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**Bearing Culture and Weaving Policy:  
Chilean Cultural Policies and Creatives in Araucanía**

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**Bearing Culture and Weaving Policy:  
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## **Dedication**

Dedico este trabajo a la gente de Wallmapu. Wallmapu nunca dejará de florecer en mis pensamientos. A mis padres Asela y Sean por animarme y mostrarme la belleza de las artes. Con su amor me han permitido llegar a cumplir un sueño más. A toda mi familia, especialmente le dedico a mis abuelos, a Chela en particular por compartir sus cariños y mostrarme cómo ser fuerte. A mis hermanas bellas porque me dan vida y las amo infinitamente. A mi Tío, siento que estás conmigo siempre y estoy muy agradecida de que hayas venido a visitarme en Chile. A mi Tato, nos faltaron muchas cosas por vivir juntos, sé que este momento hubiera sido tan especial para ti como lo es para mí. A mis mejores amigos por el apoyo. Y a mi pareja, Jaime, por extender su mano en momentos difíciles.

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## **Abstract**

### **Bearing Culture and Weaving Policy: Chilean Cultural Policies and Creatives in Araucanía**

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Based on mixed methods research in policy analysis and ethnographies with indigenous artists, activists, and academics in the Araucanía Region in Chile, this work aims to review the multifaceted process in establishing the country's first Ministry of Cultures, the Arts, and Heritage in 2018. The government's decentralized approach to drafting the bill invited indigenous peoples from all regions to participate in the cultural policy making process. This work explores the limitations of cultural policies to represent the indigenous peoples in Chile who still do not have recognition in the constitution. As long as the extension of cultural democracy to indigenous peoples does not include human rights, the homogenous Chilean body politic will continue to marginalize and militarize indigenous territories. Understanding how a post-dictatorship Chile engages with cultural policy by way of neoliberal multiculturalism presents complex issues for the realization of indigenous rights. Juxtaposing cultural participation methods and conversations with indigenous creatives, this research highlights the underlying conditions in its democratic culture that prevent the creation of a plurinational state and true progress toward a democratic culture.

## Table of Contents

List of Tables .....	viii
List of Figures .....	ix
Chapter 1: Executive Summary .....	1
Colonized Identities .....	3
Neoliberalism and its Cultural Consequences .....	9
Social Development.....	13
Chapter 2: Significance of Cultural Policies & Institutionalization of Culture .....	21
Engaging Indigenous Methodologies and Radical Alterity.....	30
Consulta Previa.....	37
Dialogo de las Culturas.....	41
Creation of DEPO .....	48
National Synthesis of the Programa de Fomento y Difusión.....	50
Establishment of the Ministry of Cultures.....	54
Chapter 3: Case Study - Región de La Araucanía .....	56
Regional Cultural Policy - La Araucanía 2017-2022 .....	65
Conversations with Creatives in Araucanía.....	72
El arte nos mantiene vivo.....	74
Los puentes para una sociedad intercultural .....	80
Con la palabra de mis antepasados refugiada en mi alma .....	83
Voy a morir con este conocimiento .....	85
Chapter 4: Conclusion.....	89
References.....	97

## List of Tables

Table 1. Overview of National participation in the Programa de Fomento y Difusión (Ministerio de la Culturas, las Artes y el Patrimonio, 2018) .....	51
Table 2. Overview of regional participation in the Programa de Fomento y Difusión 2016- 2017 in the Araucanía (Ministerio de la Culturas, las Artes y el Patrimonio, 2018) .....	62

## List of Figures

Figure 1. Marketing graphic to announce the enactment of law that creates the Ministry of Cultures (Gobierno de Chile, 2017).....	7
Figure 2. Municipal distribution of Regional Access Program activities in La Araucanía (Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes, 2018).....	58
Figure 3. Number of activities carried out in 2016 by the Regional Access program in the region of La Araucanía, by municipality and component (Consejo de la Cultura y las Artes, 2018).....	70
Figure 4. Studio visit with Eduardo Rapimán.....	74
Figure 5. Autonomous Mapuche cultural center in Villarrica .....	88
Figure 6. Mapuche warrior ( <i>toqui</i> ) Caupolicán with Mapuche flag and the head of Chilean military pilot, Dagoberto Godoy, decapitated during protests in Temuco. (Anonymous) .....	94

## Chapter 1: Executive Summary

The streets of Chile rumbled with chants of *No son 30 pesos, son 30 años*, in what became known as *Chile despertó*. Initially a protest to an increased metro fare of 30 pesos in Santiago, the mobilizations broadened in scope to express overall disapproval of President Piñera and the neoliberal model that governs quotidian life. Beginning October 18<sup>th</sup> of 2019, sustained mobilizations erupted across the country to detest decades of compounding discontent since the dictatorship. *No son 30 pesos, son 500 años* echoed among indigenous peoples, reprimanding 500 years of colonial injustices that extend far beyond a protest of the government's shortcomings since the transition to democracy. Indigenous populations utilized this momentum as a platform to bring forward their own grievances, not only discontent with the Chilean government, but also centuries of colonial powers (Spanish, French, Italian, German, and Swiss) and the imposition of settlements on indigenous territories. This distinct anti-colonial message emphasizes the mistreatment of indigenous peoples that long predates the dictatorship. At the heart of their demands is a call for constitutional recognition and the construction of a plurinational state. These mobilizations, in solidarity with Chilean civil society, endorse the need for an entirely new constitution, one that recognizes the various indigenous nations and afro-descendent communities living in Chile. Economic, social, and cultural development initiatives will not appease the peoples' demand for structural overhaul as they carry the words *Nueva Constitución o Nada*.

Chile is the only country in Latin America that does not recognize indigenous populations in its constitution, one that overtly omits indigenous identities, 10% of the nation's population, from the body politic. In years since the dictatorship, the government not only failed to recognize the country's diversity, but also perpetuated systemic racism in union with elite enterprises. The return of right-wing leadership, with Sebastian Piñera's second promotion to the presidency in 2018, ushered in an administration that sought to implement initiatives that would adversely affect indigenous populations. Piñera's campaign promoted a stronger stance against indigeneity than in his first presidency, by further criminalizing indigenous resistance in his electoral promises to

refine the Anti-Terror Law, enacted during the Pinochet dictatorship. The forceful actions of militarized occupations on ancestral territories force indigenous communities to sustain manifestations and hunger strikes, as they condemn the historical origins of racial domination and the political economy that continues to benefit from it.

Just days prior to Piñera's inauguration, the Bachelet administration's bill to establish the Ministry of Cultures, the Arts, and Heritage came into effect in March of 2018. The creation of the bill engaged new democratic methods for the cultural policy-making process to be decentralized and include participation from indigenous communities across every region. During an era in which Chile's government consciously addressed concepts such as nation-building, memory, and healing in an attempt to move forward from its authoritarian history, cultural growth played an essential role in the collective identity of the population. The government, at once, opened new avenues of participation and representation for indigenous cultures, while also attempting to assimilate indigenous peoples into a state that does not recognize them under Pinochet's 1980 constitution. These populist methods, despite their democratic intentions, are still top-down policies that reproduce racial hierarchies for vulnerable populations. As the government adopted international human rights standards, they used sociocultural representations of indigenous peoples in a performative strategy to advance neoliberal multiculturalism. This contradictory extension of limited political agency provided indigenous communities opportunities to participate in cultural democracy and welfare policies, accompanied by state violence. Chile's recognition of indigenous cultures, under the guise of nation-building tactics, helps promote a plurinational reputation on the international stage, while maintaining structural racism and inequality.

This research juxtaposes cultural policy and political culture to assess the development of neoliberal multiculturalism and indigenous rights in contemporary Chile. I make meaning of the government's strategies for engaging in cultural democracy by way of extending cultural representation, participation within cultural institutions, and the implementation of cultural rights for indigenous peoples in a post-dictatorship state. I take into consideration the value of public culture for the identity of the state and its body politic, emphasizing the historic marginalization

of indigenous cultures, to demonstrate these complexities of social development in Chile. Chile's democracy, reliant on neoliberal multiculturalism, grants limited political agency to marginalized peoples by limiting them to participatory politics and representation within cultural institutions. As long as the extension of cultural democracy to indigenous peoples does not include human rights, the homogenous Chilean body politic will perpetuate the racial domination preventing a plurinational state and true progress toward a democratic culture.

### **COLONIZED IDENTITIES**

Referencing concepts by Kevin Mulcahy, an interdisciplinary political scientist, I discuss elements of cultural identity and policy within a sociopolitical and historical framework to digest the consequences of coloniality and the shifting guile of institutional powers. Theories from Mulcahy's book *Public Culture, Cultural Identity, Cultural Policy* frame the related arguments on the complexity of politics and identity in a post-dictatorship state. I aim to highlight the importance of understanding Chile's transition to democracy through a comparative analysis of public cultures and identities. The distinguishing characteristic of cultural policy in countries characterized by a legacy of coloniality is the importance of the issue of identity and the politics that are involved in formulating its definition. The construction of cultural policies reflects different economic, political, and social structures of society, which allow us to identify the trials that Chile faces in establishing a democratic culture.

To contextualize the relationship between indigenous rights and democracy, the subsequent history of Chile's largest ethnic group, the Mapuche peoples, meaning 'people of the land,' at the genesis of the Chilean State provides insight into the centuries of legislation imposed upon them. Though the narrative of natives commences long before the arrival of the Spanish crown, this contact instigates the first of many political impositions. Early recognition of the Mapuche Nation arose in the form of the Treaty of Quilin in 1641, which "recognized Araucanía" as Mapuche territory, and in 1726, Mapuche sovereignty was endorsed in fact and in law by Spain (Tricot, 2007). These initial political recognitions initiate marginalizing language that would

eventually designate these populations outside the hierarchy of the colonists' power, in a position of the subaltern, to use Antonio Gramsci's term for a marginalized social group that has limited access to the cultural hegemony (1971).

With independence from Spain in the early nineteenth century and the creation of the Chilean nation-state, the new government forged plans to expand the national territory south. The occupation of Wallmapu, ancestral territory of the Mapuche people and nation, ultimately resulted in a reduction of the territory by 20 million hectares, down to a third of its original span. This land grab comprised of what is known as Araucanía, a region that expands from the Bío-Bío to the Toltén Rivers. As with other narratives of conquest, the various ethnic groups that inhabited the region fell victim to assimilation into the nation-state. These inhabitants of the region, deemed "barbaric Indians," were the Mapuche, of which some groups supported the government's expansionist goals, and the rest resisted the state's territorial conquering of their lands (Herr, 2014). From this point forward, the Chilean nation-state proposed and implemented indigenous policies intending to assimilate these groups. This marginal integration into society was issued in with the 1819 decree by Supreme Director Bernardo O'Higgins, initiating that natives will be called, "ciudadanos chilenos, y libres como los demás habitantes del estado concurriendo por sí mismos a la celebración de toda clase de contratos..." (Tricot, 2007, p. 44). Though the will to ignore racial and ethnic differences appears present, this decree denied the indigenous communities a basis in which to separate themselves from the dominant Chilean culture. Belief in a unitary state only allowed for the recognition of one hegemonic cultural community confined by a certain territory, leaving no possibility for cultural diversity. An era of assimilationist laws and military occupation unfolded, which would remain all too familiar for the region through present-day.

Military invasion of a region claimed by the Chilean army in 1881, embedded Chilean racism into the structures of domination. The state referred to this territorial expansion as the Conquest of the Desert and Pacification of Araucanía (Tricot, 2007). The racist characterization of the confrontation initiated the dispensable perception of a people whose territorial, cultural, social, and economic devastation still plagues the region today. This merciless destruction of a

peoples, commenced by the army, would be perpetuated by the whole legal-political structure later. The Mapuche were from this point on, formally Chilean, but without the rights to their identity. The objective of indigenous legislation strived to coerce the assimilation of these peoples, politically and territorially. Subjugation of the Mapuche people by the Chilean state would continue through dominance and assimilation, whether through legislation, violence, or both. Despite this struggle, theirs is not a history of defeat, but rather one of perseverance, resistance, and activism for a future of dignity and equality.

Looking to the symbolism of Max Weber interpreted by cultural anthropologist Clifford Geertz, “man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs” (Geertz, 1973). If our identity is intimately tied to the cultural significance of the webs around us, what prevents our entire existence from being wiped by the next predator or natural disaster? In a similar manner, culture is precarious in nature and dependent upon those who reinforce and preserve it by weaving policy into its delicate fibers. I interpret the strained dynamics between the Mapuche Nation and Chilean identity as an incredibly complex web that is, in many ways, more complex than instances of postcolonialism for others in the region. The domination of Chilean social development by the Pinochet dictatorship offers a lens through which to understand the current limitations in place that prevent the implementation of democratic solutions for sociocultural development. Economic, social, and cultural rights in the post-dictatorship era remain distinctly defined by the market reforms that transformed government legislation and, ultimately, the reputation of Chile as an early guinea pig of neoliberalism. Embedded in critical race theory, I use a framework of neoliberal multiculturalism, as discussed in works by Richards, Hale, Postero, and Pizarro, to analyze the intercultural policies proposed to augment the representation and protection of indigenous heritage.

Patricia Richards’ work specifically considers the production of this notion in regard to the construction of “Mapuche Indians” by the State and local elite of Chile. Shaped by transnational and national priorities, the state implemented a defamatory construction of Mapuche populations to mark them as terrorists, a definition that remains parallel to the creation of interculturalist

policies. In a critique of these top-down processes, Richards argues, “the rationale behind neoliberal multiculturalism is less about changing racial hierarchies than it is about creating self-governing indigenous subjects that will not challenge the political-economic goals of the state,” (Richards, 2010, p. 59). As the local elite fed into the terrorist labeling, they also refused to consent to multicultural values. This trend in the dominant racial hierarchies, which empowers an elite class that has deliberately dissociated with indigenous culture, created immense hurdles for cultural activists to overcome. Richards’ theories offer a helpful guiding lens through which to hypothesize the possible intentions for the recent Ministry of Cultures’ priorities to create indigenous representatives that can operate within the government’s goals.

Hale’s theories on neoliberal multiculturalism serve as an important framework to understand how the indigenous cultures, in tandem with state policy, perpetuate Chile’s marketization. His work helps explain how such discourses in controlling the integration of indigenous heritage maintains elite in their position at the top of the local hierarchy and does little to distance the ministry from the neoliberal multiculturalism that takes place across Chile. Pizarro’s “Chilean Exceptionalism” reiterates the elitist oriented discussions by framing top-down influence in the state by its strong institutions that dedicate themselves to forging trust between government and civilians. Government initiatives such as Bachelet’s *Chile Mejor* publicity campaign provided a channel where Chileans who have benefited from the administration’s changes could publish a testimony. The administration used this platform to promote its pride in the creation of the Ministry of Cultures, advertising the process toward a more democratic culture for a pluricultural society. Playful and hopeful aspirations for *Chile Mejor*, as depicted by the marketing graphic in Figure 1, reinforce Pizarro’s notion of elitist messaging to forge trust between the state and its peoples. The colorful and diverse depiction of society under a Ministry of Cultures crafted a message that the administration did dream of Chile indeed to become an inclusive multicultural state, accepting marginalized communities as part of the nation’s identity. Institutional marketing is a pertinent example of Pizarro’s explanation of elite power and institutional influence to permeate society through seemingly altruistic communication strategies.

Although, understanding the history of political and cultural subjugation that has marginalized indigenous communities from the Chilean body politic, questions of representation through policy come to mind. Can indigenous participation and representation through innovations in cultural policies lead to cultural rights? Could the participatory methods used for cultural rights provide a guiding framework toward human rights? Are indigenous rights compatible with human rights? I am proposing to gauge the government's role in regulating culture, and therefore cultural rights, based on the lived experiences of indigenous creatives.



Figure 1. Marketing graphic to announce the enactment of law that creates the Ministry of Cultures (Gobierno de Chile, 2017)

I unpack the state's instrumental objectives through a critical lens that takes into consideration the lingering ramifications of the policy imposed under the dictatorship era. I seek to qualify the significance of the new Ministry of Cultures, established in 2018, as it pertains to the sociocultural recognition of indigenous peoples. Chilean society expresses faith in this new branch of government to advance and preserve the national identity and heritage at the degree it deserves, but marginalized communities have more at stake with the risk of exploitation and unfulfilled demands.

In an attempt to better understand how the institutionalization of culture affects communities, this work relies on mixed methods research, specifically an exploratory sequential design. This type of research design involves confirm and discover tactics, using qualitative data from my fieldwork to generate hypotheses, and using quantitative research on cultural institutions to test the hypotheses within a single project (Schoonenboom & Johnson, 2017). Exploring my own interpretations from conversations among Mapuche community members, then observing the impact of cultural policies that present themselves available within the first two years of the ministry's existence, will test my assumptions on the sociological manifestations between the state and indigenous populations. Among these expectations is the belief that cultural projects will have underlying intentions to benefit market development, specifically ethnotourism, while subversively reproducing racial divisions.

Indigenous organizations bringing forward sociopolitical demands for representation face limitations as to which rights get addressed by the state as their participation is redirected to represent themselves culturally for and within the cultural institutions. Ultimately, indigenous peoples face cultural exploitation at the state's advantage as these institutions remake ancient racial hierarchies and perpetuate neoliberal policies in the name of heritage preservation. The arts are not without neoliberal motivations in Chile. Therefore, the Ministry of Cultures might only exacerbate the indigenous discontent and distrust of the state once their subaltern status in society is not expunged. The ministry is not encouraging a push toward cultural syncretism, nor is this a form of ideological assimilation, but rather an extension of ethnic citizenship. I assume the state aims to further oversee the administration of cultures, particularly of peoples they previously oppressed, overlooking cultural intellectual property rights, exploiting indigeneity for its "newness" in the consumer market, while claiming previously sacred land as ethnotouristic heritage sites and attempting to appease the resistance with cultural recognition and quasi-citizenship.

## NEOLIBERALISM AND ITS CULTURAL CONSEQUENCES

The 1975 shock treatment implemented by the right-wing economists, Milton Friedman and the Chicago Boys, convinced the authoritarian regime of Augusto Pinochet to implement an extreme free-market system of capitalism. This rapid implementation of new liberal reform occurred prior to and more severely than its implementation throughout other countries in Latin America. Despite the early neoliberal transformation in Chile, it was distinct from the experiences of other countries in the region. As was the case in most Latin American countries, these changes were accompanied by the implementation of multicultural reforms, “through which indigenous groups were recognized and encouraged to participate as citizens,” as described by Postero (2018), but Chile did not adopt such policies. Reasons for this can be attributed to the role of the dictatorship in the establishment of a national cultural identity defined by the powerful elite, as demonstrated by Pizarro’s “Chilean Exceptionalism.” The homogenous nature of Chile’s body politic erased indigenous populations (Richards 2013), dismissing the existence of multiplicity in the state’s identity.

The effects of neoliberalism were widespread and most notably felt in the form of extractive industries such as mining to the north, and forestry plantations in southern regions such as the Araucanía (Postero 2018). The region also experienced greater competition from foreign agricultural products affecting indigenous, especially Mapuche, communities, and small to medium-scale farmers. Neoliberal globalization also encouraged the incidence of foreign investors to the region (Liverman and Vilas 2006, 333). The effects of increased international trade as a result of the neoliberal policies drove an increase in exports that prompted the state to offer heavy subsidies to increase the production of the timber industry. Today, these timber companies own triple the amount of land than the Mapuche on their ancestral territory (Richards 2010). Referred to as the ‘foreignization of space,’ a transfer of the right to own or use the land from local communities to foreign investors through large-scale land acquisitions may be considered ‘new colonialism’ (Holmes 2014, 549). This ‘global land grab’ trend adheres to economic and political policies that advocate for the privatization of land for purposes of development such as economic

growth and the creation of jobs. “Left theorists argue that neoliberal processes are a new form of imperial or colonial control whereby new resources are assigned to private property... to support capital accumulation by powerful interests,” (Liverman and Vilas 2006, 333). The era of neocolonial tactics results in an imbalanced relationship between foreign investors and the land users’ limited control over the natural resources. These imbalances exacerbated the already notable discrepancies of inequality, as seen by the higher rates of poverty in regions such as Araucanía amongst indigenous populations. Neoliberal policies, in effect, took ownership of and extracted resources from ancestral lands, which gave rise to indigenous activists, consequently killed and disappeared in unjustly numbers by the dictatorship.

While green grabs and the exploitation of natural resources by foreign businesses jeopardized the security of rural populations and were the most emblematic of the neoliberal repercussions, citizens witnessed the downfall of a different part of society under neoliberalism, the arts. The cultural and ethnic cleansing initiated by the authoritarian regime of Augusto Pinochet, known as ‘operación limpieza’ terrorized, detained, and systematically disappeared thousands of people, including a number of prominent artists and purveyors of culture. Other actions included taking command of or closing cultural centers and government agencies. Even the largest museums in the country felt the repercussions of the dictatorship. The directors of the National Museum of Fine Arts and the Museum of Contemporary Art abandoned their positions, and the latter venue had to close. The Solidarity Museum also failed, and the Latin American Art Institute had to close due to the exile of its director. The systematic dismantling of metropolitan art institutions in Santiago led to a cultural vacuum for mainstream art spaces and the immediate reorganization of accessibility to the arts. The strict oversight of the arts led to highly censored and repressed artistic development with limited public accessibility.

