by

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<sup>10</sup>In 1872, the function of the General Office of Immigration was officially assigned to the Chilean National Agriculture Society (Zenteno Barros, 1896).

<sup>11</sup>"Eurocentric" in the sense that they believed only the dissemination and impregnation of non-Iberian European civilisation could bring progress and happiness to the republics of Latin America.

neighbouring states: “The issue of territory, of borders, thus becomes a business of population, in other words, of foreign immigration, since in our countries one is synonymous with the other” (1865, p. 11).<sup>12</sup>

A third problem that could be addressed by immigration was the issue euphemistically referred to as the “Arauco question”, referring to the inability of Spain, and subsequently Chile, to subordinate the inhabitants of Araucania and occupy this land. After reviewing the various methods available for this purpose, Vicuña Mackenna concluded that immigration was the only one yet to be tested. It was also the method most likely to resolve the problem once and for all:

Every method has been tried and none has borne fruit. Peace, war, religion, trade, labour, all have proved futile. However, could the same be said of the gradual but continuous and progressive colonisation of those most fertile lands occupied by semi-nomadic savages, those who, as occurred in the colonies of Russia, Australia and France, would be pushed with an irresistible force, encircled with the ploughs, instead of spears and cannons, of the soldier-colonisers settling on their borders? (Vicuña Mackenna, 1865, p. 12)<sup>13</sup>

More than the idea of “acculturation by contact” that defined the thought of Pérez Rosales, relying on the civilising influence of the Germans in Llanquihue on the local population, the secretary of the immigration commission proposed a strategy of surrounding, harrying and reducing the indigenous Mapuche with colonising pincers constituted by settlements of immigrants. He was silent, however, on the effects this could have on the inhabitants of Araucania. Indeed, in a posture that would nowadays be described as “ethnocide”, he cared not about the “semi-nomadic savages” who were condemned to disappear from the face of the earth due to their inability to adapt.<sup>14</sup>

The fourth and final contribution Vicuña Mackenna identified in immigration was agricultural modernisation. As we noted in the previous section, the importance of modernisation had already been clearly expressed by Pérez Rosales: immigration would kill two birds with one stone, first by creating a non-latifundia model of ownership and second, by introducing more technologically advanced methods of intensive production. This reflects the liberal critique of the landed conservative oligarchy, a critique that argued for increased fairness, progress and productivity on vast swathes of land characterised by misery and stagnation:

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<sup>12</sup>Original: “La cuestión de territorio, la cuestión de límites, no viene a ser en consecuencia sino un negocio de población, es decir, de inmigración extranjera, pues aquella en nuestros países es sinónimo de la última.”

<sup>13</sup>Original: “Todos los medios se han tentado i ninguno ha dado fruto. La paz, la guerra, la relijión, el comercio, la labranza, todo ha sido inútil. Pero ¿podría decirse otro tanto de la colonización gradual pero incesante i progresiva de aquellos feracísimos territorios ocupados por salvajes semi-nómades, a quienes, como sucede en las colonias de Rusia, de Australia i de Francia, irían empujando con un vigor irresistible, como en un círculo de azadas, en lugar de lanzas i cañones, los soldados-colonos que fueran estableciéndose en sus fronteras?”

<sup>14</sup>Vicuña Mackenna’s parliamentary speeches on the Arauco question from 1868 (1939) give a clear illustration of the ethnocide bias of this otherwise brilliant intellectual. More details can be found in the analysis by Casanueva (1998).

We are alluding to these extremely serious matters of subdividing property, the only means to realise the country's full productive capacity; modification of the tenant system, the only way to ennoble and free labour, making men and citizens of our miserable peasants; in short, of introducing the application and exploitation of those modern advancements that alone can provide us with access to new foreign markets, or at least compete in existing markets with our rivals. (Vicuña Mackenna, 1865, p. 12)<sup>15</sup>

### 2.3.2 *A Hierarchy of Immigrants for Chile*

After reviewing the pressing political and social issues that immigration would help to resolve, the prolific author turned his attention to the types of immigrants best suited for his country. In this respect, Vicuña Mackenna came up with the highly practical solution of establishing a hierarchy of immigrants of ten European nationalities. Potential immigrants from these countries were classified based on certain traits defined by their nationality, giving a ranking of priorities for future immigration that would ensure it fulfilled its purpose (see Table 2.1).

Vicuña Mackenna's list of nationalities was based on two fundamental parameters: the ability to settle in their new country and agricultural prowess. Simply put, he wished to ensure immigrants would make a long-term contribution and promote the formation of agricultural colonies. This would ensure that immigration helped to address the four main issues and fundamental objectives: demographic growth, territorial occupation, control of indigenous lands and agricultural development.

Many of the traits attributed to European nationalities were taken from the work of Duval (1862). The exercise found Germans to be the ideal immigrants for three main reasons: their ability to settle in their new country, the fact they did not form part of the large expansionist empires and their capacity for hard agricultural labour. In contrast, the lack of farming aptitude among Belgians led Vicuña Mackenna to rank the nationality fourth, below Basques, since the former were better suited for industry and urban life, despite their high propensity to emigrate.

The ability to settle was crucial, assuaging the concerns of a pro-independence republicanism that distrusted migrants from the large colonial powers whom it was believed never relinquished the hope of returning to their homeland or plotting to bring their countries to new lands. Hence, the English, the French and the Spanish were firmly at the bottom of the list. These nations did not emigrate but conquered and preferred appropriation to contributing to their new home. Finally, the decision to rank Spain last was also influenced by the Eurocentric perception of the country as the lowest on the Old Continent's civilizational pecking order.

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<sup>15</sup>Original: "Aludimos a esas gravísimas cuestiones del fraccionamiento de la propiedad, único medio de conceder al país toda la fuerza de su producción; de modificación del inquilinaje, único arbitrio de ennoblecer i libertar el trabajo, haciendo hombres i ciudadanos de nuestros míseros labriegos; de introducción, en fin, en las explotaciones i en los cultivos de aquellos adelantos modernos que solo podran hacernos capaces de obtener nuevos mercados exteriores, o por lo ménos, de disputar a nuestros rivales los que ya poseemos."

**Table 2.1** Vicuña Mackenna's Ranking of Nationalities Suitable for Immigration to Chile (1865, pp. 25–44)

Ranking	Nationality	Traits
First place	German	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Do not long to return to their country, bringing their homeland with them</li> <li>• Superior physical and technical capacity</li> <li>• Not part of an expansionist empire</li> <li>• Misery and poverty in Germany drive them to emigrate</li> </ul>
Second place	Italian (Lombard and Piedmont)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Travel with their homeland and settle easily</li> <li>• Similar geography and crop types to Chile</li> <li>• Racially and religiously close to Chileans</li> </ul>
	Swiss	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Easily relocate</li> <li>• Good farmers</li> <li>• Less cultured than Italians but with the vigour and strength of mountain people</li> </ul>
Third place	Basque (Spain and France)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hard-working, thrifty and serious</li> <li>• Used to heavy work</li> <li>• Weakness: do not settle permanently in their new country</li> </ul>
Fourth place	Belgian	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Greater aptitude for industry than agriculture</li> <li>• Overpopulation, poverty and destitution in Belgium make them likely to emigrate</li> </ul>
Fifth place	English	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Enterprising, intelligent and persevering</li> <li>• Haughty, conquerors, propagandists of their cult and proud of their power</li> <li>• Do not emigrate but travel: they sail, conquer, enrich themselves and return home</li> <li>• Excellent settlers but in their own lands</li> </ul>
	Scottish	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Same traits as the English but more sedentary</li> </ul>
	Irish	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Restless, impressionable, great spirit, intelligent, enthusiastic, brave in war, selfless and noble</li> </ul>
Sixth place	French	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The worst emigrants, always short term</li> <li>• Do not have a well-developed sense of family and religious feeling</li> <li>• Land reform in France and the stimulus of owning property does not encourage them to emigrate</li> <li>• The country's colonies absorb most of their emigration</li> </ul>
Seventh place	Spanish	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Nothing new to contribute: all that is bad and good is already present in the country's legacy in its former colonies</li> <li>• Do not bring capital, ingenuity or industry but small businesses with a view to returning to their homeland after a few years</li> </ul>

## 2.4 Nicolás Vega: Population and Civilisation by Mixing European Races

The hierarchy proposed by Vicuña Mackenna was theoretical and ideal. The implementation of any immigration project also had to consider the historical circumstances of European countries and the financial resources available to attract immigrants in a highly competitive market. From the publication of the 1865 report,

it took almost two decades before implementation of a large-scale immigration policy began. This was the most ambitious project since the German colonisation of Llanquihue and peaked between 1883 and 1890. After so many years of debate and pilot programmes, the time had come to colonise with European immigrants the lands disputed with the Mapuche in Araucanía, described by the proponents of the initiative as a “national embarrassment”, and where all previous methods of conquest and civilisation had failed.

It should be noted that an attempt was made during the second term of President José Joaquín Pérez (1866–1870) to bring European settlers to Araucanía, creating the post of European colonisation agent, which was held by Javier Luis de Zañartu in 1868. However, the Chilean government was facing other more pressing concerns, such as militarily securing the territory to be colonised, which meant that the initiative was discontinued (de Zañartu, 1869).

The results of the colonising experience in Llanquihue during the second half of the nineteenth century, together with the difficulty of hiring German migrants, made the Chilean politicians realise that immigration in Araucanía would have to be based on a mix of different European nationalities. Populating the lands with immigrants from just one country could create problems for integration and the reproduction of this group as an ethnically and linguistically closed community would prevent its value “spreading” to the rest of the population and hinder its “Chilenisation”.

The influx did not begin until the end of 1883. At the start of the following year, 500 Spanish, French, Italian, Swiss and German families had immigrated to the north of Araucanía in colonies close to Victoria, Quechereguas, Huequen, Traiguén and Contulmo (Zavala, 2008), marking the start of a major cycle of European immigration to rural Araucanía, promoted and planned by the state. Between 1883 and 1890, a total of 6880 European immigrants settled in Araucanía.<sup>16</sup>

Table 2.2 shows the nine foreign nationalities present in the various rural colonies established in Araucanía between 1883 and 1890. This time, however, in contrast to the first major cycle of immigration to Llanquihue, the Germans were no longer the most numerous group. This was the result of a deliberate policy and of the existence of a truly thriving market for human export in Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century.

From the perspective of its ideological underpinnings, one of the main exponents of mixed European immigration was Nicolás Vega, general colonisation agent in Europe between 1893 and 1896. In his 1896 official report, Vega explains the complementary nature of the different European nationalities:

There is no perfect country that contains all the superior elements possessed by humanity.

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<sup>16</sup>The legal framework underpinning the processes for colonising the Araucanía with European immigrants was set out in the colonisation acts of 4 December 1866 and 4 August 1874. The lands to be colonised were subdivided into *hijuelas* (agricultural properties between 100 and 300 hectares), which were provided free to people who met the conditions required to qualify as settlers (*colonos*) (Zavala, 2008).

The highest manifestations of the progress of the human species are disseminated, especially in Western Europe.

If the Chilean statesman requires an immigration flow that can transport modern civilisation as a whole, he must draw from almost all the European–Western nations.

What is lacking in one is made up for in the other, and complete civilisation results from their combination.

A variety of nationalities in immigration results in the fusion of immigrant races, a prerequisite for the success of any consciously directed immigration project. (1896, pp. 20–21)<sup>17</sup>

For Vega, the key was to avoid the “ethnographic imbalance” created by single-nation immigration in other countries:

Neither one nationality nor one race should ever define our immigration. This would result in the ethnographic imbalance that has occurred in other countries, such as the Anglo-German Yankees, the Anglo-French Canadians, the Anglo-Saxon Australians, the Italo-Argentinians and even the Spanish-Americans. (1896, p. 146)<sup>18</sup>

**Table 2.2** Immigrants Arriving in Araucania Between 1883 and 1890 (Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de Chile, 1890, p. 508)

Nationality	No. of families	No. of people
Swiss	463	2599
French	387	1573
German	265	1110
English	222	1082
Spanish	90	339
Russian	13	65
Belgian	15	58
Italian	12	48
North American	2	5
Chilean	–	1
Total		6880

<sup>17</sup>Original: “No hay país perfecto que contenga todos los elementos superiores que posee la humanidad.

Las más altas manifestaciones del progreso de la especie humana se encuentran repartidas, especialmente en Europa occidental.

Si el estadista chileno quiere una corriente inmigratoria capaz de transportar la civilización moderna completa deberá provocarla en casi todas las naciones europeas-occidentales.

Lo que hace falta a la una, lo posee la otra, la resultante de la junta de todas produce la civilización completa.

La variedad de nacionalidades en la inmigración produce la fusión de las razas inmigrantes, condición de éxito de la empresa inmigratoria conscientemente dirigida.”

<sup>18</sup>Original: “Ni la nacionalidad única, ni la raza única deben, en caso alguno, constituir nuestra inmigración. Ello importaría para nosotros ese desequilibrio etnográfico que ha producido en otros países los yankees anglo-alemanes, los canadienses anglo-franceses, los australienses anglo-sajones, los argentino-italianos y aún los mismos hispano-americanos.”

Vega's argument was based on a classification table of European "ethnographic groups" that reflects the influence of anthropological ideas of the time that sought to organise the differences between societies and cultures. The author distinguished three dominant ethnographic groups in Europe: Slavonic, Germanic and Greco-Latin. The different European nationalities all belonged to one of the three groups (Table 2.3). Vega's analysis omits the Slavic peoples, which were not relevant to immigration processes in Chile and excluded other minority groups, which he estimated represented between 15 and 20 million people and included the Celts, Magyars, Finnish, Turkish, Tartars, Basques and Jews.

Vega's immigration proposal advocates a proportional contribution of Western Europe's two biggest ethnographic families: Germanic and Greco-Latin. This colonisation agent believed that the fusion and mixture of these two groups would allow the forging of a new Chilean nationality in which the traits and qualities of Europeans would be balanced and measured by this mixture: "Thus we should not seek to be Germanic or Latin but Chileans constituted by those two great European races, or, more specifically, our immigration should be half Germanic and half Latin" (1896, p. 146).<sup>19</sup>

The initial experience of the colonisation of the Araucania (1883–1890) embodied this idea of mixed immigration. However, in the following decade, when Vega was employed as colonisation agent, there were difficulties ensuring the continuity of the project and only 500 new immigrants were registered in the period between 1891 and 1900 (Zavala, 2008).

**Table 2.3** Nicolás Vega's ethnographic classification (1896, p. 146)

Group	Ethnographic family	Type	Nationality	No. of people (millions)	Total (millions)
One	Slavic	–	–	–	–
Two	Germanic	German	Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Holland, Flemish and Frisian	70	113
		Scandinavian	Swedish, Norwegian and Danish	8	
		Anglo-Saxons	English and Scottish	35	
Three	Greco-Latin family	Western	French	38	110
			Italian, Tyrolean and Istrian	35	
			Spanish and Portuguese	21	
			Swiss and Belgian	3	
		Eastern	Romanian	8	
		Greek and Albanian	5		

<sup>19</sup>Original: "Parece pues que no deberíamos propender a ser germanos ni latinos, sino chilenos constituidos por aquellas dos grandes razas europeas, o más concretamente, que nuestra inmigración debería ser mitad germánica y mitad Latina."

## 2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has considered the ideas of three authors who are representative of three different moments in the immigration policy of nineteenth-century Chile. It began by examining the pilot German colonies in Llanquihue and Valdivia, then moved on to consider the subsequent definition of an immigration policy and the debate surrounding its application in Araucanía, before finally considering the period in which its continuity and expansion was debated following the completion of a first cycle of immigration in Araucanía.

It is worth noting that in this nineteenth century, discursive construction that emphasised the importance of European immigration and its characteristics a number of aspects were omitted, perhaps because they were seen as common sense or self-evident truths at the time. Immigration from continents other than Europe, such as Asia or Africa is one example.<sup>20</sup> Similarly absent from the debates, and possibly unthinkable also, was the hypothesis that the indigenous inhabitants of the lands granted to the immigrants could themselves play a role in the ideal society to be built, and more so the fate that awaited them once their land had been occupied.

Without a doubt, the nineteenth century was marked by the major theories of humanity founded on non-theological reasoning. Among them, evolutionism and positivism had a major influence and gave rise to or combined with a range of other theories in which the idea of progress and perfection found its zenith in Western (preferably non-Iberian) Europe. Such a model condemned the inhabitants of other continents to a secondary, if not marginal, position.

However, it was not only the reception of new ideas that had spread from Europe to America since the Enlightenment that provided the foundations for the thinking of Chilean intellectuals on European immigration but also the by-then-well-established episteme of the hierarchy of races and blood rights that held up the framework of the colonial societies inherited by Latin America's new generations of republicans.

In the old pyramidal view of colonial society, each race had its position in a relationship of superiority and inferiority. However, independence from Spain and the rejection of colonial rule led republican intellectuals to seek out new sources of inspiration, albeit without challenging the hierarchical principles of socio-ethnic ordering. Not only did other European nationalities displace the Spanish from the top of the pyramid but the pyramid itself tended to become theoretically diluted by the political ideal of equality among citizens, despite the fact that such equality was predicated on eliminating or subsuming individuals believed to represent the most anachronistic and less-evolved image of the human species.

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<sup>20</sup> Regarding the idea of immigration from Asia and Africa, Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna remarked: “[...] nos interesa todo jénero de elementos de población, con la sola excepción de las razas dejenradas de Asia i África, en especial el chino i el negro” [we are interested in all types of population elements, with the sole exception of the degenerate races of Asia and Africa, especially the Chinese and the negro] (1865, p. 38).

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# Chapter 3

## “As Truthful as It Is Patriotic”: The Dispute Between Rodolfo Lenz and Manuel Manquilef Over Translation



Gertrudis Payàs

### 3.1 Introduction

Studies on Chilean nationalism generally agree that the nation conceived itself as such since its independence and, particularly, since the consolidation of its borders in the second half of the nineteenth century. For reasons that are widely exposed in historiography, and which we will not discuss here, the *topos* of the brave Araucanian is not an outstanding theme of national pride in the collective psyche. This, among other facts, suggests that in terms of the two forms of nationalism recognized in studies of this phenomenon, in Chile, as in Argentina, and unlike Mexico or Peru, we find a modernist nationalism (Anderson, 1983), based on notions of material progress and of belonging to a modern high culture (Gellner, 2006), instead of an ethnic nationalism (Smith, 1997) rooted in an indigenous past that unifies society and is admired for its cultural achievements, its originality and antiquity<sup>1</sup>.

The nationalist ideology puts into circulation a great variety of discourses: oral, visual and written, which convey the different *topoi* that feed these feelings of national belonging. Among the written discourses, translation appears as a particular type: texts that derive from other texts written in other languages that they

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<sup>1</sup>For a synthesis of these two currents of thought about nationalism, see Gutiérrez Chong (2001).

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allegedly reproduce. In the transformations operated through translation, as well as in the circumstances that surround the processes and in the individual intentions involved, the representations that a community makes about self and other<sup>2</sup> can be understood. In Chile (and practically in all Latin America), the nineteenth century is an “age of translations”, particularly of European works, French, English and German literature, education, philosophy and history that, adapted to the local tastes and worldviews, will contribute to build up the new national literatures. There is, however, a little-known<sup>3</sup> practice of translation that has not been related to this construction: the translation of indigenous languages.

In this paper, we address a number of translations of the Mapudungun language by asking ourselves if it is possible to understand them within the framework of the constitution of a Chilean discourse on the Mapuche people (Araucanian) and explain their relative absence in the national discourse. For this purpose, we refer first to the production of ethnographic narratives and the use of translation in them, distinguishing between ethnographies and autoethnographies. We also explain the importance of these translated stories for the construction of the national imaginary. Second, we approach the works of Rodolfo Lenz and Manuel Manquilef in their context, identifying them both as ethnography and autoethnography. Third, we describe the paratextual apparatus in the ethnographic genre and expose the argumentative and dialogical character of the paratexts in the two works of Manquilef. Finally, we explain and illustrate the dispute that Lenz engaged with Manquilef about translation and the concrete translating operations that demonstrate the intention of Manquilef to break the ethnographic enclosure and to elevate Mapudungun to the status of a national language, equal to Spanish.

### 3.2 Indigenous Voices in the National Discourse: Ethnography and Autoethnography

The translation and interpretation practices of the indigenous languages, which are linked to the control of colonized societies and their forms of resistance, offer an interesting and still little-explored field of studies. Translation in ethnographic writing<sup>4</sup> is similar in several aspects to the translation used in the missionary genre: it is

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<sup>2</sup>For a definition of the translation in the history of the representations, we refer to the introductory study of our reedition of the catalogue of translations made by José Toribio Medina in 1925 (Medina, 2007).

<sup>3</sup>Medina’s catalogue contains only translations of foreign works. He did not include ethnographic works, which he did not consider proper translations, although he certainly knew them.

<sup>4</sup>In this paper we use the distinction between ethnographic text and autoethnographic text following Pratt (1991), who uses it to distinguish the ethnographies made by the native subjects themselves from those made by “professional” ethnographers, as we shall see ahead. Apart from the cases in which we make the distinction, we will talk about ethnography as a generic that will encompass both practices and products.

asymmetric (a higher level culture and language and a lower level one) and is not intended for the readers of the other culture-language but for those of the own culture-language, whose power it reinforces. The power differences between the two languages, which are expressions of two societies at a given moment, and of two cultures in a broad sense are revealed in ethnographic translation. What is at stake there is the representation that scholars belonging to the dominant culture make of the subordinate culture at that time.

Following the path of translation, we can say that the ethnographic genre includes, then, texts meant to explaining and making known other cultures that are considered primitive. These works are based on stories obtained from more or less voluntary collaborators from those cultures, and when these stories are told in languages other than those of ethnographers, translation and interpretation procedures are used in the process. If they cannot be translated or interpreted, there is no possible access to the sources of knowledge they convey. Thus, the overlapping of translation with ethnography is a significant feature of the genre (Sturge, 2008), although this overlap is instrumental: translation operates only as auxiliary to ethnography and is subordinated to it. As translation is instrumentalized by ethnography, the predominant *ethos* is not that of translators, but rather that of ethnographers. It is therefore necessary to understand their translation position and decisions based on how they conceive their role as specialists in the dominant society and their relationship with the culture described. Through the study of the translation strategies used, linked with the hermeneutic horizon of the ethnographer, we find a possibility of understanding the representations that these translations support and transmit, and the impact they can have on the imaginaries both in the culture that formulates the ethnographic study and on the culture that is the object of it.

In the Latin-American context, several authors consider the early Spanish and indigenous chronicles within the ethnographic genre, starting from the very dawn of the conquest (Klor de Alva, 1988; Palerm, 2006; Pratt, 1991). Both missionary and indigenous chronicles of the sixteenth century are ethnographies *avant la lettre*, that is, precursors of modern ethnography (Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, Fernando Alvarado Tezozómoc, Fernando Alva Ixtlilxóchitl in Mexico, or Guaman Poma de Ayala, in Peru). With the necessary *caveats*, we bear in mind this tradition of colonial ethnography in the background of the present paper precisely because in Chile it did not exist and we believe that to be a significant absence, which allows us to understand some features of the national imaginary.

Many of these stories obtained through translation contain historiographical or mythical data and information about the cultures that have founded national histories, and in the current context of autochthonous societies wanting to revitalize their own traditions, they are of great significance. It is important, for the interpretation that is made of them today, not to lose sight of the fact that they are the product of a determined ideological and social climate. It is also necessary to know the limits and the potentials of the institutions and individuals involved in their production and transmission and to recognize that the conditions of their acceptability are more or less explicitly codified in their textuality.

Some aspects of Chilean ethnography and autoethnography presented here have been worked on in recent years by scholars associated with postcolonial or decolonizing thinking. The concern to demonstrate how the discourse of power is inscribed in the ethnographic text and to assert the role of Mapuche informants and collaborators in the texts so far attributed to non-indigenous authors has resulted in the reedition of some of these ethnographic works of the late nineteenth century and the publication of interesting works on these declassifying and decolonizing initiatives of ethnographic knowledge (Pavez, 2003; Ménard, 2006; Foote, 2012).<sup>5</sup>

By unravelling the effects of hegemony that are inscribed in the ethnographic discourse and obey to the context of its production, Sturge (2008), from the perspective of translation studies, has addressed the ethnographies elaborated in the scientific climate of the nineteenth-century evolutionism, especially in the context of the old British and Dutch colonies and conducts a dissection of the strategies of translation and paratextual discourse that protect and legitimize the stories thus obtained. Many of her observations are relevant to the Chilean case, which is coincidental with hers, both in time and ideology.

For our part, in our research on colonial translation in Mexico (Payàs, 2010), we observed the relationship between early ethnographies and translation in the chronicles made by missionaries and indigenous or mestizo intellectual collaborators, mostly of the native nobility, underlining their role in the translation of ancient pictographic documents and suggesting as well that these collaborators, who also acted as judiciary interpreters, managed, thanks to their bilingualism and their training received in missionary schools or convents, to occupy a place in the society of New Spain while maintaining their ancestors' lineages. The indigenous voice (of the nobility, it should be noted), therefore, participated very early in the discourse that was weaving the story of the nation.

This mixed historiographical production, based on the translation of the prehispanic past, thus served to fuel a memory of antiquity, a national pride, and, in short, a nationalist discourse. As we anticipated (Payàs, 2015), it was in the most populous and richest colonial centres, which had printing houses and libraries early on, that a part of the indigenous elite, mainly in the viceroalties of Peru and New Spain, was able to join the "literate city" (Rama, 2004). Fernando de Alvarado Tezozómoc and Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl, both of noble families, educated in convents and both interpreters of the administration of justice in the first decades of the seventeenth century, established, with their auto ethnographies, the founding myths of the Mexican nation, which are still a reference today. It is difficult to imagine a history of Mexico (and a colonial thinking and letters) without these individuals and without these translation practices. And also, without the former and without the latter it is difficult to imagine the colonial literate culture, the missionary theatre, the poetry

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<sup>5</sup> Undoubtedly, the work of Pavez (2015) helped to understand these dynamics of translation, ethnography and identity. We thank him for pointing out to us the work of Mallon (2010), which addresses the same case that we are dealing with here. It confirms the interest of this study and the coincidences in the analysis of the texts.

of the baroque and other cultural manifestations rooted in these transactions between linguistic and aesthetic codes produced during those first decades.

The providentialist and universalist spirit of the first colonial period, with its features of a Franciscan utopia, allowed, in the midst of the demographic catastrophe and violence of the conquest, for the survival of major parts of the native culture thanks to the work of these autochthonous elites, who shaped new cultural identities by negotiating cultural contents between several languages (theirs, in addition to Spanish and Latin). The success of the *mestizaje* paradigm as a national ideologem owes much to this work of early interchange between European and indigenous representations.

From a cultural studies perspective, the participation of the indigenous voice in the representation of their own culture was pointed out some years ago by Pratt (1991) as one of the practices of the contact zones. The use of the term autoethnographies seems accurate to us to describe these stories (based on the one by Guamán Poma de Ayala, in Peru), as well as their characterization: texts through which individuals undertake the description of their own cultures, using either the language or discursive styles and strategies of narration belonging to the dominant culture, that is, engaging in a tacit dialogue with the missionary ethnographic chronicles that precede them or are contemporary with them:

[Texts] in which people undertake to describe themselves in ways that engage with representations others have made of them. Thus, if ethnographic texts are those in which European metropolitan subjects represent to themselves their others (usually their conquered others), autoethnographic texts are representations that the so-defined others construct in response to or in dialogue with those texts. [...] [They] involve a selective collaboration with and appropriation of idioms of the metropolis or the conqueror. These are merged or infiltrated to varying degrees with indigenous idioms to create self-representations intended to intervene in metropolitan modes of understanding. (Pratt, 1991, p. 35)

As we will show, this appropriation effectively supposes a creative mimesis of the scriptural modes of ethnography, as a reaction to it. It involves selecting the texts or extracting the usable fragments from them and translating them using more or less conscious or explicit strategies that allow the authorial self to appear, which in ethnography is invisible. It implies a transfer of the authority (real or assumed) of the original version to the language of translation using strategies directed to homologate, ennoble, normalize or homogenize the scriptural style, such as polishing the language, introducing explanations, paraphrases, nuances, incorporating or discarding loanwords. Ultimately, it means taking into account other contexts of reception, not considered in ethnography.

As in ethnographic translation, it is about transcribing and translating oral stories; in the case of non-alphabetic scriptural systems, these stories are transferred into alphabetic writing (intersemiotic translation), and then, the translation is done in Spanish (interlinguistic translation).<sup>6</sup> Autoethnographies have an implicit argumentative character: they arise to counteract representations made by outsiders and

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<sup>6</sup>We owe this distinction to the classic work of Jakobson (1959).

are motivated by situations of forced contact, conflict and tension, in contexts of loss and reconfiguration of identities. By addressing not only the European society but also the native reader, they create new reception scenarios and dynamics of comparison, analogy and rivalry that contribute to each one's identity stance. Its authors are unique individuals, located in the interstitial spaces of the societies in contact who, through these gestures of mediation, give voice to a social discourse of resistance and assertion of the natives, modulating it, if necessary, so that it can be acceptable in the dominant literary system.

### 3.3 Rodolfo Lenz and Manuel Manquilef: The Mapuche Language and Culture

As we have said, this early autoethnographic production, linked to memory, letters and historiography, did not occur throughout colonial Latin America. In Chile, which was a kind of military frontier during the entire colonial period, there were no important intellectual hubs nor were reading and writing practices so sufficiently widespread that we could speak of an autonomous literate culture. The historiographical productions that we know today, relatively scarce, did not circulate in their time because they did not reach the printing press (*Cautiverio Feliz*, by Pineda and Bascuñán<sup>7</sup> or the chronicles by González de Nájera<sup>8</sup> and Rosales,<sup>9</sup> all published in modern times) or because they were printed outside Chile (that of de Ovalle, 1646), and without forgetting the great Ercilla epic. Instead of being read in Chile, they fed the European imagination on the American continent. While acknowledging that this production played an important part in the constitution of an identity of a Chilean nation, it is imperative to note that the native society described in these stories, the Mapuche, did not participate in the construction of the representation made about them nor did they participate in the construction of the discourse on Chile that was being created. There was no Mapuche story or Mapuche voices contrasting with these other stories or responding to them. During the colonial centuries, the Mapuche did not write nor, obviously, translate, so therefore no other representation was disseminated, and there were no interactions and exchange of imaginaries. Although the missionaries were undoubtedly assisted by Indians in their work, these do not seem to have written on their own (and, if they did, their works did not reach us), and although like in New Spain or Peru, efforts were made to educate the sons of caciques, in Chile these initiatives were delayed (the only institution, the *Colegio de Naturales* in Chillán, was created in 1697) and linked mainly to evangelization, rather than to the education of an autochthonous literate

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<sup>7</sup>Manuscript dated 1663 or 1673.

<sup>8</sup>Manuscript dated 1614.

<sup>9</sup>Manuscript dated 1674.

elite. We will not find, therefore, writings in indigenous Mapudungun throughout Chilean colonial history.<sup>10</sup>

These circumstances suggest that the absence, until the end of the nineteenth century, of translated autoethnographic stories, that could respond or counterbalance the colonial representations, deprived the Chilean state and society (in particular the groups that had the responsibility of disseminating the republican imaginaries) of a founding discourse that could be shared by the indigenous and non-indigenous society at a time when a national identity had to be built, from which those representing the original nation could not be absent.<sup>11</sup> The scarce autoethnographies in Chile, those of Manuel Manquilef, mainly belong to those years and arise from a political and ideological context in which they cannot escape marginality; while without an obstacle or a dissenting vision, scientific ethnographies, like that of Rodolfo Lenz, will manage to establish the imaginary of an indigenous culture and language in decline, scientifically interesting, but lacking in resources to serve modernity and, therefore, destined to be assimilated or to be condemned to extinction.

In order to better understand this complex relationship between ethnographic and autoethnographic representation of the Mapuche culture, one must understand their respective translation strategies, which can be correlated with the respective recipients of the texts and with the express purpose for which they were published. Likewise, it is necessary to explain how the representation of the culture produced by ethnographic translation is legitimized and how, in the case of autoethnography, a genuine struggle for the representation of the indigenous culture and language between the informant who becomes autonomous (Manuel Manquilef) and the foreign scientist (Rodolfo Lenz), a struggle fought precisely in the field of language and translation.<sup>12</sup>

Let us briefly remember the context: at the end of nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, the Mapuche culture, militarily besieged and at risk of disappearance in the face of the standardizing and modernizing pressure of the Chilean liberal Republic, was described by civil and religious scholars interested in its linguistic, psychological and material aspects. At that turn of the century, the first production of bilingual Mapudungun-Castilian materials not directly linked to evangelization was generated. Some non-Mapuche intellectuals were interested in this culture that was considered on the verge of extinction, and compiled texts intended to make the language and customs better known. In the background of these ethnographies, there were the interests of the Republic in terms of what was

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<sup>10</sup>This statement does not mean ignoring the knowledge of writing that could have had the Mapuche authorities in their dealings with the Army, through Spanish or mestizo assistants who served as scribes and translators.

<sup>11</sup>Indeed, the story of the Mapuche resistance and military achievements against the Spanish became part of the imaginary of Independence. However, the fact that many Mapuche leaders did not surrender easily to the Chilean Republic and for some years aligned themselves with the Spanish Monarchy prevented this imaginary from consolidating.

<sup>12</sup>As other authors (Mallon, 2010; Ménard, 2006; Pavez, 2003).

considered civilization and material and moral progress of the backward population sectors, the exploitation of natural resources and the administrative and legal order of the Nation. According to the evolutionary paradigm in vogue, Mapuche culture, considered primitive on the scale of civilization, was doomed to disappear as the result of the work of progress and advancement. The future of the indigenous groups and the possibilities of their assimilation were debated in the political fora of Santiago, the capital city, while the progress of the engineering of roads and railroads paved the way for the effective military occupation of the vast southern territories and their subsequent exploitation.