Due to the lack of cultural support from the government, private companies took on the responsibility of promoting the arts. Private institutions and collectors had to ensure that the circulation of art and its values continued. Using the neoliberal model applied to the economy, a new market emerged around the consumption of art. Something that had always been the

responsibility of the state, through partnerships with universities, turned to private hands to stimulate cultural development. Functioning as a commodity driven sector, art ceased to be as widely accessible. Many new galleries opened in the upper-class neighborhoods of Santiago. Changes through commercialization of these spaces shifted arts purpose in society to “what combines with the curtains or the armchair” (Schilling, 2012). Across the cultural realm, this issue can be observed in the distribution of visual art consumption practices, which is a telling avenue to study cultural participation in Chilean society. There is an evident concentration of visual art consumption and artistic practices in groups with greater economic resources in Chilean society. Limitations for equitable citizen participation in cultural development are directly correlated to the neoliberal model. The state would eventually have to redefine its relationship to arts and culture in a way that adheres to the constraints of neoliberal markets.

This ideological and material force, one in which investors extract from the state and the working class, was a tool of class power used to reify the language of power and oppression. The economic elite utilized this tool to extract political concessions. Neoliberalism and the eventual globalization of the market had reduced the sovereignty of the state relative to capital. As stated by Klak, in regard to neoliberalism, “States are less autonomous, they have less exclusive control over the economic and social processes within their territories, and they are less able to maintain national distinctiveness and cultural homogeneity” (Klak, 1998, p. 33). To this point, the effects of globalization pose a threat to the cultural homogeneity defined by the urban elite’s hegemonic standards. Neoliberalism redefined the cultural landscape and political climate of Latin America by uprooting the economic habits of society. In response to this Western economic restructuring, a hegemonic political class came to dominate the climate of the Americas. This system does not take into account the beliefs or practices of other worldviews that existed on the lands before the economy’s newly planted seeds. Instead, indigenous societies are inadvertently domesticated by the system in their fight for social rights. The imposition of hegemony’s foreign roots call for radical indigenous social movements to gain the attention of the system without adhering to it, and

then politically reconfigure themselves through an autonomous discourse to supersede the system's pollination of compromise.

Consequences of the neoliberal market economy implemented in the decade of the seventies severely disadvantaged indigenous peoples, forced to adapt to authoritarian neoliberalism. Transnational and national priorities shaped official neoliberal multiculturalism, imposing its own definitions of acceptable diversity. Neoliberal multiculturalism in Chile is a top-down imposition through which the state's cultural interests are prioritized. These interests are often at odds by reinforcing the construction of Mapuche communities as a threat, while simultaneously promoting multicultural policies. Local elites contribute to the form that neoliberal multiculturalism takes on the ground by actively feeding into the terrorist construction while refusing to consent to multicultural values. Richards examines the production of neoliberal multiculturalism in Chile as well as ideas about race, ethnicity, and nation mobilized among local elites in the Chilean South.

Richards argues that the process of creating neoliberal multicultural citizens is not only imposed from above but also informed by local histories, attitudes, and social relationships. Richards discusses the specific form of neoliberal multiculturalism that arose in Chile, which reflects historical relationships between the state and the Mapuche. This form of neoliberalism could potentially respond to some indigenous demands if it were the case that they fit within the neoliberal development goals of the state. Given the local histories, specifically the conflicts in the Chilean South, these events shape the particular version of neoliberal multiculturalism, one that permeates from a central dominant policy arena. Altogether, understanding neoliberal multiculturalism depends on which social forces at each level reinforce, interact with and depart from one another. Richards elaborates on the difficulties in generating consent for multiculturalism by noting local elite resistance to such discourses. Memory and social dynamics influence reasons to reject multicultural development in an attempt to preserve their top status, "a position that is threatened by neoliberal globalisation as well as changing discourses about race and ethnicity" (Richards, 2010). Social change, in the case of the Araucanía, faces limited opportunities given

the region's history of cultural (material) disagreements. The validity of a movement is certainly not dependent upon the local elite, though this population is capable of repressing changes to racial and social hierarchies as the ones who have supplanted indigenous rights for hundreds of years.

In Chile, neoliberal multiculturalism has not been a force of change regarding dominant racial hierarchies. This is not a surprise as Richards (2010) has found that the reasoning for neoliberal multiculturalism has less to do with race; it is more so implemented to increase participation of indigenous subjects and appease their qualms with the state. Policies passed by the Chilean government reflect this rationale as the state prioritized its own economic development interests and extended cultural rights to subvert resistance and appease grievances against the government. Though more broadly, neoliberal multiculturalism serves to provide symbolic recognition with little redistributive properties. For example, rather than amending its constitution to formally recognize indigenous peoples, administrations of the early 2000's adopted international standards for indigenous rights. With limited accountability to enforce such standards, the Chilean nation-state still rather work to assimilate indigenous peoples into the body politic under the guise of a multicultural nation instead of addressing their demands for self-determination. The following section will provide more concrete examples of how the administrations since the dictatorship, namely of the center-left, have enacted social development policies to augment Chile's democratic culture.

## **SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT**

Following the end of the military dictatorship of General Augusto Pinochet and the return to formal representative democracy in 1990, Chile experienced an expansion of institutionalized politics, where the progressive reconstruction of citizen participation became a primary goal of civilian governments. The concept of citizen participation addresses different economic, political, and cultural institutions through which deliberate policy determines who will and will not engage with them. This overview explains the social reforms implemented across the state since the transition into re-democratization. What follows is a macro analysis of the social development

policies and citizen participation channels during the transition into democracy that led to the creation of indigenous policies and the eventual Ministry of Cultures.

At the time of writing, some democracies in Latin America struggle to adhere to their own constitutional democracy or have not severed all ties to constitutional reforms that occurred under authoritarian predecessors. Democratization in the region made it possible to implement social and cultural development institutions, given the economic circumstances through which they were realized. It could be stated that democracy has better-served citizens and consumers in urban populations, especially an upper middle class, though certainly not all citizens of the region benefit or are content with its results. Authoritarianism in the region was limited in its success due to the international economic pressures that defined a lasting impact on Latin America. Chile's authoritarian past ruled by a few militant technopols, influenced by an international political climate to establish a neoliberal trade market and privatize national resources, created a foundation for economic development unprecedented in the region. Despite this strong foundation, the regime imposed immense barriers for the transition to democracy. Just as democratization took hold in Chile, politicized inequality and market insecurity from the Asian Financial Crisis imposed yet another obstacle. Chile would not allow the region's traditional economic weakness to define its democracy and powered onward toward the commodity boom. I intend to underscore advancements in the establishment of institutions made in a post-authoritarian Chilean government, acknowledging the difficulties and limitations encountered in the process.

I intentionally refer to this government as *post-authoritarian Chile* in reference to the thought of Chilean sociologist, Manuel Antonio Garretón. He draws attention to the persistence of authoritarian influence in Chilean society that prevents the installation of a true democracy. I use Garretón's notion of *post-Pinochet society* and characterize the contemporary society as one that is still a 'post-dictatorship Chile.' This is important to understand the context of a nation that underwent a restricted transition to democracy in 1990 and did not realize full democracy until 2005 (Huber and Stephens, 2012). Though they no longer operate under an authoritarian regime, they have been unable to abandon the dictatorial legacy in their institutions, economic

development model, and social life. According to Garretón's proposal, Chilean society of this period is characterized by force held by non-democratic institutions, embodied in the authoritarian Constitution of 1980, which remains largely valid in its core aspects in the present day. This is most visible by the limitations for citizen participation, and above all, the maintenance of socio-economic inequality. Social inequality is a negative characteristic of the Chilean development model that prevents the complete democratization of the country and affects different social spheres. Limitations for citizen participation are directly correlated to this model. Though to some degree, the development model inherited from the authoritarian period finally accepted improvements for the sake of nation-building purposes and modernism.

Authoritarian governments of the continent designed constitutions to legitimize their longstanding rule and often negotiated with elite actors in alliances, factions, and interest groups during transitions to retain some degree of power or influence on democratization. While other countries engaged in plebiscitary means to eradicate these authoritarian institutions, Chile firmly adhered to constitutional democracy. A coalition of the center-left, specifically the Concertación party, maintained a remarkable degree of adherence considering the nondemocratic nature of Pinochet's constitution, the most difficult provisions to overcome being the appointment of designated senators to retain a majority of conservative seats and a disproportionate binomial electoral law (Levitsky and Roberts, 2011). In addition to the strict adherence to constitutional democracy, the Concertación was careful to appease business elites; they would not break from Pinochet's neoliberal model.

Mapuche activists hoped their efforts against the dictatorship would secure justice with subsequent governments under democracy, which turned out to be a marathon of the Concertación democratic government alliance, winning every presidential election from the end of the dictatorship in 1990 until Piñera won in 2010. The Concertación government did choose to leave behind methods of forceful assimilation, favoring the recognition of its indigenous populations (Postero, 2018). The first administration with Patricio Aylwin signed the Nueva Imperial Agreement, promising the party would "to elaborate a judicial framework that would work in favor

of indigenous people; recognize indigenous people in the constitution; and ratify the International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention No. 169, thus adopting international protections and recognitions into national law” (Postero, 2018). Though Aylwin’s administration only directly addressed one of those goals, it did set a precedent for the party’s platform as one that would eventually continue to discuss and develop ideas from the Nueva Imperial agreement. Aylwin’s administration signed a decree to create a Special Commission on Indigenous Peoples (1990-95), which presented a report with three recommendations: reform the constitution to include indigenous peoples, ratify the ILO Convention No. 169, and create an Indigenous Law. This report provided the intellectual framework for Aylwin’s administration to elaborate on the judicial framework they envisioned in the agreement.

In October of 1993, the enactment of indigenous law No. 19.253 was declared, which recognized all indigenous peoples of Chile as part of the nation (Muñoz, 1999). To administer this law and other policies, this provision also created CONADI (Corporación Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena). This agency would oversee the enforcement of stipulations under the law, which called for the protection and expansion of land and water rights, meaning that indigenous land could not be sold to non-indigenous parties. A fund was also established under this provision that would provide government subsidies for the purpose of enabling indigenous populations to purchase additional land or to allow for the acquisition of lands in the conflict. This law declares that qualifying indigenous lands are only those granted by the state to the indigenous after the Occupation of the Araucanía (1861-1883), excluding the ancestral territories taken previously (Muñoz 1999). The implementation of this law and the agency did not alleviate the heightened tensions between private entities, the state, and indigenous communities. Furthermore, the party did not ratify the ILO until 2008 and still has yet to recognize indigenous people in a constitutional reform, even two decades into the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Failure to enact all three recommendations of the Special Commission on Indigenous Peoples stems from a continued prioritization by the government to defend its 1980 constitution.

Adhering to Pinochet's constitutional protocols and neoliberal model, a long battle with the conservative opposition on amendment proposals through the legislative process was finally approved by Congress in 2005 (Levitsky and Roberts, 2011), achieving the status of full democracy. This strict adherence to liberal democratic protocols established a legacy and a certain extent of trust in the Left by proving the power of relentless democratic efforts to embed reform in an undemocratic constitution. In addition to the strict adherence to constitutional democracy, the Concertación was careful to appease business elites and would not break from Pinochet's neoliberal model. Socialist leaders were able to de-Leninize their historical attraction to seizing the means of production, largely due to realizations made during exile, and opened their minds to foreign trade and investment. While maintaining a close adherence to the Washington consensus, the new government in Chile was able to finance health and education with a small tax raise, target poverty relief, and increase the minimum wage (Weyland, 1996, as cited in Levitsky and Roberts, 2011). These efforts improved living standards for an appreciative working-class that previously experienced wage cuts, high unemployment, and poverty levels of 45% under Pinochet's authoritarian rule (Levitsky and Roberts, 2011). By the turn of the century, the Concertación party, specifically the Aylwin and Frei administrations, had successfully addressed several social problems and restored stability, cutting the percentage of poverty by more than half. Although these improvements were likely less correlated directly to social policies, and more a result of steady economic growth, it was an important benchmark for the aspirations of democracy in the country.

The presidencies of the Concertación further addressed social problems by responding to conflicts with Mapuche activists since the establishment of the Indigenous Law of 1993. The administrations of presidents Frei (1994-2000) and Lagos (2000-2006) addressed Mapuche demands with the expansion of policies. The policies focused on developing solutions and understood these demands as socio-economic issues that could be resolved with subsidies, grants, and training programs. These administrations did not undertake the responsibility to confront demands for autonomy or collective political representation. As Richards comments, "this

approach is likely related to the historical tendency on the Chilean Centre-Left to view the Mapuche through the lens of social class rather than ethnicity,” (Richards, 2010, p. 69). Unlike other countries in Latin America, multiculturalism in Chile privileged redistribution instead of recognition, although the policies were largely put in place to appease conflict and did not bring forward radical redistribution.

The rise of the Left in the early 2000s under the Lagos administration implemented a new social assistance program, known as Chile Solidario, which offered support to the poorest Chilean families. Universalistic citizenship served as the guiding ideology for this social-democratic welfare state, which implemented a range of public services at this time (Levitsky and Roberts, 2011). The Concertación is criticized for not extending this “universalistic citizenship” to include the recognition of indigenous populations and instead created the most emblematic example of their approach to indigenous policy by developing an entirely separate program of redistribution known as Orígenes. The establishment of this program in 2001, through a loan from the Inter-American Development Bank, funded projects on education, health, community, and institutional development. Orígenes, whose motto was ‘Mira el futuro desde tu origen,’ did not consult with indigenous communities about the design of the program and restricted their autonomy about how to distribute the funds for projects. This program exemplifies the approach of the Concertación to pacify conflict with social development policies and do little in response to the issues that triggered the conflict initially (Richards, 2010).

Along with Bachelet’s administration, the Concertación party governments marked a distinct era of social policy reform. Compared to other left administrations in the region, these leaders passed more significant reforms for health, transfer, wage, education, and tax policy. Bachelet was markedly ambitious in the enactment of her social policies, especially the pension reform bill that would sustain the country following the Great Recession. She undertook the restructuring of an antiquated system of privatized pensions from the Pinochet era, a contributory based pension that failed to provide universal coverage, by creating opportunities for the bottom 60% of income earners to engage in basic universal pension and witness a reduction in overall

poverty (Huber and Stephens, 2012). Health care in the region required immense reform progress to improve inequities in access and quality. The Lagos administration pioneered reform known as Universal Access to Explicit Health Guarantees (AUGE) to undo Pinochet's private for-profit system and underfunded public system. Bachelet would attempt to restructure the cofinanced education system but was ultimately hindered by the constitution put in place under the regime, a reoccurring barrier for democracy in Chile. The strength of its government to address corruption is exemplified by Transparency International's ranking of Chile and Uruguay as the least corrupt countries in the region; this is echoed from the perspective of Chilean respondents, in which less than 2 percent reported being victims of corruption (Manzetti and Rosas, 2015). Despite the reports of low corruption, pessimism is rampant among citizens in Chile who deem corruption is common. This pessimism likely stems from the fact that Chile operates within the legislation of a corrupt constitution rooted in authoritarian rule.

Parties of the Left in Chile challenged the integrity of their institutions, implemented better social services, reduced poverty, and limited corruption with little civic participation, a habit of apathetic citizenry I attribute to their collective memory of life during the repressive regime.

According to Chalmers, the only constant is change, which would suggest that any form of government is impermanent. Through immense hardships faced in democratization, post-authoritarian Chile proves resiliency and structural competency, while adhering to a constitutional democracy that retains symptoms of authoritarian rule. By strengthening institutions, establishing equitable social policies, and limiting corruption, Chile provided a unique powerhouse model for the potential of democracy and neoliberalism in Latin America.

The pillars of democracy should favor a system in which politicians on any point of the spectrum represent their constituents through the expansion of social policy. Despite how these policies may, in reality, tend to favor the interests of privileged groups, they ought to benefit the underprivileged groups as well. Democracy must present opportunities to raise the voice of disadvantaged groups, a characteristic that tends to define parties concerned with class-based differences, namely the Left. Though international financial institutions played a tremendous role

in the formation of social policies during an era of authoritarian or post-authoritarian rule, the expansion of such policies to the most underrepresented groups is not guaranteed by democracy.

Indigenous organizations criticize the Piñera and Bachelet administrations for failing to reach a consensus regarding their demands while implementing unsolicited social development programs and institutions. Piñera's administration also instilled much distrust with the implementations of a presidential cabinet that boasted vocal supporters of the Pinochet regime, or *Pinochetistas*. Chilean Senator Alberto Espina, for example, noted three main objectives under Piñera's new administration regarding indigenous populations: the creation of a program to enhance social and economic growth in the Araucanía region, a firm stance against "violent groups and terrorists," and recognition of the traditions and culture of the indigenous population. Piñera's Agenda Legislativa Indígena, presented in May of 2019, also faced strong criticisms for its proposed construction of state institutions such as a Ministerio de Pueblos Indígenas y el Consejo Nacional de Pueblos Indígenas. Aimed at strengthening the recognition of indigenous peoples, these institutional frameworks would supposedly serve to empower representation of all indigenous peoples living in Chile. Plan Impulso Araucanía, one of the programs in Piñera's agenda, outlines government investment projects intended to deposit a massive \$8 billion into the Araucanía region that is home to the Mapuche, Chile's largest ethnic group that constitutes about 10% of the country's population. Piñera's band-aid reparations, in the form of councils and ministries, attempt to acknowledge centuries of invisibility and maltreatment in a workaround to demands. These programs follow other similar institutional innovations such as the creation of a Departamento de Pueblos Originarios under the Ministerio de las Culturas, las Artes y el Patrimonio signed into law by President Michelle Bachelet in 2017. The recent manifestations make clear that implementations of economic injections, social and cultural agencies, will not appease the peoples' demand for institutional overhaul as they carry the words *Nueva Constitución o Nada*.

## **Chapter 2: Significance of Cultural Policies & Institutionalization of Culture**

This paper calls into question the limits of socio-cultural policies intended to extend cultural rights and representation, as well as the socio-economic nature of these policies used to discuss regional development and diversity. I intend to unpack the scope and implications of the institutionalization of culture. How did historically marginalized constituents engage in the policymaking process, and what are the social and symbolic impacts of their participation? The Chilean government prides itself on social advances made since the end of the dictatorship; so far, these advances in human rights have not equated to indigenous rights for the most marginalized groups in society. Indigenous peoples, in particular, have been regarded as “prehistoric” inhabitants on territory conquered by Chileans and not considered an assimilated population of Chilean culture. In addition, rhetoric that presents the Mapuche as part of Chile’s folkloric past is common, which reduces demands for cultural rights to a less threatening recognition of diversity (Richards). Conversations under the Bachelet administration questioned this compartmentalized view of indigenous peoples. In an attempt to promote multiculturalism in Chile, which would recognize marginalized indigenous peoples in the national narrative, the government implemented innovative cultural policies as a way to address social inequality and promote new avenues of participation. Through an overview of institutional strategies in Chile, the foundations of cultural identity are delineated and developed into an era of symbolically inclusive cultural policy and institutional reform toward the recognition of indigenous cultures.

The development of Chilean society involves not only its political institutions and citizen participation channels, but its cultural identity as well. Furthermore, the imperative nature of culture to the Chile’s development of its identity depends on the politics involved in its definition, especially in a country marked by a legacy of coloniality (Mulcahy, 2008). Undoubtedly, the politics involved in defining Chile’s identity reiterate racial hierarchies and social inequalities established by the colonizers. The indigenous populations in the south of present-day Chile remained independent throughout the colonial period and were not part of the Chilean state until

the 1880's when the Chilean army invaded. Shortly after an invasion on the ancestral territory, Wallmapu of the Mapuche Nation, a political movement in defense of their identity and territory, emerged via Mapuche political organizations. In pursuit of autonomy, the Mapuche resisted militarization of their land, religious conversion, and linguistic and cultural repression. Presently the largest indigenous population in the Chilean state, the Mapuche people and their political leaders preserve cultural identity and continue to demand constitutional recognition for indigenous peoples. Institutional racism and the militarization of their ancestral territory persists parallel to efforts by cultural institutions to ameliorate their subaltern status.

Issues of culture and identity are particularly pressing in this country with such a legacy of hegemonic influence of power over its subjects. "As with politics in general, cultural politics involves the expression of the collective values of a people, the feelings of people about their social and group identities, and above all else the tests of loyalty and commitment," (Pye and Verba, 1965). Expressions of loyalty and commitment as symptoms of cultural policy are interesting in the case of Chile, and so the question arises, loyalty to whom? Loyalty to a constitution established under a repressive dictatorship plagued progress in expanding cultural rights to indigenous groups for many decades. Cultural supremacy in Chile, reignited by the Pinochet dictatorship, created a relationship of severe social inequality between the cultural hegemony and the marginalized Other. Cultural policies are utilized to uphold influence over the discourse which defines national identity and determines which parties control the definition of their identity, "that is, by whom a people are told who they are" (Mulcahy, 2008). In 1984, the state enacted the Anti-Terrorist Law during the military dictatorship, allowing the government to use excessive force against unarmed Mapuches protesting over the loss of their lands and resources (Minority Rights 2018). Given the label of "terrorists" by the state, Mapuche people ultimately seek to regain cultural autonomy in telling their narrative by creating their own cultural distinctiveness from one determined by hegemonic structures. Well-stated by Mulcahy, "Cultural policies are not simply about support for the arts; they entail addressing major political concepts and redressing legacies of coloniality" (2008). With this in mind, cultural policies in Chile must accept responsibility in rectifying the

ramifications of the state-imposed libel that defamed the image of the Mapuche in society and deal with their redefining of a sense of identity.