In this political, social and intellectual context, the works on the Mapuche language and culture of the German philologist Rodolfo Lenz (Halle, 1863–Santiago, 1938), the Chilean school teacher Tomás Guevara (Temuco, 1865–1935) and the German Capuchin friars Ernesto Wilhelm de Moesbach (Moesbach, 1882–Panguipulli, 1963) and Félix José Kathan de Augusta (Augsburg, 1860–Valdivia, 1935) were published. Their works were brought out during their lifetime and circulated in academic and intellectual or religious media. Some have been republished in recent dates.

Of this group of scholars, Rodolfo Lenz, who arrived in Santiago de Chile in 1890 to work as a teacher in the recently founded Instituto Pedagógico, was the main figure, the highest authority in Mapuche studies and pioneer of the new discipline: araucanistics. Having arrived in the country to teach European languages, he soon became interested in native cultures and, in the line of folklore studies and referring to the discoveries of the nascent linguistics, “almost as new as electrical engineering”, as he writes in the prologue of his *Estudios Araucanos* (1897), he undertook what were the first modern scientific studies of the Mapuche language and culture. He published both in Germany and in Chile, and, furthermore, he wrote introductions and prologues of the publications of other araucanists whose academic credentials were less imposing, or who were local scholars living in Araucania, such as the missionaries.

His main work, *Estudios Araucanos*, is composed of 12 independent studies, published first in instalments in the journal *Anales de la Universidad de Chile*, between 1895 and 1897 and finally in a single volume, with an introduction and some addenda, in 1897 (Imprenta Cervantes, Santiago).<sup>13</sup> These are studies of ethnolinguistics and folklore (conceived as a preparation for a general grammar, which was never published), based on translations into Spanish of Mapuche stories obtained from indigenous informants, or on translations of standard phrases from Spanish into the Mapuche language. As Lenz says in the prologue to the compilation of 1897, the purpose of these studies was mainly to satisfy scientific curiosity, that is, to provide positive, scientifically validated data in order to acquire knowledge of the language and its psychological foundations, but also to promote its learning, not in order to enhance or develop it, but because it was “of practical importance for the Republic” (p. XV).

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<sup>13</sup>This is the edition that we consult here. The quotations that we give below refer to it.

The translation strategy used there was a literal interlineal version of numbered sentences, so as to highlight the morphosyntactic structures of the Mapudungun language. This word-for-word version did not pay attention to the meaning of the phrase and was accompanied by a literal (*sic*), merely semantic, version of the sentences at the bottom of the page, meant to facilitate intelligibility. In fact, what Lenz meant by “literal” was a version that made the original transparent: in the continuum that we can draw between the opposite poles of a foreignizing version (that is, close to the original) and an ethnocentric or domesticating version (close to the translation language),<sup>14</sup> it would be closer to the first than to the second: “as literal as I thought it was compatible with the intelligibility of the Spanish text, which therefore reflects the style of the Araucanian quite well” (p. V).<sup>15</sup> In any case, they were accompanied by erudite footnotes specifying equivalences or indicating doubts. His status as a scientist and the way he explained the method of obtaining texts legitimized the veracity and faithfulness of the translations. At another level, Lenz defended the objectivism and scientificity of the entire ethnolinguistic operation: “Today we know that the development of languages obeys to laws as fixed and secure as all biological laws” (p. XIX), as well as the scientific tools of observation, classification and systematization of this knowledge, that is, the interlineal version, which would allow “a logical analysis of the thought of the Indians” (p. X), and the accompanying literal version, which would help understand the meaning and reveal the rhetorical features of the language.

So, although the texts were presented as transcriptions of oral accounts by indigenous individuals, it was actually Lenz who elicited the stories, textualizing and fixing them before their translation. Likewise, it was he who determined when the stories begin and end. And, of course, the necessary translation was also done under his watchful eye, if not by himself, since the stories, with their translation, must be able to function as quotes that illustrated and supported that knowledge about the native culture. His readers were not primarily among the natives described, but were intellectuals like him, and the journal in which he published belonged to an institution in which he had a leading role (the Chilean Folklore Society, founded by him in 1909). The whole process was, then, in his hands: genesis, original texts and translations, and reception, implicitly imbricating the author with the production context, the translation, the recipients and the context of reception. From the point of view of the relationship to otherness of which translation is more than a metaphor, the result of these operations was, therefore, questionable since the indigenous voice was subject to the control of the ethnographer.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Since always, and with different denominations, the dilemma of the correct translation oscillates between giving pre-eminence to the source text and culture, at the risk of overstressing its foreign character, or to the target text and culture, at the risk of suppressing or domesticating the originality of the source text. The bibliography on the subject is very abundant. A useful anthology of classical texts is given in Venuti (2000).

<sup>15</sup> In this and all other quotes the original spelling is respected.

<sup>16</sup> We do not believe, in principle, in a fundamental solipsism or impossibility of non-ethnocentric approach to other cultures, but in the utility of exposing the historicity of the representations that are disseminated through translation and in the need to discuss them.

Lenz, like other ethnographers, required for these translations the collaboration of Mapuche people, among whom Manuel Manquilef (Maquehua, 1887–1950) will stand out for his undoubted merits. His mother was a Chilean captive and father a Mapuche cacique, he was raised in the countryside, among the Mapuche, by his paternal grandmother, in Mapudungun, and when he was 8 years old, he was sent to study in the city of Temuco, where he learned Spanish. He was a student of the Lyceum of the city, headed at the time by Tomás Guevara, an expert on Mapuche antiquities. Manuel graduated in pedagogical studies and qualified as a teacher of Gymnastics and Calligraphy. He collaborated as an informant, translator and interpreter of Tomás Guevara in the publication of several of his ethnographic and historical works; then, dissociating himself from him, he decided to write on his own account, and published, thanks to the sponsorship of Lenz, at the highest academic institution, the University of Chile, an autoethnographic work in two volumes entitled *Comentarios del pueblo araucano I. La faz social*, in 1911, and *Comentarios del pueblo araucano II. La gimnasia nacional*, in 1914.

Manquilef tried thus to contribute with his own version, in the name of his people, on his own culture and language. In the first volume: *La faz social* (The social aspect), he dealt with material culture, customs and language, while the second: *La gimnasia nacional* (The national gymnastics), prepared at the time of the previous one but published 3 years later, was dedicated to extolling the aspect of physical activity and vigour expressed as a patriotic virtue. Like the works of Lenz and Guevara, his works were also based on oral accounts, their own or that of other Mapuche, which he himself translated into Spanish; but, in addition, he included fragments of contemporary Chilean works that he also translated into Mapudungun. He was the first Mapuche writer to publish in his language.<sup>17</sup>

Manquilef's autoethnography, published in these two volumes (which we will from now on refer to as *Comentarios I y II*), was composed both of translation and self-translation, as he directly narrated, or collected third-party accounts in Mapudungun and translated them into Spanish and vice versa. If Lenz intended with his ethnography to represent Mapuche culture and language as residues of a past, the Manquilef program had an ambition to make them part of the *polis* (Simon, 2007), to give them a place equivalent to that of Spanish and Chilean culture. In order to do this, Manquilef, as in the colonial autoethnographies of New Spain and Peru, addressed not only the specialists but also the other groups of readers that represent this *polis*: the Chilean common reader and the Mapuche reader. On the one hand, he sought to be read and recognized by the intellectuals, represented by Lenz himself, to whom he dedicated the first of his two works:

Dr. Rodolfo Lenz, sabio filólogo, que con majistrales frases i con científicos estudios, ha abierto un ancho campo, tanto en favour de la raza como en el folklore araucano. Al señor Lenz le ha cabido la ardua i honrosa mision de ser el iniciador del estudio científico del idioma araucano. La fonética, el mecanismo de la sintáxis, el estilo i el pensamiento jenuino

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<sup>17</sup>We refer to the thorough work of Pavez (2003) for a more complete biography of Manquilef.

del indio, han sido profundizados por el señor Lenz, según los adelantos modernos de la lingüística. (Manquilef, 1911, p. 11)<sup>18</sup>

On the other hand, he wished to be read by the Mapuche and ignite in them the feeling of national pride, as he wrote later in the same work, when presenting his translation of an extract of *Raza Chilena* by his contemporary Nicolás Palacios:

como este humilde libro caerá en poder de casi todos los araucanos civilizados, i quiero imponerles como único deber moral que en las noches de invierno o los días de lluvia y aprovechando la oportunidad de que todos permanecen a la orilla del fogón de la ruka, levanten su voz i con aire enérgico i como buenos weupin, reciten en mapuche esta interesante relación, tan verídica como patriota. (Manquilef, 1911, p. 394, also textually in 1914, p. 197)<sup>19</sup>

But he also addressed the Chilean reader, defending the Mapuche from racism and the prevailing prejudice:

De lo dicho se deduce que los araucanos son también hombres provistos de un alma, con conocimientos, sentimientos y pensamientos análogos a los de las razas que han creado las naciones más cultas i poderosas de la tierra. (Manquilef, 1911, p. 14, also textually in 1914, p. 196)<sup>20</sup>

### 3.4 The Paratext and the Control of the Narrative

The paratextual apparatus in the ethnographic genre is of crucial importance. The oral narratives that constitute the core of the work are framed by a set of discourses which explain them and which direct the attention of the reader towards one or another aspect, the context in which they arise, the subjects that enunciate them or the circumstances in which they have been collected (Genette, 1982).

Access to the original narrative is mediated by a series of erudite discourses which validate it and fix it in such a way that it becomes easily canonical and therefore, difficult to revise or refute.

In its genesis, the classical ethnographic text is based on an account in the oral indigenous language, which the ethnographer presents as original. We could say that this original story is the invisible nucleus because it remains in orality, and once

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<sup>18</sup> [To] Dr. Rodolfo Lenz, a wise philologist who with masterly phrases and scientific studies has opened a wide field in favour of the race as well as in the Araucanian folklore. Mr. Lenz has had the arduous and honourable mission of being the initiator of the scientific study of the Araucanian language. The phonetics, the mechanism of the syntax, the style and the genuine thought of the Indian have been deepened by Mr. Lenz according to the modern advances of linguistics.

<sup>19</sup> As this humble book will fall into the hands of almost all civilized Araucanians, and I want to impose them as the only moral duty that on winter nights or rainy days and taking advantage of the opportunity for everyone to stay around the fire of the *ruka*, to raise their voices, with an energetic air, and like the good *weupin*, recite in Mapuche this interesting account, as truthful as it is patriotic.

<sup>20</sup> It follows from what has been said that the Araucanians are also people equipped with a soul, with knowledge, feelings and thoughts analogous to those of the races that have created the most cultured and powerful nations on Earth.

it has been enunciated it cannot be invoked anymore.<sup>21</sup> This oral narrative is then subjected to a textualization, which implies transcribing what the ethnographer considers essential in it, normalizing the language in conformity with the conventions of syntax, paragraph division, conceptual order, etc. and adding its corresponding translation, whether interlineal, in parallel, at the bottom of the page or at the end of the text. In this binomial, it cannot always be determined whether the oral narrative or the translation is textualized first. It is possible that sometimes the narrative and translation are products of an oral negotiation between the ethnographer and the informant, and that in others the textualization is done behind the back of the informant, with a translator who is external to the process. In general, it is also difficult for us to know the degree of linguistic competence of the participants in one or another language, and although sometimes the prologues provide data on this as well as on the steps and procedures used, we have no way of corroborating their veracity. The basic assumption of all ethnography, in particular that made before voice registers, is that the original is the autochthonous narrative, whose real existence is accounted for by its textualization, and whose conceptual content is accounted for by the translation. This is how the oral narrative, textualized along with its translation, becomes a source to illustrate the ethnographic interpretation, and it is easy to understand that the ethnographer is the one who has the control of the textualization and, therefore, of the source itself, of which he becomes, in fact, co-author.

The paratextual apparatus that interacts with the source is more or less complex, but usually consists, first, of the argumentation or critical apparatus by the same ethnographer who has selected and translated the citations and who interacts directly with them through interlayer interpretations, glosses, footnotes and other modes of intervention. Then we have a more or less important wrapping of prologues, nuncupative texts, preambles, epilogues, appendices and other forms of scholarly comments.

The main function of this device is to legitimize the original narrative by framing it in a discourse that confirms its authenticity and gives it credibility and readability. The prologues can be several, from the same or different ethnographers. It is the authority of the authors of the paratextual apparatus and of the institution sponsoring these works, as declared in the paratexts, which determines the conditions of conservation and circulation of the source narrative. There is a hierarchy in this preambular sequence: the prologue which occupies the first place in the order of the book is usually by a scholar who is considered an authority in the matter, who authenticates the interpretations and arguments of the ethnographer acting as an eyewitness of the source narratives and that in turn legitimizes the verisimilitude of these and of the process of translation and interpretation.

Verisimilitude and legitimacy of the source are what is at stake in the ethnographic account. When the ethnographer does not belong to the culture which is the

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<sup>21</sup> In this first stage of compilation, in addition to the ethnographer and the main informant, one or more interpreters may be participating, in a context of dialogue with the informant and other persons, from one side or the other, providing or requesting clarifications.

object of ethnography, it is the process of obtaining and fixing the narrative and its translation that gives value to the source, which must be read as authentic. Now, in the autoethnographic work, in which this value of the original narrative is given by the identification of the indigenous author with his source, it is he who must legitimize himself. To understand the possibilities and limitations of this legitimation, we will now turn our attention to the paratextual apparatus of Manquilef’s autoethnography.

### 3.5 The Paratexts in *Comentarios I*

The analysis of the paratextual apparatus of Manquilef’s two *Comentarios* reveals the tensions and complexities of the context in which he writes and in which the text is read. Here not only the words count but also the individuals, their social and political positions and, mainly, knowing who holds the truth about the indigenous language and culture: the observer who has the tools of science or the native, who owns the natural knowledge. The place that these paratexts occupy in the work, with their dating, their authorship and their content are factors that indicate that who is translating, for whom he translates and how he translates are measures with which the value of a language and a culture is assessed. To a large extent, here is where the rivalry between Lenz and Manquilef is made evident. Let us take a look: in *Comentarios I* (1914), there are five preliminary sections, in this order:

1. Preface by Rodolfo Lenz, dated April 1911. It is addressed to the scholarly reader and refers to the work of Manquilef highlighting the unusualness of the case: “It is the first time that an immediate descendant of the heroic race sung by Ercilla, a young man who in his childhood did not speak any language other than Mapuche, publishes a scientific work” (p. 3). He then expresses a veiled reluctance to his way of using interlineal translation, which could have been done “differently”; he declares the virtual impossibility of translation between “languages as absolutely different as Mapuche and Spanish” and has no qualms in suggesting to the reader that he compares the way in which Manquilef translates with the way in which he does it himself, for which he refers the reader to his *Estudios Araucanos*.
2. Biographical presentation of Manquilef, written by himself, in the first person. It is dated May 1910. It is an emotional text, full of childhood memories, expressions of feelings, details of his educational training and working life, with abundant references in Mapudungun followed intermittently by translation or explanatory paraphrases: the solicitous gesture of someone who seeks to be understood and recognized. The fact that it is Lenz who adds this biography and not Manquilef is rather significant and one must consider the reasons behind it. In the preface, Lenz suggests that he had asked Manquilef if he could include it in his application to membership of the Sociedad del Folklore Chileno, which means that it was not originally part of this work. Lenz thus presents Manquilef

as if it was he who presented himself on his own initiative. The fact would not stand out so much if it were not for the fact that in that autobiography Manquilef does not use the impersonal, objectifying tone of the rest of the work, but instead he shows himself as Mapuche, with his memories, his affections and his childhood history. By incorporating this autobiographical account into the work, Lenz proclaims his authority over the text, but in addition he indicates to the accomplice reader what Manquilef's true genealogy is: he may present himself as a scholar, but deep down he never ceases to be the Mapuche indian whose life and work will be, here also, and fatally, the object of ethnography.

3. Brief section in which, as we infer, the note of the official minutes is reproduced informing of the opinion of the jury that awarded the prize, which consisted in the publication of the work. If this is a fact, it would have been Lenz who inserted it. It does not have a date. It is important to highlight that the contest had been convened to commemorate Chile's Independence and that one of the three themes was precisely the "Araucanian life". The evaluation was somewhat condescending, describing it as "work of a certain inspiration, fifty pages ... It is written in a simple style and its chapters are well ordered" (pp. 9–10).
4. Dedication by the author to his teachers, in particular to Rodolfo Lenz, recognizing him as the authority in Araucanian studies. Dated in August 1910. What is interesting in it is his vehement final exhortation to them "to accept the tribute of one of the last offshoots of the race who with great tenacity was able to defend the integrity of its land for three centuries and a half of struggle" (p. 12), thus implying the defeat of the Mapuche people and at the same time establishing a foundational continuity between that present of loss and the glorious Mapuche past.
5. Actual introduction by Manquilef, dated August 1910. In this text, which appears last, we can see Manquilef as a true scholar, knowledgeable of scientific communication conventions. He does not use the first person but the objectivating impersonal or passive reflex form. Manquilef shows himself dissociated from his object of study, referring to "the intellectual development" of his people, his "power of assimilation, characteristic of intelligence and reason", "the rationality of the race" and so on. And with these same discursive strategies, he reiterates the *topos* of the "heroic and legendary Araucanian people" and of the "indomitable Araucania".

Judging by that text, it is evident that Manquilef knew Lenz's *Estudios Araucanos* very well, and this Introduction, of only two pages, serves him indeed to "comment" on some passages, without identifying them. It is interesting to observe closely the nature of the disguised debate that Manquilef undertakes in *Comentarios I*, taking up at times the very words of Lenz in his *Estudios Araucanos*:

The descriptions of how to cultivate the fields, to build their houses, to hunt, to weave and their habits and customs in general are also very useful. (Lenz, 1897, p. IX)

To illustrate the social visage of the Araucanian life, the description of the way to build the houses, of the rodeos, of the farmyards, of the habits and customs in general has been of outmost usefulness. (Manquilef, 1911, p. 14)

If in this example, Manquilef seems to respond to Lenz by agreeing with him, in the following one he clearly answers back to his insinuation about the Mapuche people’s lack of aptitude for assimilation:

I think there are many of them (Indians) who could become useful members of the Chilean people, if one knew how to assimilate them. (Lenz, 1897, p. XIV)

... because narrative descriptions are one of the means of showing us the intellectual development of a people, since they express their power of assimilation, which is inherent to intelligence and reason. (Manquilef, 1911, p. 14)

In the following examples, taken from *Estudios Araucanos*, Lenz expresses two opinions: that of the limited value of Mapuche literature and that as a wild race, it is natural that they are considered lacking in feelings:

Of special importance, and easy to write down, are the songs that run from mouth to mouth, as stupid and insipid as they seem to us. (1897, p. IX)

The poetic value of Araucanian poetry for a naturally civilized person cannot be great; however, some of the poems reveal that the ferocious Indian warriors are by no means devoid of tender feelings. (1897, p. 389)

Manquilef gathers both ideas in one answer:

In writing down also, in this humble work, the songs that are passed on from mouth to mouth, no other goal has been pursued than that of showing the rationality of this race, its imaginative and creative fantasy, which demonstrates its characteristic of a sentimental people. (1911, p. 14)

The issue regarding truth and verisimilitude of the narratives is presented in the following extract, where Lenz declares the absence of authentic documents (which would imply doubts about the veracity of the stories), while Manquilef defends his narrative by appropriating the expression “legitimate Araucanian”:

There are no documents written in the language that can be considered as legitimate Araucanian. (Lenz, 1897, p. VII)

... the one who signs these humble lines believes that this picture of social life, although summary, perhaps incomplete, should be regarded as authentic news and, at the same time, as legitimate Araucanian ... (Manquilef, 1911, p. 15)

Now, this Introduction by Manquilef is dated 20 August 1910. Lenz, therefore, read it before writing his Preface, 1 year later, when the publication became effective. Hence, we find in it his footnotes making clarifications, referring to his own work or noting that he would translate this or that word in another way; he also includes with his name a final glossary of “Chilean words” and “Indian words” used by Manquilef in his work. The effect of these post facto remarks and intromissions is not, in our opinion, to demonstrate collaboration but to convince that, ultimately (and by writing the Prologue he has in fact the last word), the scientific truth about the Mapuche language and culture does not reside in the “legitimate Araucanian” but in the foreign scholar.

### 3.6 The Paratexts in *Comentarios II*

Precisely because as a scholar he had the last word, in *Comentarios II. La gimnasia nacional*, Lenz will have the opportunity to defend once and for all his position while humbling Manquilef. He intervened, first, with a long preface about the art of translation (“Prefacio acerca del arte de la Traducción”) dated 2 years after the respective Introduction by Manquilef. In it, Lenz put forward his theory of ethnographic translation, which can be summarized in the following arguments: firstly, that strictly speaking, texts between languages that show a different degree of culture cannot be translated; secondly, that the Mapuche language is of low culture and, therefore, it does not have the resources for it to be translated literally (in Lenz’s vocabulary, literally meant properly. There are not even—he says—complete dictionaries); thirdly, that in order to fully understand this language, there is no alternative but to try to make interlineal versions followed to the letter, even if they produce what he calls a “spoiled language” and finally, that from low-culture languages a more idiomatic version can be made, within the limits of the stylistic resources they possess.

Lenz, a philologist after all, believed that the problem lied in the language and its linguistic imperfection due to its cultural deficiencies, as he had already stated in his prologue to *Comentarios I*: “in languages as completely different as Mapuche and Castilian all literal translation is impossible” (p. 4), to which Manquilef responded by using what in Nida and Taber (1986) terms would be a translation by means of dynamic equivalence to make the texts intelligible and functional, as we shall see below. But also, in a gesture that—judging by the reaction it provoked—can be interpreted as parody, Manquilef made the same interlineal, philological translations, which Lenz considered to be the only ones tolerated by Mapudungun. Lenz then, taking advantage of the privileged space that the Preface gave him, criticized the free versions of Manquilef by saying that they were not reliable. At the same time, he would teach Manquilef a lesson: the same way that Manquilef mimicked his way of translating, he reproduced in his Preface, examples of Manquilef’s translations and presented a better, truer, translation in parallel.

### 3.7 Translation: Identity, Truth and Verisimilitude

We have previously referred to the discursive resources of objectification employed by Manquilef, which we believe demonstrate his keen linguistic and cultural awareness and his capacity to think his language and to think of himself as a member of his linguistic community, adopting at the same time the language and the discursive strategies of the scientist (as when he speaks of the “genuine thought of the Indian”, “the civilized Araucanians”, “the songs that run between them...”, “the Araucanians are ...”). It is therefore understandable that he can adopt different translation strategies depending on the three contexts of reception he projected: academic circles,

Mapuche readers and Chilean readers. That triple scene proposed by Manquilef, far from being just a statement of principles, is then materialized in differentiated translation strategies, which he uses in the two *Comentarios*: in *Comentarios I*, he mimetically adopts the interlineal version, that is, the philological translation strategy. Through his contact with ethnographers, he has learned to distance himself from his own language in such a way that he is able to think of it as a product alien to himself, even exotic (rejecting Lenz’s declaration in the preface that he is “completely naïve in his use of the indigenous language”, and to use the same philological translation procedures, as we can read in this painfully literal rendering in Spanish of an oral account:

Para ser sabido después ese jente ándase mensajero para decirle: “Bueno estar es mi grande bueno sobrino tener no cosa es? Bueno sobrino, buen amigo: así es pues su buen trabajador ser mi buen amigo sobrino; eso por pues “capitán lo haré [a] éste”, decía yo; toda la jente ayudándose, cómo pues no iría a decir mi buen sobreino. El me favorecerá pues, demasiado mañana solo juntará jente [para] mi ayudarme ella; demasiado mucho mudai, carne tengo. (Manquilef, 1911, p. 30)<sup>22</sup>

But then he offers a standardized, freer version of these same texts with literary features, which we will call stylized (and which we will illustrate in detail later) that has the effect of showing the native culture and language as something not exotic or strange but something of their own and natural, comparable to the Spanish language and Chilean culture. Thus, from the same fragment we can read the second version, at the bottom:

A fin de comunicar a estas personas su nombramiento se le envia un mensajero a decirle: “Buen sobrino I buen amigo: Teniendo fama de buen trabajador mi buen sobrino amigo, no he trepidado en nombrarlo capitán”. Existiendo entre nosotros el deber de ayudarnos, creo que no presentará ningún inconveniente. Por eso, le ruego que desde mañana mismo tome las medidas del caso i se apresure a reunir jente, pues tengo bastante carne i mudai. (p. 30)<sup>23</sup>

In *Comentarios II*, Manquilef will only use the stylized translation strategy. But, in addition, in that second volume, he undertakes something of which there is only

<sup>22</sup>An approximate English version could be: “In order to be known later this people go ahead messenger to tell them: good to be is my great good nephew to have nothing is it? Good nephew, good friend: That’s how your good worker is my good friend nephew; that’s why, captain, I’ll do this, I said; all the people helping each other, how could I not tell my good nephew? He will favour me then, tomorrow he will only gather for me to help me; too much mudai, meat I have.” The original Mapudungun, in Manquilef’s words is: “*Tañi kinneal tüfachi che amurkei werken taño feipiael: “Küemelekan chi ñi futa küme mallé nienon dunu chíí? Küme mallé, küme wenüy. Felei mai ñi küme küdaufe nen ñi küme wení mallé; fei meu mai ‘Kapitan afñ ta tüfa’, pipefun; itrokome che kelluukelu, chum ta mai pipelayfui ñi küme mallé. Freneaneu mai, itró ulé müten tragucheai tañi kelluaeteu; itró fentren muska, iló nien.*”

<sup>23</sup>An English version of this freer translation could be as follows: In order to communicate someone his nomination, a messenger is sent to tell him: “Good nephew and good friend. As you have the reputation of being a good worker, my good friend nephew, I have not hesitated to name you captain”. Existing among us the duty to help each other, I believe that this will not present any inconvenience. That is why I beg you to take the steps of the case from tomorrow, and hurry to gather people, for I have enough meat and *mudai* [fermented drink made from corn].

missionary record: the reverse translation, from Spanish to Mapudungun. He chooses texts that describe admirable aspects of the Mapuche culture and history: a fragment of *Raza Chilena* (Palacios, 1904) in which military astuteness and equestrian skills are praised and several extracts of works and conferences of specialists in gymnastics and sports of his time (Daniel Aeta, Leonardo Matus Zapata and Felipe Casas Espínola) referring to games and physical activities proper to the Mapuche. The versions are, as Lenz points out, simplified (as lacking, according to him, of the abstract terms for which the indigenous language does not have equivalents), adapted to the educated or moderately educated Mapuche reader. Manquilef, instead, presents himself as the writer who thinks his own language with the authority that allows him to objectify it and mould it in terms of an imagined new readership. For him, this new readership is Mapuche and is not interested in ethnography but in belonging to the lettered society of the time.

Thus, we can say that although the final products of Lenz's ethnography and Manquilef's autoethnography can be defined as belonging to the same genre, the *skopos* in autoethnography is not only linguistic or psychological. For Lenz, the truth about the language and the psyche of the people is found in philology (Tymoczko, 1999); Manquilef, instead, pursues a different goal: to expose "the social face" of his people; to find out "the path followed by human groups to achieve their highest intellectual and social development", as he says in his Introduction to *Comentarios I*. He seeks, therefore, to place Mapudungun in modernity and to project its future possibilities. He translates no longer aiming at the rural Mapuche but at those of the city. He takes advantage of the ethnographic curiosity of the non-indigenous and makes use of their media, where he imitates the ethnographic translation to break precisely with the ethnographic model and affirm the power of the language in areas different from the traditional ones. He reclaims the use of Mapudungun in spaces other than those where it had been confined both by tradition and ethnographic representation, thus activating it and affirming its vitality. Likewise, through his stylized translation into Spanish, he indirectly proclaims the existence of a literary Mapudungun. We synthesize this analysis in Table 3.1.

It is important to underline the significance of the free, stylized version that Manquilef offers to the Chilean reader, and the reaction it provokes in Lenz, who responds ironically, pointing out the absence of literary registers of Mapudungun and deriding "...Manquilef's efforts to clarify in Spanish what the Indian would actually show on the ground with stripes and stones" (1911, p. 87). To demonstrate to his accomplice readers the superiority of his versions over those of Manquilef, he reproduces, as we have said, some of his translations and compares them with his own. We show and comment below some examples of these two versions, taken from Lenz's *Prefacio sobre el Arte de la Traducción*, and we underline some literary stylization strategies employed by Manquilef, which are what motivates Lenz's criticism. The designations "Free translation of Manquilef" and "Literal translation of Lenz" are from Lenz himself:

**Table 3.1** Comparative table of functions, readership and translation practices and strategies in ethnography and autoethnography

	Skopos	Projected readership	Translation practices and strategies
Ethnography	Scientific interest and political collaboration	Academic and government circles	From Mapudungun to Spanish: philological interlineal word-for-word version From Mapudungun to Spanish: literal version at foot page or in parallel
Auto ethnography	Linguistic revitalization	Mapuche reader	From Spanish to Mapudungun: free versions in parallel
	Cultural advocacy	Chilean average reader	From Mapudungun to Spanish: free versions in parallel or at foot page
	Academic recognition	Academic reader	From Mapudungun to Spanish: philological interlineal word-for-word version

Free translation by Manquilef	Literal translation by Lenz
Desde que el niño viene al mundo sabe lo que es frío, calor, agua i prisión; pues, ¿cuán doloroso no será para él permanecer encerrado en su cuna, envuelto en fajas sin poder mover ningún miembro de su cuerpo? (p. 85) [Since the child arrives to the world, he knows what cold, heat, water and prison are like; how painful will it not be for him to be locked in his cradle wrapped in sashes without being able to move a limb of his body?]	Desde su nacimiento el indio conoce el frío, el calor, el agua i el estar amarrado; pues, como no habría de conocer el estar amarrado cuando está tan bien fajado en su cuna? (p. 85) [From birth the Indian knows cold, heat, water and being tied up; for how can he not know how it is like to be tied up when he is so well shackled in his cradle?]

It can be seen in the comparison that Manquilef’s translation introduces features of emotionality and subjectivity: “child”, instead of “Indian” (in Lenz), “prison”, instead of “being tied up” (in Lenz) and more cultured words, which produce effects of ennoblement: “how painful will it not be” instead of “how can he not know...” (in Lenz). He conveys his sympathy to the child who suffers from this experience through expansions and explanations: “locked in his cradle, wrapped in sashes without being able to move a limb of his body”, instead of the simple “well shackled in his cradle” of Lenz’s version. Stylistically, the translation of the whole idea in Lenz seems to suggest Mapudungun’s poverty of expression: “being tied up; because, how can he not know what is like to be tied up when he is so well shackled...”

Free translation by Manquilef	Literal translation by Lenz
Al estar mas grande entra ya al servicio de emisario i a fin de que siempre ejecute con rapidez sus obligaciones le sangran las piernas con sanguijuelas (pirhuin). “La sangre es la pesadez del individuo”, (se dice). (p. 85) [When he gets older he starts serving as an emissary and he bleeds his legs with leeches (pirhuin) so that he always executes his obligations fast. “Blood is the heaviness of the individual” (it is said)]	Siendo mas grande lo usan como mensajero, i para que lleve cualquier mensaje lo agujerean los pies con sanguijuelas. “La sangre hace pesada a la jente”, dicen. (p. 85) [When he gets older they use him as a messenger and they pierce his feet with leeches so that he carries any message. “Blood makes people heavy” they say]

In this second example which describes the important office of messenger, Manquilef introduces learned expressions, with which he adapts to the new context of reception: “he starts serving as an emissary”, “he bleeds his legs”, while Lenz adheres to formal equivalences: “they use him as a messenger”, “they pierce his feet”. Manquilef also employs words in Mapudungun with their translations: “leeches (*pirhuin*)”, which reinforce the true indigenous character of the custom described. His somewhat strange version “Blood is the heaviness of the individual”, less idiomatic in Spanish than the version written by Lenz, should be read in this same sense of cultural relevance (elsewhere he also keeps words in Mapudungun, marked in italics as loans, sometimes without translating: “*trarilonko*” (headdress) and others followed by descriptive paraphrase: “*komikelu*, the one who eats everything”). Note also the scholarly clarification: “so that he always executes his obligations fast”, which contrasts with “so that he carries any message”, of Lenz. We identify the use, disapproved by Lenz in a footnote, of cultisms such as “innate custom” or “hereditary opinion” (which Lenz translates as “there is custom” and “it is said”) as contextualizations introduced by Manquilef, which produce the effect of ennoblement of the Mapudungun previously noted.

Through his translation strategies, Manquilef transfers to Spanish the non-textual characteristics of the oral Mapudungun: tone, nuances and sociolinguistic situations; in a word, he socializes the language: the emotionality in the description of the way in which small children are bundled and tied, or the specialized registry for the procedure with the emissaries; and he adheres to the canons of description in Spanish. Unlike Lenz, for whom Mapudungun is read *in vitro*, Manquilef sees it not only as an object of study but also as a living and moving language. His *ethos* is more of a translator than an ethnographer, while Lenz’s is more of an ethnographer than a translator.

Lenz’s ethnography has a single interlocutor and recipient, an only “you” to whom the book speaks: the non-indigenous academic reader. And Mapuche culture is the object of this discourse, an “other” placed outside this privileged dialogue in which we are accomplices of an expert knowledge, an “other” defined once and for all and located in an indefinite time, isolated socially, without future or possibility of evolution. In that imprecise but never contemporary place and time, Lenz places also Manquilef, who “has not analysed the Mapuche grammar and is completely naive when using the indigenous language. He has not realized the proper and primitive meaning of his grammatical elements, and consequently it bothers him to make

interlineal versions, word by word, from Mapuche to Spanish” (Preface to *Comentarios II*, p. 77). This is how Lenz denies Manquilef not only the ability to present himself as a scholar of his own language and culture but also the authority as a defender of a modern Mapudungun language and, ultimately also, his testimonial authority as a reliable witness.