Culture in political discourse is defined by the “arts,” which suggests cultural policy, then, involves governmental strategies and activities that promote production and diffusion of the arts (Mulcahy, 2010). As devised by Mulcahy, an ideal cultural policy, as an expression of national identity, would promote a sense of communal continuity and definition (2010). A sense of collective endurance formed through the arts is most evident in Chile by the widespread installation of government-mandated sculptures, memorials, and museums designed to help overcome the trauma of state repression. Chile institutionalized the memory of the systematic human rights violations committed by the military dictatorship with the inauguration of a Museum of Memory and Human Rights in 2010 (Estefane, 2013). The purpose of this museum was to heal national memory through the remembrance of victims of torture and execution after the coup of 1973. Interestingly enough, the museum does not honor the lives of indigenous peoples taken by the military. Perhaps their exclusion from the museum is attributed to a nation so accustomed to indigenous genocide since the military invaded their ancestral lands in the 1880s. The museum did eventually host a temporary photography exhibit of indigenous victims for a brief two months as if their inclusion in the museum were an afterthought. This example of cultural policy reflects a government’s strategic effort to deliberately exclude certain populations from the national narrative masked by the arts. In this sense, cultural policies are a form of “hegemony” that is secured when “the dominant culture uses education, philosophy, religion, aesthetics and art to make its dominance appear normal and natural to the heterogeneous groups that constitute society” (Miller and Yudice, 2002, p. 9).

During the last 30 years, renewed interest in the reinstitution of citizen participation channels inspired the development of new public institutions. The expansion of public institutions in Chile reflects changes in the articulation of social life in the country, which moved away from a political-economic focus (based on concepts such as class and state) towards its complement with ethnic and cultural elements. The institutionalization of the cultural sector in Chile emerged

in response to problems from the dictatorship. A series of historical processes linked to the arts sector and social conflict influenced the creation of cultural policies. In the dawn of this process, social inequality contributed to the design of policies that would guide the cultural institutions. These policies would produce new socio-cultural meanings in society to distinguish as an era post-dictatorship. The aim of establishing cultural policies was to provide a framework through which to address amends for 17 years of censorship statewide. Policymakers would bear the responsibility of implementing principles to reimagine the collective memory of cultural erasure (Peters, 2019).

Under the purview of the Ministry of Education, the institutionalization of cultural development in Chile began with a law passed in 2003 that created the Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes (CNCA). The establishment of CNCA confirmed three fields of action for the institution: promotion of the arts, visibility of cultural heritage, and the encouragement of citizen participation in the national culture. This institutional development in broadening social recognition and cultural diversity reflects the State's agenda toward reworking the outdated development model for the promotion of democracy in a post-dictatorship Chile. Furthermore, the creation of this institutional development succeeded the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989 of the International Labour Organization or ILO-Convention 169. This is the only international law realized to protect the rights of tribal peoples and indigenous populations in independent nations. The right to own land they live on, the right to make decisions about projects that affect them, and the right to equality and freedom were the foremost principles. For a state that still has no mention of the indigenous populations in its constitution, the ratification of C169 would require unprecedented work by communities to ascertain what kind of recognition they sought within institutions. Constitutional recognition became a demand at the forefront of indigenous peoples' agendas in the nineties. The demands were primarily associated with the return of land taken by colonial forces in the mid-1800s. Access to ownership of ancestral lands, as claimed by C169 ratifiers around the world, sparked a self-determinant movement, specifically the Mapuche movement, to claim autonomy.

Ratified by Chile in 2008, the implementation of Convention 169 was placed under the purview of CONADI (Corporación Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena) superseded by the Ministry of Social Development. As stated in the articles of Convention 169:

Article 22.3 Estos programas especiales de formación deberán basarse en el entorno económico, las condiciones sociales y culturales y las necesidades concretas de los pueblos interesados.

Artículo 23.1 La artesanía, las industrias rurales y comunitarias y las actividades tradicionales y relacionadas con la economía de subsistencia de los pueblos interesados, como la caza, la pesca, la caza con trampas y la recolección deberán reconocerse como factores importantes del mantenimiento de su cultura y de su autosuficiencia y desarrollo económicos.

For Chile to begin a process of recognizing indigenous nations connected by their own culture and histories, the above articles would need to inform cultural policy-making processes. Given the ratification of C169, these policies would have to include specific language to address the injustices indigenous communities endured under the state's oppressive actions for 300 years. However, I want to overcome a mere vision negative mind of indigenous history as "history of the defeated," as this sort of language perpetuates a system of exclusion, exploitation, and discursive erasure of living indigenous peoples (León Portilla, 1964; Wachtel, 1971). The most deliberate example of this systematic exclusion is the omission of indigenous recognition in Chile's "constitution of liberty" approved under Pinochet's regime in 1980. Forties years from its writing, this controversial constitution remains in use and does not include mention of indigenous peoples. In comparison, Mexico also promoted ideologies that held indigenous populations in the space of the past, despite having one of the largest indigenous populations in the Americas. The difference here is that the Mexican Constitution was reformed two years after it ratified the C169 "to recognize the existence of cultural minorities," and yet, "the constitutional reform offered little basis for the realization of indigenous rights." (Speed & Collier, p. 883) Similar to the case of Chile, Mexican legislation to guarantee indigenous rights has yet to be established, moreover, "the

1992 constitutional reform focused only on the cultural rights of indigenous peoples, omitting reference to political rights, self-determination, or autonomy.” (Speed & Collier, p. 883). Indigenous across the Americas exist within a world-system of colonial citizenship concerned with their differences in histories, customs, and language and not the autonomous individual subject’s political and human rights. This form of quasi-citizenship is restricted by a modern world system that bases the formation of a nation-state on a homogenous culture. A racialized or ethnicized citizen is referred to as part of a group, in this instance, the “indigenous,” and consequentially “have in common a subordinated position in the world system” (Silva-Tapia, 2016).

In the form of symbolic reparations, the state proposed policies to revitalize the world of arts and culture and utilized the opportunity to implement nation-building strategies, including an acknowledgment of the missing recognition of indigenous nations within the state. Remaining truthful to its neoliberal model, the Chilean state’s social policies used socio-economic frameworks to discuss diversity. Indigenous policies, in particular, were adopted using socio-economic frameworks to address elements of culture and integration into society. According to Richards:

Many of these policies directly link into neoliberal values, emphasizing an increase in indigenous individuals’ access to the market rather than recognising their status as sovereign peoples. The state (through CONADI as well as the municipalities) sponsors programmes through which elements of Mapuche culture can be exploited in the global marketplace; examples include ‘ethno-tourism’ projects and the marketing of artisan products. In this sense, under neoliberal multiculturalism Mapuche culture becomes a brand to be sold. (2010, p. 69)

These integrationist policies sought to include Mapuche material culture in the market and refrain from any extension of formal recognition. Chile’s constitution is the only one in Latin America that does not recognize indigenous peoples, though nine percent of the national population consists of indigenous persons, a majority of which live in urban areas (IWGIA, 2017). Law in the country on indigenous promotion and protection does not meet international law standards in regard to the rights of indigenous land, participation, and autonomy. Institutional reform processes have

recently engaged with indigenous peoples' proposals on legal recognition and the right to special indigenous representation, yet the Ministry of Social Development failed in the process to take into consideration the content of their proposals. A long-overdue inclusion of socio-cultural recognition of diverse social groups in Chile would result in the hesitation and points of contention experienced as the government opened avenues of indigenous participation. This promotion of marginalized peoples moves Chile toward a possibility of pluriversal politics, a framework proposed by Marisol De La Cadena through which the modern political sphere could operate under multiple world views (2010). Will these designated seats create a new norm of interculturalism or more strictly define the identity or role of indigenous persons in society? Cultural policy cannot neglect this period of redefinition in the indigenous sense of identity.

Government-led programs to advance indigenous participation in cultural initiatives are already underway in Chile as part of a broader program of social transformation. The Council for Culture and the Arts created the Department of Native Peoples within the institution with the objective of recovering knowledge and ancestral techniques. Regarding the purpose of this department, the prior Minister of Culture Ernesto Ottone said, "In this sense, this recognition allows an important space for indigenous culture, serving as a platform for its creators to visualize traditional craftsmanship techniques of our territory, which undoubtedly we want to bring citizenship through this participation," (Consejo, 2016). This promotion of quasi-citizenship for indigenous persons via participation in the Department of Native Peoples is an interesting approach from the institution toward inclusive cultural politics. An example of this participation is seen in the call for traditional indigenous artisans to participate in a competition, judged by members in the Council for Culture, for the 2017 Indigenous Handicraft Seal with a chance to obtain economic compensation of one million pesos. This program resembles an instance of state actors determining the value of artisanal crafts whose ancestral techniques outdate the very institutions judging them. "At root, there was a commitment to enfranchising marginalized groups through involving them in a process of personal transformation by means of aesthetic participation. In effect, the socioeconomically excluded were to experience not just a political revolution but a cultural

revolution through the development of a collective consciousness of their dignity and self-worth” (Mulcahy, 2008). Established with a vision to empower the marginalized peoples, this department is engaging in a broader program of social transformation, under the Ministry of Cultures, to develop indigenous identities by incentivizing the promotion of their “self-worth” determined by a panel of government officials.

The Ministry of Cultures seems to be encompassing two of the distinctive characteristics of modern Latin American culture, as cited by Mulcahy on cultural revivalism, “an intense interest both political and cultural in the past civilizations and present life of the original inhabitants, with an attempt to revive native forms (Indianism or indigenismo), and an intense role for the social role of the artist” (Gowing, 1995, p. 911). The exact purpose of the Department of Native Peoples reflects this intense interest in the revival of indigenous techniques, as well as the intense pressure on the social role of the artist to be deracinated from society and placed on a stage in the nation’s capital to be judged at an event for the sake of cultural participation. The difficulty in cultural policy, proposed by Mulcahy, is in formulating exactly what should be the nature of the national culture to be supported, which typically takes on two principles: “The first is to stand in opposition to the colonial power’s hegemonic culture; the second is to invent a tradition that is typically an idealized nostalgia for a largely lost historical community,” (Mulcahy, 2008). In the case of Chile, the first principle is addressed in the establishment of cultural institutions that incorporate indigenous participation, which opposes the nation-state’s long-standing history of representation of only its hegemonic culture. The nature of the national culture is altered by institutional innovations creating a culture that supports indigenous cultural autonomy and accepts an alternative to the state’s hegemony. New traditions develop the second principle, as seen in the government’s juried programming of an Indigenous Handicraft Seal, with an intention to serve as a nostalgic preservation of a largely marginalized historical community. The “Invention of Tradition” (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983) is not unique to developing nations, but it has a particular urgency when a new political culture is being created. (Mulcahy, 2008, p 205). Challenges to implementing cultural policy to reflect these two principles stem from the need to

honor the history of indigenous groups without excluding the memory of state repression, all while trying to earn the trust of these populations to participate in cultural programming led by the same governing body that repressed them. This is not a challenge that can be easily addressed for a nation overcoming a collectively traumatic history, in which they only recently are defining diverse cultural identities after long periods of suppression.

Another challenge faced by the state is in the construction of an idealized cultural identity by means of democratic cultural policy. This construction poses great risks which “may oversimplify cultural complexities and marginalize inconvenient minorities and their communal expressions” (Mulcahy, 2008). The government’s designation of representatives for diverse groups will be imperative to prevent the dilution of intricacies in cultures that incorporate a lineage of cosmovisions likely not familiar to outsiders. The democratic state can no longer only emphasize the culture that originates from the capital; this decentralization is symbolically addressed by the Ministry of Cultures being the first ministry based outside of the capital. The indigenous representatives designated for each region have a great opportunity to contribute to a larger conversation of democratic cultural policy in the diffusion of cultures that reach beyond Santiago. As supported by Mulcahy, “‘high culture’ should not be the exclusive preserve of a particular social class or of a metropolitan location. Rather, the benefits of the highest reaches of cultural excellence should be made available broadly and widely” (2008). Straying from the norm of an accepted cultural elitism, cultural democracy in Chile can provide participatory opportunities for previously excluded members of society. The goal of decentralization and democratization should utilize top-down power to privilege new cultures for the enlightenment of the general citizenry across the nation and shift to a bottom-up policy of equal opportunities in cultural activities.

Under the direction of the ministry, the Council for Culture has a responsibility to disperse a cultural democracy in which “the programmatic emphases recognize the diversity of cultural differences among regions, between the capital and the provinces, between urban and rural areas, among social groups. Emphasizing a strategy of cultural decentralization, cultural democracy substitutes a pluralistic for a monocultural concept,” (Mulcahy, 2008). Through the Regional

Cultural Access Program, inhabitants of communities other than regional capitals will have access to artistic and cultural goods and services. This national program is a decentralization effort across all fifteen regions of the country with a purpose to increase access and participation to artistic-cultural programming. Projects implemented include cultural initiatives with regional-specific identity with aims to strengthen local identity and its diverse cultural expressions. This program reinforces a new mentality that an idealized cultural identity does not have to limit itself to one central identity but would better serve populations in a decentralization effort to expand opportunities to construct a diverse national identity through effective cultural policy.

The Ministry of Cultures, the Arts, and Heritage has established effective policies that introduce a new era of multicultural and intercultural participation and representation through programmatic efforts by the government. The results of this heightened inclusion remain uncertain in regard to the advancement of cultural rights for marginalized groups. Will this push for recognition in “post-authoritarian Chile” emphasize respect for indigenous peoples or simply remake racial hierarchies? Mulcahy’s frameworks on cultural identity support an analysis of Chile’s historical background to ponder how the military defined the identity of indigenous groups in relation to Chilean society for decades. Cultural policy under the new ministry has a unique and important opportunity to redefine these hegemonic defamations in a working dialogue with indigenous representatives. For persons seeking cultural autonomy, the government must be mindful to prevent the exploitative programming of cultural revivalism and find a respectful manner through which to include diverse groups in society. Cultural democracy through a decentralization of the national identity, as attempted by the state’s approach in the ministry, can advance an era of enlightenment that can raise all persons of the region above its dark past and into a freer, more intercultural, and more humane society.

### **ENGAGING INDIGENOUS METHODOLOGIES AND RADICAL ALTERITY**

From an early point in this research project, I noted that cultural policies instated for the creation of the new ministry applied unique meanings to indigenous artists, creatives, bearers of

culture, and other communities. Thanks to the acquaintances made while conducting research at such an internationally diverse institute, I was trusted to go learn from indigenous leaders addressing these policies, producing their own histories, leveraging international legal protections, and creating autonomous cultural centers to advance and protect cultural heritage on their own terms. With the provided academic guidance from courses such as Care of Indigenous Cultural Knowledge, I acquired a toolbelt of indigenous methodologies. I experiment with mixed methodologies on this project to appropriately convey my field research in Araucanía, Chile, in an attempt to reconcile my Western academic ideological foundations with a decolonized approach to ethnographic studies. Throughout this process, I have moments of self-critique regarding ethnocentrism, both personal and disciplinary, and my positionality as a North American academic, nonnative to the Chilean region. An imperative component to this body of work is a critical stance on my own identity as a researcher and the logic of colonial research ideology.

Western academics in cultural studies work immersed in *Creole sympathism*, as Herson Huinca Piutrin refers to it, placing themselves in a position to understand the colonized. The “Mapuchographer,” he explains, is colonial in character, even when sympathizing with the colonized. These studies exalt themselves in the name of inclusion and diversifying globalization. Herson explains, “El mapuchógrafo piensa que sin él las personas de las comunidades no tienen voz. La práctica del mapuchógrafo subalterniza al actor Mapuche...” (Huinca Piutrin, 2013). To his point, I serve no purpose in amplifying or speaking on behalf of what is already an extremely well-articulated community. Rather, I hope to convey to individuals operating in Western institutions, academia, or government, the importance of listening to indigenous communities and their demands. The community I met, in particular, has an incredible aptitude for depicting and defining their own history, contemporary presence, and demands for the future. Scholars, activists,

and artists actively take it upon themselves to mark their place in interior and international affairs. I assume no prior knowledge of mine to be more valuable than any production of knowledge directly from the community. I engage decolonizing methodologies that “privilege Indigenous knowledge, voices, experiences, reflections, and analyses of their social, material and spiritual conditions,” (Smith, 2005, p. 87). Within this body of work, I intend to represent the voice, perspective, and knowledge produced within Mapuche networks.

That said, a significant portion of this work also focuses on the Chilean government’s legal frameworks and practices used to engage in policy with and in regard to indigenous populations. After learning from indigenous people, prioritizing their narratives and lived experiences, I am better able to challenge the institutional and legislative practices being employed by the Chilean government. The other component of my mixed methodologies, then, uses my training in Western academia to describe and theorize the rationale of governmental structures. I found it was unsuitable for engaging in indigenous methodologies when describing the very systems that have systematically marginalized their presence and would much rather empower indigenous academics to more accurately present their own theories in relation to state power. Therefore, what follows is a brief overview, from my understanding, of theoretical frameworks that explain how governing powers engage indigenous cultures through neoliberalism, and other ways forward that would advance indigenous leadership and cultural transformations outside of those frameworks.

In a system of neoliberal multiculturalism, as unpacked by Hale (2005), many cultures can exist outside of the mestizaje narrative, but cultural rights are meticulously defined by governments. Indigenous groups have tried to advance rights by exploiting external resources, such as the World Bank’s loans, in an effort to have land demarcated. Elites try to overpower such reforms and compromise with land rights activists to keep them just happy enough. As Hale

mentions, through this racial hierarchy, groups limit their demands in fear of being labeled “radical,” but it is just this sort of radical demand that is necessary to uproot the imposed discourse (2005). Hale asks, “under what conditions can indigenous movements occupy the limited space opened by neoliberal multiculturalism,” followed by an allusion to their utopian political alternatives (2005, p.11); I take issue with his notion of indigenous adherence to the system, as if the only way to carry out indigenous movements is by creatively navigating their limited space within the neoliberal system. To use the neoliberal system, fighting the system from within that is, would only allow for compromises that would be negotiated unfairly by the state’s upper hand in a neoliberal system. On the contrary, their limited representation within the system, and their supernatural privilege above the system, enable indigenous peoples to continue leveraging international standards, alongside all native peoples of the world, to demand the State of Chile return ancestral territory and historical debts. As concluded by Lucero, “in a variety of ways, in opposition and in government, indigenous people are part of the new moment of Latin American politics,” (2009, 79). It is this momentum of indigenous peoples in politics that allows them to address the intimidation efforts of the hegemonic powers and break from the invisible chokehold.

Radical alterity, as presented in Rappaport’s insight on indigenous research, adopts methodologies to advance native leaders outside of the neoliberal framework. As seen in the research arm of a mass movement against neoliberalism, indigenous organizers “experienced a need to produce its own knowledge-base in order to strengthen its organization projects,” (Rappaport, 2013, p. 9). This need must be met by inclusive cosmovision research that does not adhere to a male-dominant discourse. A genuinely self-conscious approach, without culturally appropriating their diverse worlds, would help articulate grassroots movements without institutionalizing their methodologies. This sort of self-determination for creating knowledge and

embedding methodologies outside of colonial frameworks would result in far-reaching cultural transformations.

Alvarez, Dagnino and Escobar consider cultural transformations, introduced by social movements, to be precursors for redefining meanings of central political concepts (1998, p. 1-2). It is important to emphasize “the ‘cultural politics’ of social movements that aim at social change and their potential to impact the ‘political culture’ of the society in which they are embedded,” (Babic, 2012). In the case of Chile, cultural transformations in gender norms through dance, visual art, and political culture provided opportunities for women to redefine such concepts as citizenship, participation, and democracy through some of Chile’s darkest days of the dictatorship. Is it then possible to imagine a similar trajectory for other historically marginalized populations?

Chilean women pioneered lasting legacies by altering the sociocultural and sociopolitical climate for women during the dictatorship. Cultural transformations in society, forced by the dictatorship, introduced many women to new opportunities to engage in public participation. The *arpillera* movement, a movement of women weaving burlap quilts, emerged from dire necessity, not for therapy or protest, but for sustenance. The economic crisis was so debilitating for families that even some men who did have jobs were not able to go to work for lack of proper clothes and shoes. Serving the role as protector of the family, *arpilleristas* (quilters) insisted the men stay home to avoid arrest and took advantage of their safe positionality to march daily and provide income to maintain the family by selling their weavings abroad through the Church (Agosín, 1996). As witnesses and accusers of the regime’s horrifying violations, the legacy of the *arpilleristas* lays in the confrontation of very violent themes in a non-aggressive manner. Through a revolution of traditional cultural politics, the visual art of the *arpilleristas* transfigured personal stories of grief into “a fabric of memory, managing to engrave itself upon Chilean culture by converting female

submission and reserve into nonviolent, yet denunciatory, weapons,” (Agosín, 1996). The creation of such “weapons” formed new symbolic strategies that could be used to challenge the oppressive structures.

The *arpilleras* represent an interwoven relationship between women’s personal experiences of grief and their mobilization as a tight-knit group that inspired the world in their solidarity through political participation and protested against the regime. Revolutions in social standards and cultural norms mobilized women to embrace their citizenship by means of political leadership. The resulting women’s movements re-politicized and redefined womanhood in Chile through unification efforts that crossed social divides and spawned a legacy of brave women in the political culture. Through innovations in cultural politics and political culture, the women of the opposition during the dictatorship redefined key political norms of participation by their development of organizations for opposition politics. Women achieved unity across socioeconomic classes and political parties, in a way that men of the opposition were not able to, with much credit to the strength of solidarity found in their gender identity as previously excluded political actors. Politically conscious women were able to recognize their own oppression and turn it into a collective phenomenon, resulting in a revolutionary transformation of their political reality (Miller, 1991). Solidarity among women, as previously subjected apolitical beings, propelled immense unification against the regime and created lasting legacies for women through the democratization process.

To parallel with the context of revolutionary women organizing in Chiapas, as described in “Dissident Women” (Speed & Castillo & Stephen), communities declared themselves self-governing and began to implement their own systems of education. Their account states, “The declarations and experiments in autonomy at the local level in Chiapas connected to a larger

national movement for indigenous self-determination and rights,” (Speed & Castillo & Stephen, 2006, p. xvi). Local-level autonomy, specifically in research practices, should be of the utmost priority to instigate widespread social movements and transform realities amongst indigenous communities. Institutionalized indigenous research underestimates the potential for groups to practice educational reconfiguration to cater to marginalized people. For these reasons, it becomes necessary for indigenous communities to take it upon themselves to conduct research using their own methodologies, seek legal protections beyond the state’s framework, to preserve, protect, and present the cultural heritage of their people. Colonialism fractured indigenous traditional knowledge and the ways local knowledge systems were embedded among communities. The way forward to reclaiming ancestral knowledge and language relies on indigenous researchers and bearers of cultures, revolutionizing their participation in society to create realities that make sense and pertain to them. This concept is beautifully portrayed in the words of Mapuche poet, María Lara Millapan:

Cuando nos cambiaron los nombres  
Teníamos nombres de aves, de animales y de piedras,  
nombres de árboles y de flores del territorio donde nacimos,  
teníamos nombres de agua, de barro y de nieve  
los mismos nombres de los abuelos se quedaban  
heredados en sus hijos y en sus nietos.

Vamos a preguntar por el nombre que nos pertenece. (2018)

I propose here that a combination of innovative methodologies and radical alterity, through revolutionary participation in culture and politics, could result in radical transformations for the representation of historically marginalized peoples in society. Following the example trajectory of

women weavers, we see how their radical participation in culture sparked social movements, legacies of political organizing, and, ultimately, a rise in substantive representation in government with gender balance legislation passed in 2015 (Gonzalez, 2015). Furthermore, the indigenous women in Chiapas, autonomously innovating methods of education, demonstrates the potential for cultural transformation to be connected to a larger national movement for indigenous self-determination. Marginalized groups have immense potential when engaging in new methodologies to advance their agency and lead to broader, ideally substantive representation. I turn here to evaluate a new methodology of participation and transformation, in which the indigenous populations of Chile collaborated and co-created a framework of cultural policies, spearheaded by the Government of Chile's Council for Cultures. What follows is a detailed account of the consultation process undertaken for the policy-making in the creation of the Ministry of Cultures.

#### **CONSULTA PREVIA**

In an executive decision to halt the processing of the bill that entered the legislature under Pinera's administration, to create a new cultural institution, the Bachelet administration decided to reconsider the project to include listening processes and participation of relevant actors in the cultural sector. A process that began in June of 2014, under the purview of President Michelle Bachelet's administration, commissioned the Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes to conduct the research necessary to implement the Ministry of Cultures, the Arts, and Heritage. Given the cultural diversity of Chile, the Bachelet administration drafted the Consulta Previa a los Pueblos Indígenas directed by standards defined in Convention 169. The need to listen to indigenous communities and incorporate views on issues of importance to them guided this consultation process. This set an unprecedented challenge for the CNCA, especially structurally, to prepare a

national conversation with representatives from organizations of the recognized indigenous peoples and tribal people.

Over the course of almost a year, 16 teams created by the CNCA set out to meet in discussions and working groups with the indigenous representatives. What was formerly known as la Unidad de Pueblos Originarios, a branch of the CNCA, became the central body that coordinated these teams and established protocol for working with indigenous organizations. The teams set out on a decentralizing mission to collaborate with groups of indigenous and Afro-descendants across all regions of Chile, including some the council had not previously visited. As prefaced by the Minister-President of CNCA at the time, Ernesto Ottone Ramírez, “El camino de la construcción de la diversidad cultural está abierto y nos invita a transitarlo y conocerlo a todas y todos los que habitamos hoy Chile,” (Dialogo de la Culturas). This strategy developed through the consultation process and would help frame the decentralized approach to the creation of the Ministry and reinforce the notion that Chile’s wide cultural diversity is evident in each region and territory. A transversal goal amongst the communities visited was the need to revitalize indigenous languages. This arises from a lack of reproduction and transmission of traditional cultural practices of the peoples in their native tongues.

The process of the Consulta Previa a los Pueblos Indígenas developed and expanded the CNCA for over nine months to include the vision and opinions of indigenous peoples about the bill that would create the Ministry of Cultures, the Arts and Heritage. In accordance with C169, the methods of each consultation were dependent on the decisions of participating indigenous organizations themselves. Each organization drafted measures prior to consultation, beginning with a list of sensitive issues in three main areas; definitions, recognition, and participation and safeguarding of indigenous cultural heritage, integrating the material and immaterial. This system,

pioneered by the CNCA, with support from the Ministry of Social Development, became a huge challenge for the institution to create a structure designed for indigenous peoples. The Council for Culture took over responsibility for indigenous sociopolitical demands practically overnight. Successes and failures throughout 510 meetings held space for dialogues initially loaded with distrust. These conversations developed content and proposals from 2,051 organizations and 11,188 participants spanning from Visviri in the far north, Mejillones Bay to the very south, and Rapa Nui, known as the navel of the world, in the Pacific Ocean. Overall, this system made it possible to reach regional agreements, by town if appropriate, as well as at the national level. These statewide agreements concluded in 14 policies, most of which were incorporated in the bill to create the new ministry as well as the national Departamento de Pueblos Originarios (DEPO).

Agreement no. 2 declares “Que la nueva institucionalidad se denominará ‘Ministerio de las Culturas, las Artes y el Patrimonio’” (2016). Emphasis on the plural form of the word culture sets this ministry apart from other ministries of culture. The explicit recognition that Chile as a state houses several nations of peoples and cannot be defined as a homogenous nation-state symbolically addresses the recognition of many marginalized peoples. The Chief of DEPO, José Ancan, stated in the Dialogo de las Culturas:

Las distintas organizaciones y representantes indígenas que extrañamente hasta antes de este proceso no habían demandado al Estado la creación de políticas públicas en artes, cultura y patrimonio, fueron actores claves de una reflexión colectiva en la construcción de temáticas convertidas desde ahora en claves para cualquier apuesta de futuro. (2016)

Indigenous organizations proposed political-economic demands to the government previously, but sociocultural demands were not at the forefront of the movement’s priorities. I think it is important to highlight the peculiarity about approaching organizations to formulate proposals for policies they did not demand, and in turn, become key actors in the

institutionalization of culture. Do all parties involved gain something from this expansion of social participation channels? The Council for Culture certainly acknowledged the learning curve for the institution experienced through these consultations, stating that they have learned to include indigenous populations and afro-descendent communities as collective subjects of law (Consejo, 2016, p.27). This raises an important question regarding this new routine institutional inclusion; acknowledged as subjects of law by this council, would participation in the formation of cultural rights become opportunities to address sociopolitical rights? Or are these populations, several of which had never been visited by the council or any government agency previously, merely a representation of an ethnicity and limited to governmental participation within those boundaries of the cultural institution. There is a conception of cultural policy that sees public involvement in the cultural domain through the prism of “governmentality”; that is, the process by which the state comes to manage individuals (Foucault, 1991) - (Mulcahy, 320). Was the implementation of this branch a form of heightened inclusion to truly embrace the plurinational country that Chile is? Or would this institutionalization of culture serve a more nuanced purpose in confidence-building? As the Council for Culture took on the responsibilities of listening to sociopolitical demands, its capacity to recognize, resolve, or enact any change would be tested.

Controversy mires the path to recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples. Despite implementing the Indigenous Law no. 19253 twenty-seven years ago and the ILO Convention 169 over a decade ago, these must be understood as late and superficial advances by the Chilean state which has yet to recognize these populations in the constitution. Leaders of the Huilliche-Mapuche, a population of southern Mapuche peoples, warn about this weakness in recognition of rights. They point to the limitations of Chilean neoliberal multiculturalism to break historical and current subordination and power structures that affect the indigenous peoples (Aguas & Nahuelpan). Theoretical production on this form of neoliberal multiculturalism across the Americas agrees that recognition of cultural diversity is inadequate to dismantle inequalities and racial hierarchies. Richards acknowledges these limitations to recognition are set, so they do not overflow into the ideological and hegemonic foundations of neoliberalism (2016).

Hale also discusses these built-in limits in spaces of indigenous empowerment that bring indigenous communities into the nation-state, but in constrained ways so that “indigenous rights cannot violate the integrity of the productive regime,” (2007). These repressive guiding principles prevent a radical challenge to neoliberal regimes by the ‘dangerous’ indigenous demands that threaten the state or public enterprises (termed *indios prohibidos* originally by Bolivian scholar Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui). By responding to indigenous demands with multiculturalism, the state trades an extension of cultural rights to the *indio permitido*, in exchange for diminished threats to the integrity of the regime. Hale sees no point attempting to organize this experience as either cooptation or everyday resistance, assuming that those in this space have “acquiesced, if only by default, to the regressive neoliberal project that the *indio permitido* is meant to serve,” (2007). Providing opportunities for indigenous participation within neoliberalism can serve as a state tactic to appease resistance, though I would like to reimagine Hale’s notion of default acquiescence. Many indigenous in Chile constantly negotiate any possible alternatives to neoliberalism, “balancing their desires for self-determination with the pragmatic needs for land, work, and safety” (Postero, 2018). If, indeed, Hale’s notion of the *indio permitido*’s submission to the system were entirely the case, as neither cooptation nor everyday resistance, but rather a form of consent toward the neoliberal project, then the militarization of peaceful and productive *indios permitidos* could have ceased long ago. That is not the case, because the state operates in a perennial state of offense, ever more heightened securitization, under historically accumulated anti-indigenous racial hatred. To live, or simply occupy space, as racialized political subjects like indigenous peoples in Chile, is an act of everyday resistance to the systemic and structural phenomenon of racism.

## **DIALOGO DE LAS CULTURAS**

The decentralized approach to the consultation serves as an example of the state’s attempt to define how to carry out cultural democracy and how to develop a democratic culture. Historically, Chile implemented top-down approaches that privileged certain types of programming in the cultural sector considered good for the public. As Bourdieu would criticize,

this is also a form of cultural elitism, to assume that certain methods determined by experts or authorities are inherently superior expressions, often concerned with the acquisition of cultural capital (1984). These expressions became more evident as neoliberal structures came to influence every facet of government in Chile, and as the return to democracy advanced the institutionalization of culture. The democratization of culture is fundamentally problematic, intended to create programming and content based on the needs of privileged groups in society, assuming the needs for everyone would be the same (Langsted, 1990). The point of cultural democracy, in its purest essence, is to create an approach for broader participation in defining and delivering cultural programming. Cultural policy ultimately needs to shift away from an elitist top-down approach, striving for a bottom-up democratic strategy focused on the voice of the people. This progression toward populist politics is evident in the decentralization of participation channels in the *consulta previa*, by encouraging equal opportunities for citizens to participate on their own terms (Mulcahy, 2017). The *consulta previa*'s particular regional to central strategy in communication and structure honors the distinct differences in cultures, emphasizing cultural decentralization, and cultural democracy strategies for a more pluralistic approach. Mulcahy (2017) juxtaposed the idea of elite culture by elaborating on a populist approach to cultural policy:

By contrast, the populist position advocates defining culture broadly and making this culture broadly available. The populist approach emphasizes a less traditional and more pluralist notion of artistic merit and consciously seeks to create a policy of cultural diversity. With a focus on personal enhancement, the populist's position posits very limited boundaries between amateur and professional arts activities. Indeed, the goal is to provide opportunities for those outside the professional mainstream. (p. xx)

Regional teams formed to carry out the consultations in each of the 15 regions of the country. To complement the regional teams, the Council created an Executive Secretariat position at the central level to represent as head of the Consulta, charged with the responsibility to solve management demands from the regions. In addition, each regional level appointed its own secretariat to participate in consultations within the territories. By growing the central communication strategy with measures taken at the regional level, regional coordinators had the flexibility to make relevant modifications to any planned material and more effectively adapt the institutional discourse. The nature of these conversations was subject to many unknowns and contextually specific modifications. A communication strategy that interpreted the flow of information originating from decentralized conversations helped serve transparency in agreements and commitments made.

This process follows a method designed in reference to the Supreme Decree No. 66, though it included the necessary flexibility to modify with respect to the planning at each region. (Consejo, 2016, p. 91) Decree No. 66 derived inspiration from international standards, though ultimately excluded key components required in C169 and UNDRIP (Wright & Tomaselli, 2019). Five specific steps detailed in the decree are as follows: (1) a common elaboration of the consultation plan; (2) the dissemination of information about the consultation process; (3) Indigenous People's own internal deliberation process; (4) a "dialogue" between Indigenous Peoples and State representatives; and (5) classification and communication of the results, which concludes the consultation process (Ministerio de Desarrollo Social, 2013, article 16). The Council prepared two guiding documents for work in the regions, one on the methodological model regarding flexibility and another protocol to perform consultations effectively. The methods document proposed the meetings in all regions be referred to as "parliaments" to model a respectful dialogue between

equals, communities and authorities, as they reach agreements on certain issues. “Such concept was readapted to the sociocultural reality of some regions, such as La Araucanía, where the encounters were renamed as *ngütramkawün*, that is, an intercultural conversation between Mapuche society and the State” (Consejo, 2016, p. 92).

By August of 2014, preparation stages moved into the execution phase as personnel assembled teams and began research on each territory. The consultation process required hiring many new professionals. These were intercultural facilitators who could mediate and make recommendations to provide more relevance during each parliament. They would know both languages, sociocultural practices, and any sensitive points, especially with regard to each territory’s relationship with the state. Employing this sort of expertise allowed for the possibility to dismantle mistrust and facilitate a more genuine dialogue. Personnel first gathered centrally for a two-day training conference known as the Jornada Nacional de Capacitación Consulta Previa a los Pueblos Indígenas y Convenio 169 de OIT to learn methods and operation guidelines. Legal teams also issued legal frameworks to develop the process, providing advice unique to each region. The process incorporated many moving parts that required an incredible budget in order to hire personnel for these teams and conduct adequate training sessions, as well as the facilitation of the consulta meetings themselves. To meet these budget needs, the coordinators requested the Ministry of Finance to fund the many actions needed to facilitate the process. Estimating in detail the budgets needed to facilitate the unprecedented process at each region proved incredibly difficult given a number of varying factors, such as the diversity in territories and the number of peoples with whom to meet in each region. The Ministry of Finance agreed to address these uncertainties by mirroring the decentralized method of the process and allocating resources based on the requests of each region. This decentralized proposal by the Department of Planning became an unprecedented budget fulfillment as the very first instance of a regionalization of resources. The Consulta Previa received a total budget equivalent to USD \$1.5 million across all regions for a 10-month period.

The call for participation began by assembling a directory of contacts with organizations, associations, and communities to make them aware of the consultations. The Council relied on the relationships and contacts made by CONADI, which included an extensive database sorted by region, known as the Register of Indigenous Communities and Associations. Directors in the Council would supplement the register with their own research of contacts to reach out to indigenous artists and cultural organizations. Upon completion of training for the regional directors and their teams, they set out on visits with representatives and leaders in the territories to invite them to participate in the consulta. As part of the methodologies, starting a dialogue based on trust depended upon this initial personal invitation to socialize with the personnel and familiarize those in the regions with the process.

The Council continued to foment trust through a series of carefully planned methods to carry out the consultations, appropriately record and deliver information from the parliament, and stay true to commitments. Despite their efforts in cautious planning and execution, mistrust became evident in the first stages of the consulta. The unmet historical demands from indigenous peoples to the state presented capacity difficulties for the regional teams. The Council decided the best measure to meet this mistrust with was transparency, provided in the form of copies of the draft of the bill that was to create the Ministry of Culture, Art and Heritage. Knowing that copies of the draft would not suffice, they provided further resources in the form of meetings to explain the text and presentations by legal managers. Another measure of transparency and consistency came by the online publication of the minutes from meetings. A range of local media, indigenous communication channels, and municipality websites disseminated the progress of the meetings within each region.

An initial main point of contention voiced by several indigenous organizations was the rejection of Supreme Decree No. 66, as implemented by the prior Piñera administration to regulate consultation processes. “Notably, the new decree states that the indigenous peoples entitled to consultation are those specifically included in the Indigenous Act of 1999, without referring to the criterion of self-identification as indigenous laid down in Article 1 of Convention No. 169”

(Ormaza, 2018, p. 93). Note here the absence of any agreement between the state and indigenous organizations in determining what would define the criteria to qualify for a consultation. The scope of this decree became a point of contention. The measures subject to a required consultation are those regarding ‘direct, significant and specific impact’ on indigenous peoples in the exercise of their traditional or religious practices or relationship with their land. Measures excluded from the scope of the consultation are those taken in situations of emergency, as seen under Piñera’s second administration in the form of a cancellation to indigenous consultations with a state of emergency declared during October 2019 mobilizations. In 2014, the same year the Council initiated the consulta, a trade union of Mapuche Bakers brought this Decree No. 66 before the ILO Governing Body against Chile to question the interpretation of Article 6 of Convention 169. Wright and Tomaselli discuss three reasons for the failure of prior consultation in Chile: “the overall lack of good faith on the part of the State representatives; the many irregularities, which Indigenous representatives and organisations complained about; and, the unwillingness or impossibility of pursuing any concrete action after the end of the consultation process...” (2019). Despite the Council’s assurance it would govern structurally by the Convention 169 standards, doubts toward the validity of this Supreme Decree would reappear throughout the consultation process. The Council responded proactively by addressing the contention, listening to any criticisms, recording them in the minutes, and passing them along to the appropriate authorities. These proactive measures aimed to foster trust and respect within the consultations were translated to the design of the communication strategy at the national level.

As the consultation brought forward suggestions for the draft and new ideas at each productive meeting, the need to close the process and assemble a final draft of the bill at the national level would near. Material from each of the parliament meetings generated input to synthesize a preliminary framework of agreements at the central level. The Council compiled and provided the themes addressed in the framework back to the regions to provide feedback one more time before the final dialogue stage. Agreements made at the regional level were then cross-referenced to find consensus across the consultations. From the common agreements, the following

common requests for the bill arose: include reference to multiculturalism in the country, a name to reflect this (most frequently suggested as the Ministry of Cultures), recognition as a function, promotion of native languages, the participation of indigenous representatives in the advisory body of the ministry, and the existence of a department to oversee indigenous populations within the structure of the ministry. Participants at the regional level requested to elect delegates to represent them at the central dialogue phase to represent on behalf of their suggestions. On March 21 and 22 of 2015, the Council held a conference at their headquarters in Valparaíso with 212 delegates (121 women and 91 men) chosen at the regional dialogues. Out of respect for the dialogues and the trust gained throughout the consultation, the press was not invited to attend this conference. For similar reasons, the Council requested consent from participants to record the meeting audiovisually. The opening of the meeting gathered the delegates for ceremonial prayers of all peoples led by indigenous organizations in the host region. Later, each region presented their proposals, and the main consensus was to construct a new central document based on the common agreements. The conference incorporated opportunities for working groups to further develop the draft and come to agreements. In addition to settling on a draft for the Ministry bill, the delegates brought forward a synthesis of unrelated demands which the Council for Culture had no authority over. The demands called for constitutional recognition, demilitarization of regions, repeal of decrees 40 and 66, right to water, integration of languages, participation in investment projects, quotas in Congress, presence of CONADI in all regions, ancestral medicine in public health policy, and a repeal of Article 1 of Law no. 17288, which gives the State power to determine the cultural heritage of peoples.