Manquilef’s autoethnography is situated not only in traditional practices and in the rural world but also in the books of his contemporaries, in the context of the city, in his concerns for the education and the health of his people. Manquilef is involved in the political moment. His interests are here and now. The past is nostalgia. His autoethnography imagines a triple scenario in which the three groups that he is interested in are represented: Mapuche, common Chileans and scholars, and in which the object of the discourse is sometimes the Mapuche culture, but also the non-indigenous (in his Spanish translations). Manquilef seeks a place for the Mapudungun language in the public sphere, a right to citizenship, as part of the Chilean nation. When he says that his narrative is “as truthful as it is patriotic”, with all the ambiguity of the word “*patria*”—homeland—(Pavez, 2003), he is claiming for the Mapuche that place in the Nation; and in claiming the truthfulness of the narrative, Lenz’s refutation of his translations as implausible (the Mapuche has no abstractions, Lenz says) is also implicit. For Lenz, truth and verisimilitude are equivalent; the representation that Manquilef makes of the Mapuche in his literary translation is not believable because he does not stick to the codes of truthfulness admitted by his scientific paradigm his science admits.

For Lenz, Mapudungun did not and would not have the possibility of representing Spanish. Thus, Manquilef’s attempt to revitalization of the language was denied by those who possessed the recognized knowledge and could veto the access to scholarly circles. His attempt at a reciprocal translation (Spanish-Mapudungun and Mapudungun-Spanish) was ridiculed and confined to the domestic or ethnical sphere (Pavez, 2003, p. 30), or held within the margins of what Lenz deemed thinkable.

### 3.8 Conclusion

In the production of discourses on ethnic identity and nation, the issue of difference is always present: any assertion about what belongs to one’s own culture places, at the same time, a distance from what is foreign. Hence, the linguistic difference is always symptomatic, and that is why translations, especially those that are linked to historiography, matter in the study of the vast universe of practices that produce, promote, obstruct or repress representations and identity discourses. The fixing and translation of oral testimonies raise, of course, technical problems, on how to represent an oral aesthetics in a written support, but they pose, above all, as any activity of representation, deep ethical issues.

In this short description of the dispute between Manquilef and Lenz, where important questions have been left out together with their answers which we could

not give now, such as the reactions prompted in other areas by these publications, we have tried to put under the microscope the issue of the interlocking between the discourse of the ethnographer and that of the autoethnographer on the battlefield of translation. We have brought to light the way in which the paratextual apparatus of these texts: through introductions, prefaces and prologues, Lenz and Manquilef contend with each other to establish the discursive authority over the knowledge of language and culture. We have shown how the deployment of new scenes of reception in Manquilef is accompanied by diverse translation strategies, including a (perhaps involuntary) parody of translation, and the authoritarianism and hypocrisy (it had to be said at some point) with which Lenz reacts by taking advantage of the spaces Manquilef offers him. Likewise, we confirm what other authors have already said about the way in which Lenz points out to Manquilef the place where he belongs: that of ethnographic subject. We have also exposed how not only he denies him the authority as a scholar and expert on his language but also the testimonial legitimacy.

Finally, we have tried to describe in some detail the strategies followed by Manquilef in order to understand, among other things, the discursive and metadiscursive effects produced by its stylized translation: to make Mapudungun a language of the *polis*, to expand its stylistic and thematic canons and to equate it to Spanish through the efficient standardizing tool that is translation. These are the effects that Manquilef pursues and that Lenz seeks to suppress from the beginning.

Far from the frequent, non-problematized, metaphor of the bridge, translation in colonial contexts, such as the one we study, is at the crossroads of issues of power and difference. Rather than operating a mere transfer or establishing a reciprocal dialogue, it relates and puts in tension two languages that represent two conflicting socio-political realities. It is an instrument that, in the hands of one or the other, can save or destroy, generate or suffocate. It is impossible to assign an absolute value to any particular translation strategy, for since translation is both an instrument and a social practice, it is necessary to turn to the individuals who use it and to their place in society if we want to understand its functioning and effectiveness. The misunderstandings of the Jesuit Father Luis de Valdivia with the Mapuche chiefs and the interpreters (Payàs & Garbarini, 2012) during the first decades of the seventeenth century were not serious enough to relegate Mapudungun out of the public sphere and impose monolingualism in Spanish, and for over two centuries Mapudungun was the language of the diplomatic dealings with the Spanish, sustained by a corps of interpreters and bilingual mediators of all sorts. Instead, neither the scientific interest nor the ethnographic translations of Rodolfo Lenz and Tomás Guevara, to name two of the most prominent araucanists, could infuse more life to Mapudungun (in fact, nor was it their intention); for them, understanding the language and culture involved tying them to the past and to a social state perceived as decadent: a language and forms of life that would have to be sacrificed on the altars of progress and civilization, a language and a culture that were now more than ever in the periphery. Manuel Manquilef's endeavour to dismantle the scientific scenography and raise a literary scenography, however well directed and intelligently conceived, was not only effectively controlled but also isolated and, ultimately, belated.

Without insisting too much along this reflection, we have had in mind, as a backdrop, those autoethnographies of New Spain that nourished the establishment and dissemination of the founding myths of Mexico. We can now ask ourselves again what were the consequences for the modern national identity of the Latin American nations of the fact that in some we have very early founding narratives, based on autoethnographic translation, while in others these narratives have arisen later, when descriptions based on modern scientific disciplines replaced the early missionary or military accounts. The answer lies in further investigations that may address other questions that have arisen along the way: about doxological constraints and prejudices in each context, and on the prevailing material conditions, the circulations of texts and the relationships between the different forms of representation of identity, questions that we will have to continue addressing if we want to contribute in some way, from the academic study, to knowing the cultural practices related to the emergence, conservation and dissemination of founding narratives of Latin American nations.

In the Mapuche world, there are just two autoethnographies that contain foundational material: that of Pascual Coña (a life account of this Mapuche character collected by the Capuchin friar Ernest Wilhelm Moesbach and published in 1930) and those of Manuel Manquilef. Both have been the object of study and revision from postcolonial perspectives and frames of understanding, a critique that is very necessary but that has been ruminating at the very threshold of the narratives, without questioning the validity, relevance or even aesthetics of the representations that they transmit through translation. Following the intuition of Manquilef, who saw in literature the exit from the labyrinth of ethnography (something with which today’s Mapuche poets would agree), it would be convenient to study them from a poetic point of view and perhaps try new versions and retranslations.

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**Part II**  
**Contemporary Intercultural Practices**

## Chapter 4

# Commentary to Part II: Interdiscursivity and Interlegality as Key Dimensions of Intercultural Coexistence



Claudia Briones

Taken together, the three articles in this section allow us to reconstruct the complexity of processes inherent to the demands and recognitions of an interculturality often linked in terms of public policy to spheres of formal education but which require broad reformulations of agreements for coexistence. Generally speaking, these demands are not limited to securing compensatory or differentiated practices for those regarded as “different” from a citizenship constructed as a “norm” of a given nation state but instead involve other forms of interexistence. The demands reveal the failings or shortfalls that stand in the way of making these coexistences plural and non-discriminatory. Demands also often contain proposals for how to do so and for incentivising practices that seek to anticipate and support public spaces to make the requirements and achievements of this intercultural coexistence visible.

It is also significant that the three contributions focus on matters affecting a specific group in similar regions of the same country. This helps clearly identify the fields in which, as a consequence of the historic constitution of the state, specific forms of recognition are permitted or avoided. Here, we are dealing not only with a specific group—in this case, the Mapuche—but also with historic processes of relations whose characteristics underpin national formations of alterity (Briones, 2005), relations that resist reformulation based on the form and content of different demands in specific ways. We are dealing with nation state contexts that apply specific forms of recognising the internal “sociocultural diversity” of the country, even when they entail policies and norms of recognition with continental or international scope.

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Fabien Le Bonniec's analysis makes a significant contribution to the field of legal pluralism, first and foremost because not all Latin American countries allow the interculturalisation of the administration of justice, either generally or in a restricted form. Chile, however, has opted to do so, creating courts with public offices for the protection of rights and cultural facilitators to assist in cases that affect Mapuche people. This is one of the various possibilities for interlegal recognition. As such, its dynamics and effects must be analysed to understand its achievements and limitations. Le Bonniec explores how it handles allegations of domestic violence, since these are a touchstone for debates for legal philosophy, state organs, experts and social movements when it comes to how to articulate or prioritise what are regarded as universal rights—in this case, the human rights of women—and differentiated cultural rights for members of the Mapuche people. The question is whether the right of all women not to suffer domestic violence should be defended or prioritised or whether to permit culturally specific forms of dealing with these conflicts.

The cases described by Le Bonniec are indicative of a recurring tension in various contexts in Latin America, involving forms of legal defence grounded in essentialised notions of culture, either to apply allegedly “acultural” general norms or to exempt their application in specific cases for “cultural reasons”. Le Bonniec's analysis is particularly insightful for showing how this operates in the south of Chile, highlighting both the “requirements” for recognition as Mapuche by these courts and how the applicability and validity of differentiated rights are restricted when choosing compensatory agreements over other measures. It evokes the paradox not only of young white males defending women of colour from men of colour (Spivak, 1988) but also of feminist defences of women that go far beyond what Mapuche women themselves propose. Le Bonniec also discusses the strategies used by the Mapuche and their lawyers in these situations to instantiate a dialogue between different “legal cultures”.

It is arguably this use of classical anthropological notions of legal *cultures* (Wright, 1998) that causes misunderstandings, both among those arguing for independent Mapuche norms and among legal operators who superimpose culture and identity and homogenise the identified groups and the practices, beliefs, knowledges and values they should supposedly share. Such an approach stands in contrast to the heterogeneous paths of the histories of relations and subordination—among other things—to regimes of “veridiction” (Foucault, 2006), specifically the producers of “legal truths”.

This clearly shows one of the dilemmas of policies of recognition, involving both the crystallisation of the cultural practices to be recognised—with the pretence that this objectification is once and for all—and placing in the hands of others the power of defining a being or action to which those “recognised in their difference” should then conform, as if removed from any process of change. It also places in the hands of others the power of suspecting an “unacceptable politicisation” or worse accusations against those who most proactively argue cases in terms of own rights, as well as “infantilising”—as Le Bonniec notes—those who use other linguistic and communicative powers in courts for conforming to the stereotypical and hegemonic images of the (good) indigenous person as passive and powerless.

These dilemmas are recurrent but not inevitable. Anthropological counselling can help show how legal truth as a cultural truth and other cultural truths are mutually opaque (Briones, 2018). Moreover, the question of just what makes judges and legal operators avoid calling *pu kimche*—or elders—as experts or witnesses for parties in disputes to provide grounded arguments of how a specific case can be resolved is an urgent one. In this respect, Le Bonniec stresses that the settlement of disputes is the product of a process of negotiation. Indeed, based on my own learning, beyond certain possible objectifications of the general principles of *az mapu* (Mapuche traditional law) and *az mapuche mogen* (Mapuche way of living), those foundations are always applied in contextually debated and reasoned ways. Taking these procedures into account and considering the reflections of *pu kimche* on specific cases would give legal operators extra material to reconstruct the context of the offence (Kalinsky, 2004) and evaluate alternatives for resolution or sentencing without major changes to the prevailing state justice system. The tendency to replace contributions from *pu kimche* experts or witnesses with anthropological experts, instead of complimenting them, would seem to stem from the assumption that the former lack cultural impartiality, which the discipline of anthropology can domesticate. I shall return to this point.

Le Bonniec's analysis of the frictions that arise in zones of contact where interlegality becomes a point of conflict raises other relevant issues that connect with Fernando Wittig's analysis of meaningful spaces for socialisation in Mapuzugun based on the reflexive discourse of young Mapuche students in higher education in Temuco. For these young people, the spaces for the transmission and circulation of their own language with the highest degree of conflict are precisely those that infringe most on the margins for practising and expressing certain linguistic autonomy, such as schools and churches. This inevitably leads to the positive appreciation and occasionally idealisation of other spaces, such as family homes, the community, the countryside and even indigenous residence halls, where these margins are and can be self-managed through the decision to speak Mapuzugun or Spanish.

It is interesting to ask why the university is seen as an ambivalent space, despite being also part of the education system. Is it because university arenas enable or are at least less hostile to new ways and spaces of language socialisation, despite the tensions experienced in transiting them? If so, it may be possible to detect other aspects in demands for recognition. While on occasions, the only demand heard is a desire to conserve, recover or sustain traditions outsiders assume to be frozen, the most common demand is for spaces of autonomy to decide, free from *coercion*, the aspects of the self to be re-signified and how to do so in different contexts, new or otherwise. It is thus the way of structuring zones of conflict that is to be questioned, not to override them but to redefine how they enable—instead of cutting off—plural forms of “being together” (Massey, 2005) and also find new ways to articulate and express commonalities and differences.

Daniel Quilaqueo's contribution argues along similar lines, framing the characterisation of types of oral discourse of Mapuche families in the dual educational rationality in and through which children and young people are raised. The importance of this concept—which, for Quilaqueo, has framed family decisions for

decades—highlights the fact that demands for interculturality not only seek to neutralise inequalities and social relationships or conserve “distinctive own practices” but also raise the issue of how to think ourselves as *people*, constituted by multiple interpellations and experiences but free to decide how to articulate what each offers and to reject any associated violations.

Knowing and recognising the different roles of the different skills and competencies for recording and transmitting the Mapuche *kimvn* or knowledge, as it is done by *machi* (medicine man/woman), *logko* (chief), *wewpife* (orator), *genpin* (master of ceremonies), *werken* (messenger), as well as *kimche* (wiseman) in addition to the types of social relations that stratify formal situations that intersect when enacting the various traditional discursive genres (e.g. *nütram*, *pentukun*, *ülkantun* and *piam*) reveal a number of issues. First, we must ask why linguistic socialisation is understood as central to solidifying feelings of belonging and becoming. There is also the matter of the values to be transmitted and the resources deployed to prevent *zapiluwün* or learning failing. Similarly, there is the issue of why any process that affects this *zapiluwün*—as a space for the subjectification of people who respect *yamuwün* (care for different human and spiritual beings), *azmawün* (respect for the environment) and *mañummawün* (gratitude for the possibilities of life that these links frame)—is experienced as a violation.

The key point is that none of these visions and convictions rules out being guided by a dual educational rationality, which is the context Quilaqueo uses to show the intercultural constitution of the Mapuche world in order to account for what is learnt from the family and the community, as well as the system of formal education and also how it is valued. From this perspective, it is interesting to recall the suspicions that a *kimche* called in a trial to give advice on the best way to resolve conflicts is unable to give an impartial vision.

In my own experience of learning and interactions, the idea of dual educational rationality postulated by Quilaqueo resonates with the practice of multiple reflexivities I have seen deployed in other fields outside education to reflect on how to operate in different contexts and situations—often in historically and circumstantially unfavourable conditions—in order to maintain the personal and collective dignity of the self. Hence, if interculturality as a demand and policy of recognition is less a fact than a horizon to find new, fairer and less oppressive forms of coexistence, there is much to be learnt from the creativity, perseverance and capacity for innovation inherent to processes of forced interculturalisation to which groups subalternised as indigenous and Afro-descendent peoples face to a much greater extent than others.

The multiple conflict zones (Pratt, 1991) that make up our daily coexistence have no reason to be agonistically conflictive per se. This will depend on their structure as relatively closed, rigid and asymmetric forms riven by ingrained prejudices and stigmas. Yet what we have learnt from subaltern praxes is that not even from these often-painful experiences are these zones evaluated in their totality. Instead, this is done by trying to weigh up the benefits and disadvantages. We have also learnt that what conflict adds to demands for interculturality is not so much the negation of “the culture itself” but inflexibility and the tendency to underestimate public spaces that do not accept that these reflexivities can be used for decision-making based on

these instances of collective, family and personal learning. Continuing to expand the analysis of the pragmatics of such multiple reflexivities would thus appear to be the way forward for anthropology and other social sciences concerned with detecting and overcoming the faults inherent to the political, economic, legal, educational and cultural orderings that organise our interexistences. In this respect, these three contributions are clearly a step in the right direction.

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# Chapter 5

## Indigenous Juridicity and Cultural Differences: When Judges Discuss Culture in Cases of Domestic Violence in the Mapuche Community Context (Chile)



Fabien Le Bonniec

“Julia, forgive me for what I’ve done, I’ll never do it again”. When Luis has uttered his apologies in a trembling voice, the Lower Court’s judge<sup>1</sup> turns to Julia, seated next to the public prosecutor, and says “Do you accept this apology?” Without hesitation she nods her assent. “Yes, I accept”, she replies. The judge then declares that the compensation measure has been completed, thus freeing Luis from responsibility for the domestic violence of which he was accused. This court scene, which took place in a small town in southern Chile in late 2011, may appear ordinary. But a year later, its outcome fuelled a public debate on the compatibility between the rights of indigenous peoples and women’s rights.

Luis and Julia have known each other since childhood and married 18 years ago. They were both from humble peasant families and ended up returning to their birth-

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<sup>1</sup> In Chilean law, the Lower Court’s judge (juez de garantía) is responsible for ensuring that persons taking part in the trial have the benefit of their full rights.

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place in Araucania region after migrating to the capital, Santiago, in search of better living conditions which they never found. Thanks to a public subsidy, Luis built a house on a plot of land belonging to his father-in-law. The couple live there with their two daughters, aged 5 and 11, and with Julia's parents who can no longer live alone due to their advanced age. One fine Sunday evening in September, Luis returned from a rodeo competition slightly tipsy. He was angry because Julia had not told him that she, her daughters and her mother were going to stay overnight with her sister after an evangelical evening meeting. He exploded with rage against his wife and hit her across the face, upon which their younger daughter came between them and Julia went out to call the police, who then intervened and arrested Luis. Having spent the night at the police station and come before the safeguarding judge, he failed to recognise the charges accusing him of causing deliberate blows and injury in a context of family violence. The judge decreed that, as a protective measure, Luis should stay away from his home while provision was being made for his appearance in court. Despite this ban, Luis, who had nowhere else to go and had in fact made his peace with his wife, quickly went back to live at home. Despite this apparent "return to normal", the criminal procedure followed its course. The couple were summoned to attend several hearings at the Lower Court<sup>2</sup> in Carahue, a town about 50 km from their home. On this occasion, Julia asked the public prosecutor to remove the case from court, explaining that the night spent in a police cell had been enough to teach her husband a lesson, while her husband's defence lawyer asked the judge for a compensation agreement<sup>3</sup> to be sealed between the parties so that the proceedings might be closed.

However, this type of agreement is forbidden by law no. 20,066 of 2005 regarding family violence, which demands that a trial take place on the grounds that, in this kind of situation, the victim is not necessarily in a condition to decide freely and without pressure whether or not to accept the agreement. The defence lawyer based his request on International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention No. 169 on the rights of indigenous and tribal peoples, which was ratified by Chile in 2009; it advocates recourse to customary modes of resolving disputes when these involve members of an indigenous community. This "detail" is important in the case in point because Luis and Julia were both indigenous (Mapuche). They came from a community<sup>4</sup> and therefore the measures laid down by the Convention could be invoked. In these circumstances, the judge can consider that community members have internal mechanisms available for resolving disputes—mechanisms which do not require

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<sup>2</sup> Juzgado de Letras y Garantía.

<sup>3</sup> In Chilean law, the compensation agreement means an agreement between the person accused of having committed a fault or offence and the victim; it puts an end to the criminal procedure initiated.

<sup>4</sup> In the case of the Chilean Mapuche, a community is composed of families of one or several lineages who have regrouped and live mainly in rural environments. It is estimated that 20% of Mapuche people live in these communities. Because of the shortage of land in a great number of these communities, the main productive activity of their inhabitants is small-scale farming and breeding. The terms "reserve" (*reservas*) or "reductions" (*reducciones*) are also used to refer to Mapuche communities.

criminal proceedings and whose measures can be likened to a compensation agreement as far as Chilean law is concerned.

It was during the month of March 2013 that this controversy, which until then had been confined to the purely legal sphere, became public: the National Women's Service (SERNAM) denounced the existence of 17 cases of family violence which ended in compensation agreements being approved by several Araucanian courts, in first and second instance, by virtue of Convention No. 169 and despite the opposition of the National Human Rights Institute and many women's organisations. The causes of this polemic are various: on the one hand, it reflects local tensions linked to disputes that have endured for several years between communities, Mapuche organisations and the Chilean state (Guevara & Le Bonniec, 2008); on the other hand, it is part of a wider contemporary debate about the universality of human rights and their compatibility with the rights of indigenous peoples, particularly where the protection of women's rights is concerned. An even more surprising fact is that these agreements constitute one of the rare occasions when the Chilean state, which is known for its legal and cultural monism, has applied Convention 169 and in some way recognised indigenous juridicity.<sup>5</sup> The courts of justice in southern Chile have thus become arenas for debate, not only around Mapuche culture and its systems for resolving disputes, but also the very identities of the persons appearing in them.

Study of this legal controversy is therefore of undoubted interest to social sciences since it reflects the perceptions that legal actors have of the social world, particularly where indigenous peoples are concerned. While the indigenous movement has managed to achieve some recognition on the international scene, by having legal tools introduced that give them the status of legal persons (Bellier, 2013), one might question the local application of this corpus and the effects of its overlap with state laws and independent juridicity (Ost & Van de Kerchove, 2002). The contexts of inter-legality disputes (De Sousa Santos, 1988) dealt with by this sort of legal controversy bring various agents into play, whether legal or non-legal professionals, who include anthropologists. They lead, both inside and outside the courts, to the development of prescriptive discourses relating to indigenouness which redefine the relationships between the Mapuche and Chilean law. What is at issue in these trials is not the culpability or innocence of a person, but the definition and attributes of the culture and the indigenous identity conferred upon that person. Examining the controversy over recognition of an indigenous jurisdiction does not

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<sup>5</sup>The notion of juridicity refers to the procedural, dynamic, practical and multi-faceted dimension of the law. It is defined by Étienne Leroy as "the ability of social practices to fulfil an aim by a constraint. As the aim is to ensure that the conditions of life in society are restored, constraint is the sanction and not necessarily the punishment, but the recognition through various processes or procedures of the obligatory nature of the normative provisions implemented. (...) If all law is juridicity, juridicity may (...) very seldom be submitted to the law. It may therefore be considered that, from an essentially pragmatic perspective, we shall be working on a variety of traditions, even within a single society; on a range of systems in time and space; and, finally, on relative solutions. Our whole approach is part of an epistemological perspective falling within the province of legal pluralism, particularly in its multi-legalist version" (Leroy, 2011, pp. 26–27).

only consist of describing the way it has developed into a public problem on the basis of the violence done to women in a community. Given the underlying issue, namely a dialogue of legal cultures that will lead to freedom from the traditional antinomy between universalism and relativism (Eberhard, 2002), any attempt to understand this legal controversy must take account of the context in which these cultures have emerged and the numerous actors involved, together with their practices and the difference-producing mechanisms implemented. It is by adopting such an approach that I propose in this chapter to shed light firstly on the strategies implemented by the Mapuche and their lawyers to establish a dialogue between legal cultures and, secondly, on the ways in which legal proceedings and the agents involved in them participate in dynamics one might think were within the sole jurisdiction of indigenous peoples, since they concern the definition and attributes of their culture.

## 5.1 “The Other Mapuche Conflict”

The Mapuche are known to be one of the rare indigenous peoples of Latin America to have stood up to the Spanish. It is partly due to this unprecedented resistance that they owe their reputation as fierce Araucanian warriors. It is also because of their diplomatic skills, demonstrated by the 50 or so peace treaties, the *parlamentos*, sealed with the Spanish crown between 1593 and 1803; these enabled them to maintain a relatively independent territory until Chilean independence in 1810. After they were absorbed into the Chilean nation and territory “by reason or force”, as prescribed by the national motto, the Mapuche saw their territory reduced by 95% and their impoverished populations placed in reservations. At the last, official census in 2002, the Mapuche population was estimated to be some 600,000 persons that is to say 4% of the national population,<sup>6</sup> which is mainly to be found in cities. They are still subject to many prejudices and various, more or less subtle forms of discrimination and humiliation.

As is the case with many indigenous peoples, the historical dispossession they have experienced, and their impoverishment linked to the progressive and sustained breakdown of their social structures caused by various assimilation policies, have all laid the ground for political and territorial claims to be made which are at variance with the unitary and monocultural principles of nation states. For the last two decades, the consequence of this Mapuche struggle for recognition of their rights has been the increased mobilisation of communities and organisations in the public arena. This has sometimes resulted in violence, recalling the colonial days of the Araucanian warriors. The difficulties encountered by political leaders in fulfilling these growing demands, whether through public assistance policies or by legislating

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<sup>6</sup>It is important to note that this estimate is contested in the light of other censuses carried out, particularly the 2012 census which indicated that about one and a half million people said they belonged to the Mapuche people. These results were later declared invalid.

on political mobilisation (Le Bonniec, 2014), have established the “Mapuche conflict” as an acknowledged and well-known fact, one that is given wide media coverage and is the source of many debates.

So in April 2013, when the women’s supplement of the newspaper *El Mercurio* published a five-page report with the title “The other Mapuche conflict” (Alarcón, 2013),<sup>7</sup> this major national daily was referring to a completely different problem, which it called invisible. The report, with supporting photos and details, told of the family violence (insults, threats, blows and injuries) suffered by several Mapuche women and how most of them had decided to put an end to court proceedings against their aggressors by invoking compensation agreements. Lawyers and specialists were consulted, since the concern of the legal controversy was the effectiveness and validity of such agreements assuming that the resolution of this type of situation was a community and not a criminal one. The lawyer for the Public Defence, who was of Mapuche origin,<sup>8</sup> defended this position, stating that the purpose of the compensation was to re-establish a balance within the family and community. She insisted: “It’s the women who don’t want the men to leave”. To challenge these arguments, the lawyer for the SERNAM said he was worried by the constraints being applied to the victims, which might condition their decision to accept the agreement. In their testimonies, the prosecutors and two interpreters<sup>9</sup> working for this institution repeated their incredulity and stressed that in addition to the fact that the risks of reoffending were substantial, recourse to state justice on the part of the victim indicated that the internal community mechanisms did not work. An anthropologist then entered the stage in the person of the director of the Centro de Estudios Socioculturales of the Universidad Católica de Temuco. In the glossy pages of the women’s magazine, he explained that “In these societies with traditional structures based on kinship, it is the community that people protect. The person who commits a misdeed must face not an individual, but the community”. He recognised, however, that if the woman makes an accusation outside of her own society and appeals to the Chilean justice system, it means that “the Mapuche institution itself” is no longer working and does not allow appropriate protection to be offered to the victim. The report concludes by referring to the risk that the compensation agreement could become a mechanism for resolving more serious offences or

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<sup>7</sup> *El Mercurio*, owned by the Edwards family whose members have great influence in the political, economic and literary spheres, is the largest newspaper group in the country, with 3 national titles, 20 or so regional newspapers and e-newspapers, a television channel and several radio stations. *El Mercurio* and its different newspapers are noted for their conservative editorial line, illustrated by their support for the military dictatorship and, more recently, the publication of editorials and articles contesting the legitimacy of Mapuche political claims.

<sup>8</sup> The late María del Rosario Salamanca (1958–2014) is also known for having conducted research from a militant perspective on Mapuche juridicity and popularised the concept of “independent Mapuche law” (COTAM, 2003) before attempting to apply her research in the context of defence strategies when she was a Public Defence lawyer.

<sup>9</sup> Officially called intercultural facilitators (*facilitadores interculturales*) to stress the mediation aspect of their work.

crimes such as “femicide”,<sup>10</sup> to which the Mapuche lawyer responded: “In Mapuche law, there is no provision for dealing with crimes involving injury to life or violation of physical integrity”, adding: “I am a woman, I am Mapuche, I come from a community. I know how interfamily relationships work, and in these cases [linked to the Mapuche], they keep a careful watch to make sure autonomy is preserved and act according to the norms of their own law to resolve disputes”.

Besides the rare, not to say unheard-of event of reading an anthropologist’s opinion in a magazine that generally features fashion, culture and art, this report is revealing for the way the *Mercurio*’s readership—mainly “white”, conservative, well-off and living in Santiago—views things. The atypical preoccupation with the fate of these indigenous women tied to the constraints of a patriarchal culture and community life had the effect of reinforcing the received idea that protection and cultural diversity were hard to reconcile with the universalist principles of sexual equality (Okin, 1999). The implacable opposition concluding the report between the viewpoint of a Mapuche female lawyer who comes from the community and that of a “white” male lawyer is reminiscent of the famous words of the intellectual Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak: “White men save women of colour from men of colour” (2009, p. 74). This perspective reflects the ever wider criticism by postcolonial and decolonial feminists, which consists in denouncing a certain condescending and racialized view on the part of the dominant society when it comes to dealing with public problems; it is charged with focusing on a particular category of society while ignoring violence of a similar or even more serious nature that takes place among the more well-to-do. On the one hand, the report is instrumental in stigmatising the Mapuche as a violent people without dealing with basic problems connected to their tumultuous history with the Chileans. The existence of inter-legality disputes against a background of family violence which feature in the report cannot be completely understood without considering this historical process and the breakdown of indigenous society resulting from that history. On the other hand, the generalising statements about “independent law” produced during this controversy tend to stereotype and homogenise a culture and the community claiming allegiance to it, by typecasting them as an undifferentiated mass that is impervious to all change.

In fact, like most indigenous peoples, contemporary Mapuche society has a sizeable population and a diversity of ways of being (Salas and Le Bonniec, 2015), with cultural and linguistic variations. We should remember that Mapuche populations extend over two national territories, Chile and Argentina, and their communities have not all experienced the colonisation and assimilation processes in the same way. In these socio-historical conditions, it is difficult to define a Mapuche identity and deduce from it the practice of a law common to the whole community. In Chile, as elsewhere, legal actors who often confess to being the least competent to deal with these questions, which are more related to social dynamics produced in other

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<sup>10</sup>This neologism, usually considered as the murder of a woman by her partner or ex-partner constitutes aggravating circumstances under Chilean law.

fields, are nevertheless called to rule upon indigenous identity and its attributes (Ariza, 2009; Grammond, 2009).

## 5.2 The Advent of Cultural Defence in Chile at the Start of the Controversy

In addition to the reasons outlined above, concerning the persistence of certain views stigmatising the Mapuche as a culturally and historically violent community and the fears of the country's economic and political elite about the disastrous consequences of applying international norms (Convention No. 169 in this instance), the existence of this controversy can be explained by the increasingly common use of the cultural argument within Chilean courts of justice. Taking account of the culture has come to be a central feature of debates opposing legal actors where the question is whether that culture justifies a different interpretation of the law. This trend has become more pronounced since the reform of criminal procedures was introduced in the early 2000s.<sup>11</sup> By setting up public trials on an oral basis in the presence of both parties, this reform has led to the creation of new institutions and the emergence of specialised actors. While Araucania had been chosen to pilot this reform, the large number of Mapuche people passing through the courts showed the need to rely on a specialised public defence. This was how the *Defensoría Penal Mapuche* came into being in 2001, with the specific task of defending Mapuche people appearing before the courts, especially those accused of participating in actions and protests to claim rights and occupy land.

The principle of this office for indigenous defence expanded, and several of the same type were created across the country, particularly in the north where there are indigenous Aymara, Likan Antai and Quechua communities. In Araucania, the users of the *Defensoría* have significantly increased, from 835 people in 2001 to over 3000 in 2015. This institutional development has been accompanied by the training and enlisting of new actors, called intercultural facilitators, who are both interpreters and mediators, and whose role can be decisive in trials, particularly those dealing with compensation agreements (Le Bonniec, 2015). A model for indigenous defence adopted in 2012 acts as a guide for lawyers and facilitators, helping them to identify when an accused person presents one of the characteristics<sup>12</sup> giving them the right to specialised defence. The model also sets out different cases where cul-

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<sup>11</sup> Over the past 30 years, Chile, like many other Latin American countries, has undertaken a reform of criminal justice, so as to transform an inquisitorial system, considered to be opaque and contrary to fundamental principles such as the presumption of innocence, into an accusatory, oral and public system.

<sup>12</sup> The criteria recommended in the document are self-identification as a Mapuche, the possession of a document confirming the person's indigenous identity, his surnames, his use of the indigenous language and his membership of an indigenous community or organisation (Defensoría Penal Pública, 2012, p. 193).

ture can be invoked in the defence strategy, with a view to exonerating or attenuating a Mapuche defendant's criminal responsibility.

Chilean courts of justice have thus seen themselves endowed with defence lawyers who refer to culture<sup>13</sup> during trials. In doing this, they have called upon anthropological experts, as well as the intercultural facilitators already mentioned. This figure, generally known in countries of the northern hemisphere as an "expert witness" (Atlani-Duault & Dufoix, 2014; Good, 2007; Rosen, 1977), has spread to the courts of Latin America, particularly to Mexico, Peru and Argentina, as well as Chile. In the latter case, the fact that anthropological experts are asked for by one of the parties, and not by the judge, constitutes a distinctive feature. Although they are supposed to base their neutrality and objectivity on their knowledge and scientific method, when they appear in court these experts are inclined to uphold the theory of whoever has called them to the bar. Before the hearing, they will have been briefed by the lawyers who summoned them to attend and who usually ask them to focus on aspects of the case that will bolster their own defence strategy, so these experts are hardly able to leave room for doubt or equivocation. The anthropological argument is often given little consideration in criminal sentences (Berho, Castro, & Le Bonniec, 2016); nevertheless, the number of anthropological expert opinions requested by defence lawyers is gradually increasing, while at the same time public prosecutors deign to make use of them. These latter set themselves up as the defenders of common interests, considering, unlike the defence lawyers, that taking account of people's special characteristics<sup>14</sup> is not part of their remit.