By the end of the second day of meetings, the assembly celebrated the ratification of the Acuerdo Nacional de la Consulta Previa del CNCA. This national agreement approved 14 points in a majority decision by the 212 delegates. The following is an overview of the agreements reached in this collective decision. All points are to be included in the bill that will enter the legislative process for the creation of the new ministry, which will be called the Ministry of Cultures, the Arts, and Heritage. The ministry will recognize, respect and promote the pre-existing

multiculturalism of nations that formed the country, sustained by nine recognized indigenous peoples. People of African descent of the Arica and Parinacota region will be recognized by the State as tribal peoples considered an important contribution to the cultural identity of Chile, and the Council will seek a manner by which to incorporate their participation in the councils of the ministry. The State will promote the recognition of pre-existing peoples, such as the Chango people from Atacama, now considered extinct. A concept of indigenous cultural heritage will be incorporated to include the material, immaterial, and territorial elements of the peoples. The ministry will propose policies related to the safeguarding of artistic and cultural expressions of indigenous peoples through an intercultural approach. A Council of Native Peoples will be created to represent the nine indigenous peoples recognized by law (Aymara, Quechua, Atacameño or Lican Antay, Diaguita, Mapuche, Rapa Nui, Kawésqar, Yagán and Kola) and those to be recognized in the future. Interministerial coordination with the Ministry of Education will foment programs of study to promote multiculturalism, and the ministry will coordinate with other ministries in appropriate and relevant manners. Public policies will protect and promote the traditional ancestral culture of native peoples. The creation of the Departamento de Pueblos Originarios (Department of Native Peoples), known as DEPO, will have a presence in all regions, including Easter Island. Finally, the ministry will recognize traditional authorities as ancestral authorities, attending to the customs of their communities and territories.

### **Creation of DEPO**

The Departamento de Pueblos Originarios (DEPO), later placed under the purview of the Ministry of Cultures, had its origins at the national meeting in the closing of the Consulta Previa in March of 2015. By June of 2015, Exempt Resolution No. 1092 officially enacted the Departamento de Pueblos Originarios. In order to maintain and represent the relationships built with the institution and the communities, DEPO would work on revising the cultural recognition of indigenous peoples and afro-descendant communities. Using participatory methods, the department had a mission to ensure the implementation of initiatives that revitalize various

expressions of indigenous arts and cultures, promote cultural heritage, and consecrate rights by providing means for inclusion within the structure of cultural institutions. DEPO went into effect as an establishment in 2016 to carry on with dialogue, agreement making, and other avenues of indigenous participation within the future Ministry of Cultures.

According to reports published by the Ministry of Cultures in mid-2018 about the DEPO, there were ten professionals based at the headquarters in Santiago and 17 professionals to oversee regional coordination. The Ministry characterizes the DEPO team by their commitment and knowledge of the unique cultural customs of each community and boasts diversity in the professional training of these team members. A large portion of the DEPO team are themselves part of the indigenous communities with which they work, a measure the Ministry states does “guarantee proper implementation of this program in the different territories,” (Ministerio, 2018, p. 11). This institutional inclusion through employment of leadership demonstrates a change in indigenous willingness to consider working alongside the government. It also conveys heightened equity within integrationist policies of the Ministry and serves as fortification for the government’s integrity and reputation, as Hale states, “especially as neoliberal elites gain the wisdom to respond to their indigenous critics not by suppressing dissent, but by offering them a job,” (2007). Participation by indigenous representatives, not only through community consultations but in positions of power and knowledge.

Based on Article 5 from Convention 169, a framework regarding the right to cultural integrity, DEPO created a guide for their work across the territories to increase participation and prominence. This guide was based on the priorities of communities and organizations, allowing the specific cultural and territorial relevance to inform the central elements of the department at the national level. To promote these cultural initiatives, Programa de fomento y difusión de las artes y las culturas de los pueblos indígenas (Program of Development and Dissemination of the Arts and Cultures of Indigenous Peoples) came to fruition led by DEPO-CNCA. The framework of the program aimed to heighten the promotion, dissemination, and revitalization of the artistic and cultural expressions deemed fundamental by the organizations. DEPO began to fulfill these

commitments of the program with a focus on rights. Putting the collective and comprehensive rights approach in practice, the future ministry ensured a respectful space worthy of participation by the peoples. The institution set in place protocol to always invite others for dialogue and treat them with respect and dignity, allowing for a continued renewal of trust in work and agreements between organizations and DEPO.

### **National Synthesis of the Programa de Fomento y Difusión**

The Programa de Fomento y Difusión 2016-2017 (Program of Development and Dissemination) brought to prominence the practice and value of collective rights of indigenous communities by creating initiatives to enhance preservation and present the traditional and contemporary expressions in their territories. In an effort to advance the cultural revitalization process at the territorial level, a network of organizations collaborated over the last few years in partnership with DEPO. This network is enhanced with additional support by cultural centers, foundations, municipalities, and universities. From 2016 to 2017, the number of comunas, or municipalities, participating in the program steadily increased from 159 to 168, which constitute almost half of the country's comunas. In this first biannual program, almost 1,200 organizations participated at the national level. It is important to note that the scope of this work favors a structure that grants more prominence to those organizations that participate in the program.

By always respecting the traditional authorities, indigenous cultural participation constitutes the first component of the program and translates into the definition, monitoring, and evaluation of plans for the territorial revitalization of the arts and cultures of the indigenous peoples (Plan de Revitalización Cultural Regional). At this stage, the regional directorates met with indigenous organizations and prioritized issues to stitch together lines of action. The program also sought to allow people to meet with their peers from other territories and towns and thus learn about other realities and common priorities. Organizations have advocated the need to include children as the necessary protagonists in a long-term process, and these new needs also respond to the space for reflection that the department has sought to open so that organizations analyze how

they are doing culture and how to revitalize their approach to culture. Through the 143 dialogues hosted by the regional directorates of the CNCA in 2016, a prioritization of issues for cultural revitalization resulted in the preparation of 16 Cultural Revitalization Plans, 16 territorial plans: 15 regions plus that of Rapa Nui. These prioritization dialogues included the participation of 1,192 indigenous and Afro-descendant organizations in 159 comunas across the country to create the plans of action. A second cycle of participatory dialogues in 2017 throughout 168 comunas served as a follow-up to evaluate the development of the cultural revitalization plans.

<b>Componente 1</b> <b>Participación cultural indígena</b>			
<b>Nº de diálogos participativos</b>		<b>Nº de organizaciones participantes</b>	
<b>2016</b>	<b>2017</b>	<b>2016</b>	<b>2017</b>
143	127	897	741

<b>Componente 2</b> <b>Fomento de las artes y las culturas indígenas</b>			
<b>Nº de organizaciones</b>		<b>Nº de Personas</b>	
<b>2016</b>	<b>2017</b>	<b>2016</b>	<b>2017</b>
1.239	1.361	5.243	9.193

<b>Componente 3</b> <b>Difusión e intercambio cultural</b>	
<b>Nº de actividades de difusión</b>	
<b>2016</b>	<b>2017</b>
63	85

Table 1. Overview of National participation in the Programa de Fomento y Difusión (Ministerio de la Culturas, las Artes y el Patrimonio, 2018)

The second component of the program is the promotion of indigenous arts and cultures through the implementation of the Planes de Revitalización Cultural Regionales. Granting access to resources and purchases at the regional level required official collaboration agreements signed at this stage to carry out the plans crafted during the first component. These collaborators include

a network of indigenous comunas, organizations, municipalities, and regional universities. Some of the initiatives prioritized in the plans include various internships, workshops, schools of linguistic revitalization, academies of traditional and contemporary indigenous art, participatory research projects, work in sites of indigenous heritage significance, strengthening of cultural spaces, and the gathering of information from indigenous memory. Some of these activities are carried out according to what is defined in the previous dialogues and is carried out in collaboration with institutions validated by local indigenous organizations or through the bodies defined together. To maintain their cultural systems, the plans at the national level prioritized actions with the purpose of revitalizing language. One immediate course of action focused on the creation of linguistic boarding schools (*koneltun*). These boarding schools provide a replicable model of immersion with the intention to create new speakers of the language specific to the region. Originating in the region of La Araucanía, an autonomous group of people set the example for a methodology and how to replicate it in other regions with the support of the program. The *koneltun* model expanded to the regions of Biobío, Maule, and O'Higgins. Other activities in response to this language priority include a school of indigenous languages, language workshops, and informal meetups across the regions.

The third component of the program, diffusion and cultural exchange, supported and implemented experiences that transferred artistic and cultural knowledge. This component to date has been translated into activities of dissemination and cultural exchange at the regional and national levels. The following is an example of diffusion initiatives at the national level. The Indigenous Crafts Seal is a recognition of traditional craft knowledge and techniques carried out by a central DEPO team in partnership with the Crafts Program of Pontifical Catholic University of Chile. A public call for participants in 2016 and 2017 received 56 and 73 submissions, respectively. The works are judged by a panel of experts in the field, consisting of academics and indigenous artisans. In the first instance of this contest, the jury was comprised of the head of the DEPO, a wood craftsman from Rapa Nui, an academic of Mapuche culture in Santiago, and six other affiliates of universities. The largely academic jury chose 7 winning works to receive the

seal. Recipients of the seal receive a certificate and cash prize at an award ceremony in Santiago, in addition to the possibility of participating as exhibitors at the UC Craft Fair, “among other benefits,” (Ministerio, 2018) The seal is intended to encourage the revitalization of traditional crafts of indigenous peoples while promoting the dissemination of their cultural production. “Son conoedores por herencia ancestral de los detalles más íntimos de los ciclos naturales de sus territorios de origen y también manejan las claves culturales antiguas y muchas veces olvidadas, depositadas en aquellos espacios que inspiraron en algún lejano tiempo las obras de sus ancestros, que hoy reproducen”, pointed out José Ancan, director of the DEPO (Ministerio, 2018).

Other initiatives include the recognition of indigenous and afro-descendant women known as Asát’ap. The meeting of cultures stands out, which has become a space for the exhibition and circulation of works by contemporary indigenous visual artists from different places, experiences, and trajectories. During these two years, the territory has served as an articulated concept of the meeting, or a dialogue with respect and good faith. The Council for Culture opened the door and invited indigenous peoples and people of African descent to enter, and they are making use of this space by law today. The ministry serves as an institution of dialogues and works jointly with indigenous and Afro-descendant organizations in their territories, a commitment and adherence to the rights approach. It seeks to maintain the trust gained in order to support the increasingly urgent cultural revitalization processes for the peoples. The ultimate objective of the program is that the people who belong to indigenous and Afro-descendant peoples have the conviction that their culture is fundamental since it is the nucleus that gives meaning to their territories and their history, emphasizing respect and indigenous cultural protection in new generations, since it is them who will project themselves in the future being the new protagonists of these processes in time. It is indigenous participants who should represent themselves, speak on behalf of their comunas, interpreting their own voice.

DEPO realizes these initiatives with an approach focused on rights, cultural and territorial relevance to realize the priorities stated during the planning dialogues. They hope organizations will participate throughout the program cycle in the aforementioned components, while respecting

their cultural norms, protocols, time, and definitions in all actions carried out. According to DEPO, the communities remain in permanent dialogue with them under a framework of agreements, which define their needs in regard to cultural revitalization.

## **ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MINISTRY OF CULTURES**

The creation of the Ministry marks a new era of cultural administration that began with the return to democracy. Following a series of commissions and eventually, the creation of the CNCA, the first term of Sebastián Piñera's presidency brought forward the proposal of the project for the Ministry. In August of 2017, Congress unanimously voted in favor of its creation. The first Minister of Culture, Ernesto Ottone, commented on the historic moment stating, "The approval of this project is the culmination of a long-standing process, which will finally allow us to have a solid, coordinated and decentralized institutional framework."(ifacca.org) The decentralization of institutionalized culture manifests firstly in the Ministry's designation of regional positions of leadership and a decision to situate the headquarters in Valparaíso, making it the first Secretary of State not based in Santiago.

Unprecedentedly, cultural policies in Chile call for indigenous recognition, participation, and representation to be brought into fruition by way of the creation of a new Ministry of Cultures. In August In October of 2017, President Michelle Bachelet signed into law the creation of the Ministry of Cultures, the Arts, and Heritage. The ministry proceeds over the Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes, which has served with intentions to reform civic participation and advance representation of cultural diversity. It should be emphasized that the state officially named the ministry to engage culture in the plural form, the ministry of cultures, to represent the plurality of nations of peoples living within the country. Similarly, the top three principles governing the new ministry are cultural diversity, cultural participation, and cultural recognition of indigenous peoples. The distinctive characteristic of the ministry from the previous council is the explicit mention of promoting collaboration in recognition of and safeguarding of indigenous cultural heritage. The law which created the ministry prioritizes in Article 1.3, to govern with "Cultural

recognition of indigenous peoples. Recognize, respect, and promote the cultures of indigenous peoples, their ancestral practices, their beliefs, their history and their worldview, with special consideration for the development of indigenous culture, arts and cultural heritage,” (BCN, 2017).

The new ministry would have two sub-secretariats: one for Cultures and Arts, and another for Cultural Heritage, which will also be accountable for the National Cultural Heritage Service. Both institutions will be territorially decentralized with Regional Ministerial Secretariats and Regional Heritage Directorates. The new ministry aims to promote and carry out public management in a culture based on the public recognition of the cultural diversity of the country, including the recognition of the cultures of indigenous peoples and migrant communities: An Advisory Council of Native Peoples will be created and a representative of the immigrant communities residing in the country will be added to the National Council of Culture, Arts and Heritage, which will increase to 17 members, with representatives from the heritage sector. This increase will also be reflected in the Regional Councils, which will have 13 members each. The current three sectorial Councils remain: Book and Reading, Art and Audiovisual Industry and National Music, within the subsecretary of Cultures and the Arts, which will also host the different art disciplines (IFACCA).

The Ministry of Cultures incorporates three citizen councils in which there will be indigenous participation: Indigenous Advisory Council; Intended to advise the minister directly, National Council for Cultures, Arts and Heritage; Two indigenous representatives at the national level, Regional Councils of Cultures, Arts and Heritage; An indigenous representative in each region. These reserved seats are largely related to systematic cultural deracination, moving indigenous peoples from a position of Other to a role in political representation under a constitution that still fails to recognize them.

The first minister, Ernesto Ottone, was ushered in as an incumbent of sorts, previously serving as the Minister of the Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes. When the bill signed into law, Ottone published an opinion piece that addressed its significance:

That is why we say that the institutional framework that we reach today is the product of a long path on the basis of which was the recovery of democracy, since only in freedom a Ministry of Cultures can fulfill its mission of being a structure destined to the blossoming of creation, of diversity and pluralism, and not an entity that carries a particular vision. (2017)

Since the change of administrations, the seat of the minister struggles to achieve any sort of stability or longevity. These are the starting dates for each minister thus far: Ernesto Ottone Ramírez, March 1, 2018; Alejandra Pérez Lecaros, March 11, 2018, upon the inauguration of Piñera; Mauricio Rojas Mullor, August 9, 2018; Consuelo Valdés Chadwick, August 13, 2018. In research conducted by the Observatorio de Políticas Culturales (OPC) Chile, a legislative agenda overview revealed that in 2018, 54% of cultural projects had movement in Congress, whether approved or archived, compared to 24% in the prior year (OPC, 2018). The most debated projects are related to cultural and natural heritage, accounting for 56.4% of the cultural projects debated in Congress. To contrast, the least disputed area of culture is the visual arts and handicrafts, only contributing to 3.6% of projects. The instability for leadership and movement for proposed projects appeared to be major pain points during the inaugural months of the new institution. Further research will be necessary to assess its functionality and efficacy based on proposed new policies.

### **Chapter 3: Case Study - Región de La Araucanía**

The region of La Araucanía is a territory bound by the BioBío region to the north, Los Ríos region to the south, Argentina to the east, and the Pacific Ocean to the west. The region is split into two provinces, Malleco and Cautín, that are divided into 32 municipalities or comunas. In the province of Cautín is the regional capital, the municipality and city of Temuco. The area of La Araucanía makes up 4.2% of the Chilean national territory and is known for its densely wooded landscape nourished by high precipitation (IWGIA, 2017). As of 2017, the population accounted for just over one million persons out of the roughly 10 million nationally. Most pertinent to this

study, La Araucanía contains the highest percentage of the population belonging to any indigenous people in the country (31.7%), most identifying as Mapuche. In a 2015 National Socio-Economic Characterization Survey (Casen), 23.6% of the population lived in a situation of income poverty (MDS, 2016). The Casen survey reported 28.2% of the population lived in a circumstance of multidimensional poverty, measured by indicators in education, health, work and social security, housing and environment, and social cohesion (MDS, 2016). Overall, a defining characteristic of the region is its widely diverse and multicultural character, an interethnic existence between Mapuche and non-Mapuche cultures.

This case study incorporates three main components: an overview of the Consulta Previa Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes in the Araucanía Region with insight from a director, an analysis of the Regional Cultural Policy plan for 2017-2022, resources and program initiatives for the region, and an ethnographic perspective on such policies in conversation with local indigenous creatives. This case study begins by assessing the methods used in the Consulta Previa in the region of La Araucanía, evaluating the impact of those dialogues on development programs, and the influence these conversations had on the agenda-setting for the Regional Cultural Policy plan for 2017-2022.

In the Araucanía Region, the CNCA's Consulta Previa held 71 meetings in total, starting the process in Padre de Las Casas and concluding in Temuco, both centrally located in the region. Attendance at these meetings reached over 2,000 Mapuche participants between September of 2014 and March of 2015, culminating in the election of regional representatives for the national meeting in Valparaíso. The regional team emphasized the importance of personal invitations to the meetings, socializing with Mapuche representatives of communities and organizations beforehand. Other priorities for the process included the respect of cultural traditions and adherence to a structure of governance in accordance with the Convenio 169. In this spirit, a foundation of good faith with hopes to reach agreements guided the process. The regional team followed Mapuche cultural protocol to engage throughout the process respectfully. Based on feedback received during the socialization process and planning prior to the Consulta, the regional participants

expressed interest in holding meetings as comunas. In addition to meetings in the territory with the CNCA, communal level engagement characterized the Consulta Previa in La Araucanía. Autonomous groups of Mapuche artists and culturists organized meetings to discuss themes of their art and culture.

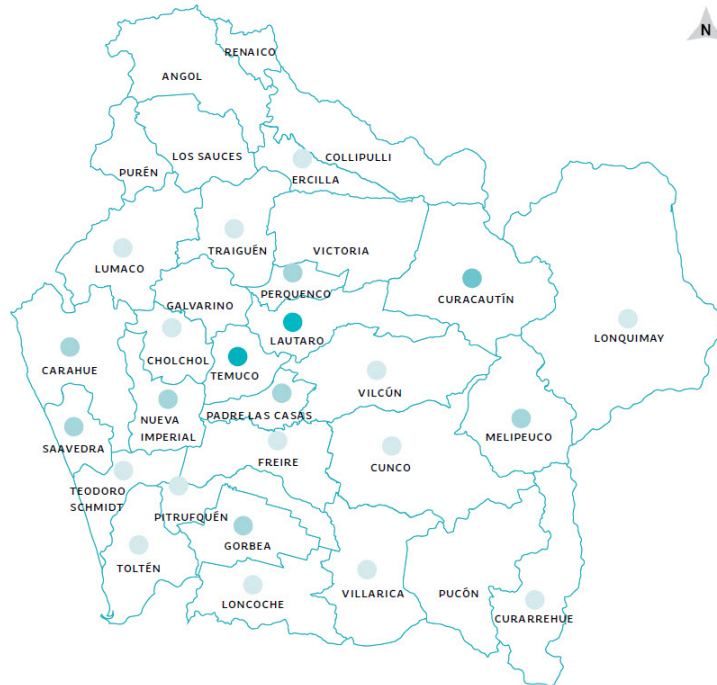


Figure 2. Municipal distribution of Regional Access Program activities in La Araucanía (Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes, 2018)

As noted in regional consultation processes in other regions, La Araucanía faced obstacles in relation to the parallel process being carried out by the Ministry of Social Development at the time. Mapuche people, who are particularly concentrated in this region, most notably experience conditions of political oppression. Despite shortfalls evident in legislation related to consultation in Chile, the CNCA team referenced the stages described in Supreme Decree No. 66 to carry out the process. Keeping in mind the sociopolitical context of the region, the team developed a flexible plan of socialization, information, deliberation, and agreements. According to the CNCA,

participants granted permission, so the process could be observed by the National Institute of Human Rights and by the Indigenous Institute Foundation (Consejo, 2018, p. 250).

The leadership of the Regional Council selected for the Consulta Previa underwent drastic modifications within its initial stages. Originally intended to feature a lead coordinator and three team members, the national level directors changed the coordinator after only one month. This dismissal of leadership proved to be a repercussion for minimal progress in the socialization process across the region. Any further oversight, delay, or misuse of resources by the coordinator of the consultation process in a region home to the largest indigenous population in the country, could have been detrimental to the constituents' contribution at the national convention. Directors selected a new coordinator, Pedro Marimán Quemenedo, a Mapuche professional with experience in territorial management. Quemenedo would go on to serve as the director of the Regional Council of Culture for La Araucanía. National directors provided extra resources for the new coordinator to bring on two more team members, creating a team of five people, all of whom belong to the Mapuche people. This new regional council marked an intervention of the process in deciding to hire a team entirely comprised of Mapuche people.