Over and above the cultural defence strategies, and following the reform of criminal procedures, the criminal courts in the south of the country have undergone various changes since they were created. The information boards are written in both Spanish and the Mapuche language, Mapudungun, whether for indicating the direction of the toilets (*Huillituwe*), the courtroom (*Nütramkakemum ruka Norrehmue nütramdungu*) or the judge's office (*Wichafe Ñi Txokin*). Since 2015, in the Temuco's Lower Court, one of the courtrooms has been dedicated on Wednesday mornings to dealing with cases involving Mapuche people. However, it is difficult to follow up this intercultural dimension given to justice at the level of spaces and discourse with major structural reforms like constitutional recognition of the Mapuche people and their rights, and particularly the administration of their legal system. This trend nevertheless enables us to better understand the discursive spirit of debates around

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<sup>13</sup> In English-speaking countries, these practices are associated with a phenomenon that has become widespread over the past 40 years and goes under the name of "Cultural Defence" (Renteln, 2004).

<sup>14</sup> These discursive positions were gathered during a series of interviews conducted with public prosecutors and officials from the prosecution in Araucania region between 2013 and 2015; they need to be set in perspective even if their effect on reality is undeniable. Ethnographic observation of trials, analysis of decisions and study of the courses adopted by these agents in fact shows that they are inclined to use rhetoric of an anthropological and cultural nature in order to deny or affirm the specific details of the accused or the victims, using their own intercultural facilitators as a resource.

the application of Convention 169 to settle cases of family violence in the Mapuche context through compensation agreements.

One of the revealing aspects of this type of legal controversy is that judges are given the power to define, in a performative way, what belongs to culture or custom. Decisions relating to 17 cases, particularly those issued at second instance by the Temuco court of appeal, consider it “a public and well-known fact” that “persons of the Mapuche ethnic group have historically resolved their disputes, including ones more serious than those in this case, through negotiation, this manner of resolving disputes being characteristic of [Mapuche] culture”.<sup>15</sup> In fact, the widely known public character of a situation according to the doctrine of criminal law is no trivial matter; it refers to facts which require no proof in order to be demonstrated since, according to the judges’ criteria, they are within the cognitive capacity of any “average man” (Duce, 2013, pp. 64–65). The difficulty of “measuring” or defining what the doctrine considers to be the “average man” leaves the judges or law officers with considerable room for interpretation when it comes to ruling on the public and well-known character of a situation. This vague notion enables judges to introduce an element of subjectivity into their verdicts, reflecting their particular view of the social world. The views of society held by the actors taking part in these legal decisions are a crucial factor in understanding the controversies that these latter produce. Questions should therefore be asked about the criteria judges use in order to establish the renown of cultural practices that are supposed to be little known among Chilean society.

### 5.3 The Judge and the Dialogue of Legal Cultures<sup>16</sup>

What is meant by independent Mapuche law? Over the past 15 or so years, there has been renewed interest in the study of “independent Mapuche law”<sup>17</sup> which was thought to have disappeared. The work produced by mainly Chilean and Mapuche researchers demonstrates the persistence in various communities of practices aiming to resolve disputes between their members internally. The descriptions given in this research depict common features of restorative justice in which the essential impulse, through the compensation principle, is to re-establish balances that have been overturned by the offence, for which responsibility is attributed to the whole of the community and not to one single person. The mechanisms promoting conflict resolution, both inside and outside the community, are based on a negotiation pro-

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<sup>15</sup>This same statement appears just as it stands in six decisions returned by the Temuco court of appeal.

<sup>16</sup>This subtitle refers to the collective work edited by Otis (2013) who establishes the judge as a central actor in the recognition of legal pluralism and therefore in the dialogue of legal cultures.

<sup>17</sup>Among this research, we might particularly cite: COTAM (2003), Cloud (2009), Antona (2014), Villegas (2014), and Melin, Coliqueo, Curihuinca, and Royo (2016).

cess which, in the past, was conducted by the community's political leader (*the lonko*); today, this role can be assumed by anyone who is socially recognised by the group for their moral standing: a *machi* (shaman), an elder, a pastor and so on. Often, the studies describing these practices have a tendency to extend them to the whole of the Mapuche community, using decontextualised and generalised terms without mentioning that they are based on information from a limited number of communities. Whereas in fact, as Villegas (2014) points out, independent Mapuche law, *Az Mapu*, owes its resurgence in certain communities partly to the fact that they have been subject to police repression for having participated in protests to reclaim their land. The inhabitants of these communities tend to be wary of courts and the representatives of justice because of the injustices they have experienced. For this reason, they prefer to turn to what they consider to be their own systems of justice. In open conflict with the state, and with leaders who are highly renowned, these communities are often the subject of anthropological studies which contribute to the increasingly abundant literature on the question of independent Mapuche law.

Are the judges and law officers who are called upon to express an opinion on the existence of this law—which could justify recourse to a compensation agreement for cases of intra-family violence—familiar with this anthropological literature? The research conducted between 2013 and 2015 with law officers in Araucanía region shows that most of the interviewees, none of whom claimed to be of indigenous origin, base their knowledge of this culture on their childhood experience and on information disseminated by the media. They therefore have to form their judgement based on the knowledge of anthropological experts called to appear in court or to present a written expert report. This routine, and especially the ambiguity surrounding it, could be observed during a hearing at the city of Carahue Lower Court where the judge, the public prosecutor and the defence lawyer noted that neither the accused nor his victim wished to take the matter of conjugal violence to court, since they had become reconciled and were now living together again. In reply to the proposal by the lawyer from the *Defensoría Penal Mapuche* that a compensation agreement should be sealed, the judge explained: “Yes indeed, the courts are able to accept this custom, but the custom needs to be substantiated, because I don't know about this custom, still less could I apply a custom that is completely unknown to me”.<sup>18</sup> It was finally a few weeks later, during a session for a similar case that the judge would learn about the custom. This was the trial whose outcome we already know—that of Luis and Julia. On this occasion, the defence presented a 23-page document, explaining that:

Although it is certain there is no need for the court to substantiate the custom, the defence nevertheless offers an expert opinion of an anthropological nature, indicating that disputes are resolved by means of a family counsel, with learned elders,

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<sup>18</sup>Hearings at Juzgado de Letras y Garantía de Carahue, 1 December 2011, Case number 536-2011.

*kimche*, for the purpose of obtaining a change of attitude and acknowledgment of faults committed.<sup>19</sup>

The public prosecutor opposed the defence's request, but with arguments that were less than convincing. According to him, "belonging to an ethnic group" was not adequately proved in accordance with the criteria laid down by Convention 169, that is to say self-identification. Furthermore, he disputed the fact that the so-called indigenous law (Law No. 19,253 of 1993)<sup>20</sup> in no way indicates that its principles may be applied in cases of family violence. Only his last argument was of greater legal value since he insisted on the fact that the intra-family violence law forbids the adoption of compensation agreements. He listened and took notes on his computer. Within a few minutes, he was dictating his decision orally as if it had been carefully thought out:

The court considers that conditions have been sufficiently established to recognise the application of the custom in accordance with the Ley Indígena, Article 2, Letter b, relating to the indigenous family name as proof of the person's autochthony. The custom has been correctly invoked and adequately substantiated by means of the anthropological report as well as by the judge's personal knowledge, establishing that private agreements within communities, who possess their own system of authority, are indeed a form of conflict resolution. Disputes are generally resolved within the community and are not subjected to criminal prosecution. The problem which arises is that the [present] dispute has been passed on to the prosecution system. In this sense, the prosecution is right to point out that there exists a conflict of laws or rights. To resolve the dispute, it is enough to consider the hierarchy of each of the norms and opt for the preferential application of Convention No. 169, since the rules invoked by the defence, articles 8, 9 and 10, directly involve basic human rights [...]. In fact, the family protection rules applying to persons who do not belong to native populations and who live in territories traditionally occupied by persons not belonging to an ethnic group are completely different from the family protection rules governing native peoples, particularly within communities. From the legal point of view, the non-extended nuclear family is the one of most importance, while from the point of view of ethnic groups, the main concern is to maintain a balance within the community; whether or not there are blood ties or kinship between community members is of no importance. For the purpose of maintaining this balance in the resolution of disputes, through the intermediary of the community's authorities and institutions, the court considers that there is no legal dispute [...] so long as the spirit of both Mapuche custom and Law No. 20,066 [is respected] relating to protection of the family or the community to which it belongs. Seen in this way, the community will maintain its balance and the victim will also feel protected by his community. The court will necessarily conclude that the applicability of Article 241 of the criminal procedure code does not conflict with Law No. 20,066 [...] the Court gives authorisation to explore a compensation agreement between the victim and the accused.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>Hearings at Juzgado de Letras y Garantía de Carahue, 29 December 2011, Case number 680-2011.

<sup>20</sup>Article 54 of Law No. 19,253 indicates that the "The custom invoked in proceedings between indigenous people belonging to the same ethnic group constitutes a right, as long as it is not irreconcilable with the political constitution of the Republic. In criminal matters, it will be considered when it would serve as a precedent in applying attenuating circumstances or exemption from responsibility. When the custom has to be substantiated in a trial, it can be attempted by all means authorised by the law and, in particular, by an expert report".

<sup>21</sup>Hearings at Juzgado de Letras y Garantía de Carahue, 29 December 2011, Case number 680-2011.

For the first time, the judge addresses Julia directly: “Madam, in what way do you expect this trial to end? What do you want your husband to promise for an agreement to be reached?” Julia replies falteringly, “that he doesn’t do anything bad, that he behaves himself”. “So, are you satisfied if the accused asks your forgiveness and apologises, while promising not to repeat his behaviour?” asks the judge. “Yes”, Julia accepts. “The accused, do you accept that the trial ends on these terms—that is to say that you apologise and promise not to commit this same offence again?” Luis responds in the affirmative. Before asking him to rise and apologise publicly, the judge warns Luis: “Both in your community and in Chilean society at large, family violence is a serious offence; for this once, you have the opportunity to approve this type of agreement. Next time, even as an indigenous person, you will not be able to benefit from it. You must comply with national law on a permanent basis because now you know how national law reacts to this type of offence, have you understood?” For the last time Luis replies, “Yes”. “So, stand up and make your apology”, orders the judge.

The eight other decisions later dictated by this judge to authorise compensation agreements in cases of family violence were mainly based on the same arguments as those put forward at the first hearing, the only difference being that in these subsequent cases no anthropological expert opinion was presented. Armed with this “anthropological knowledge” about the way in which Mapuche communities continue to resolve internal disputes, the judge ruled in favour of the defence. In addition to the fact that this first decision, which served as a model for the others, would hardly stand up to anthropological examination, it is even more problematic to find in its content a line of argument that could be generalised to include all the Mapuche inhabitants in the jurisdiction of the Carahue Court.

Over and above the sense of a ruling which should not be extended to all courts, the scene of the hearing itself reveals certain confusions in the way Chilean legal culture and its actors view Mapuche culture and identity and claim to recognise the rights of this community. The judge bases his decision on legal reasoning. However, when he explains it to the accused, his decision appears more as a benefit being exceptionally granted because of the accused’s ignorance of the law and not as the internationally recognised right of indigenous peoples. If there is a question of ignorance, it is more the judge’s ignorance of Mapuche culture that has just been exposed; it is difficult to think that the accused, aged 28 and having lived in Santiago, would not be aware of the legal punishments he risked for mistreating his wife. The moralising tone in which the warning is given highlights the risk of sustaining an infantilising relationship with Mapuche defendants. In this sort of legal setting, the main protagonists, accused and victim, remain passive when confronted with debates about their culture. Their only words come with their final approval of the compensation agreement and the ways of implementing it. The words of the judgement, tying the members of the Mapuche community to an obligation to maintain the balance of their sacrosanct community at the expense of the family—which, according to the judge, is of lesser importance in their culture—have more of a tendency to stereotype cultural difference, notably in the conception held of the family. There must certainly be other cases linked to territorial disputes in which the defen-

dants accused of usurping properties for having occupied lands claimed by their communities are less passive with regard to the cultural defence strategy implemented by their lawyers. Supported by anthropological experts and historians as well as “traditional authorities”, they have no hesitation in going to testify in court to justify their actions in the name of the sacred and spiritual character of the fight for their land (Cloud & Le Bonniec, 2017). However, such performances run the risk of being seen by judges as more political than cultural and therefore considered to be a less legitimate expression of independent juridicity. This disparity in dealing with cultural differences within the courts of southern Chile is partly due to the symbolic division of the indigenous social world embedded in public policies, between “authorised Indians” on the one hand and “terrorist Indians” on the other.<sup>22</sup> The views resulting from this dichotomy are transferred to the judges who are more disposed to recognise a single indigenous figure (one associated with the passive Indian, uneducated and preserving certain cultural and linguistic features) rather than seeing a figure of protest making political use of his culture and, in order to do so, mastering the codes of the dominant society.

The arguments used both by agents of the law and actors who have helped to mediatise the controversy over compensation agreements are revealing. Their discourses are based partly on stereotypes which go from one extreme to the other, from the violent Mapuche to the noble savage living isolated and in harmony with his community. Although it is certain, they may aim to discredit the use of Convention 169, for the most part they belong to the body of legal actors seeking to win trials and gain prestige through disparate strategies. This reveals the hazards of recognising indigenous rights and multiculturalism in Chile without things being clearly spelt out: learning in an incidental and opportunist way, which leads to reductionism on the part of legal actors when they need to refer to Mapuche culture.

One need only recall the “pious hypocrisy” referred to by Bourdieu (1991) in relation to lawyers; a hypocrisy he considered to be the very principle of symbolic violence, “the specific efficacy of all forms of symbolic capital, which is to obtain recognition founded on ignorance” (p. 96). Cannot the same be said of this controversy in which legal actors exercise a certain form of symbolic violence towards the Mapuche community through the effect of self-legitimation, universalisation and de-historicisation of their socio-cultural reality? The controversy’s trajectory and

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<sup>22</sup>Hale and Millaman (2006) refer to this dichotomy in a comparative study of Chile and Guatemala, explaining that it goes back to the neoliberal cultural project. The policies arising from this project, now referred to as “neoliberal multiculturalism” seek to open up areas in which indigenous communities can participate, while at the same time assigning limits to their aspirations for change, thus producing this descriptive distinction between “Indios permitidos” (approved or tolerated), “Indios proyecto” (those applying for government funding through official programmes or projects), “Indios rebeldes” (rebels) and “Indios terroristas”. As Boccara (2011) has shown, participation in the assistance and ethno-development programmes instigated in the context of these policies, and obtaining matching resources, often depend on the way native peoples set out their stall and demonstrate their difference and indigenosity by emphasising the exterior signs of being Indian, such as clothing, language and “cosmovision”, to the detriment of political discourse and practices.

outcome illustrate not only the resistance and ignorance of the legal profession, but above all the possible effects of dispossession produced by bringing cases of family violence in the Mapuche context to court: dispossession of private life and of the person who sees his privacy laid bare by others but also dispossession of the culture through anthropological expertise and the judges and lawyers who project their perceptions of this as legal truth; but, above all, dispossession of a community's power to define what does or does not go to make up its cultural world, and what part of it may be divulged to the uninitiated. Indeed, in this type of context, characteristic of Chile and where there are asymmetries between the dominant society and indigenous peoples, the latter have gradually demanded protection of their traditional knowledge and skills, invoking the discussions on this subject that are taking place in the area of international law. This aspiration to cultural control increasingly risks coming up against the need we have observed to objectivise certain practices and utterances in the legal setting when lawyers talk about culture.

Social uses of the law are not, however, the prerogative of legal officers; they can be reclaimed, in this case by the Mapuche, for the purpose of asserting their juridicity. The Mapuche are not always dependent on the processes of control, categorisation and identification implemented in the courts and by legal officers. In certain contexts, particularly those linked to their claims to land, they can succeed in bringing other conceptions of justice, dignity and culture to the fore, and thus be part of a major transformation of the law and of Chilean society, whose goal is to recognise political and legal pluralism.

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# Chapter 6

## Meaningful Spaces for Language Socialisation in the Discourse of Mapuche Young People: A Qualitative Approach



Fernando Wittig and Matías I. Hernández

### 6.1 Introduction

The current context of contact between Spanish and Mapuzugun exhibits emergent complexities resulting from new interethnic dynamics between Mapuche society and Chilean society as a whole. A range of macro social processes (migration, social mobility, new urban identities, political and cultural associations, the insertion of Mapuzugun in the school curriculum and the creation of self-managed media) are resulting in new forms of use of and identification with Mapuzugun. These affect all levels of contemporary Mapuche society, with specific repercussions for how younger generations define and redefine the coordinates of their intra- and interethnic relations.

The prevalence of quantitative methods in and the descriptive scope of sociolinguistic research on Mapuzugun prevent a more in-depth examination of the issues mentioned in the paragraph above. For Teillier (2013), these methodological choices are indicative of an epistemic orientation that emphasises the objectification of the phenomena being studied and their topographic treatment. Moreover, the institutional context in which this kind of research takes place means that it is often a function of specific public policy. Similarly, Durán, Catriquir, and Hernández

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(2007) note that the positive epistemological research framework is not complemented by a reflective framework, thus preventing the incorporation of the ethnic-political dimension of the social actors. For these authors, the use of the Mapuche language, or the lack of use, is linked to processes of identification and valuation, both internal and external.

In light of these considerations, this chapter presents the preliminary results of interdisciplinary research that aims to provide a qualitative analysis to improve our understanding of the sociolinguistic dynamics of Mapuzugun. It uses elements of grounded theory to give meaning to the representations of Mapuche young people in higher education in the city of Temuco with respect to meaningful social spaces for the socialisation of Mapuzugun.

There are two important theoretical points regarding this approach. Firstly, this research has chosen to use the concept of meaningful spaces instead of domains of use. In line with Fishman (1984), the concept of domains of use is understood as the abstraction of physical spaces in which the use of the languages that constitute the repertoire of a bilingual community is verified. Such an approach facilitates comparative and longitudinal studies for measuring the vitality of these languages in contexts of social bilingualism. In contrast, the alternative concept of meaningful spaces used in this chapter seeks to understand the connections made by speakers between languages that are in contact and the places in which they are used. This concept reflects the interest in capturing the spatial dimension of sociolinguistic contact from the perspective of the speakers, instead of using pre-established definitions in the research design.

Secondly, we have chosen to use the concept of language socialisation instead of transmission, acquisition or learning. Socialisation is the result of observable practices of the use of languages between speakers across different generations, especially in the family environment. In contrast, the processes of language acquisition and learning concern the cognitive dimensions of bilingualism (a natural context in the case of the former and formal instances of language teaching in the case of the latter). Language socialisation covers the set of practices and representations that facilitate both the acquisition and learning of a linguistic repertoire (usually a hegemonic language and a minorised language) and the construction of a sense of belonging to communities or groups that can be defined in social or ethnic terms or in terms of peoples or nations (Duranti, Ochs, & Schieffelin, 2011). In short, we are dealing with closely overlapping processes led by social actors who share a project of identification and differentiation with respect to other groups sharing the same social space (Hecht, 2010).

## **6.2 Mapuche Young People and Socialisation Spaces: Literature Review**

This section describes the theoretical and methodological aspects of existing research on the fundamental units of analysis of this work: young people and socialisation spaces. Some of the most influential research includes studies that seek to determine the vitality of Mapuzugun by applying self-reporting studies to represen-

tative samples (Gundermann, Caniguan, Clavería, & Faúndez, 2011; Zúñiga, 2007; Zúñiga & Olate, 2017). This data is then subject to descriptive statistical analysis to identify relationships between social variables (e.g. geographic origin, age and gender) and sociolinguistic variables (e.g. levels of competence, speaker profiles and domains of use). Such an approach allows large quantities of data to be processed and analysed using descriptive statistical techniques (mainly frequency distributions and contingency tables). These studies generally define young people according to an age group variable, normally limited to specific age groups. They have found that young people exhibit a lower level of competence and frequency of use than adults and the elderly, although they do not mention the processes of acquiring and learning the language.

In terms of the spatial dimension, this is often associated with the urban–rural distinction. The work of Zúñiga (2007) and Zúñiga and Olate (2017), for example, compares data from Mapuche and Chilean urban and rural participants. The results show that the language enjoys higher levels of vitality among those who identify as Mapuche and live in rural areas. In Gundermann et al. (2011), the spatial dimension is understood by a census logic in line with the terms and conditions set by the public institutions commissioning the studies. As such, the analysis is based on administrative regions and, more specifically, the Indigenous Development Areas set by public policy. Here, Mapuzugun is identified as having the highest levels of vitality in Araucanía, as shown by the percentages of speakers and levels of competence among different age groups.

Olate, Alonqueo, and Caniguan (2013) and Antimil (2016) are based on an approach with similar instruments and analysis techniques but differ in terms of the definition of the samples and how representative they are. These case studies use purposive sampling techniques that seek to evaluate the vitality of the language in specific communities with varying levels of bilingualism. The generational variable is defined in terms of nominal categories: children, young people, adults and the elderly. For example, Olate et al. (2013) focuses on a bilingual rural community with a dynamic of linguistic interactivity (Godenzzi, 2007) involving all of its members. In the case of young people, despite some not having developed an active competence in Mapuzugun, their participation in communicative events and subsequent exposure to the language allow them to develop skills at the pragmatic level and even receptive competence. The spatial dimension considers the conventional domains of use (home, school and community), domains specific to the Mapuche world (ceremonies and cultural practices) and domains specific to everyday life in an isolated rural community (the bus stop or rural transport).

In terms of the fundamental units of this work, there are studies that employ a mixed/qualitative approach to analyse in greater depth the biography of speakers, their identity process, linguistic ideologies or their agency in processes of language recovery and revitalisation. Wittig (2009), for example, studies the trajectories of the preservation or replacement of the Mapuche language in the urban migration of bilingual speakers. For participants in the study, youth is a period of their life associated with dilemmas of identity that can result in greater appreciation of the language, partial replacement (a sort of temporary suspension) or complete abandonment in favour of a language of greater prestige. The spatial dimension of

the phenomenon arises in the contrast between the urban environment (Santiago, Concepción and Temuco) and migrant communities. In another study, Lagos (2012) analyses the sociolinguistic representations of different generations of speakers in Chile's capital city, Santiago, which are contrasted with the "ideal" conditions of family socialisation in communities of the south of the country and in line with the principles of the Mapuche socio-educational model (Quilaqueo & Quintriqueo, 2010). The connection young metropolitans establish with Mapuzugun is derived from socialisation conditions that are quite different from the traditional ones. This conflict is partially resolved via a process of ethnic recognition and identification through activities and groups linked to the Mapuche social movement. Finally, Gundermann, Canihuan, Clavería, and Faúndez (2014) examine two observable trends in the perceptions and attitudes of Mapuzugun speakers in the context of displacement that emerge from the macrosocial data, taking into account the repercussions that can be attributed to cultural activism in recent decades. The author contrasts the increase in cultural pride and the social prestige attributed to the language and the fact that loyalty to the language (in both processes young people are key actors) is confined to a discursive level and is not reflected in practice. The approach in this study rules out intersubjectivity as a dimension of empirical analysis by circumscribing the phenomenon under study to its verification in the observable (and measurable) praxis of linguistic uses.

While the dimension of discourse has not been fully incorporated into sociolinguistic studies, it is nonetheless possible to identify a number of relevant contributions from studies on the construction of identity among Mapuche adolescents and young people in the cities of Santiago and Temuco. Firstly, Oteíza and Merino (2012) find that the construction of identity in the discourse of Mapuche young people exhibits linguistic-discursive traits that emphasise dilemma and heteroglossia. Secondly, Merino and Tocornal (2012) note that the Mapuche language is one of three defining features of ethnic identity, together with participation in rites and Mapuche surnames. Being able to speak the language is a status differentiator in the relationships young people develop with adults and elderly people (generational groups attributed with a higher level of competence in the language). Finally, Merino, Becerra, and De Fina (2017) analyse the narrative dimension of ethnic identity in contexts of urban migration, specifically in Santiago, the country's capital. The authors show how the narrative discourse of migrant Mapuche families forms a chronotope of the south through which a series of oppositions and parallels between the rural and urban worlds run, allowing them to recreate traditions, practices and natural elements of the south in the urban environment where they currently reside.

The preceding literature review helps put into perspective the prevalence of quantitative research over qualitative research, since recent work has incorporated mixed and qualitative designs. In terms of young people, sociolinguistic approaches are characterised by panoramic views that cover the various generational groups of the communities under study, which makes the contribution of works informed by discourse studies significant. In terms of the spatial dimension, this is often associated with the notion of domains of use and predefined repertoires that are usually organised around an urban–rural binary characterised by contrasting spaces without a flow that links them.

### 6.3 Research Design

This research aims to characterise meaningful spaces for the socialisation of Mapuzugun from the reflective discourse of Mapuche young people in higher education in Temuco, and to do so we have chosen a qualitative design with an exploratory scope. In terms of the research methods, the guidelines of grounded theory are used. This is a systematic approach with a post-positivist inductive and recursive epistemological basis that guides the different phases of qualitative analysis to generate reliable and contextualised theories of the phenomena under analysis.

The primary sources are transcriptions obtained from four focus groups conducted in May and June 2014 with 18 Mapuche university students in Araucania studying different B.A. programmes and with varying levels of proficiency in Mapuzugun. The levels of competence for the language were determined by a sociolinguistic questionnaire given to 50 university students in Temuco. This instrument identified three profiles: active bilingual (AB), receptive bilingual (RB) and monolingual Spanish (MS).

The primary sources were subjected to line-by-line analysis, identifying relevant quotes taking into account the repetition of elements in the discourse of the participants that alluded to issues that are relevant to the socialisation of Mapuzugun. It should be noted that in the language of the participants, this conceptual category was expressed in terms of the dissemination, transmission, teaching or revitalisation of the language. In parallel, a coding was established to classify the relevant repeated elements of the discourse, keeping only those that reached satisfactory levels of saturation and grounding for analysis to allow the coding to form an autonomous conceptual whole. A codebook was established in line with MacQueen, McLellan, Kay, and Milstein (1998), allowing a more systematic approach to each of the codes, in addition to the subsequent conceptual developments.

Having identified the relevant codes for the research, they were grouped into families based on three main properties: meaningful spaces, meaningful subjects and socialisation dynamics. These formed a central category of the “sociolinguistic dimension of Mapuzugun”. The study then proceeded to identify the properties of the relations within each family of codes and among them to build a network, a visual conceptual device grounded in empirical data.

### 6.4 Results

The conceptual properties of each of the meaningful spaces that emerged during the reflective discussion of the young people are detailed below, together with an exploration of how these spaces are related to the socialisation of Mapuzugun. This section implies the existence of other spaces but the limited frequency of these in the discourse of the participants meant that they were not included in the selection presented below.

### 6.4.1 *The Community*

The term community refers to an organisational system situated in a rural environment and that can be associated with two simultaneous dimensions. The first of these is the *reducción*, or reservation, which refers to the formal land ownership awarded via so-called *títulos de merced*, resulting in an administrative organisation. The second is the *lof*, which refers to the traditional system for the socio-religious organisation of the Mapuche world. The former is the most commonly used in the discourse of young people and even when the term *lof* appears, it is used with reference to the contemporary organisational system, as synonymous with “community”.

The community is identified as the locus of the vitality of the language, in contrast to other spaces such as the school and the church. The valuation of the community as the ideal space for the socialisation of Mapuzugun is independent of the life experience of the subject. In other words, the representation of this space is shared by both young people with no experience of living in community and young people who have done so.

I think the old organisational system of Mapuche communities has been lost. Communities need to be better organised so they can rediscover the desire to teach Mapuzugun to their children. (RB13)

The emergence of the system of communities and the institutions for the normalisation of the Western tradition are identified as harmful elements for the socialisation of Mapuzugun. In the discourse of the participants, there is a desire to recover a physical space with symbolic significance for the development of Mapuzugun.

The structures for upbringing were based on the community, the home. Then knowledge came, school gives us knowledge. It was a different sort of upbringing, from the *winka* [Western] point of view. It's not the same. (MS26)

I think communities are the best contexts for really learning a language. (MS7)

### 6.4.2 *The School*

The school is described as an element that enters into conflict with Mapuche culture. The minimum meaningful elements that configure the code show generally negative valuations. The school is represented as a space of conflict, an opportunity for cultural appropriation and a space that is viewed with certain suspicion or mistrust. The following quotes provide three examples:

For me, school, like religion, is an element of social control. I insist. It will allow the acculturation of cultures and their culturisation into others, making them Chilean, in this case, or Christian. (RB14)

The school, now university, is becoming the alternative for learning Mapuzugun, but for me, the ideal way is to have learnt it in the community from an early age. (AB9)

You always have to be careful with school. (RB14)

Another distinctive characteristic of the school is that it is presented as a space with its own temporality, as reflected in the meanings of the family narratives incorporated into the discourse of young people:

My father told me that after, at school, they laughed at him because he spoke Mapuzugun and because his Spanish wasn't good. So, these things gradually died out, people gradually forgot. (AB4)

School generates valuations in terms of both physical space and as an institution. It has meanings that go beyond the personal experience and history of the subjects, transporting them to a symbolic universe of the history shared with other Mapuche.

### 6.4.3 *The Church*

The relevance of the church relates to two indissoluble elements of meaning: the loss of the language and the loss of Mapuche beliefs. Mapuzugun is bound up with the Mapuche cosmovision, including its system of social and religious practices.

Here I really do blame the churches, especially the Evangelical church, not all of them. From my point of view, it's shocking what they've done in communities. They've said: 'You are possessed if you speak Mapuzugun, if you go to the *ngillatun* [main religious ceremony], you are possessed if you visit a *machi* [shaman]'. (RB14)

For me the most dangerous thing, the public enemy number one of the Mapuche language and culture, is not school, it's religion [other: Evangelical]. This can't be solved at school. I've seen decay in territories and communities but I've seen strengthening in families that have known how to bear both and balance them. (AB9)

When the subjects referred to church as a place or institution, in general, they identified it as a space that enters into conflict with the Mapuche language.

### 6.4.4 *The Home*

The family home becomes a code insofar as it is related to a group of social subjects and spaces. While in itself, it is merely the place where the family lives, when its connections with the space of the community or the space of the city are taken into account, it takes on properties that account for its social dimensions. In the context of the community, the family home is a place where the language is transmitted and conserved. However, when located in the city, the value of this meaningful space is inverted.

Ideally, it should be learnt in the home and then you would have to learn Spanish. (MS27)

It's a pity, a sad story. When my father was a child, he grew up speaking the language. Then, when he moved to the capital, the discrimination at the time was so widespread and com-

plex—in his generation it was huge—then he married a Chilean and hid away from her that he knew the language. From the age of seven, he didn't have a chance to keep speaking the language and then he lost it, and that was it... and us... in our home, the cultural conflicts had a huge influence on us, because now my father thinks the Mapuche have a bad reputation. (MC15)

Rural–urban migration and its effects on the family history are closely linked to the status of the vitality of the language. The processes of stigmatisation and self-stigmatisation, together with identity and ethnicity conflicts, are highly prevalent in the urban family context. In many accounts, the disconnect that can occur between the family home and other units of identity, such as the community or the *lof*, presents a problem for the intergenerational transmission of the language in Mapuche families.

#### 6.4.5 *The Indigenous Residence Hall*

The term indigenous residence hall refers to term time accommodation for higher education students. The space is extremely important as a meeting place, as well as for interaction and the transmission of the language between young people in an urban context.

As a student, entering the residence hall is a big change because you have more interaction with more Mapuche people. It's not the same as being a Mapuche student in private accommodation without anyone to interact with. (MS1)

Halls of residence serve as a cultural enclave where Mapuche people seeking to recover or live community life can meet:

I come from the *pehuenche* [one of different territorial identities among the Mapuche people] residence hall and we're trying to recover community life, despite being urban Mapuches, even though I don't agree with that term. (MS7)

These young people re-signify their space, attempting to bring traditional aspects of rural life to the city and, in doing so, the practice and transmission of the language, together with the possibility of interaction between the different ethnic backgrounds that are representative of the diversity of the Mapuche people:

When I came to Temuco, I got involved with a residence hall, a *pehuenche* residence hall. I have been well received, I met *peñis* [literally 'brothers among men'], *lafkenches*, *huilliches*, *huenteches* [three territorial identities among the Mapuche people]. (AB7)

The classes imparted in indigenous residences are seen as an autonomous effort to keep the language alive:

Each residence hall has Mapuzugun classes. Some *peñis* have arrived without even knowing the basics, if you want to put it like that, like greetings and asking how someone is, where they come from... Learning these things means they're already active in the language and starting to acquire knowledge. (AB7)

### 6.4.6 *The University*

In the discourse of the participants, when referring to university they usually mean one of the two main universities in Temuco, namely Universidad de La Frontera and Universidad Católica de Temuco. Mapuche students make up 20% of enrolment in these two universities, and their campuses are permanently associated with the Mapuche social movement via cultural, political and academic activities related to various dimensions of the Mapuche world. The majority of participants in the study are students at these two universities.

As a space for socialisation, the university exhibits all the complexities of a place where not just people but also cultures and cosmovisions meet. Mapuche students show the importance of appropriating these spaces, as well as their cultural resignification:

For example, they use the football pitches of Universidad Católica and Universidad de la Frontera not for playing football but for playing *palin* [a traditional Mapuche game]. This shows that people don't just go to play but to meet my *kon* [counterpart from the other team]... to spend time with him, to eat together one day... This is what young people want nowadays. (MS1)

In recent years, local universities have provided an opportunity to learn the language via Mapuche classes: "I've just started university and have joined workshops to learn basic Mapuzugun" (RB10). Other elements highlighted by the participants include a degree programme focused on bilingual intercultural education, regular seminars and the participation of these groups in a range of technical and political discussions, such as writing conventions for Mapuzugun, its teaching and its dissemination:

Besides not having a single system of writing for Chile as a whole, CONADI [the National Indigenous Development Corporation] uses one, the government another and the university another... which should I teach my students? (RB13)

### 6.4.7 *The Countryside*

The countryside is the rural space where the community is situated in the reality and imaginaries of young people. More than a space that is idealised as a bastion of Mapuche culture, in the discourse of young people, it has become a place defined by the tension in relationship to the space of the city. In the countryside, culture and language still maintain a strong connection with the Mapuche:

You need to go to the country to validate what you've learnt in the city, otherwise I don't think there's any point in speaking in an urban context. I mean, while it makes sense to speak the language in urban contexts, for me it's much more valuable having the culture itself side-by-side, as a support, the knowledge of the countryside, of the *papay* [female elders]. (MS20)

On the one hand, the countryside and its relationship to the communities help to preserve the everyday use of the language for young people from there: “yes, I speak it, more in the countryside than here in the city” (AB4). However, there are also different perspectives: “those people go to Santiago and even come back more Mapuche than when they left the countryside” (AB9). For the majority of the participants, the countryside remains an important place for the culture and the language: “the problem, at least with me, was about the *wariache* [urban Mapuche], what about those of us who live in the city and don’t have the heritage of the *peñis* from the countryside” (MS20).

### 6.4.8 *The City*

As a modern space for social interaction, the city poses problems for Mapuche young people that are specific to the zone of contact:

...the fact that people leave their community when they are still young and move to big cities where there are no places to meet among Mapuche, no occasions for meeting, where they’re often embarrassed to be Mapuche, this is a factor that has affected the culture, subduing it... (AB5)

The city is identified as a space that presents both opportunities and problems that go beyond personal histories and form part of the process of migration. It is not uncommon to find both commonalities between the codes “city” and “family home” and references to episodes of discrimination in the discourse of young people who evoke both personal and family experience.

...this feeling we have in the city worries me a lot going forward. Why? Because we’re at a critical point where we’re already experiencing a turn of the wheel, so to speak. Why? Because the *papay* are dying and in a certain sense we are taking on responsibility but failing at the same time. (MS20)

The problem of the urban Mapuche is centred on the disconnection between the countryside and the city, in both physical and symbolic terms. The quotation above shows a cultural concern with respect to the loss of significant subjects for the transmission of the language and culture, such as the elderly generations, who are identified as belonging to the space of the countryside.

## 6.5 **Synthesis: Meaningful Spaces and Their Role in the Socialisation of Mapuzugun**

This section explains the various interactions between the different codes. Figure 6.1 shows a synthesis (network) of the relational processes between the codes identified in the family of codes “meaningful spaces”. These relationships are founded on their co-occurrence in text fragments and the explicit or implicit valuations given to

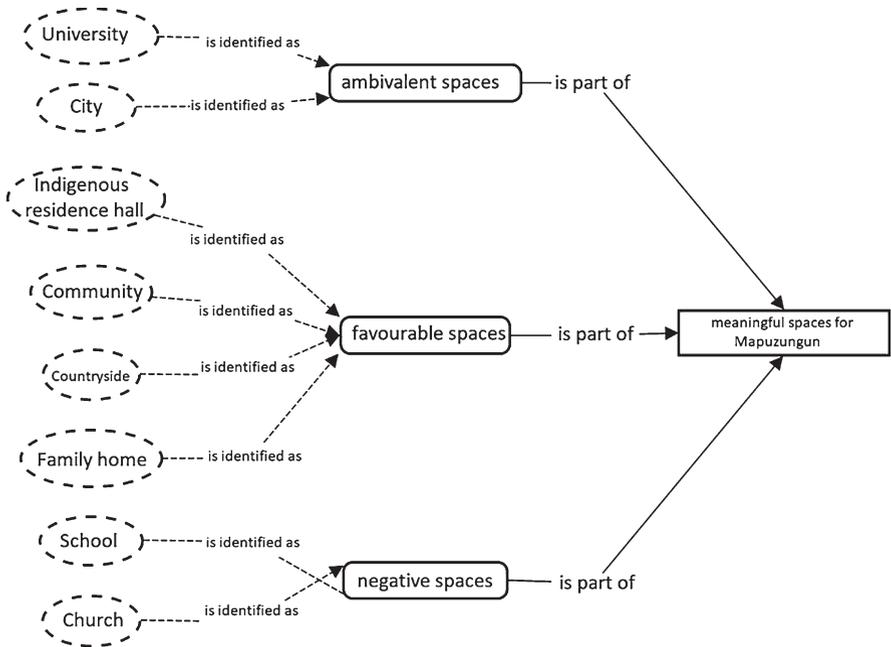


Fig. 6.1 Diagram of the relationship inside the family of codes

these relationships in them. This makes it possible to identify favourable, ambivalent and negative spaces for the socialisation of Mapuzugun.

Here, we can see the predominance of the rural world in the places favourable to the socialisation of Mapuzugun, with the exception of the indigenous residence hall, which, despite being located in the urban context, functions as a cultural enclave that preserves or safeguards elements of the cultural life of the rural world and the community. These spaces are positively valued on account of their relation to subjects and movements that are significant in the histories of young people and are cannot be reproduced in their symbolic totality in a context outside the rural world.

The ambivalent spaces represent the problematic aspect of the relationships of contact in a physical and symbolic sense. The city and the university have powers to broaden culture that frequently result in the loss of the cultural heritage of certain members of the Mapuche world. In contrast, however, these spaces are also appropriated and re-signified in different ways by young people in the defence and preservation of the language and culture.

Finally, the negative spaces represent places in the collective imaginary of young people and their family histories that hinder or are regressive for the processes of teaching and revitalising Mapuzugun. These are spaces that largely reproduce Western forms of relations and that do not traditionally exist in the ancestral culture of the Mapuche.

## 6.6 Conclusions

This work has characterised various meaningful spaces for the socialisation of Mapuzugun through a qualitative analysis of the reflective discourse of young Mapuche in higher education in the city of Temuco. The main conclusions of this study are presented below.

Social activities, including language and communication, exist in a physical dimension that materialises them in reality, even though this space can be digital (a non-physical space only accessible through physical media). This materiality is relational in its meaning with respect to the event that invokes the action of verbalising an experience or idea, such as referring to the learning of Mapuzugun in the terms used by the subjects. In this way, the community, the school, the church, the family home, the city, the countryside, the university and the indigenous residence hall were the most meaningful physical spaces for learning and revitalising the language.

Of these spaces, the indigenous residence hall offers greatest potential for further research. While this space has existed for a number of years, it has not been studied, at least in sociolinguistic research, as a meaningful space for language socialisation among Mapuche young people. The potential of exploring its meaning in relation to its function as a cultural enclave where certain traditional practices associated with the space of the community are reproduced is promising. For young Mapuche students, regardless of their family backgrounds or level of competence of Mapuzugun, the indigenous residence hall plays an important role in the discovery of the language and its relationship to the Mapuche way of life. It is an intermediate meaningful space that operates as a device for cultural change, allowing a connection with the language and culture in and from the city. This is a unique capacity for agency since, in historic terms, it does not have a direct correlation with the other spaces analysed. Finally, it is a space specific to young people in which they can generate new social and political practices.

A second conclusion relates to the permanent bond between personal narrative and family biography. This is a recurring theme in the discourse of the individuals, especially in the experiences of parents and grandparents in spaces with a negative relationship to the Mapuche language. In some fragments, the participants link these episodes to their own experience, reinforcing the symbolism of these spaces in relation to historical processes such as migration from the countryside to the city and the insertion of the school and the church in communities. None of the participants lived through these processes, but the oral memory of the family has imprinted them as symbolic coordinates that give meaning to the school or the church, spaces clearly associated with practices of discrimination and subalternity.

We can conclude that the meaningful spaces in the discourse of Mapuche students are thought and expressed in the context of a collective consciousness that constructs—albeit in an incipient manner—an interpretive framework for the reality that shapes the topography of a discourse that transcends experience itself and positions itself in the historicity of a people and its re-significations of the social space.

This implies that the resignification of physical spaces is relevant to the socialisation of Mapuzugun. Even if this is dynamic and incorporates new elements, such as the indigenous residence hall, it maintains a referentiality with respect to historic processes and meanings.

The incorporation of qualitative analysis methods and techniques contributes to understanding sociolinguistic processes, providing the means to address the intersubjectivity inherent in the notion of the speaker. In this study, we agree with Teillier in the sense of adopting qualitative approaches that allow “the co-emergence of language, speaker and social reality” (p. 54). Similarly, the incorporation of categories such as discursive heteroglossia is another promising avenue for research, allowing the phenomenon to be studied on different levels of analysis and offering a synergy between sociolinguistic research and discourse studies.

Qualitative research provides access to socio-historic contexts and processes of different orders (macro-, meso- and microsocial), providing a comprehensive understanding of the social reality of indigenous languages and the contemporary sociolinguistic dynamics in which they are situated.

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# Chapter 7

## Episteme for Intercultural Dialogue Between Mapuche Education and School Education



Daniel Quilaqueo, César A. Fernández, and Segundo Quintriqueo

### 7.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses Mapuche education in the cultural context of orality in communities of Araucanía region in Chile. The population is both educated, with access to Internet and modern communication systems, and retains ancestral practices specific to its culture. In this chapter, we study the oral education provided by parents as separate from writing. We begin with the hypothesis that the speech of most Mapuche children and young people exhibits two types of thinking. We call this object of educational study “double rationality”, which operates as an external and concrete support for the social memory of each family and its community, arguing it is currently needed for the development of Mapuche and school education (Quilaqueo, Quintriqueo, Torres, & Muñoz, 2014; Quilaqueo et al., 2017).

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## 7.2 Background

In this study, we use the classification of orality by Ong (1987), which establishes two categories: primary and secondary. The former includes peoples without a system of writing, which use memory and spoken language to transmit their knowledge, whereas the latter uses writing as an effective resource to remember the knowledge of the past. In other words, literate societies appeal to technological media to sustain the past, whereas illiterate societies use oral social memory as a support for their knowledge and a means to transmit and validate it through time (Montesperelli, 2004).

There are still peoples who use the oral memory of their family as a support for their education, beliefs and past, for whom orality is the fundamental support for the preservation of their culture. For Vich and Zavala, “orality is one of the ways by which societies build an archive of knowledge destined to interpret and negotiate the past” (2004, p. 18). The interest in the value of orality in this analysis is based on the interpretation and negotiation of own wisdom and knowledge, since, historically, the first communicational function of the human being was verbal.

The word orality is polysemic and its meaning is controversial. For the study of Mapuche education, we refer to its meaning as oral language in the social and cultural sense of the knowledge transmitted through stories, songs, speeches, advice, tales and anecdotes, which constitute the formative tradition of a people (Montesperelli, 2004). In this sense, we can define the *collective speaker* as the community’s voice, which expresses the culture of a people through orality (Blanche-Benveniste, 1998).

It should also be noted that writing has been historically linked to power. It has been used as a symbol and means of domination in the conquest of the native peoples of America. The gaps between orality and writing began with the arrival of the Spanish. As Wodak notes, the use of language has also been “a means of domination and a social strength. It can be used to legitimise relations of power [where] language is also ideological” (Wodak, 2003, p. 19). As a result, the social value of orality has been supported by the fact that most languages of the native peoples of America have maintained the verbal form.

Vargas Llosa synthesises this idea from a literary standpoint:

speaking as a speaker speaks means to have felt and lived the most intimate parts of that culture, to have infiltrated into its hidden passages, to have arrived at the core of its history and mythology, to have externalised its taboos, reflections, appetites and ancestral terrors. (1987, p. 188)

Guevara (1908) has also used the term “speaker” to refer to the Mapuche narrators who used words as a verbal reservoir of their communities’ collective memory.

The Mapuche people distinguishes those who have the ability to remember and transmit the wisdom of their people. There are various figures with specific names: *kimche*, a sage; *machi*, a specialist in medicinal knowledge; *logko*, a chief; *wewpife*, an orator and *genpin*, a man or woman who “carries the word” in ceremonies, prays for the others and leads the proceedings in both the community sacrifice and those

of each family. There is also the *werken*, who is the messenger or spokesperson of the *logko* and his community. In the past, the *werken*'s memory was vital for preserving the fidelity of the message. The people that performed these roles were trained since childhood, and the key criterion for being chosen was having a good memory (Quilaqueo, 2013; Quilaqueo & Quintriqueo, 2010).

Oratory has been one of the most notable cultural features of the Mapuche. It has remained throughout the time and has been cultivated as a typical and prominent attribute. This is shown by the reference by Cooper (1948) to the oratory test in which young people were required to pass. Lenz also refers to these rhetorical qualities, quoting from Father Diego de Rosales, whose sixteenth-century *Historia General del Reino de Chile* describes the preparation in the field of children's oratory by training them in the use of the spoken language:

They deliver their sentences with such vehemence that it seems as though they speak with thunder and their sentences are shattered squalls [...] it is incredible how well they use [...] such figures of speech that ignite in the listeners' souls the feelings of rage, indignation and frenzy that burn in the orator's mood, and, other times, pity, compassion and mercy, using vivid personifications, hypotheses, ironic reticence and rhetorical interrogations, not to ask, but to reprehend and argue. (1897, p. 6)

Likewise, D'Orbigny underlines that in order to turn a child into a good speaker "the mother or even the elderly women train them in their infancy by recounting the landmark events in the lives of their forbearers, praising the eloquence that they showed on major occasions" (1945, p. 842). Mansilla, during his incursion in the Mapuche communities of Argentina, refers to the topic in many parts of his work. He refers to the *lenguaraz*, or interpreter, and remarks on the relationship among the ceremonial, linguistic, proxemic and prosodic elements as an outstanding characteristic of the Mapuche social context. He analyses the different types of conversations, both in family and in speeches. He also expresses the framework of argumentation, describing how these figures can:

...transform one reasoning into two, four or more reasonings, that is, turning the phrase active or passive, putting the last part at the beginning, the middle at the beginning or at the end; in other words, turning the phrase upside down. The merit of the interlocutors in the speech, their ability, their talent, is based on the number of times they can turn every phrase or reasoning upside down. (1966, p. 198)

In the case of Chile, Guevara notes that the *wewpife* were people trained among the Mapuche and highlights their exceptional memory:

They had the profession of recalling the genealogies of families in some meetings, giving speeches, narrating episodes and transmitting messages from one group to another. [...] They performed their tasks seated and, sometimes to the beat of a drum. Although it was a man's occupation, women were not excluded. All were held in high esteem by the public. (1908, pp. 369–371)

In summary, orality has played a variety of roles, which have gradually diminished over time. However, it still retains specific functions in educational development and in the political and social life of communities. It is worth noticing that spoken language now refers to the use of two languages: Mapuche (Mapunzugun) and

Spanish, with bilingual (coordinated or subordinate) or monolingual uses. The two languages constitute the core part of the development of the educational process of Mapuche children, teenagers and young people (Quilaqueo et al., 2014).

### 7.3 Method

This study is based on a qualitative methodological perspective, using critical discourse analysis (Wodak, 2003). Historically, when it comes to the Mapuche people, the use of language has been a means for domination and social strength that legitimises the relations of power through ideological discourse. Critical analysis is a tool that helps to visualise the perspective of parents and *kimches* regarding educational knowledge from their cultural viewpoint, making it possible to interpret the ideological background present in the oral language (Merino & Quilaqueo, 2003; Quilaqueo, 2006).

### 7.4 Participants

The corpus of speeches includes the accounts of eight parents aged between 50 and 80. The participants were considered *kimches* by their communities and came from territories of the *Lafquenche* (people of the Pacific coast), *Nagche* (people of the valley) and *Pehuenche* (people of the Andean range) in Araucania. All participants agreed to take part in the research voluntarily.

### 7.5 Instruments

The data was obtained from semi-structured interviews. The interviewee's discourse was also complemented by ethnographic observations. To analyse the data, we also considered the logic of discourse in Mapunzugun (Quilaqueo, 2012). The methodological argument of the semi-structured interview is based on empirical saturation of content (Pires, 1997).

### 7.6 Results

The results reveal four categories of Mapuche discourse: *niütram* (advice), *pentukun* (formal introduction at visit between relatives), *ülkantun* (song) and *piam* (narration of historical memory). These discourse types seek to describe and interpret the forms of learning that take place in the family environment in terms of the

relationships established among the members of the community, the group dynamics among children, mediators participating in this process, reinforcement tactics and the assessment performed for each action.

### 7.6.1 *Nüttram*

In Mapuche education, *nüttram* has an educational purpose. It is aimed at children, teenagers and young people, and it takes place mainly at home. *Nüttram* is normally given by parents to children but can also be given by grandparents to grandchildren. The main feature is the advice given, delivered with affection and authority. The term is rather old; it was recorded by de Valdivia as *glamin* or “giving advice” (1606, p. 100) and in de Augusta *nüttram* has a similar meaning (1992, p. 67). In current studies, the term refers to the advice given to children (Quintriqueo, 2010). It is a strategy that families use to teach three types of values: *yamuwiin*, which means loving and appreciating people and all beings; *azmawiiin*, which refers to the respect between the natural environment and human beings and *mañummawiiin*, or gratitude towards the human and non-human (Quilaqueo & Quintriqueo, 2010).

There are several types of *nüttram* for teaching and learning, contextualised according to a certain age, essentially in childhood and adolescence (Golluscio, 2006), in everyday settings, such as the yard and at after-dinner conversations. It also takes place in places used for ritual celebrations and ceremonies, such as the *guillatun* (praying ceremony) and *we tripantu* (Mapuche new year or winter solstice), and during games, such as *palin* (a hockey-like sport). One interviewee (pseud.: Paine) states that: “at night, we have the best conversations; we talk to the children, seated around the fire, we remember different topics or *zugu*; this was what the elders did in the past”. This means that, in general, there is no exclusive or planned moment for *nüttram*. Instead, it arises in circumstances that vary according to each family and place. These are meetings that take place in moments of calm, where everyone is seated and listens carefully.

The parents and grandparents were responsible for giving *nüttram* to children. One of the interviewees, Huerao Lepin, states from his experience:

They would tell them: you mustn't be bad or steal or take what is not yours; you must be good; everything that you learn will be useful: it is *zapiluwiiin* [learning]. If you study, you have to learn how to read and write, so that the *wigka* [non-Mapuche] will respect you more; those that don't learn are disrespected and deceived. [...] When the child didn't pay attention or was disobedient there was a corrective instrument, the wicker rod.

This account reveals the culture shock and the adoption of new forms of education. Domination underlies this discourse, as evidenced by the remark “so that the *wigka* will respect you more”. Furthermore, it reflects practices that may be a product of the colonial school system, which used punishment in the education of the Mapuche, as shown by the representation of the parents of the act of teaching (Quilaqueo et al., 2014). In contrast, the *nüttram* is a methodological tool used for the transmission

of values (Quilaqueo, 2006). Within the *nüttram*, we can highlight the concept of *zapiluwün*, defined as the development of the ability to cultivate and teach oneself based on the usefulness of received advice (Quilaqueo & Quintriqueo, 2010). In another testimony, referring to the past, Paillán Huaiquil states:

In the *lof mapu* [community] there was a *ñizol* [a man of authority], a person was recognised by everybody as a *kimche* [sage]. That person was characterised by having a good memory and knowing how to give *nüttram*; he was highly respected by all the community and his opinion was always taken into account.

This shows that the ability to remember educational content, according to each family and community, is a key aspect of those who give *nüttram*.

Children are not the only receivers of *nüttram*; young people also receive advice, especially before getting married. In general, children learn by observing and acting alongside adults (parents, uncles, siblings and grandparents) and can thus identify with their families and communities (Quilaqueo & Quintriqueo, 2010). In summary, *nüttram* is a type of oral discourse that aims at bringing up children, adolescents and young people in Mapunzugun in the home environment not only with respect and solemnity but also with affection.

## 7.6.2 *Pentukun*

*Pentukun* or *pentukuwün* is a type of discourse based on multiple relationships. de Augusta records a *pentukun*, which he describes as “solemn greeting” (1991, p. 37) between a woman welcoming another woman from a different community. Catrileo defines the term as “visiting someone to congratulate him, to inquire about his health or to express condolences” (1995, p. 53).

Malvestitti states that *pentukun* “is a genre in itself, and, at the same time, constitutes an introductory sequence in conversations or speeches” (2005, p. 29). The testimony of Millavil explains that “in *pentukun*, one talks about every aspect of how people from a *lof che* [community] are: health, work, disease, death, planting, harvests or the birth of a baby. *Pentukun* entails greetings, congratulations, condolences; in short, visiting someone for a special reason”. The participant Hueche Rañimán (pseud.) points out that:

Currently, people only ask about each other’s health, and they call that a *pentukuwün*. But in the old days, you would visit someone for a *pentukuwün* and would start asking: “did you woke up well this morning?” The host would answer: “we woke up well this morning, we have no problems, our family is fine, our children are fine”. Then, the visitor would say: “I’ve come to see how you have been; I was sent to you by my old friend” (referring to a *ficha che*, an elder).

This shows that conversations would involve talking about the family and advising young people to visit their relatives to find out about their health and any needs, sorrows and conflicts, as a means to educate a Mapuche person. However, the results of our fieldwork also indicate that the *pentukun* is a moment for spending time

together, meaning the contact is long and respectful. The notion of greeting is linked to that of the bond, since one is greeting a friend or relative and loved ones. To summarise, it can be classified as a formal and solemn form of courtesy, in which greetings, congratulations and condolences are offered, depending on the situation. It reflects thus a highly structured social relationship.

### 7.6.3 *Ülkantun*

The texts of the *ülkantun* (song singing) are sung in the Mapuche language in a monodic and poetic manner by a man or woman, usually in festive gatherings. The *ülkantufe*, or singer, improvises a text or reproduces it based on a communal transmission. The receiver tends to be of the opposite gender and, occasionally, answers immediately, thus creating a counterpoint. Sometimes the same singer sings the answer. Different names are given to this type of song: *ül*, *elegía* and *cantun*. According to de Augusta *ülcantun* means “to sing something” (1991, p. 63). Suárez (1966) emphasises that it is a Mapuche word, not a loanword from Spanish or a hybrid form, as some have claimed (Koessler-Ilg, 1962). The singer or interpreter is called the *ülkantufe*.

Havelock (1996) claims poetry is a product of orality and uses auditory and mnemonic resources for its conservation and preservation. A good example is the preservation of *ülkantun* and *tayül* (ritual song), which have remained through time in the memory of speakers that have not had access to writing (Fernández, 1995). Mapuche singing essentially recognises these two forms, although this chapter shall focus exclusively on the former. *Ülkantun* can have a fixed or variable structure. It is fixed when the text is repeated without changes, while it is considered variable if it changes in line with improvisation. The *ülkantun* is thus a sung narration about themes, such as welcoming someone who is considered important, a farewell or, in general, a visit (in this sense, it can be part of a *pentukun*). It can also include declarations of love, eulogies to nature, stories about tragedies, songs used by a *machi* to cure diseases, sport celebrations and other matters (Painequeo, 1991–1992). Except for a few texts, there are no references to myths or historic events. The testimony of Manquepi Cayul states that “*ülkantun* is a song that can be used to welcome a visitor, can be sung after a game of *palin*, or can function as a song of victory”.

As a poetic text, certain tropes are used in the *ülkantun*, such as metaphors, similes, allegories, metonymies and hyperboles. Painequeo (1991–1992) shows there are certain particles that are recorded in many texts, taking on a recurrent character. Examples include *ta*, *ga*, *anay*, *may* and *ti*, which have euphonic functions in the singing.

The *ülkantun* is also referred to using the Spanish word *romanceadas*. This is due to its similarity to the Spanish poetic form called “romance”, which consisted of repeating the even verses with the same assonance and the odd ones without rhyme. It should be noted that the Mapuche *romanceada* does not have any type of rhyme

as such a resource is unknown to the Mapuche culture, except for the chorus, which is used in some of these texts. The following example illustrates how was an *uil* or *romanceada* composed at the farewell gathering organised before the release of the Spanish army captain Francisco Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán, held captive by the Mapuche in 1629:

The Spanish woman and her daughter took me by the hands and led me in the middle up to the place where, to the beat of their joyful instruments, they danced and sang, and, imitating them, we repeated a *romance* that (as I was told) my friend Quilalebo had composed for my farewell, on behalf of his daughter; while she and I were holding hands, she told me they were her words because my absence would cause her great sorrow and bitterness. (1863, p. 476)

The use of dances and instruments for accompaniment gradually died out and nowadays it is only sung a capella. In Argentinian Patagonia, *romanceadas* are mainly confined to the celebration that accompanies the work of marking or tagging animals, while in Chile they are used in a wider context. Finally, it is worth highlighting that this is an authentic Mapuche text type that has survived through oral tradition and that has only recently been incorporated into writing in Mapuzugun (Fernández, 1995).

#### 7.6.4 *Piam/Piamtun*

Colicoy describes *piamtun* as a method for referring to situations from the past of the Mapuche society. Consider the following example narrated by Marta Parra and cited in Colicoy:

The Earth was a big house of stone where a couple who had several children: *Küyen* [moon], *Antü* [sun], *Wiñyelfe* [bright star], *Cherufe* [a non-human not always visible to people] and *Che* [people, person]. The parents went out and the siblings had a fight. It was such a big fight that they did not notice the fire was lit and was getting bigger and bigger, until it caused the house to explode. The children flew through the air in different directions, some up to space, like *Antü*, *Küyen* and *Wiñyelfe*, while *Cherufe* flew towards mounds of rocks that are now known as *zegiñ* [volcanoes] and *Che*, the youngest, flew next to some stones and remained there. From then on, they said: “we will never fight again, it’s better for us to work together.” Thus, *Küyen* works watering, *Antü* makes fire to warm up the house, *Cherufe* looks after and cleans the house every night and picks up the things that are no longer of use. He only eats human flesh, preying on people who behave badly. We human beings are like animals, some calm, not greedy, those are left for breeding. The grumpy and arrogant are sold or killed to be eaten.

*Cherufe* chose *Küyen*, with whom he had four children: *Tralkan* (thunder), *Lüfke* (lightning), *Meulen* (whirlwind) and *Küef* (wind). When *Küyen* began to water, the small stones and *Che* became leaves, the leaves became plants and *Che* began to grow like plants. Now that you are resurrected, said *Küyen*, you will not be able to live without working. *Che* was named captain and the plants left a space for the water to pass. That is why we are all brothers; or cousins, you might say. Each of us has a piece of land, nobody should disturb it. Each also has a job. When someone disrespects another person, this causes arguments, even though they said they would never fight again, but such is life. Even though we are brothers,

we fight anyway. For them it is the same, only that *Che* has to calm them. That's why we have to make *guillatun*. (2009, p. 2)

In this text, we have to distinguish between the account of creation, on the one hand, unknown in specialised literature, in which the origin of the universe is narrated as a Big Bang and in which it is man who must order the earthly world, and the establishment of the bond between human beings and the environment. On the other hand, it is expressed in the discursive genre of the *piam*, which can be used for educational purposes in schools and the home to teach the value of biodiversity. For Huenchucoy “*piam* is a *giñen zugu* [truth]”. However, he also claims to have heard it described as *weza zungu* [evil knowledge], according to people from other places, who also claimed it was a bad *nütram* or a *nütram* of “mischief”.

The concept is unclear, since it is also compared to the concept of *epew* (story). Colicoy uses the term *piamtun* in an educational context, “as a narration that should not only be narrated but must have the intervention of the narrator, who establishes the lessons from the physical world, the animal world, the plant world and the people” (2009, p. 3). The action of the characters appears as a model to guide children, young people and adults via the analogy of characters or animals as a strategy to teach Mapuche wisdom and knowledge.

## 7.7 Discussion and Conclusion

This study of Mapuche education has analysed orality as separate from writing. The study of the Mapuche discourse, with its rules, types and variability of content, reveals not only its orientation towards orality sustained over time but also its specific use in the organisation of social and educational life (Quilaqueo & Quintriqueo, 2010). This includes a centuries-old tradition regarding the value of the Mapuche word and maintaining the social habits that have given them cohesion as a people (Quilaqueo, 2012). It was through these discourse types that knowledge has been maintained in orality and that education has enabled the teaching of children and young people. In this category, in contemporary Mapuche society, people are recognised as sages or *kimches* on account of the access they provide to the social memory of the society as a “collective speaker”, allowing them to be categorised as heirs to the primary orality. In this sense, writing has not been fundamental or decisive for the development of the Mapuche society and has only recently acquired a certain degree of importance in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Analysing the development of the Mapuche society from the diachronic viewpoint, we can say that there was a time of “pure” orality, covering the period when there were only Mapuches (Carrasco, 1990). In their contact with the Spanish and subsequently with the republics of Chile and Argentina, the Mapuche formed a relationship with other languages and their writing, not only the Spanish but also the Latin used by the missionaries (de Valdivia, 1606). From this point, when the Mapuche began speaking, reading and writing in Spanish, the forms of

communication changed. Writing acquired a more specific role and pure orality became secondary orality, first through writing in Spanish and now also through writing in Mapunzugun. Consequently, we cannot talk about a communication system that is exclusively oral, but increasingly shares some aspects with writing and also now with computer systems (Quilaqueo et al., 2014).

We can conclude by suggesting that the cultural development of this society is currently *caught between* orality and writing, a situation that can be explained by the notion of the double rationality of the education received, both from Mapuche families and at school.

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**Part III**  
**Intercultural Philosophy**

# Chapter 8

## Commentary to Part III: Notes and Comments from the Perspective of the Liberating Intercultural Philosophy of “Nuestra América”



Alcira B. Bonilla

Since the start of the 1980s, intercultural philosophy has been characterised by its explicit focus on the unique contexts of philosophical discursive enunciation and, as a consequence, by the belief that philosophical categories are rooted in these contexts, even when other conceptual or linguistic tools can be used to complete or refine thought. In this way, it has distanced itself from the more traditional approach of comparative philosophy (Masson-Oursel, 2018) and studies on “ethnophilosophy” (Tempels, 1945). Intercultural philosophy should not be confused with comparative philosophy, which has been the product of a certain “orientalism” and has installed the idea of analogies between European rationality and, primarily, the ancient philosophies of India and China. In terms of ethnophilosophy, it partly addresses criticisms of a lack of epistemological clarity and the relativist danger of the approach. From the outset, intercultural philosophy has sought to avoid the theoretical risks of these two schools of thought, positing a critical and philosophical “polylogism”, albeit not completely removed from European philosophy (Wimmer, 2004; Fornet-Betancourt, 2015). For example, the 1998 edition of Joseph Estermann’s *Filosofía Andina* shows the possibility of exchanges between different rationalities, arguing that only a single polylogic model of intercultural philosophy (without pretensions of hegemony and dialogic in nature) “would be able to curb the supra- and super-cultural pretensions of a part of humanity” (Estermann, 1998, p. 291).

Many *Nuestra América* critical philosophers have adopted this stance and it has proven itself uniquely fertile (Bonilla, 2017b). This is shown by the three contributions in this section. The contribution of Ricardo Salas proposes categories to help

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Translated by James Kelly. Here, the term “*Nuestra América*” is maintained in its original Spanish form. A translation as “Our America” would not adequately convey the differentiation between anglophone America and “our” Mestizo, Creole, Indian and Negro America (see Martí, 1891).

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find adequate philosophical meanings for problems that affect Nuestra América as a whole, notwithstanding the specificities of the Chilean context. For his part, Mario Samaniego stakes a contextualised claim to philosophical developments, such as the modern and European category of recognition reformulated by Axel Honneth, the fusion of horizons and linguisticity of Hans-Georg Gadamer, the positioning of ethics as First Philosophy by Emmanuelle Lévinas and others. The author places these concepts in dialogue with specifically intercultural works by Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, María Luisa Rubinelli, Silvana Rabinovich, Raimundo Panikkar and Ricardo Salas himself. Finally, the joint article by Gonzalo Díaz Crovetto and Mario Samaniego makes a critical contribution to the uses and abuses of the notion and practice of interculturality, putting forward a dynamic and liberating conception of this approach.

“Challenges for an Intercultural Democracy and Politics in the Chilean Wallmapu” was produced by Salas as part of project FONDECYT No. 1170383 “Problems and Perspectives of a Contextual Theory of Justice”. The author lists the obstacles to coexistence currently encountered by much of Chilean society, despite the efforts of the transition to democracy to consolidate politico-legal spaces for indigenous peoples. Adopting a specifically intercultural approach, he focuses on the different contours of this interethnic conflict, proposing the practice of a contextual justice that accepts the challenge of the Mapuche *Küme Mongen* (good living).

The hypothesis of Salas may at first sign seem limited to the confines of political science, complemented by economic knowledge. Consider, for example, his claim that “in addition to being the result of a process for the democratisation of Chilean society, the conflict in Araucanía (the Mapuche land or *Wallmapu*), is also part of the weakening of democracy in the face of the neoliberal model that dominates the global economy and deregulates our lives”. However, this would be a superficial reading: Salas strengthens his hypothesis with theoretical depth and political feasibility, making use of intercultural philosophy. For this purpose, he distinguishes three fundamental categories: the possible (co)existence of different forms of reason/rationality, the possibility of a contextual justice (intercultural) and a non-Eurocentric form of understanding recognition.

When he identifies the failures of attempts by the transition to democracy in Chile to find a peaceful and consensual solution to the Mapuche conflict, Salas rightly notes that the root of these problems is the submission of Chilean democracy to the logics of the prevailing economic rationality. To Salas’ observations, it can be added that this process is far from casual, since the duo modernisation development has been a feature of the economic and political life of our republics for almost a century and has played a major role in determining their imaginaries. According to Salas, despite occasionally referring to a “functional” interculturality, the economic logics imposed on post-dictatorship Chilean society, which see development, identity and technology as inseparable from a neoliberal capitalist model of internationalised and global economic rationalisation, largely ignore the historic and social formation of the Chilean people. As such, they overlook the losses from applying this model (the so-called “collateral damage”), as well as the relevance of another pre-existing economic rationality and the possibility of more sympathetic models of

development. He posits that “development with identity” or “post-development” could allow the emergence of less violent and more dignified ways of life for all parts of society, putting an end to conflicts. As a result of his reasoning, through the polylogic practice of intercultural philosophy, Salas has been able to interpret the basic contours of the Mapuche project, that is to say the logics “derived from the sapient forms of the Mapuche world”. As a result, by reconstructing the historic process of different rationalities clashing in conditions of significant asymmetry, his proposal leads to a rethinking of “the notion of land linked to the genesis of movements, the appearance of authorities that must legitimate themselves in a context of fractures and the possibilities of founding an autonomous rights-based project”.