With the new personnel set in place for the Consulta Previa, their first action was to postpone the start of the consultation. This decision to postpone allowed the Consejo Regional to reach out to the representatives of organizations, socialize properly according to Mapuche protocol, and extend an invitation to participate in the process. Using their previous experience in working with communities in accordance with the protocol in the Convention 169, they directed initial contact to the leaders within each municipality. They began with visits to leaders they knew, traditional leaders and directors of organizations, and then extended this network as leaders in the municipalities collaborated with other municipalities to invite more representatives. During the initial visits, the team did not document any attendance, but rather focused on providing informative briefings and delivering brochures about the Consulta Previa. Restructuring the team and postponing the start of consultations set a precedent of flexibility that prepared them for changes ahead.

With the objective to explain and inform representatives about the Consulta Previa, the Regional Council proposed an initial strategy to carry out about eight informationals across a selection of host comunas in the region, at which representatives in neighboring comunas could attend. Upon starting these briefings, the attendees insisted on comuna specific meetings to allow for grassroots participation. With this change of course, the teams held a total of 26 briefings, spanning 29 of the 32 municipalities in the region with some additional territory meetings. The briefings, held in Spanish and Mapuzungun, began with introductions by the director of the Regional Council for Culture, followed by the territory's *ngen ruka* (homeowner) or host representative. Next, the regional team made introductions, requested permission to video record the session, followed by a summary of objectives in their native language, Mapuzungun. A lawyer from the team explained the significance of the consultation, and the meeting adjourned upon agreements made on whether or not to continue the process. If they reached a consensus to proceed, the team worked with leaders on these visits to schedule dates and places where the subsequent parliaments would be held. Minutes from every meeting, including notes on the final agreements, were printed and distributed to attendees. The teams also provided attendees a draft of the bill in discussion, despite the Convention 169 and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples only requiring that these be made available on screen (Ormaza, 2018).

The consultation methodology developed in the first visits with indigenous representatives determined that parliaments going forward be called *ngütramkawün*, an integrated concept of conversation (*gütram*) and meeting of people (*trawün*). This term, designated by representatives, alludes to a conversation or meeting seeking to reach an agreement that may be between Mapuche people or between Mapuche people and representatives of the State. The need for this intercultural concept distinguished itself from terms used in other regions. In contrast, indigenous representatives of the Biobío region chose the term *trawün*, which explicitly refers to a meeting amongst Mapuche people. Early visits reached agreements to further develop the process in regard to the role and function of interveners, deadlines, mediums for information deliverables, and frequency of the *ngütramkawün*. The total number of meetings varied by comuna. Limited by

resources and time, they culminated in this stage with the election of representatives to participate in regional parliaments. Representatives and the consultation team worked during the first meeting to integrate the various proposals from the comunas into a single final document and submitted it to the regional director in the second regional meeting. They met for a third final meeting to select the representatives who would attend the national meeting as well as electing a spokesperson to present their findings on behalf of the Araucanía region.

One of the regional team members, Luis Penchuleo, became the coordinator of the Departamento de Pueblos Originarios (DEPO) del Servicio Nacional del Patrimonio Cultural Región de La Araucanía. Luis Penchuleo generously agreed to meet with me during my time in Temuco to discuss the primary initiatives of the department for the region. In a visit to the offices of the Ministry of Cultures in Temuco, Luis opened his door to share his experiences, limited print government texts, and insights into the work they have done in the region. Luis described the limitations of the department, admitting that one person in charge of the region was a weakness of the department. He added that personnel support was minimal, and his office relied on interns to support journalism and documentation efforts. Luis described the role of the DEPO within the ministry as a bottom-up entity that did not assert authority over the region's indigenous culture. Rather, he described it as a branch that offers resources and management methods that create opportunities for the region's reunion with traditional knowledge. His experiences working for the DEPO suggest that their approaches enable citizens to participate with a sector of government in more open and trusting ways despite their conflicts with the state.

Luis emphasized the differences between the administrations of Piñera and Bachelet in their proposed bills for the creation of the ministry; Piñera's drafted bill excluded indigenous populations whereas Bachelet's signed bill included legal and technical language regarding the protections for indigenous cultures. Upon choosing to represent indigenous communities in the ministry, the state acknowledged the plurality of many cultures and promised to create decentralized authorities in the form of DEPO, whose regional leadership is currently entrusted to Luis. He explained the main concerns related to the representation of indigenous peoples in the

creation of the ministry were language, memory, heritage, and traditional knowledge. In his experiences, the consultations prioritized a focus on rights and participation, and following socialization protocols proved fundamental to establishing trust. When asked with whom he collaborated most, Luis listed visual artists, academics, government officials, and museums. Luis explained in depth the participation avenues for the initial Program of Development and Dissemination of the Arts and Cultures of Indigenous Peoples, in its First Cycle 2016-2017, established action items related to cultural policies for the region. These plans prioritized elements of traditional culture and established processes for revitalization that would support the region's language, heritage, and memory.

<b>Componente 1</b> Participación cultural indígena				
N° de diálogos participativos		N° de organizaciones participantes		
2016	2017	2016	2017	
4	3	136	46	

<b>Componente 2</b> Fomento de las artes y las culturas indígenas					
Líneas de Acción		N° de organizaciones		N° de personas	
	2016	2017	2016	2017	
<b>Línea 1</b>	22	72	384	354	
<b>Línea 2</b>	5	24	13	425	
<b>Línea 3</b>	8	16	148	317	

<b>Componente 3</b> Difusión e intercambio cultural	
N° de actividades de difusión	
2016	2017
10	4

Table 2. Overview of regional participation in the Programa de Fomento y Difusión 2016-2017 in the Araucanía (Ministerio de la Culturas, las Artes y el Patrimonio, 2018)

The first action item listed the promotion, revitalization, and normalization of Mapuzungun through workshops, boarding schools, signage, and the reissue and production of texts in this native language. Cultural programming in the region supported efforts that involved ways in which Mapuzungun could be transmitted. They discussed the benefits of language immersion schools and making reference to language texts from as far back as the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In defining the teaching methods in relation to language, the students provided feedback to delineate levels of mastery in Mapuzungun. Luis shared there are now over 400 people learning Mapuzungun as the study and teachings of the language become a professionalized line of work. The language is sacred, and its revitalization liberates many to embrace their indigeneity. Historically, the language came to be disused and spoken only in ceremony. There is an old guard attitude that suggests its use colloquially is an abuse of the language's sacred nature. But as the language is revived, it is more acceptable and common to use in casual conversation. It is important to note that the demographics in the region are predominantly younger, so the department recognizes the importance of disseminating the language among youth populations. Luis seemed eager to share that there are even some hip-hop groups starting to record music in native tongue as the use of Mapuzungun becomes more popular in the region. In honor of International Mother Language Day, observed on the 21<sup>st</sup> of February, the region held marches to advocate for official recognition of Mapuzungun. This indigenous mobilization in Chile stands out as the only one in Latin America to hold marches calling on the government to recognize native languages as an official national language. Luis added that the only other comparable marches for language policy occurred in Catalonia as they petitioned the Spanish government to recognize Catalan as an official language. The most relevant programs in this phase have been the immersion internship Koneltun Mapuzungun Mew (Cunco), immersion pilot programs for children (CECREA), and an international seminar on minority languages (Basque and Mapuzungun) (Penchuleo, 2018).

The second action item prioritized the rescue of oral and archival memory through participatory research. An important initiative of the second phase related to memory in cultural knowledge is the department's investment in the revival of local toponymy, the study of place

names. Research in the region on the names of its cities will take place through partnerships with local universities and institutions and presented to the community in the form of conventions and panels. Luis remarks the region is privileged to have prestigious academics that are Mapuche researchers. Their research will work on the reconstruction of local memory from 19<sup>th</sup> century, the last time the Mapuche were an independent nation. The official history of the region is unknown to many, so the department aspires to support research that will recover testimonies and compare them with chronicles and archives. Using participatory methods, Mapuche communities and organizations support these endeavors and consider it relevant to understand this history that informs so much of their current reality. Another initiative of the department supports the revival of traditional heritage in the region by supporting schools and finding local teachers in the region who express an interest in teaching indigenous knowledge and official Mapuche art. Programs on material heritage preservation in the territory collaborate with researchers and scholars, especially in anthropology, to provide the educational materials. The department helps organize modern workshops, fairs, and art exhibits to showcase this restoration of heritage.

The third action item prioritized Mapuche heritage to identify culturally significant sites, preserve knowledge, and rescue traditional trades. As for the third phase, revitalization of heritage in the region, the department supports Mapuche artists and their transmission of traditional techniques. Mapuche artists in the region, many of them women, continue cultivating and teaching traditional arts through workshops sponsored by the DEPO. Of particular relevance to this initiative is the school of Mapuche traditional arts, crafts and knowledge, along with the identification and study of significant sites. Several related activities organized by the communities and organizations have turned into regional heritage sites. One site of research, carried out in the Maite territory, resulted in an international seminar on indigenous intellectual property rights. Later in this work, I return to the significance of this area of study for the protection of indigenous cultural knowledge.

## **REGIONAL CULTURAL POLICY - LA ARAUCANÍA 2017-2022**

The construction of public policies to strengthen cultural institutionalality, through the creation of the new ministry, brought forward new guiding principles regarding recognition and representation. As a reference for the values upheld by public culture, the principles purposefully center themselves within social development. These principles promote cultural diversity, participation, recognition of indigenous peoples, recognition of territorial cultures, recognition of cultural heritage as a public good, respect for the rights of creators, and the recognition of historical memory as culture and heritage. Cultural development at the territorial level promotes local diversity and memory, creating decentralized spaces of social construction. The design of this policy approach embodies the interwoven spirit of the new institutionalality. In this spirit, the construction of national policy for public culture became a tapestry of each region's own cultural policies. The following is an overview of the regional characteristics and data that informed the objectives for the Regional Cultural Policy 2017-2022 for La Araucanía.

Public policymaking is tasked with promoting interculturality while simultaneously sewing unity through that diversity. By acknowledging and respecting the narratives, knowledge, trades, and rituals unique to a region, shared dialogue between the State and society can inform culturally specific public policies made in good faith for citizens. More specifically, institutionalality is strengthened when a state engages in cultural recognition of indigenous populations. The development of public policy in regard to culture, the arts, and indigenous cultural heritage required state actors to recognize, respect, and promote culture native to the region; This includes ancestral practices, their beliefs, their history and their cosmovision. I want to highlight the significance of this recognition of historical memory, a pillar of culture and heritage, which provides the state a chance to support the rebuilding of memory and creativity. The state presents these initiatives as an opportunity for first inhabitants of the region to reconstruct “creativity of that supplanted world” and to restore “dignity taken away that [they] seek to recover in the present” (Consejo, 2018). In order to create policies that would support these cultural reparations in a new era of inclusion, Araucanía's Regional Cultural Policy had to prioritize six axes: participation and

access to art and cultures, promotion of the artistic and cultural field, revitalization and dissemination of cultural and artistic heritage, education and cultural awareness, enhancement of cultural spaces and management, and recognition of indigenous peoples.

The CNCA had long overseen the region's expressions of culture through programming in cultural spaces, defining artistic ethics, formal and nonformal education, professionalization of cultural management and financial administration, and the creation of networks of artists and spaces to promote artistic appreciation. Although the Council for Culture always encouraged citizen participation methods for the previous two periods of policy planning (2005-2016), this third period (2017-2022) in the transition to the Ministry oriented itself from the territories so that the structure of the national policy is based on a series of regional-specific policies. This method of public policymaking adopts the rights and territory approaches delineated by international bodies such as the United Nations Universal Declaration on Human Rights, as well as the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (UNESCO, 2005). Ratified by Chile in 2007, the UNESCO convention recognizes that the cultural diversity of peoples creates a common heritage of humanity and stimulates sustainable development, supporting why diversity must be respected and preserved for the benefit of all. Officials hoped to achieve an image of the region that reflected these values by implementing provisions of the ILO Convention 169 to a framework of a permanent agreement between indigenous communities, government, and the regional community. In compliance with provisions of the Convention 169, officials aimed to empower the regional community to understand, monitor its implementation, and evaluate the results. The aforementioned international frameworks put people in the center of public action to inform a rights-based approach in the construction of cultural policy. So, not only is the process based on civic participation, but the resulting policies also intend to operate on the premise that the exercise of culture is a right of the people. Keeping this approach at the forefront of public policy strengthens sociocultural frameworks in support of citizen participation and sustainable development.

To understand how policy changes came to fruition, it is necessary to acknowledge the significance of regional planning influenced by the Regional Development Strategy. By mobilizing institutions, public and private, the Regional Development Strategy oversees the management of institutions, public services, NGOs, provincial and municipal governments, universities, business associations, and the citizens of a region. This strategy marks the beginning stage of the Regional Planning System, whose role is to guide policies, management, and investment of the region's public sector in accordance with national plans. In order to increase cultural development, citizen participation, and heritage conservation in the territory, officials began articulating more formal relationships between the regional governments and regional directors of culture. To do so, public policies regarding the territorial development mechanisms in the region required change. Modifications to the Constitutional Law of Municipalities favored decentralization and autonomy in decision-making. Designed with a modern proposal, the Regional Development Strategy emphasized economic progress, social cohesion, sustainable development, and identity. With these frameworks in mind, the CNCA worked diligently to leverage a network that would highlight culture and the arts as integral components to the regional development plan. Officials created a narrative that the region had an identity of rich natural, historical, and cultural wealth that was capable of a transition from asymmetric multiculturalism toward a culturally diverse community that operated on a social pact that valued their differences in customs and beliefs. This narrative described a sense of belonging to a regional community in which citizens wanted to live under a common recognition of and harmonious management of their differences. Officials intended to achieve the image of the region described by the formation of cultural institutionality that would support multicultural recognition and revaluation of cultural assets.

Among these cultural assets are sites of natural heritage, biotic and geophysical, protected under the National Forest Corporation. These sites are frequented by 44% of people in the region, according to a national survey on cultural participation (Consejo, 2015). In this context, the region of La Araucanía is the second region of the country with the highest percentage of visits to natural

heritage sites after Magellan (55%), and is above the national average (31%). The inclination of the region's leadership, in terms of cultural tourism development, is to capitalize on this trend. According to the University of Chile academic, Salvador Millaleo, Chile is one of the countries where the tourism industry exploits native culture the most and appropriates indigenous history without consent (2019).

As the role of cultural institutionality acquired space in the region's development planning, the complexity in recognizing the diversity in multifaceted intersections of cultures posed new challenges. In a strict sense, the new push to decentralize cultural management engaged notions of interculturality and social cohesion to encourage participatory processes for defining local policies. Broadening participation and representation for cultures through a ministry would require officials to imagine a plurality of cultures. At a Regional Culture Convention in 2017, Araucanía had been described as having "little awareness and appreciation of its own culture and regional cultural heritage as a factor of development and social cohesion in La Araucanía / Wallmapu" (Consejo, 2018). Government officials at this convention suggested that its own heritage ought to be considered as a regional development factor. They considered culture, from a perspective of sustainable development, as an element of social cohesion and engaged interculturality in its simplest form. The approach agreed upon at the convention stated the recognition, respect, and appreciation of the region's cultural diversity must play a significant role in its sociocultural, political, and economic development. Services related to cultural development would need to learn how to implement the regional cultural policy as it pertained to education, tourism, national assets, and the National Corporation for Indigenous Development, CONADI. According to this approach, related policies on regional social cohesion and the development model will impact the recognition of the rights of the people and requires sustainability methods relevant to the territory and its identity.

Working with the regional government, the CNCA identified gaps in the region's previous cultural policy plan and proposed ways to improve. Of those gaps, the low level of inclusion of the cultural rights of indigenous peoples in public sector policies presented an opportunity for

improvement. The following issues were identified in relation to the gap: Territorial management from a standardized governance model, dispersed and slow Mapuzungun revitalization processes, folklorization of Mapuche cultural expressions, and a low budget for the promotion of culture, the arts and the safeguarding of indigenous heritage. Cultural policy proposed for the 2017-2022 cycle needed guidelines to address the monocultural methods affecting development, public programming, and distribution of resources. To disrupt the standardized governance, the regional policy needed to define methods that would emphasize intersectional relationships between different sectors as an essential component in the creation of cultural projects. We see the response to this in the creation of the DEPO that leveraged a network of cultural centers, public and private partners, municipalities, and universities to collaborate at the territorial level. Related to the budget gap, the Regional Government underscored that various financial resources should also be leveraged in support of artistic, cultural and heritage development. CNCA utilized lessons from the gap analysis in the regional plan to ensure the implementation of indigenous methodologies, allocation of resources for the preservation of heritage, and respect for Mapuche cultural expressions.

Fostering cultural participation presented its own set of challenges for the regional policy plan. The region's population expressed discontent with weak programming action, especially in rural areas. The population residing in rural areas accounts for 32.3% of the region, and 58.3% are indigenous of the total rural population (IWGIA, 2017). To better serve these isolated communities, the following cycle of cultural policies needed to acknowledge this research in order to diagnose the condition of the least populated comunas. A main area of focus became the promotion to and from some of the more isolated comunas in the region. Cultural institutionality previously had not extended resources for promoting participation within these rural comunas of the region.

This phenomenon is demonstrated by the number of activities programmed in 2016 across the region by way of the Regional Access program, as seen in Figures 2 and 3. The objective of

the Regional Access program was to expand access to artistic and cultural goods and services to people residing in municipalities outside of regional capitals (CNCA, 2017). This initiative carried out activities in almost all of the municipalities to help decentralize the cultural offerings in the region. Though, as clearly noted by the chart, the volume of activities concentrated in Temuco significantly outweigh activity in all other municipalities.

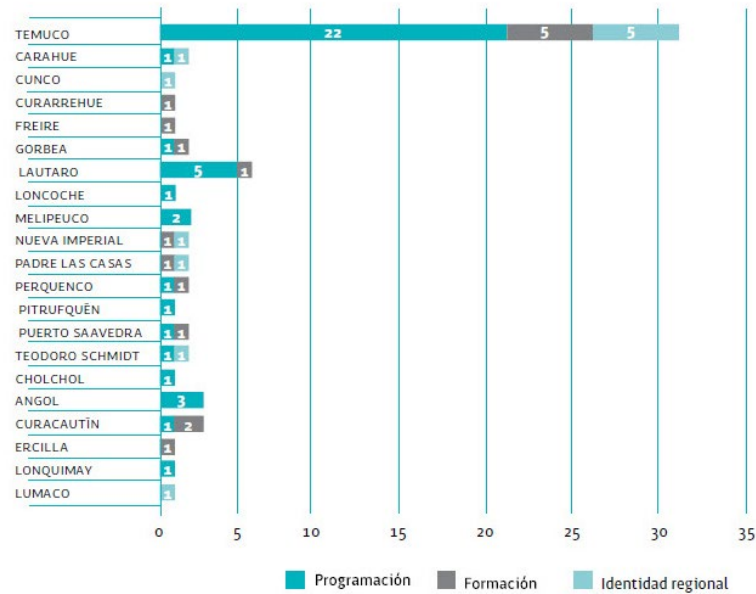


Figure 3. Number of activities carried out in 2016 by the Regional Access program in the region of La Araucanía, by municipality and component (Consejo de la Cultura y las Artes, 2018)

The CNCA defends the imbalance given Temuco’s strategic location that enables greater attendance of people from other municipalities. CNCA assessments on the topic also explain that in most instances of program planning, the cost of transporting attendees is considered for each initiative. Dependent on other policy decisions that impact the region’s development of infrastructure, the centralized nature of public transportation in the region reinforces the logistical feasibility of bringing attendees into the capital. A focus on augmenting attendance detracts from the possibilities of extending outreach and offering curated, community-specific programming. It also reinforces the tendency of cultural policy to perpetuate a capital’s hegemonic culture instead of decentralizing and diversifying initiatives. This phenomenon encouraged the need to establish

a concept of rurality to expand the network of cultural agents and widely execute programming throughout the region.

In addition to the concept of rurality, fostering participation requires policymakers to understand who are the bearers of culture. The cultural agents counted and characterized in this report are those who registered with the CNCA Perfil Cultura. Since 2016, registration on the platform is required of cultural agents (individual or collective), providing personal and legal background information, in order to apply for programming opportunities and public calls by the CNCA. The Perfil Cultura 2016 platform enrolled 909 cultural agents in the region, of which, most registrants inhabit the capital and only one comuna, Toltén, registered none. This stark difference is likely attributed to conditions of the digital divide, which raises a cautioning flag, in terms of equitable practices, regarding red tape that further alienates rural communities from participation. Although the region boasts a significant number of agents, citizens question visibility efforts, expressing a perception that they are unaware of artists, groups, and knowledge of their works. Their perspectives contribute to an important action item on visibility proposed in the objectives for regional policy in regard to the recognition of indigenous populations.

Taking into consideration the aforementioned regional identity, the 2017-2022 Regional Cultural Policy for La Araucanía set forth the following strategic objectives and lines of action for each in relation to Mapuche cultural expressions (Consejo, 2018, p. 111). In order to strengthen the revitalization of the Mapuzungun language through a framework of language rights, the regional initiatives would contribute to the protection of its dissemination. The policy proposed plans to support to the research of related toponymy, the use of new sayings as well as disused terms, and the promotion of its use in media communications. Diffusion of Mapuche memory and the reconstruction of regional history will create opportunities to compile testimonies, identify important historical figures, and continue a partnership with the Ministry of Education to provide content for educational projects. To safeguard and value Mapuche heritage, the government will provide training opportunities on international protections for indigenous heritage, protect and improve cultural and historical spaces, create citizen participation channels, and promote the

creators of traditional art to teach others. Others plans delineate ways to reflect on public work in a way that promotes property rights, protect collective Mapuche intellectual property in accordance with international rights, and train public officials and citizens on case examples of violations. The final objective aims to increase the visibility of both traditional and contemporary Mapuche cultural expressions. Some initiatives employ strategies to target the interests of different age groups, create opportunities to exchange knowledge at cultural landmarks and to promote participation by creatives to train others in traditional trades. This guiding framework of cultural policy outlines how the institutions of culture, in the transition from CNCA to the Ministry, will enact regional policies over five years related to the protection and participation of indigenous culture.

#### **CONVERSATIONS WITH CREATIVES IN ARAUCANÍA**

A university colleague from Temuco recognized my interests and encouraged my travels to Araucanía to meet an incredibly talented group of intellectuals and creatives. My colleague introduced me to a few community leaders in the arts who would help provide. For my own institutional approval to conduct field research, I defined the recruitment of future subjects from among their acquaintances as snowball sampling. I also drafted guiding questions for semi-structured interviews; these conversations were conducted over a week in person as I initially got to know members of a community. My use of the term community here on out is in reference to a specific group of colleagues, artists, and scholars that collaborate together based in nearby comunas of Araucanía: Temuco, Gorbea, and Villarrica. I looked to Linda Tuhiwai Smith's principles for how to go about this social learning, honoring her familiar words, "The word itself, 'research', is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary," (1999). The term research is inextricably linked to colonialism and imperialism, which are "explicitly connected within Indigenous collective memory," and based in European expansionist sciences (Genovese, 2016). With this in mind, I prepared to meet those at the forefront of cultural influence in the capital and surrounding areas of the Araucanía region.

Influenced by Linda Tuhiwai Smith's *Decolonizing Methodologies*, the ethnographic perspectives shared here differ from traditional styles of field research that observe and analyze others' actions, but rather the intent is to portray indigenous meanings. To preface, this style of understanding aims to recollect and convey the experiences and meanings held by the Mapuche people themselves. Letting the members of the community speak in their own voices, I aim to minimize mediation and preserve original thoughts, in pursuit of indigenous meanings (Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 2011). The analysis here is provided by the community, and this work is just a testimony of the meanings they make in regard to culture and related topics. I distance myself from simplistic methods of documentation that encourage notions of "inscription" or "microscopic" manners to detail observations, utilized by cultural anthropologists like Geertz. Rather, I value the relationships with the people I seek to know and understand; In doing so, I am open to experience others' ways of life. This holistic approach prioritizes interactions and only allows for the occasional jotting of notes if deemed appropriate. In several situations, any jottings interfered with my interactions and marginalized myself as an observer instead of a more fully immersed style of relationship building. As reiterated by Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw, writing fieldnotes detract from insights and intuitions that come with experiences in another social world, and writing them down can wait until a later time when an ethnographer can recall and reflect on her experiences (2011). Since multiple respondents expressed that they prefer I immerse myself in the conversation in lieu of notetaking, the respondents offered to stay in touch and provide any clarity or resources based on our conversations afterward. Community members generously continued this dialogue and provided support throughout the process of this writing. In this respect, the following narratives reflect my closest translations of the worldviews and conversations that members of this community willingly shared for the purposes of this case study.

In August of 2018, five months after the Bachelet administration established the Ministry of Cultures, I traveled to Araucanía to meet Mapuche creatives, arts administrators, and intellectuals from the region. Here I will provide an overview of conversations with four key creatives that are each a leader in their community and very well respected in their practice. To

clarify, I use the noun *creatives* to refer to these individuals that are artists as well as thought leaders. In addition to being artists, these creatives are teachers, consultants, entrepreneurs, activists, organizers, etc. They are individuals who influence people, not just through their artform, but through their innate gift to see life in a different light. I received a warm welcome by a painter, a ceramicist, a poet, and a weaver as they shared about their culture, cosmovision, and perspectives on the institutionalization of culture.

### **El arte nos mantiene vivo**



Figure 4. Studio visit with Eduardo Rapimán

Eduardo Rapimán is one of the most outstanding Mapuche visual artists whose work addresses an array of topics related to identity, cosmovision and its related problematic politics, the pursuit of contemporary language for this cosmovision, and the development of cultural heritage through visual arts. His works have been exhibited internationally in prestigious galleries, cultural spaces, and universities. Eduardo forms an important role among current Mapuche intellectuals that are reconstructing the concept of *indigenismo* in Chile. He is a member of the Comunidad Historia Mapuche where he promotes the idea of an art that is integral to the values of the Mapuche community. Since childhood, his main medium has been painting, but he has also

created collages, engravings, and sculptures. Through his paintings, Eduardo challenges notions of Mapuche imagery associated with war and barbarism, and replaces them with critically constructed Mapuche aesthetics woven together by ancestral symbols, traditions, and cosmovision. Eduardo hosted me at his studio in the center of Temuco, where we got to discuss the reimagining of Mapuche memory and identity through visual art, concepts of territory, and representation in government.

Eduardo uses contemporary visual language to portray Mapuche identity, with symbols and representation of their cosmovision that are much more relevant to their living identity than people can imagine. Eduardo emphasized an understanding of how Mapuche memory is produced, a concept that has long been presented as static or of the past. His experiences reveal this thread is changing as more embrace the concepts and values that strongly distinguish the Mapuche Nation. Challenges arise since many are accustomed to an idea of folklore, though the living populations have a creative dynamic that is far richer than folklore. “No nos distingue usa de pluma, o ciertos colores or ciertos formas,” Eduardo explains as he places an imaginary feather in his hair, “Ser indígena es confrontar una serie de prejuicios” (Rapimán, 2018). In this frame of reflection and production, Eduardo is much more interested in knowing what Mapuche creatives are constructing and does not care much for folklore or more traditional themes. Eduardo believes innovative language and symbols come from community memory, social and spiritual conversations, and existential reflections; the culture that occurs outside of these spaces tend to repeat stereotypes that stunt creativity.

I asked Eduardo about his participation with the Chilean government and if he maintained any connection to the indigenous consultations. His response reflected a longing to move forward from the Consulta Previa and from working inside the system. In his time in working for the government in Santiago, he worked exclusively on indigenous consultations regarding culture, though he prefers to maintain his independence as an artist. What he did gain from that work was a registrar of indigenous artists. He would rather generate independent initiatives in a rural area where he can develop community and collaborate on other processes. This came to fruition in 2015

when he partnered with an indigenous film festival, working alongside artists he met from the consultation, to curate an exhibit of contemporary Mapuche art in the center of Temuco.<sup>1</sup> Under Eduardo's direction, and backing by the Universidad Católica de Temuco, this exhibit aimed to set a cultural precedent in the community in regard to the current creative work by indigenous artists. By sharing their experiences and works as indigenous artists, they intended to recover and create a memory of contemporary artists and emphasize their role in intercultural reflection.

Given the overwhelming interest and response to the contemporary exhibit, Eduardo made a formal proposal of this project to the Universidad Autónoma as an opportunity for an exhibit to cycle contemporary visual art, music, and dance accompanied by artist discussions. After tense presentations and discussions with university students and colleagues, he convinced the university to create a heritage space for indigenous memory, curatorial processes, and artworks. Working within the institution, Eduardo was able to get the university to acquire a sculpture of his, ceramic pieces from Yessica, textiles from Viviana, and many other Mapuche artists. Eduardo's efforts resulted in the establishment of the first collection of contemporary Mapuche art. Despite the accomplishment and positive response from the community on this initiative, Eduardo says the project went on standby as he could no longer grow the project after a couple of years. He explained that the opportunities to expand this kind of project were limited due to the change in the political situation as of 2018. As Eduardo continues to develop as an artist himself, he hopes to uplift this project in collaboration with an international community, keeping it as autonomous as possible to evade negotiations and the manifestation of visions that he does not share.

Elaborating on the difficulty of conveying the necessity for contemporary exhibitions and innovative language around Mapuche identity, Eduardo demands a maturity from the perspective of the political discourse. Rhetoric holds the key to this notion of honoring memory but also recognizing current living Mapuche populations. He describes the lack of recognition for

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<sup>1</sup> FICWALLMAPU is a week-long international festival of indigenous film and arts in Wallmapu in the city of Temuco, Araucanía Region. The director, Jeannette Paillán, is considered one of the first Mapuche filmmakers and has spent years trying to spread indigenous cinema. The festival celebrated its 5<sup>th</sup> year in 2020.

contemporary artists as a mass cultural exclusion, one that is involved in an ethnic discourse that is very exotic. Exoticism as an idea is not of interest to Eduardo. There is emotional authenticity implicated in the idea of exoticism that provides legitimacy to the idea. But Eduardo stands by his belief that he doesn't have to reinforce exoticism to distinguish himself as an indigenous contemporary artist. "Mis cantos son iguales a los tuyos," he tells me, grounding himself as an equal. Eduardo is part of Mapuche memory, but he is also alive and speaking to what is happening to him now instead of just evoking ancient traditions through art. He expressed his respect for traditional forms, but adds that there are spaces where Mapuche traditions do and do not make sense as art. An example he gave is the use of *chemamüll*,<sup>2</sup> Mapuche statues that are made of wood and used to help the deceased reunite with their ancestors. Artists install these statues in cultural centers as if they were a work of art. These symbols from the Mapuche people's most intimate ceremony have even been used as traditional sculpture pieces at La Moneda.<sup>3</sup> He adds that people do not apply ethical sense when displaying those pieces due to a lack of awareness of their true value. Eduardo agreed that this misuse of ceremonial symbols is a form of ethnotourism.

To build on this notion of ethnotourism and the misuse of traditional Mapuche symbolism, we discussed the nuances in valuing indigenous art. Eduardo challenges the idea that indigenous creators just make crafts or artisanal works. Even the most sacred symbols get subjected to production as crafts, deemed an attractive token of culture for tourists. Eduardo attributes this to the fact that people do not know how else to connect with that creative force. Cultural production has incorporated the language, symbols, and cosmovision of the Mapuche people, while their works remain limited to an artisanal genre instead of art. In addition to these structural issues that define the value of indigenous art as artisanal works, there is also a disconnect in Chile's market regarding authentic Mapuche artisanal works. I mentioned my surprise when visiting one of the most popular tourist markets for "Chilean crafts" in Santiago, Feria Artesanal Santa Lucia, to find

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<sup>2</sup> *Chemamüll* represent the presence of someone important. Similar to Japanese Shintoism, nature has presences or *ngen* in the Mapuche world. They treat them with the same respect they would treat another person.

<sup>3</sup> Palacio de La Moneda is the presidential palace for the President of Chile that also houses three cabinet ministers.

that most of the crafts and souvenirs were labeled as made in Peru. I explained my impression of the market in Santiago led me to see firsthand the disunity between Chileans and indigenous peoples, furthermore, the distance of the tourism market in the capital from the cultural production in the rest of the country. Eduardo nodded in an agreeing manner, following up to express there was only one way of doing things, and that is what has been possible until now.

The Mapuche Nation has a history of strong cultural resistance against what Chile offers. The complexity of the conquest due to the resistance from the Mapuche Nation made it one of the toughest conquests in all of the Americas. Since then, there has remained a conflict of identity in Chile with respect to the Mapuche people. Eduardo sees this conflict reproduced in policy by administrations on both the right and left as he reflects on how Mapuche people have always been excluded from state affairs. Even the establishment of an indigenous law only came to fruition after negotiations concerning several cultural positions during the return to democracy. In terms of goodwill by the state, the indigenous law recognizes that there are indigenous people. According to Eduardo, the law was not established for recognition of peoples, but out of necessity because of their resistance. This recognition served the state's initiatives to strengthen democracy. Within what is the logic of a state, one can appreciate the attempt at recognition, though it is illogical to have an indigenous law in a country that does not constitutionally recognize the existence of indigenous peoples.

Regarding this limited recognition, Eduardo refers to a concept of regional citizenship the inhabitants of the region can define for themselves. This idea of quasi-citizenship is in place precisely because there is no interest in investing in citizens in the region. Among social structures of the region, besides institutions of politics and business, unions are the only comparable space proposed for civic engagement. It seems absurd to Eduardo that there is no vision for a way to socially organize the people of the region toward a perspective that recognizes the value of their culture. Eduardo likens the absence of a general space for citizen dialogue to a table that is missing a leg. That is why reflection, debate, and fruitful dialogue must be generated in cultural spaces. In participation and appreciation of visual and performing arts, people become part of a memory and

create discourses in these spaces that recognize each other's culture. The region lacks spaces where people can gather in dialogue and recognize their various identities. Indigenous autonomous centers do exist in the region, and I return to this concept in conversation with another artist. To address the need for space, Eduardo described his work with a group of self-convened artists and organizations in negotiation with the authorities at the municipality to take control of an old lyceum. The goal is to recover that building and initiate a program that aims to create a cultural center based on regional identity and the dynamics specific to the region. Eduardo emphasized the need to create such spaces to discuss what interculturality really means. The coexistence of so many cultures should be recognized in everyday discussions to mark the validity of various traditions that converge in this territory. This is how communities can care for themselves when institutional frameworks impose rationalism on the administration of cultural values.

Working toward intercultural conversations, Eduardo recognizes the inevitable disconnect for citizens of the region. The region is founded on ideas and symbolism of goodwill and coexistence, although the lived experiences there are actually quite segregated. Even the name for the territory differs among its inhabitants, some recognizing the Chilean state's name for the region of La Araucanía and others firm in their reference to it as Wallmapu. There is no common history for citizens when there are two distinct names for a segregated territory. To bring together artists from across the urban and rural areas of the region, the organization Ficwallmapu appointed Eduardo as lead curator for an artist residency and exhibition in Wallmapu. The residency, *Territorios en tensión*, took place in the city of Lincaray, within the comuna Villarrica, and provided a space of reflection on history, contemporary creators, and creating a communal body of work. The local community was in the process of vindication, reconstruction, and political defense of Volcán Villarrica. Eduardo described his time with the residency as very immersive and empowering, taking place from the last week of August through the first week of October in 2019, ending just a week before the mass mobilizations began across the country.

## **Los puentes para una sociedad intercultural**

Yessica Huenteman grew up relatively distant from the indigenous world, but her understanding of her identity changed completely upon attending Universidad Católica de Temuco to study design. Through life learnings and experiences with her Mapuche colleagues, Yessica immersed herself in her ancestral heritage and pursued a career as a contemporary Mapuche ceramicist. She is the founder of Taller de Ceramica Contemporanea ArTerra KuTral, where she hosts workshops and innovates her art that reinterprets ancient traditions and gives life to current ones. Yessica has spent that last few years becoming an advocate for the intellectual property rights of indigenous peoples. She invited me to visit her at the ArTerra KuTral, located on a farm in the rural comuna of Gorbea, about an hour south by bus from Temuco. We ate pastel de mil hojas and spent hours discussing cultural rights, the role of cultural institutions in the reproduction of social hierarchies, international intellectual property rights, exploitation of indigeneity for economic purposes, and the power of indigenous women.

Yessica reaffirmed the significance of the ILO Convenio 169 and the Chilean government's response to this international standard with the Ley Indígena No. 19253, regarding social rights of indigenous peoples in Chile. We discussed the foundational issues of the state's constitution that limit the effectiveness of its legislation and ultimately reproduce racial hierarchies. The subaltern status of indigenous peoples in Chile is most evident by their depictions in public museums. Yessica illustrates how Mapuche children are raised seeing mediocre cultural artifacts in museums compared to the majesty of the narrative conveyed about other ancient civilizations like the Incas or Mayans. She describes the effect this has on one's psyche, wondering why the cultures of others seem so exalted and instilling a doubt that perhaps Mapuche people were not that great in comparison, though in reality, this could not be further from the truth. By skewing representations of Mapuche imagery in cultural spaces, the state reinforces a racial and social hierarchy that subordinates indigenous bodies.

Yessica described her experiences seeking consultation regarding international intellectual property rights with indigenous lawyers abroad, specifically with the Guna in Panamá.<sup>4</sup> The Guna have a reputation for looking to international standards of intellectual property rights in the protection of their molas.<sup>5</sup> The Guna's recent efforts to strengthen the safeguarding of their intangible cultural heritage facilitates an agreement with Panamá's Ministry of Commerce and Industries to jointly present an application to the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity by UNESCO who will decide on molas in 2021 (EFE Servicios, 2018). Cultural heritage of indigenous peoples in Chile is protected by DEPO in the Ministry of Cultures and other organizations, but there is much criticism that these initiatives are not sufficiently covered in the legislation. The UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) refers to the cultural heritage of these populations:

Article 11 states that "indigenous peoples have the right to practice and revitalize their cultural traditions and customs," which includes the right to maintain, protect and develop archaeological and historical sites, objects, designs, ceremonies, technologies, visual arts and interpretive and literature. (2007).

On October 17, 2019, just a day before the escalation of protests in Chile, Yessica participated on a panel organized by the Comunidad de Historia Mapuche about intellectual property and indigenous peoples, *Desmantelando el accionar de la politics de investigacion en Wallmapu*, (Dismantling the Actions of Research Policies in Wallmapu), alongside historian Herson Huinca Piutrin and others from the community. They discussed the dismantling of extractivist actions of misappropriation in tourism, science, social movements to problematize and develop new methodologies and research policies that honor the rights of indigenous intellectual property.

Indigeneity gets exploited for its "newness" in the global market, and authentic artworks are often sold as artisanal goods very underpriced. Since different initiatives, public and private,

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<sup>4</sup> Guna (formerly known as the "Kuna Indians") are indigenous to Panamá and live primarily among three politically autonomous reservations known as *comarcas*. Overall, indigenous people represent 11% of the total population.

<sup>5</sup> Molos are hand-made textiles that form part of the traditional Guna women's clothing. They use a multilayered fabric technique inspired by sacred places that exist in other layers of the universe.

work to rescue and promote traditional works, their production and sustainability become a precarious practice. Yessica reflects, “we cannot ignore that what is marketed is also a product of the cultural heritage of a thousand-year-old people, and given that, the call is to seek the conditions to prevent the violation of indigenous cultural rights, that is, of human rights” (2018). Of further concern is a phenomenon of cultural appropriation in which goods are manufactured in the likeness of traditional cultural expression, but reused in a different context without permission, of which there is already a precedent in the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR). The repercussions of this act can endanger a community’s ability to support themselves selling authentic products. Yessica is outspoken against the cultural appropriation of indigenous art produced for the market, but is of the opinion that traditional artwork can be sold on the margin of fair trade. In early April of 2020, a petition circulated among Mapuche artists and artisans, demanding an end to the appropriation of Mapuche culture. The petition accused a multinational chain, Falabella, of selling Mapuche ceremonial instruments, jewelry, and textiles with blatant disregard for respect, consultation, or understanding of traditions.<sup>6</sup> The Comunidad de Historia Mapuche responded in the press, “commercialization of Mapuche heritage cultural elements carried out by this transnational multi-store... is one of many violations of collective rights and intellectual property that are occurring in the field of Mapuche material and immaterial cultural heritage...” (Huenchumil, 2020). The retailer responded that the cultural objects belong to sellers on their Marketplace platform, as a way for entrepreneurs to make their products visible. Yessica believes that marketing through these platforms must guarantee fair trade practices. She reinforced that the production of Mapuche works must come from Mapuche hands, co-creation and participation, and if the works are not done by Mapuche hands, then it is a phenomenon of cultural appropriation.<sup>7</sup> In her words, “La visión y acción de la mujer indígena aguarda en la

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<sup>6</sup> Falabella is a multinational Chilean-owned store chain that is the largest of South American department stores.

<sup>7</sup> Yessica announced a partnership on July 5, 2020 with Falabella, one that enables her to sell contemporary Mapuche ceramics on their online marketplace.

Plurinacionalidad los puentes para una sociedad intercultural en auto-reparación” (Basepublica, 2020).

### **Con la palabra de mis antepasados refugiada en mi alma**

María Isabel Lara Millapan is a professor of linguistics at Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile at the beautiful campus just off the water of Lago Villarrica. She received me at her office there for a conversation about the art of words and the preservation of language. As an academic herself, María Lara welcomed my notetaking; therefore, this account provides more anecdotal references to better preserve the nature of our conversation. She noted it was not uncommon to receive requests for interviews, conversations, and conferences, having just met days before with a scholar visiting from France. As she shared with me about her upbringing and early impressions of poetry, María Lara expressed how fortunate she feels to have been raised in the Mapuche community, so she may live in balance.