In parallel and dependant on this argument, the requirement for a “contextual justice” (intercultural) emerges as part of a politics of recognition that can only be based on a broad understanding of it.<sup>1</sup> Salas does not shirk the challenge presented by demands for justice and recognition from indigenous peoples and other subalternised groups to universalist theories of justice and academic ways of understanding struggles for recognition. These theories are underpinned by models based on individual rights and the individual—not community—nature of the right to property. If, here and in other works, Salas explores the theoretical potential of intercultural philosophy for reflecting on the indispensable instances of translation and mediation that permit a theoretical formulation of this contextual justice and an effective politics of recognition (see also Salas, 2012), another of the chapter’s contributions is to reveal—with realism but without desisting—the limits current circumstances impose on its coming to fruition.

The reference at the start and end of the chapter to an influential text by León Olivé in 2004, whose current theoretical and practical value is highlighted by Salas, is not merely a show of authority but highlights the philosophical consensus around the “Nuestroamericana” and universal value of the normative proposal of an “intercultural democracy”.<sup>2</sup> While the chapter does not provide a theoretical treatment of the underlying concept of “democracy”, the insistence of the concept throughout is not a statement of political correctness but an “operative concept”, in the sense defined by Eugen Fink (1968), woven throughout the text from start to finish like a guiding thread.

Turning to Mario Samaniego, he argues that an era defined by diversity and relationality imposes the ethico-political requirement of “thinking of and opening up to others, accepting the necessary—albeit sometimes undesired—being-with-others”. This in turn “implies a shift away from fundamentalism and dogma, breaking the

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<sup>1</sup>Although it is not possible to develop the full argument here, I would nonetheless point out the transitional nature of at least some of these episodes of contextual justice (Bonilla, 2015a).

<sup>2</sup>The term “intercultural” is here preferred to “multicultural” for the designation of democratic forms that take into account both the demands and rights of historically dominated groups and the forms of the possible polylogue, with a tendency to eliminate asymmetries between the different rationalities at play. Similarly, the political use of “multiculturalism”, as typified by the Canadian metaphor of the mosaic, seems more related to managing differences than a truly democratic coexistence (Bonilla, 2017a, pp. 148–150).

monologic narrative of humanity in favour of a vulnerable intersubjectivity". As such, more than a study of Honneth's *The Struggle for Recognition*, his contribution ("Words, Relationality and Recognition: Apropos Axel Honneth") seems to pivot on a fundamental idea of its namesake: human history is the history of moral grievance. Samaniego proposes synthesising the relationships between words, otherness and recognition to provide access to a path for overcoming the deficit of humanity caused in numerous groups by the aversion towards words and traditions that are thus historically displaced.

The body of his work develops three hypotheses: "recognition goes hand-in-hand with a configuration of identity forged in insecurity, finitude, fragility and interdependence"; "recognition occurs when the intersubjectivity that can arise is constitutively vulnerable" and "linguistic practices have the potential for recognition, depending on how the word is cultivated and the potential to cultivate the various words". To avoid a cursory treatment of the structure of his argument, let us focus on two aspects: how the author relates the linguisticity of the human condition to recognition and some observations on interculturality and recognition.

Taking his cue from Gadamer and Vattimo, Samaniego's point of departure is the fundamental linguisticity of the human condition and dialogue as an ontological dimension. The encounter between different ethoses that constitutes dialogue is the best argument against traditional theories of truth, including that of Heidegger. Truth becomes something open, the product of the constant task of the "blending of horizons".<sup>3</sup> One could argue that this also means it cannot be based on a priori universals, which also come from an ethno- and androcentric *logos*. Instead, albeit more practically than theoretically (Fornet-Betancourt, Schelkshorn, & Gmainer-Pranzl, 2013), it tends towards a "universality of horizon" that can accommodate different meanings, in other words, towards a liberating polylogue (Bonilla, 2008, pp. 373–374). The concepts of linguisticity and dialogue are enriched by references to different authors and allow Samaniego to travel from European perspectives to intercultural ones, especially that of Nuestra América. For example, he cites Rubinelli's "hermeneutics of alterity", the "translatability" of cultural universes of Salas and Rabinovich's idea of novelty being able to contribute to linguistic exchanges to the extent of generating "yet unthought possibilities of how to conceive of and relate to ourselves". The author uses these theoretical foundations to outline three directions for researching the types of recognition required by the defective condition of human coexistence and the place language occupies in them.

In the section on solidarity and language, Samaniego examines a number of contemporary theories of recognition, particularly those of Honneth, Ricoeur, Taylor and Fornet-Betancourt, observing that they are contemporaneous with multiculturalism. As I have observed in previous work, this is not a coincidence, since neither the philosophical and political theories mentioned nor the multiculturalist policies constitute a full expression of recognition. If, on the one hand, authors such as Taylor have been to some extent trapped by the context in which the conflict arose

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<sup>3</sup>A metaphor also used by Taylor (1993).

(Francophone Québec), others (Will Kymlicka and the Canadian Multiculturalism Act of 1988) have sought to manage diversities through a policy that also implies inequalities and abandoning part of the population (the migrant part), thus turning multiculturalism into a source of new conflicts (Bonilla, 2015b, 2017b). In my work, I also argue that emancipatory and fully democratic theoretical and political alternatives can only be conceived based on a fully intercultural vision of recognition. I insist that such alternatives must be based on a solid theory of power that takes into account the history of forms of domination that have implemented and sustained the colonial condition of our peoples at various moments in capitalism. Such a theory also implies a deconstruction of normalising and hegemonising languages insofar as they are obviously languages of domination, as well as opening up liberating and intercultural discourses.

In terms of the contribution of Gonzalo Díaz Crovetto and Mario Samaniego, “The Endless Apogee of Interculturality: Critical Anthropological and Philosophical Reflections”, its main contribution is to illuminate the complex, ambiguous and even perverse aspects of the contemporary “dissemination” of the notion of interculturality and the so-called intercultural policies and practices that reduce and conceal its critical and transformative function. For it, the chapter is structured in two parts. The first reflects on anthropological theories and ethnographic practices with passages that are of analytic interest, although it could be argued that the volume of information summarised distracts somewhat from the argument, leading it away from the piece’s laudable objective of accounting for the epistemological and political dangers of the reification of interculturality. Following Yolanda Onghena, the second, more philosophical, part seeks to understand interculturality not as a noun (essentialising) but as a verb (realising and dynamic). The final objective, justified in the text with reference to writings of influential intercultural philosophers is clearly stated: “defend the existence and need for interculturality, conceived as an experience of independence with the other and consciousness of this experience as a condition of our time”. As a result, the authors’ contribution theoretically not only enriches the notion of a strong interculturality but also reveals the opening up of forms of situated and emancipatory ethico-political praxis.

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# Chapter 9

## Challenges for an Intercultural Democracy and Politics in the Chilean Wallmapu



Ricardo Salas

### 9.1 Introduction

In 2004, the late Mexican philosopher León Olivé published a pertinent study of interculturalism and social justice. The book explores the basic conditions of a multicultural society that incorporates the complex demands of democracy and the state in Mexico. Olivé notes that a prerequisite to this enterprise is a critical understanding of the term “policy of recognition”. Hence, in a discussion of an article by Salmerón, he remarks:

Here, he [Salmerón] argues as “an irrefutable fact that the policy of the recognition of social groups can only be fully realised in a fully democratic society, or one on such a path” [Salmerón, 1996, p. 74]. In other words, democratic societies are best equipped to apply the policy of recognition. However, a society in which such a policy would be fully accepted and correctly applied would be one that accepts certain specific beliefs regarding social groups and the existence of their rights as a group, based on differences regarded as objective. Hence, the policy of recognition and its application are not independent of the beliefs and attitudes of human beings within such a democratic society. (Olivé, 2004, p. 202)

Olivé’s proposal does not only apply to Mexico. If we consider a normative vision of Latin American democracy, it requires progression toward social symmetry. Yet

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Translated by James Kelly. This chapter is a revised version of Salas (2019). *Wallmapu*: the ancestral Mapuche territory encompassing parts of present day Chile and Argentina. In this article we refer to the Chilean Wallmapu, meaning mainly the Araucanía region. This research was undertaken as part of FONDECYT Project No. 1170383 “Problems and Perspectives of a Contextual Theory of Justice”.

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there are a number of difficulties inherent to such an argument that must be analysed, particularly regarding the relationship between democratic contexts and asymmetric historical processes that require an understanding of the prevailing facticity of violence and force as the means to construct the state's powers, which, when insufficient, give rise to military ruptures. Democracy means addressing the issue of symmetry and asymmetry, since it requires an understanding of how the link between socioeconomic demands and violence arises, based on specific ethnic and regional contexts, particularly the struggles by indigenous movements and communities.

The problems and limitations of theories of justice and recognition clash with the collective rights of indigenous peoples, an issue that has become a significant and controversial chapter in contemporary political science. The main challenge stems from the need to understand the rights of peoples in a democratic system while protecting individual rights, specifically the right of property. In this sense, there are major contradictions and limitations in the economic, political and cultural claims of indigenous peoples over their lands and the constitutions of states, their legal systems and the effective practices of global powers (Sauerwald & Salas, 2016). The argument that the growing conflicts in interethnic territories require a reformulation of multicultural democracy in Latin America is not a new one. The complex theoretical issue is whether such a reformulation is possible in the asymmetrical contexts that define the historical relationships between states and indigenous peoples.

The arguments made by Olivé over a decade ago raise questions that require new responses in light of the transformation of the issue of lands where there are conflicts between the prevailing logic of states open to the dynamics of the capitalist economy and the regional and local logics of a social economy. This means entering a socioeconomic and political field riven by conflict, challenging both the central tenets of political liberalism, as encapsulated in the various national constitutions, institutions and legal codes, and the specific political situation of interethnic lands in Latin America, where the dynamic of extractivist capitalism, leaves no space for alternative economic activity, allowing only marginal uses of land for a subsistence economy.

As noted by Salmerón (Olivé, 2004), the theoretical problem of democracy vis-à-vis the rights of the state and the collective rights of peoples certainly has a cognitive dimension. However, this is determined by the close interdependence with the strict capitalist economic and sociopolitical logic that determines land conflicts in their various politico-cultural contexts. The dynamic in Latin America mirrors elsewhere in the world, where the devastating expansion of transnational industries has wrought unseen violence on indigenous lands and the disproportionate interests of short-term gain are, by and large, not environmentally sustainable (Stavenhagen, 2007). In this respect, let us accept Olivé's three main ideas of what a democratic multicultural society implies today:

- (a) favouring intercultural relations in a context of social justice, respecting and fostering the autonomy of peoples, including effective access to control their material resources; (b) promoting the practices of participative democracy; and (c) facilitating the use of knowledge—including scientific and technological—for the economic and cultural development of all peoples. (Olivé, 2004, pp. 13–14)

I would like to use these ideas to discuss certain problems regarding how the democratic process in Chile has allowed the advancement of the demands of the Mapuche people and has, for a number of years, alongside the strengthening of democracy, created the conditions for a strong and organised Mapuche movement. This movement has sought to reconstruct and reorganise the land from the perspective of the struggle and resistance of indigenous communities against neoliberal economics, seeking to recover the concept of *Küme Mongen* (Antona, 2014).<sup>1</sup> The association of city councils presided by Mapuche mayors (Asociación de Municipalidades con Alcalde Mapuche, AMCAM) is the main political organisation behind this struggle. However, there has also been an extensive social movement in the various territories of Araucanía, where Mapuche communities are promoting political projects that emphasise regional autonomy. This has resulted in fierce conflicts with the homogenising policies of the Chilean state, causing interethnic violence in Araucanía where the Mapuche have historically lived to flare up (Salas & Faundes, 2017).

The lack of a political solution has caused a resurgence in violence over the last decade, expressed in various forms and given various labels by the media in recent years. Violence is repeatedly associated with police repression, the burning of houses, churches and vehicles, legal processes that do not respond to the recognition of indigenous peoples, the imprisonment of indigenous peoples, repeated hunger strikes and indigenous cases being brought before international courts. The emergence of indigenous voices testifies to the strengthening of the Mapuche social movement, while calls for dialogue are heard in the dominant society. Examples of the latter include the work of the Comisión Asesora Presidencial para la Araucanía (Presidential Advisory Commission for Araucanía) in 2016 (Bresciani & Rojas, 2017), culminating in a report to the president at the time, Michelle Bachelet, alongside other documents such as the Human Rights Report of the Instituto Nacional de Derechos Humanos (INDH) and a report from the Chilean Episcopate Commission for Justice and Peace and a Pastoral Letter from the Bishop of Temuco entitled “Construyamos el ‘Buen Vivir’ en la Araucanía” (Building “Living Well” together in Araucanía) (Vargas Bastidas, 2017).

The events and documents mentioned above clearly show both the existence of a cycle of police repression and interethnic violence and the desire to break it. The focus of this chapter, however, is not the study of indigenous voices or the Mapuche movement, since other works have already done so in detail, but to show that this interethnic conflict has emerged from the context of a restoration of democracy in which the main strategy of centre-left governments has been to accept indigenous demands in pursuit of governability. This has meant the growing incorporation of

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<sup>1</sup>The Mapudungun term *Küme Mongen* literally translates as “living well” or “good living”. The term is defined on the AMCAM website as: “A form of relationship among the people of our communities that offers a comprehensive approach to human beings as part of nature, promoting community, family, individual and spiritual wellbeing through harmonious and sustainable relations not only with the natural environment but also among people. All this implies a land free from meanness, greed and racism” (Asociación de Municipalidades con Alcalde Mapuche, AMCAM, 2020).

indigenous representatives in governmental bodies (Comisión Especial para los Pueblos Indígenas, Corporación Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena, and a planned Ministry of Indigenous Affairs) and initiatives that create opportunities for dialogue on historical, political and legal differences such as the Comisión Verdad Histórica y Nuevo Trato con los Pueblos Indígenas (Commission for Historical Truth and the New Deal for Indigenous Peoples) in 2003 and, more recently, the Comisión Asesora Presidencial para la Araucanía (Presidential Advisory Commission) in 2017. As counterpart to these measures defined by the dynamic of the dominant Chilean society, the Mapuche people has organised itself in a broad associative framework that has assumed various forms, including a Corporación Mapuche (ENAMA) organised by Mapuche professionals, AMCAM and other organisations that represent political, land and community interests, such as the Mapuche Party (*Wallmapuwen*) and the Coordinadora Arauco–Malleco (Pairican, 2012).

Part of the complexity of this political conflict lies in the structural difficulty faced by the state in coordinating its own ministries and services and the diffuse nature of Mapuche institutions and organisations, which lack coordination and representation. The plurality of operating logics of the state, with multifaceted participation in organisations and institutions, is no doubt part of a growing process of democratisation in Araucanía. Nonetheless, these democratic spaces and devices have not been able to check the confrontational attitudes of sectors of the political right that predominate in Araucanía or the radical groups that have turned to violence in pursuit of recognition and autonomy. Chilean democracy thus currently sees itself obliged to confront the combative situation in the interethnic lands of the south.

As noted, the purpose of this chapter is not to provide an account of the development of the Mapuche movement and its many voices but to outline a critical multi-disciplinary political perspective on the interethnic dynamic of conflict based on contextual justice. Such an approach makes it possible to appreciate the efforts toward democratisation in Chile in recent decades and attempts at restoring an unfettered democracy while exposing the limitations and challenges Chilean democracy faces to reformulate a neoliberal conception of development and the difficulty of understanding the political significance of “development”, which must now assume the challenges of *Küme Mongen*. In short, in addition to understanding the role of the transition to democracy in the political and legal spaces of indigenous peoples, we shall show how the shortcomings of these processes help understand the politics of the current spiral of violence. In contrast to the arguments advanced by certain Chilean authorities, the violence has historical causes and, as the Mapuche argue, it is necessary to confront the challenges of constitutional recognition, plurinationality and territorial autonomy. Our approach is philosophical and interdisciplinary, arising from the opening up of an interdisciplinary dialogue along the lines proposed by the Núcleo de Estudios Interétnicos e Interculturales (NEII) at the Universidad Católica de Temuco to develop multiple theoretical approaches linked to intercultural relations in Chile, based on the deep anthropological sense of the Mapuche world.

We shall argue that in addition to being the result of a process for the democratisation of Chilean society, the conflict in Araucania (part of the Mapuche land or Wallmapu), is also part of the weakening of democracy in the face of the neoliberal model that dominates the global economy and deregulates our lives. The model is linked to the expansion of a system that rationalises the world in economic terms and has forcefully and profoundly imposed itself on Chilean society (Richards, 2016). Moreover, it expresses itself through violence in the forms of projecting the development of the regional economy and destabilises the patterns and rules that govern the relations between groups, classes and ethnic denominations in indigenous communities (Carrasco & Salas, 2016). Understanding the new rules and structures that define this complex intersection of the logics of the prevailing economic rationalism and those derived from the sapient forms of the Mapuche world requires an understanding of these frictions through a process of reconstructing conflicting rationalities, rethinking the notion of land linked to the genesis of movements, the appearance of authorities that must legitimate themselves in a context of fractures and the possibilities of founding an autonomous rights-based project.

The policy of recognition and the type of intercultural justice—both of which are associated—thus appear not just as a decisive factor in the situation in Chile but as a theoretical and practical demand for all minorities in a world in which the economy is increasingly interconnected and where partnerships between peoples can help find new ways forward in keeping with the dignity of states and peoples to change the unequal distribution of powers. In short, in such an intercultural politics (Salas, 2017), the link between development, identity and technology emphasises the fact that the different interethnic conflicts are always bound up with a struggle of rationalities in economic, social and historical contexts of unequal development. As such, it is important to note the coexistence of many interests, discourses and practices of subjects and groups and how they participate in the contextual wellbeing of a community. This requires explicitly stating how power is managed and above all strengthening the development of a system of legitimate authorities that respond to all members of a community and group of communities, providing the foundations for debate on their political aspirations.

## 9.2 Conflicts, Indigenous Territories and Post-Development

Conflicts in interethnic territories can only be understood in the context of the ongoing historical asymmetries through which indigenous peoples have lived. As such, to give an account of the current sociocultural and economic reality of indigenous peoples in Latin America without making this suffering and exclusion visible or without considering the ethical and political convictions of the courage and dignity of others would be to misstate the problem of collective rights in terms of recognition (Sauerwald & Salas, 2016). The efforts of states have not been free from challenges and criticisms due to the ambiguity of a policy that prioritises ensuring

governability, which, generally speaking, requires concessions to national production sectors and transnational companies.

We propose a broader approach to the ethical and political problems of development. We argue that the prevailing approach to implementing the hegemonic form of development in Latin American societies that reinforces the processes of globalisation does not adequately account for the valuative and normative problems of the traditional productive system or allow us to understand alternative forms of development (Salas, 2011). In this respect, the problematic link between development and culture—never sufficiently clarified—remains highly controversial when it comes to the demands of indigenous peoples. Prejudices that tend to dissociate technical processes and economic results from values and cultural identities persist, impeding the epistemological autonomy of indigenous and other peoples who aspire to their own configurations of development.

One of the major difficulties ethnic minorities in Latin America face in pursuing a concept of development that reflects their cultural roots and deeply held values is the importance placed on the rationality of economic processes. Alternative conceptions of economy to consolidate a form of production that consistently responds to their lifeworlds and offers the potential to move beyond subsistence have been explored. In this respect, if the issue of economic rationality is implicit, the main issue is whether the differences between rationalities can be reconciled. In other words, it is a matter of the compatibility of the economic standards of the prevailing individual and calculating rationality and the other standards of the indigenous economy characterised by an adherence to rational dimensions that are not necessarily instrumental.

Understanding intercultural democracy must take into account the political importance of land for the construction of a nation. The different perspectives show that within indigenous peoples themselves, development is understood in various ways and it is becoming increasingly urgent to recognise them to build a more symmetric intra- and extra-ethnic dialogue. In indigenous lands, the impact of the economic rationality of multinational companies has been brutal, expanding without considering the cultural, political and legal aspects of indigenous peoples. This is not to say, however, that it can succeed in eroding traditional forms of production or that indigenous individuals and groups do not respond creatively and utilitarianly. Consequently, we insist that this rationality, which has so far prevailed, must not be conceived of as homogenous but rather as part of a complex process of articulation with other types of rationalities in multifarious cultural and economic contexts. If we wish to think about the growing violence in interethnic territories, we must focus on understanding and opening up new configurations of post-development.

The roots of the majority of conflicts lie in the clash of the rationalities of state-sponsored development projects and the opportunities for autonomous self-development. In terms of interculturality, and in its most specific sense, the idea of self- or endogenous development suggests a contextual way of understanding development based not on a hegemonic instrumental rationality but on spaces for articulating different rationalities that are a priori excluded from the current neoliberal economic model. The notion of “development with identity” assumed to be desired

by indigenous communities implies questioning the prevalent monoculture of the dominant hegemonic rationality and, above all, the degraded forms of an ideological discourse in the national media that disseminates the ideal of good relations between peoples under the guise of false recognition (Boitano & Ramm, 2015).

It can be argued that explicitly formulating the clashing and overlapping of the rationalities in the economic field highlights the serious limitations on understanding the multifaceted economic actions of indigenous peoples and thus the valuative and normative transformations that affect lands. Drawing attention to these ethical and political implications seeks to show the importance of securing the conditions for full subsistence without mortgaging the basis for self-development in historical lands. All this should prompt a rigorous debate of the frequently passive attitude to communities promoted by public policy. Economic support, aid and subsidies often limit the capacity for self-governance in communities when not projecting historical forms of paternalism. The demand for a post-development based on the productive and cultural system itself is a reasonable basis for establishing spaces of symmetry for indigenous peoples in the economic and political relations of the land. This returns us to the issue of the logic of the power of the authorities, levels of representation and their asymmetric distribution between peoples and within them.

One of the biggest problems currently facing the Mapuche people relates to the cultural transformations associated with the continued and increasingly profound impact of modernity on Chilean society in recent decades and the associated migratory flows as a result of the shortcomings of subsistence economies. The situation of exclusion facing the Mapuche people, especially pronounced during the dictatorship between 1973 and 1989, has caused a wave of migration to Chile's main cities, exacerbated by the expansion of the forestry sector. Faced with scarce prospects of employment, for many young Mapuche, the only escape from poverty has been emigration to Santiago or other major cities in the country. This is consistently reflected in recent censuses, which show that the majority of Chile's indigenous population lives in large cities, with more than a third concentrated in Santiago.

The main reason indigenous peoples emigrate from their ancestral lands is that it is the only feasible option to escape the poverty endemic to rural life, which is caused by a historically exclusionary economic and political system. To understand the current situation, it is necessary to focus on the model of economic development established during the 17 years of dictatorship. This period saw a deep transformation of the Chilean economy, breaking from the existing welfare state, opening up Chilean companies to international markets and incorporating sophisticated production techniques that have allowed the country to compete internationally and—thanks to significant investment in technology—delivered macroeconomic results.

Nonetheless, the costs to the indigenous and rural economy have not always been clearly appreciated. This model has in fact imposed the dismantling of traditional forms of socio-agricultural production and reduced the role of the state and of industries for internal consumption while prioritising business organisations over unions or workers' associations. The result has been new socioeconomic conditions of rural life, not least a major reduction in farming and a consequent exodus to the cities to which the rural population has flocked. Chilean democracy has sought to

regulate this model by ensuring, for example, that the wealth produced by the country over decades can be distributed to the population as a whole. However, such policies of distribution have always been opposed by the political representatives of the dominant economic sectors.

As recent studies have shown, this productive transformation has resulted in the formation of an elite, with economic and cultural resources increasingly concentrated in the hands of the classes and groups integrated in the international economic system, while swathes of society are excluded from the economic and social benefits. Indigenous peoples are among the poorest sectors of the country, with poverty levels 60% higher than the rest of the population, and Araucanía is among the poorest in the country (Salas & Le Bonniec, 2015).

The debate regarding economic activities on Mapuche lands has made it possible to understand the conditions of a developmentist policy defined by the dominant economic forces of Chilean society and which defines the current framework for the social policies of the Chilean state and its relationships to ethnic groups through the Corporación Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena (CONADI), formerly Dirección de Asuntos Indígenas (DASIN). To summarise, the issue of development in Mapuche territory has not been and is not a simple or trivial matter, since both historically and internally it touches on the “Mapuche political question”.

### 9.3 Chilean Democracy and Ethnic Conflicts

In 2009, we published a paper analysing the vicissitudes of Chilean democracy at the end of the twentieth century (Salvat & Salas, 2009). Like most countries in the Southern Cone, Chile remained caught between two ways of thinking about and implementing the democratic management of power: on the one hand, liberal bourgeoisie democracy, which was associated with the prevailing structures of power, and on the other, popular democracy, representing the interests of the vast majorities pushing for the structural overhauls demanded by the peripheral capitalism characterising our societies.

Here, we must recall the relationship between the political order, the state and political subjectivity (Lechner, 2006) to understand the public discontent with Chilean democracy. The main bone of contention is the relationship that makes the legitimate conflict of subjects compatible with the general validity of a common order. The solution lies in a democratic pact, which requires an innovative process that takes into account the generalised desire for a stable and participative institutional framework. Here, there are a number of outstanding issues, such as the role of the state in economic development, the relationship between the structure of the state and authoritarian enclaves, the system of political parties, the professionalisation of politics, the role of the media in a political culture understood through its lens, the disaffection with political democracy and the role of the state and new and old demands from indigenous peoples and migrants. Regarding this last issue,

Guerrero (2016, p. 105) wisely cautions that these demands will not be satisfied within the current institutional framework but will require major transformations.

The post-dictatorship democratic process has doubtlessly permitted some strengthening of Mapuche demands. Part of the current interethnic problem relates to settling historical demands of the Mapuche movement, such as land, subsidies and loans, through the Chilean state. However, the expectations created by repayment of the “historical debt” were not fully met by the centre-left coalition led by President Bachelet during her second term. The growing demands of Mapuche communities against the Chilean state explain many of the violent acts in the Wallmapu. Moreover, for quite some time now, there has also been a systematic critique of the Chilean state from the Mapuche perspective (Mariman, 2006) that rejects in no uncertain terms the permanent asymmetry of the historical, political and legal relations through which the Chilean state has systematically incorporated indigenous communities into a homogenising national project. This is joined by other criticisms, such as those related to the hegemonic capitalist production system, regarded by most of the Mapuche movement as another aspect of colonial violence, on account of the ecological and economic unfairness it entails (Comunidad de Historia Mapuche, 2015). Moreover, the re-election of President Sebastian Piñera, who has close ties to major economic interests, makes significant changes to historical policies and the state’s behaviour unlikely. Indeed, given the platform on which he campaigned, it seems reasonable to expect the situation to deteriorate.

As others have noted, it appears that since the military coup some 40 years ago, Chilean democracy has been unable to support national development and has instead been the axis on which the country’s macroeconomic growth—regarded as the maximum goal of the Chilean model—turns. The political strategy of the coalition of centre-left parties led by President Bachelet in her second term was subordinated to an economy that is fully integrated in international markets, in which decisions are global and in which the growing challenges of governability in the face of internal conflicts defined by contexts of asymmetry have also become apparent. The success achieved by post-dictatorship Chilean governments by failing to challenge the country’s obsession with the macroeconomic indicators of a globalised economy has made Chileans sceptical of the effective distribution of wealth in the country. Nonetheless, this context of financial globalisation has been eclipsed by a form of development that prioritises the generation of wealth for the almost exclusive benefit of the dominant economic sectors and is not perceived thus by large majorities of the country who, in recent decades, have redoubled their latent social demands, accompanied by increased social conflict. The Mapuche movement is no stranger to this national context and its processes of resistance and violence are conditioned by the clear shortcomings of the structure of Chilean democracy.

However, a careful analysis of Chilean democracy (Salas, 2017) reveals emergent possibilities for a participative democracy and an intercultural politics, accepting that while societies in Chile and Latin America have seen a major evolution in democratic processes in the post-dictatorship period, this process has reached an impasse characterised by the attempts to articulate the conflicts inherent to democracy and which it must learn to resolve. The democracy that has been won back is

part of a limited political system, of a specific order that deals with its inevitable and inherent conflicts, as Lechner (2006) would say. However, this requires understanding the continuous strengthening of a democratic framework not only as an obstacle but also as a utopia of coexistence, where the place for social resistance, including the increase in sociopolitical violence, is still unknown.

## 9.4 Conclusions

By contextualising the conflicts in the Chilean Wallmapu, this chapter has shown how the dynamic of the Chilean state and its aid programmes for rural indigenous communities rest on a functional concept of interculturality that has permitted a policy of recognition by the state that only partially responds to the claims and rights of the Mapuche movement and communities. However, these advances in social policy are not perceived this way by the Mapuche movement, particularly communities with conflicts. Other perspectives linked to a critique of the developmentist model of a globalised economy are required. These must go beyond the ideas of endogenous development or “development with identity”, described in government policies like the Orígenes and the Corporación de Fomento de la Producción (CORFO) entrepreneurship programmes, to acknowledge both that the concept of development has been seriously challenged and the current international tendency to promote economic models that are not only economically but also culturally sustainable.

The different systems that allow the political participation of the Mapuche population in governmental bodies such as CONADI and other Chilean public services have been challenged as a whole and sometimes surpassed by a multifaceted Mapuche movement able to propose new issues and define new regional and local agendas. The initiatives of the various Mapuche organisations and institutions are driven by processes of increased political and cultural autonomy, continuously generating new areas of friction.

Contrary to the beliefs of a sector of the Chilean public, the current rise in violence in the Chilean Wallmapu is not simply the product of radical groups that have chosen a political strategy of violence (one challenged by the majority of Mapuche). In the context of the complex relationships of these interethnic territories, there are historical reasons grounded in asymmetries, subordination and exclusion that have forced Mapuche society to subordinate its way of life to the criteria of the dominant Chilean society, which still practices a form of racism against indigenous peoples and migrants. The reconstruction of democracy has created the possibility of different political spaces, forming new types of networks between the dominant society and Mapuche society. The contributions of the services of the Chilean state in Araucanía are sufficient to show that, in general, the Mapuche way of life, particularly in Araucanía, has benefited, ensuring the progress of the Chilean democratic process. However, the various economic projects that have been implemented show that not everything Mapuche communities have received from the state has promoted

endogenous productive capacity. Indeed, far from it: on the whole, state contributions have maintained the subordination of Mapuche economic forms to the logics of national economic projects that continue to impose the neoliberal ideal of “corporatising” the peasantry.

In our view, this situation requires a different democratic model along the lines suggested by Olivé. Such a model would link the issues facing indigenous peoples to a strong policy of recognition, showing the potential to transform the sociopolitical and economic structures of nation states to overcome historical patterns, of negating or devaluing the contribution of these cultures. In this sense, the relationships between post-development and the strengthening of ancestral cultures have slowly gravitated to the political and legal spheres. The rise in conflicts can thus be seen as the product of a globalised economy whose main concern is not satisfying the basic demands of communities and where the dynamic of recognition almost always comes from the state and not from the sociocultural dynamics. It is also political in nature, since the Mapuche movement clearly aspires to constitutional recognition in a plurinational state and seeks forms of political and social autonomy. Moreover, there is also a legal aspect, since it is the reconstruction of democratic normative systems that will make it possible to counteract the deregulation inherent in the global capitalist economy. Solving this complex equation requires the actors in conflict to implement procedures to generate real dialogue and prevent the emergence of violence as the only way to achieve fiercely held demands (Comisión Presidencial de la Araucanía, 2016). Most Mapuche voices aspire to resolve these conflicts but communities feel historically subordinated and excluded. Violent police repression in communities with conflicts and the clear increase in the militarisation of Mapuche land, alongside the new government’s enactment of anti-terrorism legislation are not conducive to changes that promote dialogue and coexistence.

Agricultural sectors linked to the large estates of the *latifundia* system, multinational companies and political and social movements on the traditional right maintain that the only way to resolve historical conflicts is through force, by applying anti-terrorism legislation inherited from the military dictatorship. While the rise in conflict may be part of historical and interethnic conflicts derived from a “structural inequality” that benefits some at the expense of others, we have already shown in the contours of our intercultural ethics and politics that violence does not in itself reconstitute an effective dialogue between opposing factions that would lead to a radical intercultural democracy. Furthermore, the majority of indigenous communities and Chilean society do not see violence as the right way to resolve conflicts.

In this respect, Chile’s democratic debt continues to condition progress toward building political and legal spaces that respond to the demands of the country’s progressive movement and Mapuche communities. A multicultural democracy requires valuing the protagonists of emergent indigenous organisations; their reasonable proposals and contextual logics of action permit the advancement of new and heterogeneous forms of living. Not only are such ideas consistent with indigenous ways of life, but they also offer incisive criticisms of the dominant Chilean society and its adherence to the capitalist model, which is anything but self-sustainable. Achievements of the new indigenous movements include coming to

terms with the permanent history of negation to creatively overcome the forms of discrimination that scar so many local and regional histories.

In conclusion, a policy of recognition inspired by a strong idea of contextual justice requires the integration of the political achievements of the struggles of indigenous organisations and reformulating new challenges for the country as a whole. An intercultural justice shows how the politics of the nation state—regardless of the type of government—cannot be internally decoupled from governing the economic interests and positions of power of multinationals that lobby for the control of these lands at the expense of those who live there. It is possible to reformulate three related issues that hold the key to progress toward recognition by a truly democratic state: (1) the constitutional recognition derived from the reconstruction of national identities, increasingly relevant in the context of globalisation; (2) the decolonisation of the lifeworld, which as Pizzi (2005) notes, requires self-sustainable economic projects based on autonomy and a post-development approach and (3) the intercultural challenges of sociocultural knowledges and praxis of all those who live in the Wallmapu highlight the urgency of addressing the ethical and political challenges of a plurinational Chilean state.

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# Chapter 10

## The Endless Apogee of Interculturality: Critical Anthropological and Philosophical Reflections



Gonzalo Díaz Crovetto and Mario Samaniego

### 10.1 Problematisation: Situating the Apogee of Interculturality

In recent years, the notion of interculturality has acquired a significant presence in the political and academic realms, as well as in everyday life. The spread of this concept is such that it is permeating an increasing number of fields of research and—at least on paper—conditioning social practices and institutional strategies. Interculturality appears to be forming a new discourse that touches all that claims to be contemporary, in line with the requirements of morality and a sociopolitical system defined by a world that is interconnected in terms of its social and cultural diversity, above all in neoliberal contexts. This is all the more striking given that interculturality began its life as a marginal concept in both academia and politics, without a presence in the everyday imaginary and linked to a strong critical component. More radically, we can state that its goals and interests are now undergoing a hypothetical perversion insofar as they are becoming functionalised, resulting in an expansive force that leads to interculturality becoming a decontextualised will to power.

This chapter addresses this problem by reflecting on the role of interculturality in our times, conceived above all in terms of its ethico-political power to transform,

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shape, maintain and counter current models of political and imaginary relationships and conceptions of relations of otherness. If processes of interculturality truly seek to generate sociocultural transformations, we argue that they must be constituted in the service of increased distributive and cultural justice (Frazer 2008), taking into account a number of considerations. First and foremost, there are the disciplinary reflections based on the real relationship between one's own and the foreign, in which the reflexivity arising from the history of ethnographic practices plays a decisive role. Second, it is important to note that attempts to interculturalise different types of situations are also necessary, functioning as a resonance chamber for the innovative dynamics that arise in contemporary everyday life.

In the first part of this chapter, in which anthropology is used as an analytical reference, we account for the epistemological and political risks of the reification of interculturality, dangers that to a certain extent will remain insofar as the decontextualisation of its meaning and use persists or becomes instrumentalised. It also challenges the severing of the concept and its practices from disciplinary histories that would facilitate a reflexive approach and use. Specifically, it emphasises how the potential for anthropology and ethnography to act as privileged references for imprinting a dynamism on the sociocultural transformations currently taking place or that could take place is overlooked. It also challenges the need to situate and resituate experience as the normative practice of interculturality in complex political contexts associated with specific times, moments and places. In the second part of the chapter, which is predominantly based on philosophical references, we insist on the need for the interculturalisation of the current sociocultural landscape and the experiences that articulate it. We postulate that the current sociocultural dynamic favours this possibility and, as such, we insist on its necessity. Interculturality may encounter ups and downs. However, there is no doubt that its presence is necessary as part of a group of plural forces that allow the transformations needed to prevent us becoming trapped in a society that lacks the conditions to live the human experience in the plural.

## 10.2 Anthropology and Intercultural Dilemmas

Modern theories of culture recycle earlier ones, and lend themselves to similar political purposes. Each also confronts well-worn objections that are posed by its rivals. Formulated in ambiguous and weak terms, the theories all say something that is now rather obvious, hardly remarkable, even if the diffuse light they shed may sometimes be helpful. They retain the power to shock, even to interest, only if they are stated in very strong terms—but then their claims seem to be over the top, not to be reconciled from what we know from our own experience. (Kuper 1999, p. 245)

We do not seek to provide a historical and theoretical account of interculturality but instead to highlight certain interpellations of the dissemination of these concepts, which we believe to be excessive and to pose certain risks. Setting out interpellations always requires a critical vision that does not only seek to found the interpellations themselves but also pursues a reflexive search from other epistemic horizons.

Specifically, we are concerned with the intersections of the political field outside academia, where hegemonic groups can establish a specific form and model of interculturality. Hence, in terms of anthropologies of the world,<sup>1</sup> we position ourselves in a heteroglossic paradigm in contrast to a political universe that promotes one and only overarching episteme. Our greatest concern is that a label, or an institutional truth, comes to define interculturality, whereby the singularising at both the national and transnational levels eliminates or dilutes the coexistence of knowledges and forms. There is no doubt that certifying the intercultural annihilates interculturality.

As mentioned, our intention here does not concern the possibilities of relating emerging epistemes on certain understandings with respect to interculturality and any links in the experience of the discipline of anthropology.<sup>2</sup> By turning to anthropology, our aim is to shed light on certain problems and difficulties that loom over the current endless apogee of interculturality. We have no doubts about the discursive practical and political advantages of the use of interculturality. However, we seek to highlight certain epistemic, theoretical, practical and political dangers of its trivialised use. This matter is closely related to other issues we have discussed elsewhere, such as the social and cultural dimensions of epistemic constructions, conceptual genealogies and disciplinary boundaries (Díaz Crovetto 2008, 2011). We believe the increasingly intensive and accelerated proliferation of interculturality or, rather, of the intercultural, goes hand-in-hand with the materialisation of prescriptive models by policies designed and applied by think tanks, transnational nongovernmental organisations, international development agencies, government organisations, businesses and international holding companies. The case of the flow of the intercultural and interculturality is similar to the propagation and institutionalisation of the concept model policy of sustainable development, which has been critically analysed by Lins Ribeiro (1991) and Escobar (1995), the commercialisation of the ethnic and ethnicity described by Comaroff and Comaroff (2012) and the popularisation of discourses on human rights described by de Sousa Santos (2013). We must ask why models, practices, reflections, financing and projects that refer in some way to interculturality flow in such an imperious way. In many cases, this conceptual dogmatisation results in domestications and, in others, neutralisations of the epistemes located at the point where differences and inequalities meet (García Canclini, 2004).

We would also like to use this section to question the disciplinary forgetting the silence of anthropology and its contributions not only to address the dialogue with the other but also to accept that there are many others and that their encounters are complex. To do so, we also discuss various paradoxes that arise between anthropology and interculturality as forms of knowledge to probe the epistemic and

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<sup>1</sup>Among others, see Díaz Crovetto (2008, 2011), Escobar and Lins Ribeiro (2005), Escobar and Restrepo (2004), and Restrepo (2012).

<sup>2</sup>Examples of interesting reviews, debates and perspectives can be found in Briones (2007), García Canclini (2004, 2007, 2011), Grimson (2011), Restrepo (2012), and Samaniego and Garbarini (2004).

political aspects of this intersection. Our approach is thus caught between two paths: one that harnesses the experience of anthropology with respect to the other and that entails a full epistemic, methodological, theoretical and ethical path and another that questions the exacerbated use of the concept of interculturality. As we shall see, naturally, these paths also intersect. Finally, having discussed the risks, we shall highlight the aspects that show greatest potential.

### 10.3 An Anthropological Critique<sup>3</sup>

By explicitly or implicitly transforming “own” and “foreign” culture into objects of cultural representation, these meta-cultural notions recreate relationships of material and symbolic asymmetry. This makes them central devices in the construction of hegemony, meaning that it is not unusual for ideas of interculturality—appearing to conflict—to share and rewrite meta-cultural standards that are, paradoxically, shared (Briones, 2007, p. 46).

We would like to distance ourselves from the essentialist discourses and statements of anthropology with respect to interculturality that are related to the concept of culture, as distinguished by Dietz (2013).<sup>4</sup> In fact, we believe the contribution of anthropology in its widest sense does not include definitions of the concept of culture. For certain anthropological schools, centres and departments, culture was never a central focus providing a framework for identity and distinction with respect to other disciplines. Instead, it can be regarded as a pattern of identity that accounts for certain distinctions between internal schools of thought.<sup>5</sup> We would like to distance ourselves from pristine forms of anthropologies as unique and valid, since transdisciplinary programmes and approaches seem relevant. So, where does this problem lead? To the endless apogee of the concept and the concomitant adaptation of the intercultural to the market. Naturally, the offerings of professional academia could be a reflection of the social and, in this sense, it is worth situating the public and private contexts where these conceptual frameworks of thought, action and dialogue are present (Díaz Crovetto, 2008). The perverse fashion reflected in the repetitive, out-of-context use of the intercultural and interculturality harms and trivialises its meanings, turning them into a near-vacuous expression of its body of origin. This conceptual nakedness not only affects interculturality but also affects other conceptualisations that uproot it, with their exacerbated use, meaning and specific history—place. For example, Lins Ribeiro (2011) challenges the relevance of the postcolonial in countries such as Brazil, which can be considered as post-imperial or with new utopian forms of imagination. It is not a matter of the fear of change or the incorporation of other references for understanding and interpreting the paradigmatic

<sup>3</sup>Singularity is stressed against the many possible anthropological readings.

<sup>4</sup>Discourses that, in a certain sense, lead to an intellectual property of knowledges and forms of knowledge.

<sup>5</sup>Examples of reflections can be found in Asad (1995), Boskovic (2007), and Lins Ribeiro and Escobar (2009).

horizon of the humanities and the social sciences but of not silencing a long historical trajectory of anthropology, which has its own crosses to bear. Interculturality, its references and, to a certain extent, its ideals are part of anthropology's extensive experience of and with the *other*. Anthropological fieldwork is ontologically enveloped in an estrangement and contact with the *other*. Naturally, the form, meanings and ethical aspects of this relationship have been questioned and reformulated over time, revisiting *othernesses* (Krotz, 2002), based above all on the self-reflexive condition of the discipline (Díaz Crovetto, 2011), since the disciplinary changes appear bound up with changes to the ethnographic experience in anthropology. In fact, one of the major anthropological dilemmas, situated on both the metaphorical and practical planes, relates to the conflict inherent in the condition of *being there* and *being here* (Geertz, 1988), bound up with the ambivalence of living with and thinking—writing about the *other*, raising the issue of the moment—place of each of these statements. This problematic brought with it vigorous debate and ideas, differentiated on the epistemic, ethical, theoretical and methodological planes. Alternatives arose that did no more than accentuate the internal diversity of the discipline, which, among other possibilities, incorporated thinking with the *other* and not exclusively about or for the *other*, just like the problem of coevalness situated and problematised by Fabian, 2002.

In this sense, faced with the increasingly foundational horizon of a discipline, disciplinary field or approach, it seems pertinent to recover certain epistemic references from anthropology. In fact, why, on many occasions, is the distance and difference of interculturality with respect to certain epistemes, theories and methodologies not considered? Would it not be natural to undertake this interaction when incorporating something new in the scientific context? Or better still, if the anthropological paradigms are found to be insufficient, incomplete and uprooted should evidence not be provided? Our sense of dissatisfaction is more to do with disciplinary neglect than the possible imposition of one paradigm over another without dialogue or, worse still, without critical judgement, hegemonically, silently.

The Levi-Straussian obsessive compulsion to find universal principles anchored in the study of diversity, the unfinished Boasian particularism, the social of Durkheim and Mauss, collaborative and dialogic research, applied anthropology at its various points and in its various schools, the original diffusionist ideas and their subsequent schools, border studies, transnational approaches and the anthropology of globalisation, among others, still seem relevant when discussing the intercultural from an anthropological perspective, above all when addressing knowledge of the *other* and between *others*. The universal of human experience has been analysed through specific cases that accentuate diversity throughout histories of societies, places and times. Not without its sins, anthropology has made the study of the *other* its leitmotif, configuring paradigms of difference and otherness, anchored in the principles of alterity and identity, even when the *other* corresponds to the discipline itself (as is the case with anthropologies of anthropologies). Over time, anthropology has stressed not only the diversity of *others* but also the constructions and approaches. We are in no way proposing to situate anthropology as a unique and legitimate bastion and critique with respect to relational fields, among others, but to show that

forgetting is always a tool for silencing and cultivating normativities. The new, as a mode without reference, becomes ephemeral, since it is neither ontologically nor phenomenologically situated in times and places of encounters and disagreements, thus uprooting the inherent historicity and conflicts.

Perhaps the dissemination of interculturality in its singularised version is more intense, particularly when anthropology lacks a weight and politico-institutional action, or rather, when it has a past that is too guilty to exempt itself from it, since in these cases, ideas and uses of interculturality as a form of knowledge, discourse, practice or politics lack opposition and differentiation.<sup>6</sup> Nonetheless, we do not doubt that the minimum desirable outcome would involve ensuring community needs have an impact on the construction of policies, including those of know-how and thinking, where alternative forms of inclusive insertions should appear, requiring an institutional context that allows this, something that goes far beyond what a discipline can provide. In fact, why insist on talking about interculturality or the intercultural in the singular? It is about de-disciplining the intercultural, pluralising it and turning it into a living experience.

#### **10.4 Interculturality, Anthropology and Some Paradoxes (or the Vibrancy of the Intercultural and Its Constant Academic, Practical and Political Use)**

As a Western social science made possible by its location in non-Western places, anthropology is in a position to contribute to the visibility of other forms of knowledge. This requires an awareness of anthropological knowledge as a dialogic process of translation between the local and the universal, between histories and History, between the singular and the general. (de la Cadena, 2009, p. 284)

There is no doubt that interculturality is here to stay, or at least it appears, so given the wide range of places where it is voraciously fertilised and germinates, places that include research institutes, universities, nongovernmental organisations, consultancies, state programmes and certifying businesses. But why? Because the normalised idea is often presented in a simple—and, we might add, badly formulated—equation that proposes, on the one hand, a world with (normed) recognition of the intercultural and, on the other, a world without intercultural recognition. This is illustrated by the simple question: on which would you prefer to study, an intercultural programme or a non-intercultural programme? Here we find the endless apogee of interculturality, towards which we feel a certain degree of respect or fear due to the dead ends that arise. As Turner notes: “As members of society, most of us see only what we expect to see, and what we expect to see is what we are

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<sup>6</sup>Naturally, we believe that anthropology and its cases must also be interrogated and questioned, since it is always experienced and constructed in specific places and times.

conditioned to see when we have learned the definitions and classifications of our culture” (1967, p. 95).

Another fear underlines the *sui generis* condition of thinking that conflict and contact between different parties is recent. What do we mean by this? The novelty of a fashionable language concept leads to a naive way of thinking about the problem of conflicts between cultures, like something almost new or at least that has recently intensified. Anthropology, or certain anthropology, tried and still tries to find answers to major concerns related to aspects such as the universality of the human experience in the world by studying and recognising the diversity of cultures and societies, in many cases reflecting the asymmetric construction of power relations between groups, accentuated by the imposition of specific models and forms of control of some over *others*. Models such as imperial expansionism and the capitalisation–mercantilisation of rights have been challenged by various specific alternative movements and proposals, not just recently but at various times and places by different groups, societies and cultures.<sup>7</sup>

A large part of the reflexive trajectory of anthropology—be it its practice or thought—involves the issue of contact between cultures.<sup>8</sup> On its own, ethnographic experience at its different points reflects and puts to question experiences of interculturality, allowing a comparative exercise that leads to the problematisation not only of the *other* but also of ourselves, always contemporary. As we mentioned recently, anthropologies and their specific disciplinary experiences throughout the world are not without their faults when it comes to their relationship with *others*, although they have been able to problematise this relationship in various ways from a relatively early stage (Díaz Crovetto, 2011). One of the original epistemes of anthropology, for example, involves the theoretical and methodological construction to understand the *other* based on a cultural contact that reaffirms the diversity and plurality of *others* and, over time, ourselves. This reaffirms the internal diversity of the anthropological experience. Disciplinary programmes linked to interculturality recover ethnographic approaches as an appropriate method or technique for studying and understanding the *other* from anthropology but do so in a way that is completely out of context and in some cases from a reductionist standpoint.<sup>9</sup> Here, ethnography is used outside its original context, freed from the discipline’s founding epistemic allegory, which is based on the intersections between anthropological theory and practice situated in the meeting between *others*. Over time, this political construction of knowledge underwent various challenges, splitting into studies of the *other*, with the *other*, for the *other* and from the *other*.

Interculturality was also born as a project of social intervention to establish communicative directives from a political and economically dominant *we* to the intercultural *other*, generally living in adverse conditions. It is not about understating the

<sup>7</sup>In this respect, see, among other sources, the work of Scott (1987, 1992) and of Wolf (1973, 1994).

<sup>8</sup>Where, in some cases, the specific aspect of a culture yields new dimensions of the specific aspect of culture itself, with natural models and forms of order and practices revealed and studied. See, among other possibilities, Dumont (1970, 1987), Leirner (2003), and Peirano (1991a, 1991b, 2006).

<sup>9</sup>And in some cases to establish possible dialogues.

real and concrete contribution to be made by intercultural politics, above all when born of specific demands, but about denaturalising their origin and intention, which, in many cases, seeks to de-escalate existing social conflicts. It thus remains to enquire about the impact of epistemic constructions and revisions on academia, since these can determine public policy or even specific legal constructions. Assuming the dynamic role of society and culture, together with the power of the concepts for intervention and altering the social reality, it seems pertinent to adopt a position of dissent, since there appears to be less damage from interrogating the concept of interculturality than from deploying a politics derived from a non-consensual consensus.<sup>10</sup>

Hence, interculturality—as noted by Pratt (2010) in her concept of *flow*—can exemplify the official and legitimating language, and as such cannot be considered a neutral term used without an ethical dimension. As such, as proposed by Grimson (2011), the term interculturality can be conceived as a relatively new way of naming a historical process that has been studied as part of certain leitmotifs of anthropology. In this respect, the following statement by Briones is pertinent:

[...] I would say that if the civil, political and social dimensions of citizenship are viewed as having the possibility to be complementary, while the cultural dimension is viewed as conflicting, this is because this latter dimension challenges to the greatest extent the certainty of a universality that operates for all times and places. (2007, p. 49)

It is unsatisfactory to unilaterally propose intercultural agendas and policies, above all when some of the communities that may be directly affected by them do not agree with their content or form. Interculturality as an experience requires other paths—perhaps close, perhaps far away—from anthropology, since it must be questioned before being normalised and normalising.

## 10.5 Interculturality and the Contemporary World

The first part of this chapter established the objections to the decontextualised and indiscriminate use of the concept of interculturality freed from disciplinary lessons and having indicated some of the consequences, consequences that, when taken together, point to the *death* of interculturality. The second part of this chapter shall now defend the existence and need for interculturality, conceived as an experience of independence with the *other* and consciousness of this experience as a condition of our time (Onghena, 2014). At present, the everyday world is propitious to—we could even say, it requires—the interculturalisation of interactions. Becoming aware of the dynamics acquired by everyday experiences now implies an understanding of our reality that is closer to the dynamic of the flow—a metaphor that seeks to place ideas of mobility and mixing at the heart of the matter (2014)—than forces that seek

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<sup>10</sup>Briones (2007, p. 49) proposes thinking of discrepancies instead of cultural differences, since discrepancies open up a space that allows the transformation of thought.

to determine certainties. We can thus affirm its existence as occasionally non-problematic, occasionally sought out and in some situations impossible, but necessary nonetheless and never desirable as an exercise that in principle projects from a normative plane. We can be aware of the inevitability of interdependence and act accordingly, with the fundamental goal of minimising human sacrifice, primarily of those whose being and movements do not allow them the cultural and material resources to live the experience of the human in line with their own references and interests. Above all, addressing the issues surrounding interculturality is a contextual exercise, hence the importance of situating reflection in a determined framework. Consequently, the approaches will vary depending on how it situates each of those interested in participating in the exercise.

Risk (Beck, 2002), mobility (Urry, 2000), hybridisation (Martín-Barbero, 1987), babelisation and a growing *de facto* pluralism—ethically speaking—constitute some of the most significant aspects of our world's landscape. At present, the traditional hostile *other*, viewed with suspicion, represented and made transparent in power, cannot be easily expelled, neutralised or silenced. We are obliged to live with new neighbours and undesirables, no matter how many walls we build and on many occasions without the chance of reaching agreement. In this environment, principles and strategies based on universalist and particularist consensuses and essentialisms are ruled out by the requirements of contemporary pluralism. Incompatible perspectives and outlooks—at least partially so—articulated by diverse and uncertain intensities lead us to live everyday life and project our future under new conditions, ones we are not used to.

Our world is constituted by interdependence and different types of movements, those of desired migrations and forced diasporas. In a certain sense, all of us travel—not just those who are most vulnerable—even though we do not move from the place we are situated. Some of us move with a colonising zeal, others to avoid returning to the known, some without leaving the same (tourist packages), while others, when they travel, see themselves as different from themselves, knowing they are situated outside the familiar and becoming aware that they are not in their own milieu (Vidal, 2013). There are non-transformative movements and others that transform subjects insofar as they travel. Travelling can mean leaving ourselves and not returning to the same, or not returning in the same way. We should also note that no one escapes the risk of becoming lost as they forge their path. Our lives are increasingly exposed to leaving our own place. The place that has been able to form a hegemony gradually wears away as new interpretations and practices arise. We could say that the initial narrative that allows some centres of meaning to impose themselves on *others* is being diluted, destined to become gradually weakened. In our time, new traditions—above all those that have been displaced, that have not been central—are helping to determine new relations and new forms of reading and being situated in reality, with an unprojected creativity emerging from this movement.

In these interconnections, in these movements, there is a circulation of points of view that define paradox as an attribute of the current human condition. However, while, in the best case, the vocation of alterity is discovered, hostility is also felt

towards what challenges the familiar. Similarly, and as a result of incessant interconnection, we see the incommensurability of cultural references gradually overcome. To a certain extent, this dynamic that generates conflicts facilitates—although always through a paradoxical experience—the opening up to a desire to be agnostic (Mouffe, 2010) and thus to getting used to being with the *other* that is neither sought out nor desired. In this interrelationship, not being able to displace the *other*, to externalise it, results in the generation of a dialectic between one's own and what is not, between what is familiar and what is foreign, with at least two consequences. Firstly, for each person, the scope of one's own is broadened, which goes hand-in-hand with a critique of the imposition of the *other*, what is not one's own. This transgression of the limits of sameness can be a fertile ground for the production of new feelings that are no longer either exclusively own or *other*. Secondly, although implicit in the previous point, binary logic is rendered obsolete, both as an analytic shell and a dynamic that animates experiences of our everyday world.

## 10.6 Does Interculturality Become Inevitable?

The *other* is no longer externalised, is no longer foreign to us and we no longer have to seek it outside us since it also lives inside. Various reactions to this exchange are possible: an ethics of welcome (Lévinas, 2000), in which the foreigner appears as a foundation of the ethical imperative; hospitality (Derrida, 1998), from a set of multiculturalist legal references; or, more radically, the *other* can impose itself (Villoro, 2007), erupting into our space and time, destabilising our references that create the security in one's own that in general is taken for granted and eroding the representations through which we interpret our world and that give us a particular experience of the human. We are *obliged* to get used to the *other*, either because we desire to do so or because we have discovered the advantages or because we cannot get rid of this *other*: despite the many barriers, fences and walls we put up, the *other* is there, or better put, here.

This inevitable presence of the *other* dilutes the pretensions of essentiality and inner life so deeply ingrained in Western logic and which are behind a colonising hegemony whose consequences are well known. This idea will be central for presenting an approach to interculturality, whatever its form. We understand interculturality not as a noun but as a verb (Onghena, 2014). As such, instead of talking about interculturality, we should use—insofar as it fits better—interculturalisation, or more specifically contextualised interculturalisations. We can try to describe this action through two practices, travel (Samaniego, 2005; Vidal, 2013) and translation (Fornet-Betancourt, 2001). We have already referred to the significance of traveling as a becoming-aware of what it means to be outside one's own. Translation, not as a search for semantic equivalences but as a dynamic between one's own and the foreign, can expand the categories with which we situate ourselves in the world and practice the human. From this perspective, more radically speaking,

interculturalisation does not arise as a practice in which I am the person translating but as a practice in which I am translated (Vidal, 2013).

Travelling and translation are actions in which *others* are a necessary correlate for us, where an interdependence is created between one's own and the foreign. In this interdependence an "in-between" is born (Bhabha, 1994), a contact zone (Pratt, 1992), where we face problems, that uproots us, where we are unable to process the different, on the one hand, and these words—words that are never criticised, that mark the axioms of what is desirable in terms of living together—are placed in jeopardy, the big words that mark the limit that gives meaning and destiny to my expectations. Interculturalisation, as we have indicated, entails an awareness and great sensitivity towards the effects of interdependence. This dynamic can constitute a starting point for projecting the future as interculturalisation in the future (Samaniego, 2005). Hence, interculturalisation is a corrective exercise (Fornet-Betancourt, 2001) based on the experientiality of contact and interdependence, frequently conflicting and hard to resolve. In this sense, the radicalisation of the interculturalisation of what is already given is decisive (transcending the limits in each specific case): university logics, research logics, for example, and—why not, and especially—policies and programmes for interculturality in the various spheres in which they are applied, such as health, education and the environment. Interculturalisation is the becoming-aware that is discovered and affects us. As such, policies and programmes must be able to listen to the narratives that emerged from interactions that arise and which mould the everyday world, at the risk of imposing a determined normativity on something that is not normable in its own right, namely culture. We must avoid falling prey to the temptation to seek to structure what cannot be structured, namely the worlds of life in interaction. We must avoid trying to fix the flow of experiences.

Interdependence can give rise to new possibilities that stamp uncertainty with a constructive potential on the given, especially on the status quo. Relations, overwhelmed as a possible "product", make possible the richness of exile; they stop the word, its meaning and history becoming trapped in themselves. Exiling the logos, they can enrich themselves and enrich those they encounter (Rabinovich, 2013). In these *comings* and *goings*, words give asylum to other words, the words of *others*. Rubinelli (2006) shows that the awareness of contingency itself is a condition for opening up to ourselves and *others*. The encounter with *other* cultural conceptions destabilises and decentralises constituting an opportunity to generate unimagined meanings, provided we do not seek to delegitimise differences by universalising a rationality, namely our own.

The situations of interculturalisation arising from the experiences we live that are facilitated and imposed on us by the major transformations of our times and current spaces must constitute the foundations of actions that are described as intercultural. We believe that intercultural policies, programmes and projects can achieve this if we have certain approaches that are more experiential and emotional than normative and legal. While it is clear that the normative and legal are absolutely necessary for what we are seeking, there are two reasons why this level of willingness of situating

oneself in a certain way with respect to the *other* and with the *other* is decisive. Firstly, because any legal, political and normative substrate must be underpinned by a moral subject and secondly, because de facto pluralism, which is where life is really lived out (where intersections, new developments, conflicts and disagreements arise) is not in tune with our sociopolitical models and the normative institutions that underpin them, no matter how much the potential for the recognition of differences. Thus, we live in a continuous state of imbalance, an imbalance that can paralyse the flow of life insofar as decontextualised normativity disciplines different experiences. While interculturalisations are complex processes with different overlapping dimensions (primarily cultural and economic), even if it does not exclude any of these, this reflection emphasises the cultural as a gravitational sphere to understand the problematic to be debated and as a vantage point from which to facilitate the transformations associated with interculturalisation in light of its critical component.

It is clear that essentialising interculturality presents a bigger danger than essentialising culture. It is not just a simple semiotic struggle over the intercultural but of intercultural experiences, politics and normatisations. In this sense, we agree with the proposal of Briones (2007) that cultural difference, in addition to being a right, becomes a constitutive and non-antagonistic dimension of civil citizenship, on a par with freedom of expression and of thought.

Through the avatars of anthropology in its relationship to *others* and *othernesses* and through recovering the experientiality inscribed in travel and translation, we have sought to show paths that allow us to set out alternatives to normatisation, decontextualisation and the scandalous propaganda that prevail with respect to the officially prevailing interculturality, or at the very least sketch the contours of this problem.

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# Chapter 11

## Words, Relationality and Recognition: Apropos Axel Honneth



Mario Samaniego

### 11.1 Problematisation

The times in which we live require an understanding of how the unsettling and increasing presence and currency of diversity and relationality invigorate and impact the dynamics of our societies. Diversity has moved from the periphery of the social to the centre, and diversity and relationality constitute one of the essential aspects of our contemporary condition (Onghena, 2014). The various expressions and practices of diversity cannot be understood as self-contained realities; in contrast, they are exposed to their outsides (Nancy, 2000) and thus to inevitable interaction with what they are not. This is doubtless a privileged and necessary vantage point for reflection on the experience of the human condition, especially the possibilities and limitations of human coexistence. Interdependence tends to erode the sociopolitical devices that have traditionally governed coexistence (monocultural in nature) and to question the categorical structure that has been repeatedly used to conceive of and practice the ordering of alterity, especially translations of the dualism of identity and difference as a hierarchical dichotomy, such as one/other, native/foreign and civilisation/barbarism.

Diversity has been a constant in the history of humanity. The unease with which it is currently experienced and thought stem from the conflicts inherent to the

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inevitable interaction with the other, which is different and often undesired. Such conflicts are bound up with processes of exclusion (for example, assimilation and deculturation) and the impossibility of reconciling diverse points of view due to the multiple and occasionally antagonistic understanding of *buen vivir* (good living) and because they are situated in a relationship of inequality with respect to power. In this respect, one of the most frequent forms has been—and continues to be—the failure to recognise or the undermining of the interpretive and valuative schemas used by groups of humans to direct their activity with respect to expectations naturally considered valuable. This process has the potential to affect identity and create a traumatic relationship with the self.

This situation requires us to rethink the relational condition of human experience, moving away from formulations, particularly monocultural universalism, which has historically manifested as hegemonic or as a cultural consensualism and relativism that masks the true nature of human encounters. These ideas have been revealed to be theoretical dead ends (conceived on the basis of a world that no longer exists or that wished this were the case), resulting in the sacrifice of the richness of the human condition, either through assimilation—in its various historical and contextual forms—or indifference. Hence the need to radicalise the guidelines for the conception and creation of a renewed plural coexistence in the space between diversities, the “in-between” as a space that simultaneously distinguishes and links them. One of the ethico-political imperatives of our time is thinking of and opening up to others, accepting the necessary—albeit sometimes undesired—and being with others. This implies a shift away from fundamentalism and dogma, breaking the monologic narrative of humanity in favour of a vulnerable intersubjectivity that enriches its constituent diversities.<sup>1</sup>

The paradoxical relationality and the aporias that constitute individuals and communities (with exposure, the other is internalised and becomes part of what we are) are thus conditions to which we are exposed and that are hard to elude. As Rampérez (2013) shows, the metaphysics of presence has sought to deny space within the same to anything outside it, disallowing sources of difference that cause change and transformation and seeking to provide protection from them to prevent the rupture of what is sought or pursued and the emergence of uncertainty. However, it seems impossible to think about coexistence without reciprocity and alternation, preventing the enclosure of individuals and communities, entrenched in their own space and time that allow them to defend themselves and not be affected by what lies beyond the limits of the self. It is thus necessary to accept aporias and the non-linear nature of interactions. The ultimate goal is to avoid any essentialisation of shared life, since this—either through an attribute of identity, a shared past or a utopia to come—necessarily means excluding others that are different. Accepting that others

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<sup>1</sup>“Vulnerable intersubjectivity means understanding the possibility of creating temporary bonds, which are not forged by sharing values or principles that justify a specific mode of coexistence but instead are the expression of an awareness of the *need* to live together. Vulnerability is determined by the fragility of these bonds, implying constant review as an inherent practice of a non-exclusive coexistence” (Samaniego, 2015, p. 187).

now live within us, that we are not monads and are affected by what we are not, due to the interdependence in which we are immersed, we must also accept and confront the fact that the shared aspect of coexistence forms part of a network of particularities that run into each other and demarcate life without a predetermined form.

Coexistence is thus experienced independent of the community, understood as a subject that defines its members or individuals homogeneously by consensus, contract, procedures for rational debate and collective emotional adherence to a given ethos in terms of values or culture. We must show the potential of situations that involve exposure to alterity, paradoxical interaction and the coming unstuck of sameness to subvert the hegemonic constructs and practices that efface these particularities, closing themselves to indeterminism and thus erasing what is not present in the reduction they perpetrate.

## 11.2 Recognition and Language

Having thus stated the problem, let us now address the deficit of recognition experienced by and expressed in the relationships between different parties. The relationality of our time implies a paradoxical condition, since while there is undermining, we have now reached a point that facilitates its progressive weakening. On the one hand, we have the undermining of the ways of life beyond the boundary of what we are and value, yet our inevitable exposure means we are also influenced by what we do not recognise. In other words, what we undermine has the potential to erode what we defend. In this context, I argue that language is a reality with the capacity to facilitate recognition in the context of relationality as the logic of our times. More specifically, recognition is bound up with a configuration of identity forged in insecurity, finitude and fragility. Recognition is conditional on the intersubjectivity that can arise between identities—vulnerable, as noted above—and on linguistic practices having the potential for recognition, which depends on how the word is cultivated and the possibilities of cultivating the various words.

Ontological hermeneutics situates us in the “linguisticity” of the human. Gadamer (1998) shows that language is not, first and foremost, that which is spoken by the individual but is that in which the individual is spoken. Language works as a total mediation of the experience of the world, as a site of specific realisation. The event of being and language, he argues, is one. In a similar vein, Vattimo (1988) argues that the world is experienced within the horizons of a series of echoes, of linguistic resources, of messages from the past and from other individuals. He shows that the *a priori* that makes possible our experience of the world is the destination transmission of the linguistic traditions that precede us.

Mediation, interaction and forming bonds between one and the other, between the same and the different, are also sites of articulation for ontological hermeneutics in which dialogue takes on an ontological dimension. This implies not only accepting the value of cultures and thus their recognition but also accepting the encounter between different reciprocally valued identities and values as the fabric of the reality

for understanding ourselves based on impacts between identities and where meanings are configured as conversational spaces. Dialogue thus presents itself as the blending of horizons, as an encounter between different ethoses (Gadamer, 1998). Consequently, it allows the recreation of horizons of understanding and the transformation of identities. Ontological hermeneutics thus critiques the modern monological truth and its epistemological substrate: truth is not so much related to representations; it should instead be understood, first and foremost, as an intersubjective production in the dialogic encounter of selves (the same) and others (the different).