María Lara is known for her admiration of language and nature. She was born in the community or *lof* called Chihuiimpilli, located south of Temuco in the comuna Freire, where she lived in her youth and still stays there on weekends to be with family. She was educated in Chilean schools, where she felt as though they did not teach her about her own culture. Since school was only taught in Spanish, she considered home to be her other school where she could learn Mapudungun.<sup>8</sup> Her love for linguistics blossomed in her youth, and she dedicated herself to its study. María Lara started writing at seventeen years old in secondary school. Before then, the poetry that had been presented to her in school was always classical European or Chilean style poetry with stories of homeland heroes that did not represent the Mapuche people and their own heroes and stories. Eventually, she was introduced to the poems of Elicura Chihuailaf and other Mapuche poets that wrote about what it meant to be Mapuche.<sup>9</sup> She found these works to be lovely and started to write poems reminiscing about her youth.

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<sup>8</sup> Alternate spelling of the indigenous language Mapuzungun.

<sup>9</sup> Elicura Chihuailaf is a Mapuche poet and author regarded as a leader of Mapuzungun poetry. He works to record and preserve oral traditions of the Mapuche.

She completed undergraduate studies at the same university where she now teaches and receives support to continue her writings. She received her doctorate degree in the didactics of language and literature at the Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, where she found many similarities with the lived experiences of those who spoke Catalan in Spain.<sup>10</sup> María Lara writes in both Spanish and Mapudungun, translating her poems to the other language as best she can, although there are words that do not always have a direct translation. Her writings balance the traditional and the current meanings and norms of the Mapuche world: *Kullatun* and appreciation for the land and other living beings, or the sense the land has, by its energy and ancestors.

The use of the native language dwindled when Chilean schools prohibited its use because it was considered an inferior language, something that her parents experienced acutely. She told me a story that happened just the day before, an emotional experience where she went to a presentation of a book by an author she grew up hearing about from her mom. He was the cousin of her grandfather, who wrote a technical book on Mapudungun, one of the first professors that concerned himself with the preservation of the language. He told the story of his youth, his teacher asked him to read a history passage, and all the children started laughing at him and bullying, saying he was a child who slept in a bed of straw, with a stick for a pillow. Despite the discrimination, he continued studying and learned Spanish at fourteen. He inspired her to encourage the use of the native language in schools, for which there is now a national decree to promote teaching in schools.

Mapudungun is the official language in one comuna, Galvarino, and she hopes to see it become official across the country. As part of her advocacy, she taught educators in Galvarino how to use a curriculum to teach the language. At the university where she teaches the language, she championed the implementation of signage on campus in Mapudungun. She reports there is a lot of turnout for her courses on campus. In addition, she teaches methodology to adults who also wish to teach the language. To María Lara, it is empowering to see the professionalization of

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<sup>10</sup> Catalan is a Romance language spoken in three regions of Spain. She has since returned to Barcelona to work on an internship with professors on topics of social justice in higher education and inequalities.

teaching Mapudungun. Through publications by the university, she is currently working on activity books for children to learn the native language. The disadvantage to books published under the university is that they do not get sold widely, but rather are distributed to classes. María Lara says she would have to publish with an external publisher for her books to be available in libraries, something she aspires for. When asked if she ever felt like a mediator, she said yes, sometimes. There is a responsibility to speak not on yourself, but on behalf of the Mapuche, more like a collective vision and not individualistic. Working in a big institution, there are other understandings or *saberes*, so she is a bridge between those worldviews. It brings upon a lot of negotiations, and some contradictions, but overall, she feels academia provides good opportunities to teach, and not just things of the school, but also of the home.

When asked about her hopes for the future, she wants to see equal rights in society, erasing discrimination and racism, so that new generations have a wider perspective. She hopes they learn how to live in harmony among the many cultures in Chile, and that the native tongue becomes an official language and spoken in all spaces, so that it's present. I was amazed to hear she did so much work for the professionalization of the language, and all without any partnership with the Ministry of Cultures' language initiatives. When asked if she felt like an activist, she responded, "No, I am a Mapuche woman trying to do the best for the world. I have been published with that title before, but I am a strong woman" (Millapan, 2018).

### **Voy a morir con este conocimiento**

María Teresa Curaqueo is a weaver originally from the *lof* Mapu Kagtünche, located in the comuna of Nueva Imperial. She belongs to a lineage of weavers, on her mother's side, who were part of a larger social network. This network shared ancestral textile knowledge passed down from generation to generation. As the presence of schools in the region emerged with efforts to Chileanize and Christianize the members of Mapuche society, the continuity of these cultural expressions diminished. This brought about the suppression of the creative and artistic practices of her people. Future generations raised in Western education systems had limited opportunities

to learn these practices. María Teresa's wisdom from her family and different weavers in the region makes her one of the only remaining women with the knowledge of all ancestral Mapuche weaving techniques.

On a visit to the Centro Cultural Mapuche in Villarrica, I had an opportunity to visit with María Teresa. She generously gave me a tour of the autonomous cultural center and sat down to tell me about her thoughts on bearing culture specifically concerning capitalism, institutional politics, protections and rights, cultural spaces, and her aspirations for the future. Changes in society since the ancient Mapuche world today are marked by the imposition of political and economic systems that completely altered a way of life and capacity to preserve traditions. An immensely strong system of consumption and capitalism affect the Mapuche population's ability to continue passing down traditional practices, and according to María Teresa, it is as if people do not even notice its effects on their identity. She is on a mission to rescue her culture and carry it forward for purposes of preserving the indigenous memory. By capturing a memory, in the form of art, taught by her mother and her grandmother, she maintains the identity of her family and larger Mapuche community. To cultivate an ancient practice and make a living doing so, she says, is considered madness in today's world. No other individual or programs are preserving the practice of Mapuche weaving to the extent María Teresa does.

I learned from her the specific ways a capitalist society is to blame for the difficulty in preserving her artform. The value of a practice becomes reliant on whether or not it serves business. In order to make a traditional artform profitable, one must sacrifice quality, in time and materials. Traditional trades require innovation to meet the demands of a consumer society; ceramic gets traded for plastics or stone, and certain cloths are swapped for polyester. In addition to synthetic fibers, traditional textile work suffers acutely because of the introduction of synthetic dyes that replace the use of plants and animal furs. This forces weavers and other traditional creators to make products that imitate but are in no way authentically made with regard to the techniques of their ancestors. According to María Teresa, institutions of culture in government appear more willing to provide resources in support of an artist trying to innovate their work as a product for

consumption. For that reason, culture becomes a discourse that is commodified, and traditional artists bear the burden.

There never seem to be enough resources or an interest in providing sustainable support for indigenous artists working to preserve memory and culture. She mentioned that there are not many who practice traditional textiles techniques, as few as four or five that she knows of and no more than ten in the region she estimates. I asked her if there are any men who practice, she thinks perhaps one, but it is largely a traditional women's role. Mapuche textiles are incredibly difficult and time-consuming, a traditional practice that is hard and not glamorous, she remarks. The prices women sell the works for are too low, in her opinion. María Teresa feels as though her area of work is mistreated, given the demands of production, and she must support herself in other ways than just selling textiles. She teaches workshops through the Ministry of Women and Gender Equity training programs intended to lift women out of poverty by showing them how to weave and have their own business. Of the work she produces, about 20% is traditional textiles, a slow, difficult process, contrasted by the other 80% of which is innovative textiles, a faster process. She wishes she could feasibly work on traditional techniques 100% of the time.

This precarious situation for traditional bearers of culture could be improved if there were resources from the government to support more artists. In her opinion, these resources could be allocated for artists to carry out research to better invest in their traditional art forms. The current government program for "artisans" is a commercial endeavor, teaching them how to maximize and commodify their cultural production, and much less of an effort to rescue or preserve traditional artforms. In her experiences, the money from the government does not reach Villarrica. The community built the cultural center by their own strength, autonomously, with any government backing. It is a community area featuring a central open activity space with a *ruca*, or authentic Mapuche house, and along the periphery are vendors displaying and selling their art, crafts, food, etc. María Teresa longed for the summer season when they host cultural activities, as she informed me tourism had been slow that winter. An important requirement to exhibit there, María Teresa says, is that you must have the trust of people in the community, to trust that your practice is

honoring a memory. Hers is certainly a well-respected practice, and she feels fortunate to be able to travel around the region quite frequently because of it, though not as much in the current year with the change of government. When I asked if she had noticed any difference, she told me no since it had only been a few months since the change of administration, but she suspects tougher times ahead.



Figure 5. Autonomous Mapuche cultural center in Villarrica

In addition to the difficulties of reproducing traditional artforms under the pressures of capitalism and ethnotourism, there are concerns regarding the extraction of knowledge and the lack of intellectual property protections. María Teresa says she discusses this with Yessica often and appreciates her efforts in pioneering these protections. Current policies do not provide ways to ensure that an artist receives credit for ownership of their artwork. Infringements on the international rights of indigenous artists result in issues like theft of design and iconography imitation. She described an instance of this with a textile exhibit in Santiago at the Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino. Argentinians were seen photographing textiles inside the museum, observing, studying, and even measuring the indigenous textiles to replicate them, supposedly without any repercussions by the museum.

Another troubling example she mentioned happens when textile iconography converts to a business logo, without any regard for its sacredness or familial significance. Authorities previously held discussions about improving protections, but not as many had occurred since the change of administration. The Council for Culture and the subsequent Ministry of Cultures provide support for a number of projects and initiatives, but they do not advocate for better protection of indigenous heritage. In her opinion, the Council sees Mapuche culture like primitive material for others to invent upon; That is what bothers her the most, blatant lack of respect and protection.

## **Chapter 4: Conclusion**

This research interprets the methodologies used by the State of Chile to call on indigenous participation to democratically develop the institutionalization of their cultures. The consultation process prior to the establishment of the Ministry of Cultures, the Arts, and Heritage undertook the responsibility of documenting and reporting the indigenous demands that inherently extended beyond the Council for Culture's notion of culture. The State's narrow definition of cultural policy, when compared to international standards of cultural rights, ultimately fails to include human rights or indigenous rights. By decentralizing the consultation process and subsequent cultural programming initiatives, Chile touted the allocation of its resources to develop a more democratic culture. In reality, from the indigenous perspective, their participation in the cultural policy-making process was largely symbolic and did not equate to any legitimate representation in government. In the words of my Mapuche colleague, the government did not work with indigenous peoples to make the Ministry; They hosted the Consulta Previa to say they did.

As demonstrated by the incongruencies between the methods to institutionalize culture and the lived experiences of the Mapuche people in the Araucanía, cultural rights are not synonymous with the rights of indigenous peoples in the State of Chile. The meanings derived from my conversations with creatives in the Araucanía point to a common issue about the apparent tensions between institutional discourses and local culture. Chile's development of its national identity is

mired in its historical complexities and post-dictatorship contradictions. Considering the longstanding marginalization of its indigenous cultures, it is not unreasonable to claim that a new multicultural approach to public culture would augment Chile's reputation among the international community.

As reiterated time and again in conversation with indigenous creatives, Chile engages with culture through neoliberal multiculturalism, supporting diversity only insofar as it upholds the dominant ideals of its national agenda. Promoting its ethnic diversity, through campaigns such as *Chile Mejor*, the state can market its positive engagement with many cultures for nation-building strategies to enhance patriotism and a sense of national identity. These tactics simultaneously erase the complexity of its historical and contemporary violence against marginalized identities that always existed outside of its body politic.

Cultural development incentives also reach beyond their social and altruistic significance, producing tangible economic value to the state. As seen in Piñera's regional development plans for the Araucanía, cultural development is an essential component of the investment in its tourism value. Several of the projects implemented by policies under the Ministry of Cultures promote the preservation of indigenous heritage sites, which ultimately benefits an industry of ethnotourism in the region. Culture, arts, and heritage inevitably come with a price tag, and it is certainly more accommodating to exploit the richness of its indigenous peoples rather than make up for the decades of artistic development lost to oppression, persecution, and disappearances of cultural figures.

Another reoccurring theme from the conversations stressed a critique of the rhetoric perpetuated by institutions that classify indigenous practices or artforms as folklore, artisanal, or handicraft, when indeed they are contemporary masterpieces or representations of the evolution of art by indigenous peoples. The resulting consequences of this rhetoric inhibit access for indigenous artists to exhibit with many cultural and institutional spaces, as described by Eduardo in experiences with universities, and by María Teresa in galleries. This overtly racist simplification is even reiterated by the subpar portrayals of Mapuche culture and artifacts housed in national

museums, as emphasized by Yessica and María Teresa. Moreover, this subordination significantly lowers the socio-cultural and economic values of their practices and cultural production.

All of the efforts put into the construction of a democratic culture within the ministry, by carrying out a far-reaching consultation process throughout the regions, hold trivial significance if the resulting recognition of a plurinational Chile only extends cultural rights do not include human rights. The UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity reaffirms the characteristics of culture as, “distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group... in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs...” (2001).

#### Article 4 – Human rights as guarantees of cultural diversity

The defense of cultural diversity is an ethical imperative, inseparable from respect for human dignity. It implies a commitment to human rights and fundamental freedoms, in particular the rights of persons belonging to minorities and those of indigenous peoples. No one may invoke cultural diversity to infringe upon human rights guaranteed by international law, nor to limit their scope. (UNESCO, 2001)

Since cultural rights consider the fundamental freedoms among people, inclusive of groups of plurinational peoples, Chile’s cultural policies have a responsibility to do more than just recognize and represent the cultures of indigenous and Afro-descendent peoples. As defined above in Article 4, cultural rights are inseparable from respect for human rights. Indigenous peoples throughout Chile lack the legal protections necessary to sustain their culture and, overall, their way of living. The democratization of cultural institutions is a step in the right direction, though I insist the way forward for Chile is in the establishment of quotas or other balance legislation methods to realize indigenous representation in the Senate.

As the Senate prepares for a plebiscite, postponed due to the COVID-19 pandemic, two items will be up for a vote: Do the citizens want a new constitution? If so, what kind of body will write it? The options are either a mixed convention, made up equally by current congressional members and others elected by citizens, or the other implying that all members will be elected by

citizens in a popular vote (Gobierno de Chile, 2019). In these discussions, there is a debate on whether or not to implement gender parity in the body. In listening to Senate hearings from early January of 2020, the other question following this is if there ought to be indigenous quotas.

I employ a framework related to the limitations of Descriptive representation and the importance of realizing Substantive representation. Using Pitkin's (1967) definitions of political representation, to represent is simply to "make present again," and I think this definition succinctly captures the government's efforts to make indigenous citizenship "present again" through participatory methods of "representation" that are largely a form of symbolic inclusion, without any measures to welcome representation among the representatives of the state. As discussed in detail, methods of consultation were used to incorporate indigenous community input for policymaking, in regard to the creation of a Ministry of Cultures. For this process, the government created a Department of Indigenous Peoples and hired indigenous personnel to have meetings with the communities for feedback in creating cultural policies. This department, under the Ministry of Cultures, continues to employ indigenous leadership, to facilitate the preservation and presentation of indigenous cultures.

It is important that the government has this indigenous representation in departments, though there is a lot of pushback in commission meetings to even consider quotas for indigenous peoples as elected officials. Some argue a theory that "descriptive representation erodes the bonds among legislators whose job is to produce policies for all rather than a demographic subset of their constituency" (Pitkins, 1967, p.52). This mentality was evidenced by one Chilean congressman, Pepe Auth, during a joint meeting with the Comisión de Constitución & Mujer y la Igualdad de Género (Senado de Chile, 2020). He mocked the quota proposal during a roundtable discussion, scoffing at the idea of an indigenous elected official from the island of Rapa Nui having any place in Congress to represent mainland Chileans. Some argue that descriptive representation does not lead to substantive representation, such that demographic qualities bear little to or no relationship to deliberative capabilities (Pitkins 1967). I would push back; indigenous elected officials are extremely likely to be immensely qualified, seeing that even indigenous authorities working within

the Ministry of Cultures respond to broader demands for indigenous rights, perhaps beyond the intended purview of the Department of Indigenous Peoples. In addition, they would not be representing just a demographic subset of the constituency, but rather a reflection of a substantial percentage of the country's population. I argue the Ministry of Cultures is an effort to provide a substitute form of "descriptive representation" so that elected officials do not have to adopt measures or quotas that would open opportunities for indigenous elected officials to work toward substantive representation, responsive to indigenous demands.

Chilean authorities take pride in the reputation as one of the least corrupt countries in South America by Transparency International's standards, though a lack of corruption does not equate to democratic values. Ethnicized citizenship, under the rule of a constitution founded in authoritarianism, does not grant colonized citizenship the same rights as legitimate citizenships, or those considered an ideal citizen of a nation-state (Silva-Tapia, 2016). As demonstrated time and again to the dismay of indigenous peoples, their omission from the constitution enables the state to treat them as such, a state of exception. The criminalization of indigenous resistance, effectively the criminalization of their existence, through antiquated legislation such as Pinochet's Anti-Terror law, results in unjust occupations of their territories and perilous realities for communities. Even with the adoption of international human rights standards, there is no enforcement or accountability for the security of their lands or bodies, let alone, protection of intellectual property, sacred heritage sites, and ceremonial practice. Despite hiding this mistreatment behind the adoption of international standards, like the United Nations Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), Chile's performative respect for "all peoples and cultures" was abruptly exposed on the global stage as the entire country entered a state of exception in late 2019.

As predicted in a previous interview with a formerly exiled Chilean artist, Andrea Jadresic, the underlying issues present in Chilean society since the dictatorship would eventually resurface, "like a cyst of pus bursting," (2016). Eduardo Rapiman forecasted the same imminent phenomenon with seismological imagery, stating the inevitable civic unrest would be "la replica," a term used in Chile to discuss the aftershock of an earthquake. Sure enough, in a sudden release of energy,

ground rupturing mobilizations emerged from the depths of the metro tunnels as “la replica” returned in full force. The streets shook with millions and millions of people in protests against neoliberalism across the entire country, beginning in late October of 2019. The induced seismicity on a rocky foundation of human rights violations and militarized persecutions proved the magnitude of stresses and strains on Chilean society.

Chileans, natives and non-natives, of varying socioeconomic classes, marched in solidarity to detest the widening wealth gap and demand a new constitution. My colleagues shared videos of hundreds of guitarists gathered around singing tributes to Victor Jara, photos of the graffiti and flags covering monuments, image projectors casting words several stories tall to convey the peoples’ suffering, “hambre” and “pobreza” lit up across buildings by night. The most powerful image of all was to bear witness, and experience via social media live streams, the demolition of statues whose figures represented the colonial historical memory of Chile. The literal collapse of the colonizers, conquistadors, who were responsible for the genocide of indigenous peoples.



Figure 6. Mapuche warrior (*toqui*) Caupolicán with Mapuche flag and the head of Chilean military pilot, Dagoberto Godoy, decapitated during protests in Temuco. (Anonymous)

In response, the state scrambled in its attempts to suppress cultural expressions, as its role in society to portray the people's anguish quickly intensified. I heard firsthand accounts of a violinist getting hosed from feet away, indigenous cultural centers raided for their musical instruments the morning of a protest, officials endlessly painting over graffiti, and even shining a collection of spotlights on buildings to censor the image projectors with words that reflected the state's failure to disperse its wealth and resources. The 2019-2020 mobilizations brought upon a state of exception by Piñera's administration, attempting to bring order and intimidation with militarized police in communities and blunt force violence for any engagement in resistance. According to accounts shared by my colleagues in Chile, even peaceful demonstrations were dispersed by riot control agents, such as tanks that terrorized the streets with hoses of high-pressure water or tear gas. The right to protest and organize around cultural expressions are a way of life that ought to be protected by a society based on democratic values.

Democracy is imperative to maintaining diversity in societies. Since politics are inherently a cultural phenomenon, understanding them as such becomes fundamental to comprehending the societal implications of those who control public culture through policy. In his book of interviews, Fernando Henrique Cardoso states: "Those who seek consensus are authoritarian regimes, Democracy, no, democracy is the recognition of the legitimacy of the conflict, the search for negotiation and the search for an agreement, always provisional, due to the correlation of forces," (Cardoso, 1978). The process of diversifying public culture in Chile is one that all political fields should engage in to reinforce democratic culture. Not one single field of politics, or one single ministry, should oversee the defense of these democratic processes. Since Chile is presently a society built upon the political processes of authoritarian culture, not democratic culture, a schism from this logic enables the establishment of democracy as a universal value.

To break from its authoritarian past, Chile must come to understand politics as an intense cultural phenomenon for social change. Democracy cannot be just a rhetoric of liberals; there must be tangible practices set in place. Without democratic culture permeating every facet of society, the social realities of Chile will not change. Real social changes do not just happen using tools for

cultural development, no matter how many multicultural conversations occur, and regardless of the financial investments made in diverse cultural projects or heritage preservation. The most significant task and challenge ahead for Chile is talking about equal rights, human rights.

Si quieres hablar de nosotros los mapuche

Escucha a los abuelos

Y si quieres interpretar su voz

Observa la orilla de un río,

Las lágrimas de un árbol antiguo

Los rastros de un puma

Los motivos de un cantaro

Desenterrado en el camino

Tienen nuestro aliento

Si quieres hablar de nosotros

Observa, siente, escucha

El canto del chukao

La fuerza del granizo y de los truenos

Tienen sentido para nosotros

Es canto, es grito, es historia, es justicia (Millapan, 2018)

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