This idea—albeit with certain nuances—is shared by the theoretical and the social ideas inscribed by philosophies that place alterity and relationality at their heart. Lévinas (2000) grounds the thinking and possibility of the experience of intersubjectivity in heteronomy, in the other, an approach that implies freeing oneself from and critiquing autonomy as the centre of the Enlightenment tradition. The one can no longer be thought from the self-sufficiency of the same. The possibility of subjectivity lies in the relationship with others, which means that the one, in its attachment to the other, is affected by it, since it provides it a language and thus links it to a memory and a project. As a result, it is possible to break the confinement within oneself. The ethics of heteronomy first becomes philosophy (Lévinas, 1997) and is then used to affirm an ethical constitution of subjectivity. This allows the thinking of identity as a dialogic phenomenon, in which the one exists for the other and through the other exists for the one. Identity thus emerges as a boundary space in which the one and the other continuously come into contact, allowing identity to be conceived as an instance for creating new possibilities of meaning and value. According to Rubinelli's reading of intercultural philosophy (2006), this implies the need for recognition of the various practices of reason that can—and must—be linked together through a continuous effort of translation, which requires a decentring. Rubinelli proposes the development of a hermeneutic of alterity based on the recognition of the foreign as interpreter and translator of its own identity. This implies that the word is not the measure of what is translatable but needs to translate itself and thus needs translation of the historic tradition in which it is used. Hence, the understanding of reality must always be exceeded by the categories of the other interpreters.

Similarly, the intercultural philosophy of Salas (2010) entails cultivating a dialogue between contextual universes that testify to their desire of universality as a practice of communication. As a mere contextual exercise that seeks to transmit the experiences and founding references of the respective universes, it is above all an exercise in translation. Cultural universes are translated and generate universality in this dynamic. This means a new version of universality whose most adequate image is that of a “school of translation” without *numerus clausus* and in permanent activity. This translation is not conceived as the search for semantic equivalences in terms of carrying meanings between worlds but as a dialectic between the own and the different. In other words, it is a process that enriches and corrects each of the contextual universes insofar as they are able to incorporate unfamiliar categorisations of reality, allowing worldviews, interactions and praxes to be transformed by

their relationship to others. If this were the case, the concept of community would be understood based on what is not yet thought and the word could enable its forgetting, rejecting fixities, and memories could overcome their induced insomnia and be revised. Interaction could not be calculated and identities would undergo continuous formation, becoming aware of the insufficiency of singularity and the opening up to the community originated by spontaneous movement. This would be vitally important to recognition, if it could be incarnated in the dynamics of public political space. Arendt (1993) shows that the one exists in its appearance and relation to others. If, in public, I do not appear as a singularity, I melt into what is different. In other words, I do not exist and am reduced to bare life. I exist in what I reveal to others. If there is no relation, there is nothing. If I cannot speak in public space, I am relegated to the private sphere and, as such, stripped of any recognition.

Having introduced in the philosophical ideas above the centrality of language as a reality that permits relationality between differences—in which, additionally and as a by-product, identity necessarily opens up to uncertainty—let us now examine linguistic practices in greater depth to show how their operation can serve the dynamics of recognition. As such, we shall consider practices of linguistic interaction to explore their potential for recognition and examine the potential of language to allow us, in principle, to find and recognise ourselves (while simultaneously, as history shows, revealing our own ignorance). Even though, by managing and allowing mutual intelligibility, processes of linguistic interaction can result in agreements and cooperation for resolving conflicts (as well as creating conflicts and disagreements), in the context of this research, their capacity to invigorate interaction between differences is decisive. More specifically, as Panikkar (2001) notes, the deployment of linguisticity can create a tense relationship between parties, endowing them with new possibilities, on which they imprint positive uncertainties.

More than allowing the transit of logos, linguistic interaction facilitates their encounter, which, as Rabinovitch (2013) notes, can overwhelm each of the parties with interaction. The meanings of the other's voice brings to the one who can exceed its receptive capacity. Reception can thus demand reflection on the preconceptions that make meaning possible, potentially implying the awareness of its limits and thus the necessary experience of the fragility and insufficiency of the one. In this sense, we argue that these processes are not fundamentally centred on resolving disputes and seeking agreements and reconciliation but more than reaching agreements on a desired type of coexistence, linguistic interaction generates yet unthought possibilities of how to conceive of and relate to ourselves. The famous desired coexistence often operates on the basis of certain established concepts that are often unthought, since they operate as axioms of coexistence. Such concepts often mask the true human experience that always plays out in the tension between opposites. The West has been able to order and enact a utopian projection of reality on concepts, universalising in their specificity and thus disregarding "the flow of life".

This leads us to the question of how language can help people. History shows that while processes of linguistic-cultural mediation can produce some agreements and cooperation in resolving conflicts (as well as the creation of conflicts and disagreements), and the decisive factor is their capacity to invigorate interaction

between differences. As noted, the power of processes of linguistic interaction to overwhelm—that is their capacity to provoke admiration, to move and to cause concern—as a potential “product” enable the wealth of exile (2013), preventing the word, its reason and history from being trapped inside themselves. By exiling the word, it can be enriched and can enrich its object of encounter. Linguistic interaction allows words to give asylum to other words, the words of others. Exile and asylum neutralise the fixity of what has already been said to create new echoes and resonances. Finding themselves in unfamiliar contexts, words can flow along unexpected paths, opening up the possibility of new conceptions. In this situation, words transcend what is normal and already known, opening up new meanings. In their transit, in the necessary coming and going, they can hypothetically provoke an act of dissidence by breaking or twisting the fixities that crystallise sameness.

The dynamic we are describing can work to undermine the stable foundation of words, causing insecurity, disconcerting and destabilising, making it a potential source of new meanings and thus practices. Hence, in their flow, words can generate a form of interaction open to the yet unthought. The full potential of linguistic interaction is not primarily expressed in what is achieved, in achieving planned goals, but in the emergence of the new arising in the process itself. This exercise is possible insofar as each particularity is jeopardised by the difference that is presented to us (Gadamer, 1998). Linguistic interaction stimulates dialogue, rendering it incessant, such that there is always a tense relationship between the parties. The one is not reducible to the other and there is no question of a radical incomprehensibility between parties, since this would make the other inconceivable and as such it would cease to exist. Linguistic interaction means that the various subjects remain different, one cannot be subsumed into the other and they maintain a distance and a relationship at the same time. The continuity of these interactions can materialise the heteronomy of language as a form of recognition and from its tradition, the other finds space in what is mine and vice versa.

Thus understood, linguisticity can break from the modern ideal of the metaphysics of subjectivity, which, founded on the Cartesian cogito as a thinking consciousness, rules out conceiving of ourselves as a relationship. It thus breaks from the typical solipsism of modernity and unseats representation from the perspective of the metaphysics of presence, one of its greatest achievements. In contrast, relationality, with the undesired or unexpected, can harbour new and renewed forms of subjectivity and social relations. This encounter shatters the peace found in the security of the obvious, what belongs to us and what we already are, which—for this very reason—we never question. Consequently, this encounter generates the restlessness that ruptures the unquestioned.

All this suggests three possibilities to be explored in terms of the recognition required by our deficit of coexistence. First, I believe we can find a way to develop the recognition that has been discussed above, since the flow of words makes the other possible. Through its words, it can break into the one and restructure the relationship with itself and the other. Here, the other and the one enter the respective consciousnesses and linguistic traditions, restructuring—or having the potential to restructure—the experience of the world. Second, this relational condition,

entangled in linguistic practices, can generate recognition, either through the reciprocal openness to understanding or in unresolvable, open, stressful conflict in which the one ultimately becomes used to the other, with heteronomy crystallising along the way. The occurrence of such heteronomy implies recognition or, at the very least, its seeds. In its linguisticity, the other is incorporated not to be subordinated but in such a way that its incorporation invigorates the tradition of the one. Third, policies, theories and practices of recognition can materialise if orderings are more experiential and emotional, moving away from the legal and the normative (while nonetheless accepting the importance of norms and laws as essential for what we are seeking). However, there are two reasons why this ordering is fully determinant: first, because any legal and normative substrate requires an ethical and moral subject to support it and second, because *de facto* pluralism, which is where life really takes place and is where interactions, newness, conflicts and disagreements arise, plays out on the margin of the directives that define our sociopolitical models and the normative intuitions that underpin them, regardless of their inherent potential for recognition.

### 11.3 Solidarity and Language

Philosophies of recognition share an interest in theorising alterity and relationality as centres of gravity for philosophical thought. The history of the West can be read as a struggle (Honneth, 1995) and a dialectic of recognition (Fornet-Betancourt, 2011) in which anthropological models that have succeeded in imposing their criteria of worth have operated by simultaneously erasing other criteria, both existing and possible. All recognition has implied a lack of knowledge and thus antipathy, the history of human experience as a history of moral grievance (Honneth, 1995). First and foremost, philosophies of recognition propose moving beyond the conception of philosophical experience as the philosophy of knowledge, or, rather, as an exercise in fixing truths and thus ordering the vital flow by imposing conditions on the subject of knowledge. Such an exercise reduces the being of the other to its value in relation to the conditions and possibilities of existence and knowledge established by the canon of truth. Its ultimate goal is to establish itself in terms of philosophies of recognition, which value the other based on its peculiarities. Since such valuations arise from what the other decides to confess in its narratives of identity, this opens up the problem of identity politics. The sequence of the philosophical transformation thus begins with the “I know”, before progressing to “I recognise” and ending in the mutuality of recognition, which encompasses both the I recognise and the I am recognised (Ricoeur, 2005). Philosophies of recognition are developed in the context of the struggles and demands of multiculturalism, with the politics of difference forming a counterpoint to the reading of liberal universalism, whose development and operation are blind to differences, thus undermining them.

Honneth (1995) uses the Hegelian concept of recognition to argue that the struggles for cultural justice have moral roots, and hence the origin of conflicts cannot be

understood without the moral background that drives them. Giusti (2005) notes that for Hegel, recognition is linked to identity and intersubjective relations, and the process of constructing identity, one's relationship with oneself, depends on recognition by others, or, rather, its value for others insofar as it is necessary for them. In contrast, not feeling valued in terms of identity goes hand-in-hand with the moral impulse that creates conflicts. Clearly, subjectivity can only arise in the context of intersubjectivity.

This process of identity formation arises from different and progressive forms of recognition and love, rights and solidarity, whose correlates are scorn, mistreatment, deprivation of rights and shame. In the case of the former, if the relationship with others arises in the form of recognition, the subject can express itself autonomously as a subject of needs and feelings. However, a relationship stressed by antipathy will result in mistreatment. From a legal perspective, human self-realisation oscillates between the possibility of perceiving of oneself as a subject with moral and legal autonomy and of having a moral shortfall and being dependent on others. Finally, solidarity is about the tension between the value others attach to what one believes to be valuable and feeling the foundation that gives meaning and value to one's categorisation and praxis undermined.

I argue that this third form of recognition—or lack thereof—is critically important for understanding the ongoing struggles between different groups against hegemons. These struggles are linked to the awareness of the social devaluation of those whose qualities are excluded from socially imposed so-called shared ideals. This means undermining those who are devalued with all the accompanying consequences for the construction of their identity and their social integration. This lack of recognition thus implies the impossibility of a plural experience and practice of the human and of humanity being able to understand itself and develop based on the richness of the coexistence of multiple worlds. It also implies a process of pathologisation (Fornet-Betancourt, 2011), in which only some have the power to define and enforce the boundary that separates what is valuable from what is not.

In this context, aside from the necessary critique, the question arises of what can be done to reverse this situation. I would like to answer this question with another: how can language help to reverse the situation lived by those who are undermined? Intuitively, when installed in the sociocultural landscape determined by interaction and relationality, linguistic interaction—as I have described at the ontological level and in terms of its social operation—can facilitate processes of recognition. If there are demands for recognition, it is because there are conflicts and these lead to unjust situations. In turn, justice relates to repairing damage, which, in this case, means generating the changes required in the conditions that produced the unjust situations. In this respect, recognition is related to the democratisation of power, the unequal distribution of which is one of the causes of demands for recognition. Insofar as vital expectations are undermined by the attribution of a lack of dignity, they are robbed of the legitimacy that allows them to be expressed and practised under equal conditions to others. In short, they are deprived of power. Vital expectations have power not only when they enjoy conditions for their legitimate expression in the social space but also when they become necessary for others above all. This implies a link between recognition and power.

In this respect, practices of recognition materialise when those who do not feel recognised acquire power, or, rather, when their interpretive frameworks, practices and expectations become necessary beyond the private limits where they are naturally regarded as valuable. Recognition is not so much related to understanding the other, or, less still (which is part of the same problem), recognising the other under the criteria established by the one. In contrast, power is distributed when those who hold it are required to restructure their own space and categorisations, when the undermined other affects the self of those who ultimately draw the line between what is valuable and what is not. Power struggles can be understood as struggles for the ownership of the words that can express what the world is—regardless of its reality—especially words with the capacity to endow prestige upon the sphere of reality it illuminates, words that imprint worth on what they refers to and words that provide plenitude to things and events. The fight for the value of different words expresses the conflicts inherent in the injustice suffered by those for whom the words that give them meaning and constitute the moral background to which they adhere and from which their expectations are understood are undermined (Taylor, 1993).

Power is the capacity to fix representations in others, our representations. It is held hegemonically when it has the capacity to make the other see and feel reality and live the human experience in the way desired by the one. The experience and practice of the human experience cannot transcend the limit of representations, which, being plural, cannot be associated with neutrality. There is, then, no reason for them to be linked univocally to the world or the meaning that each attributes to things. There are no meanings that rest on stability. Representations, as reformulations of what has presence or meaning for people, are not unitary with respect to what they seek to represent or in the way they are formulated.

Under this perspective, power materialises when a group is willing and, above all, able to establish something in a society as normal (this something could be a specific meaning associated with a concept, a perspective from which to observe and organise one's life or a value that orients social perspectives). The normalisation of social and cultural dynamics establishes a distinction between the normal and the pathological whereby the subject and groups that are distanced from the normal can be pathologised. One indication of the asymmetry of power relates to the normalities established in lifeworlds and institutional frameworks and dynamics. Addressing the deficit of humanity involves discovering the failings of normality and denaturalising it to confront the asymmetries and pathologies it articulates. The normal is related to the customary, to habits and monotony, to a monoculturality that instils and promotes a universalism that is blind to difference. The normal forms a sort of security that is hard to self-observe and thus to overcome.

We live in words. Speaking means disseminate representations that make experience meaningful (Vidal, 2013). This process of dissemination is key to answering the question of how language helps people, with the capacity to transform words into a reality that *contaminates* the other, causing it to restructure the categories with which it conceives and practices the world. Such contamination can bring about the resignification of the categories used to conceive of and practice the world, destabilising the power of words that have naturalised the criteria and limits of the

valuable as worthy. This possibility has the potential to become reality in our contemporary context, one marked by exposure and interdependence in which the other already definitively inhabits the one. These are fertile times, times of contamination that can weaken hegemonic discourse, times that can lead—albeit reluctantly—to Honneth’s solidarity (*Solidarität*), driven by the ever-more intense circulation of diverse words in circuits where interaction is inevitable.

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# Index

## A

- Academia
  - and politics, 123
- Academic, practical and political use, 128–130
- Afro-descendent peoples, 56
- Agricultural modernisation
  - Araucania, 5
  - European immigration, 12
  - land ownership, 12
  - mining industry, 12
  - new land, 12
  - types of change, 12
- Agricultural sectors, 119
- Alterity, vocation of, 131
- Ambivalent spaces, 85
- Anthropological counselling, 55
- Anthropological critique, 126–128
- Anthropological examination, 70
- Anthropological expertise, 72
- Anthropological knowledge, 70, 128–130
- Anthropology, 134
  - analytical reference, 124
  - and ethnography, 124
  - and interculturality, 124–126
  - discipline, 125
- Araucania, 3, 4
  - agricultural modernisation, 5
  - autoethnographic vs. ethnographic discourse, 6
  - dual discourse, 4
  - enlightened despots, 4
  - ethnographic discourse, 5
  - genocide, 4
  - immigration policy, 5, 10
  - indigenous languages, 6
  - intellectual production, 7
  - positive/negative values, 3
  - radicalisation, 4
  - rural colonisation policy, 9
- Araucanian, 27, 35
  - courts, 61
  - life, 40
  - poetry, 41
  - studies, 40
  - warriors, 62
- Asymmetric construction, 129
- Authorised Indians, 71
- Autoethnographer, 48
- Autoethnographic production, 32
- Autoethnographic translation, 49
- Autoethnographic work, 36
- az mapu* (Mapuche traditional law), 55
- az mapuche mogen* (Mapuche way of living), 55

## B

- Basic human rights, 69
- Bilingual Mapudungun-Castilian materials, 33

## C

- Capitalisation–mercantilisation, 129
- Capitalism, 107
- Capitalist economy, 110
- Carahue Lower Court, 68
- Chilean culture, 43
- Chilean ethnography and autoethnography
  - aspects, 30
  - caveats*, 29

- Chilean ethnography and  
 autoethnography (*cont.*)  
 colonial translation research, 30  
 cultural studies, 31  
 culture-language, 29  
 discourse, 30  
 historiographical/mythical data, 29  
 implicit argumentative character, 31  
 indigenous languages, 28  
 interstitial spaces, 32  
 language/discursive styles, 31  
 Latin-American context, 29  
 linguistic and aesthetic codes, 31  
 literate city, 30  
*mestizaje* paradigm, 31  
 non-alphabetic scriptural systems, 31  
 predominant *ethos*, 29  
 providentialist and universalist spirit, 31  
 scriptural modes, 31  
 translation path, 29  
 translation strategies, 29
- Chilean immigration policy, 3
- Chilean justice system, 63
- Chilean legal culture, 70
- Chilean nationalism study, 27
- Chilean readers, 43
- Chilean society  
 democratisation, 104, 113
- Civilisation  
 agricultural modernisation, 12, 13  
 aptitude differences, 14  
 climates/growing conditions, 13  
 contradictory nature, 13  
 development, indigenous land, 10  
 ethnographic groups, 22  
 financial resources, 19  
 forced isolation, 15  
 immigration, 10, 11  
 indigenous peoples, 11  
 large-scale immigration policy, 20  
 liberal progress, 11  
 mixed immigration, 22  
 modernised agriculture, 11  
 national embarrassment, 20  
 nationalist republican perspective, 13  
 occupation, 10  
 race-based social evolutionism, 11  
 rivers, 10  
 rural colonies, 20  
 settlers influence, 14, 15  
 society, 16  
 systematic theories, 13
- Civilized Araucanians, 42
- Coercion, 55
- Collateral damage, 104
- Colonial contexts translation, 48
- Colonial society, 23
- Colonial violence, 117
- Colonising zeal, 131
- Community, 80
- Community's authorities and institutions, 69
- Community's political leader (*the lonko*), 68
- Comparative philosophy, 103
- Compensation agreements, 54, 69–71
- Conceptualisations, 126
- Constitutional recognition, 112
- Contemporary pluralism, 130–132
- Contingency, 133
- Countryside, 83, 84
- Critical discourse analysis, 92
- Critical interculturality  
 and contemporary pluralism, 130–132  
*death* of, 130  
 inevitable, 132–134  
 problematisation, 123–124
- Crystallisation, 54
- Cultisms, 46
- Cultural defence, Chile  
 anthropological argument, 66  
 anthropological experts, 66  
 argument, 65  
 criminal law, 67  
 criminal procedures, 66  
 institutional development, 65  
 intercultural dimension, 66  
 international norms, 65  
 lawyers and facilitators, 65  
 legal controversy, 67  
 legal decisions, 67  
 Mapuche people, 65  
 neutrality and objectivity, 66
- Cultural diversity, 123, 125
- Cultural impartiality, 55
- Cultural transformations, 115
- D**
- Daniel Quilaqueo's contribution, 55
- Decontextualisation, 124
- Defensoría Penal Mapuche* compensation  
 agreement, 68
- De-historicisation, 71
- Democracy  
 concept, 105  
 contexts and asymmetric historical  
 processes, 110

- and ethnic conflicts, 116
  - extractivist capitalism, 110
  - Latin American, 109
  - in Mexico, 109
  - multicultural society, 110
  - neoliberal conception, 112
  - political solution, 111
  - politico-cultural contexts, 110
  - problems and limitations, 110
  - states and indigenous peoples, 110
  - symmetry and asymmetry, 110
  - Demographic deficit, 16
  - Difference-producing mechanisms, 62
  - Differentiated cultural rights, 54
  - Differentiated practices, 53
  - Discourse types, 92, 97
  - Disciplinary field/approach, 127
  - Domestic violence, 59
  - Domestications, 125
  - Dual educational rationality, 55, 56
- E**
- Economic and cultural resources, 116
  - Economic and political life, 104
  - Economic rationalism
    - rules and structures, 113
  - Economic rationality, 114
  - Enlightenment tradition, 140
  - Essentialising culture, 134
  - Estudios Araucanos*, 34, 40
  - Ethico-political power, 123
  - Ethico-political requirement, 105
  - Ethnic nationalism, 27
  - Ethno-and androcentric *logos*, 106
  - Ethnographic discourse, 30
  - Ethnographic groups, 22
  - Ethnographic imbalance, 21
  - Ethnographic practices, 124
  - Ethnography, 124, 129
  - Ethnophilosophy, 103
  - European immigration, 9, 14, 15, 20, 23
  - Evolutionism, 23
  - Extractivist capitalism, 110
- F**
- Family home, 81, 82
  - Family violence, 60
  - Femicide, 64
  - Fernando Wittig's analysis, 55
  - Flow, concept of, 130
  - Free translation of Manquilef, 44
- G**
- Globalised economy, 118
- H**
- Historiographical production, 30, 32
  - Homogenising national project, 117
  - Homogenising policies, 111
  - Human Rights Report, 111
- I**
- ILO Convention No. 169, 60, 61, 65, 69
  - Immigration
    - agricultural modernisation, 17
    - Araucania, 5
    - Arauco question, 17
    - demographic deficit, 16
    - empirical data, 16
    - hierarchy, 18
    - ideology, 16
    - intensive production, 17
    - liberalism, 3
    - national sovereignty, 16
    - non-latifundia model, 17
    - population, 16
    - progress and productivity, 17
  - Immigration policy, 10
  - Imperial expansionism, 129
  - Independent juridicity, 61, 71
  - Independent law, 64
  - Independent Mapuche law, 67, 68
  - Independent Mapuche norms, 54
  - Indigenous community, 60
  - Indigenous culture, 33
  - Indigenous jurisdiction, 61
  - Indigenous language, 43
  - Indigenous movement, 61
  - Indigenous peoples
    - asymmetries, 72
    - contemporary Mapuche society, 64
    - historical dispossession, 62
    - jurisdiction, 62
    - Mapuche, 62
    - rights, 59, 61, 70
    - social world, 61
  - Indigenous residence hall, 82, 86
  - Indigenous rights, 71
  - Indomitable Araucania, 40
  - Inevitable, 132–134
  - Infantilising, 54
  - Institutional strategies, 123
  - Institutionalisation, 125

- Intellectual production, 7  
 Intercultural coexistence, 53  
 Intercultural constitution, 56  
 Intercultural democracy, 105, 114  
 Intercultural philosophy, 140  
 Intercultural studies  
   characterisation, 103  
   contextual justice, 105  
   ethnophilosophy, 103  
   functional interculturality, 104  
   orientalism, 103  
   political science, 104  
   polylogic model, 103  
   polylogic practice, 105  
   polylogism, 103  
   problems, 104  
   recognition, 106  
   solidarity and language, 106  
   theoretical and practical value, 105  
   theoretical depth and political feasibility, 104  
 Interculturalisation, 54, 56, 132, 133  
 Interculturalism, 109  
 Interculturality, 53, 56  
   and anthropology, 124–126  
   proliferation, 125  
   reification, 107  
 Interdependence, 133  
 Interethnic territories, 110  
 Interexistence, 53  
 Interlegality, 55  
 Inter-legality disputes, 61, 64  
 International Labour Organization (ILO), 60  
 Internet, 89  
 Intra-family violence, 68
- K**  
*Komikelu*, 46  
*Küme Mongen*, 111
- L**  
 Language acquisition, 76  
 Language socialisation, 55, 76  
 Latin American societies, 114  
 Le Bonniec's analysis  
   disputes settlements, 55  
   domestic violence allegations, 54  
   infantilising, 54  
   interlegality, 55  
   legal cultures, 54  
   legal pluralism, 54  
   recognition requirements, 54  
 Leeches (*pirhuin*), 46  
 Legal and cultural monism, 61  
 Legal cultures, 54  
 Legal pluralism, 72  
 Legitimate Araucanian, 41  
 Levi-Straussian obsessive compulsion, 127  
 Liberal progress, 11  
 Liberalism, 3  
 Linguistic autonomy, 55  
 Linguistic community, 42  
 Linguistic-cultural mediation, 141  
 Linguisticity, 139, 142  
   and dialogue, 106  
 Linguistic socialisation, 56
- M**  
*machi* (medicine man/woman), 56  
 Macro social processes, 75  
 Manuel Manquilef  
   autoethnographies, 33, 36, 44, 47  
   Chilean reader, 44  
   *Comentarios I*, 44  
   *Comentarios II*, 43  
   emotionality and subjectivity, 45  
   indigenous culture, 33  
   *La faz social*, 36  
   learned expressions, 46  
   literary stylization strategies, 44  
   metadiscursive effects, 48  
   non-textual characteristics, 46  
   paratextual apparatus, 39  
   post facto remarks and intrusions, 41  
   program, 36  
   representation, 47  
   revitalization, 47  
   scientific scenography, 48  
   translation, 28, 36, 48  
   truth and verisimilitude, 41  
 Mapuche, 4, 6, 7  
   antiquities, 36  
   autoethnographic stories, 33  
   autoethnographies, 28, 49  
   cacique, 36  
   Chilean common reader, 36  
   civilization and material, 34  
   communities, 119  
   conflict, 104  
   contemporary Chilean works, 36  
   continuum, 35  
   culture, 33, 34, 47  
   culture and history, 44

- dual educational rationality, 55
- games and physical activities, 44
- grammar, 46
- historic processes, 53
- indigenous informants, Spanish stories, 34
- inhabitants, 70
- institutions and organisations, 112
- kimvn/knowledge*, 56
- Küme Mongen*, 104
- language, 34, 36
- language and translation, 33
- mayors, 111
- missionaries, 32
- movements, 111
- national motto, 62
- national pride, 37
- people, 28
- population, 62
- racism and prejudice, 37
- readership, 44
- social and intellectual context, 34
- stories, 32
- studies and pioneers, 34
- Mapuche and Spanish, 39
- Mapuche conflict
  - agreements, 63
  - Araucanian warriors, 62
  - colonisation and assimilation processes, 64
  - criticism, 64
  - El Mercurio*, 63
  - media coverage, 63
  - monocultural principles, 62
  - offences/crimes, 64
  - physical integrity violation, 64
  - traditional structures, 63
- Mapuche defendants, 70
- Mapuche education
  - categories, 92
  - classification of orality, 90
  - communities of Argentina, 91
  - conversations types, 91
  - in the cultural context, 89
  - exceptional memory, 91
  - nütram*, 93–94
  - oral language, 90
  - oratory/oratory, 91
  - participants, 92
  - pentukun/pentukuwün, 94–95
  - piam/piamtun, 96–97
  - qualitative methodology, 92
  - semi-structured interviews, 92
  - ülkantun*, 95–96
- Mapuche language, 5, 78, 81, 86
- Mapuche movement, 117, 118
- Mapuche socio-educational model, 78
- Mapuche young people
  - administrative region, 77
  - age group variable, 77
  - city, 84
  - codebook, 79
  - coding, 79
  - community, 80
  - conceptual category, 79
  - countryside, 83, 84
  - family home, 81, 82
  - grounded theory, 76
  - indigenous residence hall, 82
  - Mapuche language, 77, 78
  - Mapuzugun, 76–78
  - meaningful spaces, 79
  - mixed/qualitative approach, 77
  - primary sources, 79
  - purposive sampling techniques, 77
  - research methods, 79
  - school, 80, 81
  - social vs. sociolinguistic variables, 77
  - sociolinguistic approaches, 78
  - spatial dimension, 77, 78
  - university, 83
  - urban migration, 78
- Mapudungun language
  - Chilean colonial history, 33
  - contextualizations, 46
  - defenders, 47
  - ethnographic enclosure, 28
  - explanatory paraphrases, 39
  - literary, 44
  - morphosyntactic structures, 35
  - polis*, 48
  - right to citizenship, 47
  - translation, 28, 46
  - use, 44
- Mapudungun's poverty of expression, 45
- Mapuzugun, 77, 78, 80, 81, 86
- Meaningful spaces
  - ambivalent space, 85
  - city, 85
  - family of codes, 84, 85
  - Mapuzugun, 85
  - negative spaces, 85
  - physical spaces, 76
  - socialisation, Mapuzugun, 79
  - university, 85
- Mediaeval colonialism, 12
- Mediation, 139
- Mercurio's* readership, 64

- mestizaje* paradigm, 31  
 Mobility, 130, 131  
 Modern communication systems, 89  
 Monolingualism, 48  
 Morality, 123  
 Movements, 131  
 Multiculturalism, 71, 107  
 Multicultural society, 110  
 Multiculturalist legal references, 132  
 Multiple conflict zones, 56
- N**  
 Narratives, 49  
 National Agricultural Society, 16  
 National Women's Service (SERNAM), 61  
 Nationalism, 6, 27  
 Native culture and language, 43  
 Neoliberal economic model, 114  
 Non-alphabetic scriptural systems, 31  
 Non-indigenous academic reader, 46  
 Non-intercultural programme, 128  
 Non-Mapuche intellectuals, 33  
 Non-transformative movements, 131  
 Normative plane, 131  
 Nuestra América, 103–107  
 Nuestroamericana, 105  
*Nüttram*, 93–94
- O**  
 Objectifications, 55  
 Operative concept, 105  
 Orality  
   classification, 90  
   social value, 90  
   societies, 90  
 Oral language, 90, 92  
 Oral social memory, 90  
 Oratory, 91  
 Otherness, 124, 127, 134
- P**  
 Paratextual apparatus, *Comentarios I*  
   assimilation, 41  
   biographical presentation, 39, 40  
   dedications, 40  
   *Estudios Araucanos*, 41  
   Manquilef introduction, 40  
   natural knowledge, 39  
   preface, 39  
   publication, 40  
   tensions and complexities, 39  
 Paratextual apparatus, *Comentarios II*  
   arguments, 42  
   dynamic equivalence, 42  
   interlineal versions, 42  
   *La gimnasia nacional*, 42  
   privileged space, 42  
 Patriarchal culture and community, 64  
 Pentukun/pentukuwün, 94–95  
 Piam/piamtun, 96–97  
 Philosophical references, 124  
 Pious hypocrisy, 71  
 Policies of recognition, 54  
 Political science, 104  
 Politico-institutional action, 128  
 Politics  
   and academia, 123  
 Polylogic practice, 105  
 Polylogism, 107  
 Positivism, 4, 23  
 Post-dictatorship Chilean society, 104  
 Post-dictatorship democratic process, 117  
 Prescriptive models, 125  
 Problematisation, 123–124, 137–139  
 Protective measure, 60  
*pu kimche*, 55  
 Public policy, 130  
 Public subsidy, 60
- Q**  
 Qualitative analysis methods, 87  
 Quantitative methods, 75
- R**  
 Race-based social evolutionism, 11  
 Radicalisation, 4  
 Rationalities  
   of state-sponsored development  
   projects, 114  
   type, 114  
*Raza Chilena*, 44  
*Raza Chilena* by Nicolás Palacios (Extract), 37  
 Readership and translation practices, 45  
 Recognition  
   facilitate processes, 144  
   Hegelian concept, 143–144  
   and language, 139  
   and love, 144  
 Reflexivities, 56  
 Relativism, 62  
 Rodolfo Lenz, 34

Rural colonisation policy, 9  
 Rural–urban migration, 82

## S

School, 80, 81  
 Scriptural modes, 31  
 Self-governance  
   capacity, 115  
 Self-identification, 69  
 Self-legitimation, 71  
 Self-stigmatisation, 82  
 Settlers, 3, 13  
 Social activities, 86  
 Social actors, 76  
 Social bilingualism, 76  
 Social conflicts, 130  
 Social diversity, 123, 125  
 Social economy, 110  
 Social interaction, 84  
 Social intervention, 129  
 Socialisation  
   Mapuzugun, 78–80  
   meaningful spaces, 86  
   observable practices, 76  
   physical spaces, 87  
   university, 83  
 Social justice, 109  
 Social memory, 89, 90, 97  
 Socio-agricultural production, 115  
 Socioeconomic and political field, 110  
 Sociedad del Folklore Chileno, 39  
 Sociocultural transformations, 124  
 Socio-ethnic ordering, 23  
 Sociolinguistic variables, 77  
 Sociopolitical models, 134  
 Socio-political realities, 48  
 Sociopolitical system, 123

## Solidarity

  and language, 106, 143–146  
 Spanish text intelligibility, 35  
 Spoken language, 90  
 Stereotype cultural difference, 70  
 Stigmatisation, 82  
 Structural inequality, 119  
 Subsistence economies, 115  
 Sui generis, 129  
 Sustainable development, 125  
 Symbolic violence principle, 71  
 Symmetric intra-and extra-ethnic  
   dialogue, 114

## T

Terrorist Indians, 71  
*Topoi*, 27  
*Topos*, 40  
 Traditional authorities, 71  
 Traditional discursive genres, 56  
 Transdisciplinary programmes, 126  
 Translatability, 106  
 Translation, 43, 132, 133  
*Trarilonko*, 46  
 Travelling, 133

## U

*Ülkantun*, 95–96  
 Unacceptable politicisation, 54  
 Universalisation, 71  
 Universalism, 62  
 University, 83

## Z

zapiluwün/learning failing, 56