The Ethics of Occupation*: Appropriation and Alignment as Spatial PracticeS Among Mapuche Activists and Student Protesters in Santiago, Chile


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# Acknowledgements

# Dedication

For Truscott Kelly, who always believed I'd be "Dr. Kel" one day.

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**Introduction**

**An Introduction to the Introduction**

As a visitor to the city of Santiago during the "Chilean Winter" of 2011, I unintentionally became a witness to the beginnings of the student rebellion that has continued through early 2015. Originally in Santiago to research the role of hip hop in the Mapuche rights movement (the Mapuche being the most populous indigenous group in Chile), I made a point of attending hip hop shows of all kinds: mainstream, underground, popular, indie, anything I could find. This approach led me to a variety of hip hop concerts and festivals in support of the student movement, some of which brought me inside schools under occupation by student protestors. As an outsider at these events, and an outsider with a particular research interest, I immediately began noticing references to the Mapuche. I took note of the almost ubiquitous appearance of the Mapuche *kultrun* symbol[1] on t-shirts, banners, and flags of protestors. I heard frequent references to "solidarity with our Mapuche brothers and sisters" by speakers and performers and read similar messages on banners and in graffiti. I listened to retellings of "old Mapuche folktales," like "*Lágrimas de oro y plata*," offered as examples of the kind of values espoused by students in opposition to the government.[2] I viewed photography exhibitions

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1 The *kultrun* symbol shows the four cardinal points in a Mapuche worldview and represents both wisdom and the earth. The kultrun appears in the center of the Mapuche national flag, as well as on the drums used by *machi* (shamans) during religious and healing ceremonies.
2 *Lágrimas de oro y plata*, tears of gold and silver, is a popular story about ancient Araucanians asking whether gold or silver came first. Nano Stern wrote a pop song about it. The moral, more or less, is that gold and silver are evil.

that displayed pictures of student protestors in violent confrontations with police next to pictures of Mapuche protestors in violent confrontations with police.

While witnessing these varied references to or connections with Mapuche, I became curious as to the reasoning behind students' apparent push for solidarity and interest in depicting themselves as aligned with Mapuche activists. Although I can see how the two movements might intersect in some ways, the references I witnessed did not make these intersections explicit. The students' move to align with Mapuche seemed to me particularly curious given that while the student movement enjoys fairly widespread popular support for their cause, the Mapuche movement in Chile is widely represented and denounced as a destructive bunch of trouble-making terrorists—not to mention the fact that Mapuche face everyday discrimination. Also, given the absence of self-identified Mapuche in visible roles at any of the events I witnessed or in the leadership of the student movement, I wondered to what extent actors within the Mapuche rights movement participated in or might benefit from these expressions of solidarity. What, I began asking, are the stakes of the student movement's alignment with the Mapuche rights movement? Are the stakes different for student protestors than for Mapuche? In order to press into these questions, I began to examine each of the two movements more closely with the goal of determining where, in goals and/ or practices, they diverged and/ or united.

**The Project**

My project is a choreographic and historiographic analysis of practices by which contemporary activists in Santiago, Chile create new embodied frameworks for the production of space. I study the relationship between the ongoing Chilean student rebellion and the Mapuche rights movement by examining divergences between the respective spatial practices of protest undertaken by student protestors and Mapuche activists. By spatial practices, I mean the embodied activities through which people produce and alter space. While student protestors frequently make performative and discursive connections to Mapuche, I question whether these connections constitute political alignments or appropriations of indigeneity. In order to investigate whether student protest practices align with Mapuche activist political projects, I analyze the ways that both student protestors and Mapuche activists enact radical reconfigurations of space in the city of Santiago through their embodied practices. I identify various performative mechanisms by which student protestors and Mapuche activists produce and change space, including (but not limited to) choreographic restructurings, sonic interventions, and embodied reimaginings.

Student protestors demand free public education of high quality for all Chileans, in contrast to the current system. A voucher method instated as part of the military dictatorship's neoliberal reforms structures access to education unequally based on family income. The privatization of much of the school system has turned education into a commodity and led to rising costs and diminishing quality. Protestors call for constitutional reform regulating the national government's oversight of education as a free, not-for-profit system with expanded subsidies. Like student protestors, Mapuche

activists also come into conflict with the neoliberal policies of the state, finding that government priorities value development projects that destroy Mapuche lands and lifeways over Mapuche welfare. Mapuche activists struggle for the restoration of seized territory, an end to the destruction of Mapuche farmlands, and recognition as a sovereign people.

Students have sought to articulate their demands through extended occupations of school campuses and large-scale interventions in public spaces. While Mapuche activists rely on similar tactics, spatial occupation holds a unique significance for a group whose primary demands include the restoration of ancestral lands and recognition of indigenous sovereignty. Despite the surface-level similarity of student and Mapuche protest tactics, I identify key differences in spatial practices they enact.

My ethnographic work focuses on case studies in order to show the distinct embodied frameworks for the production of space posed by students, often in contrast to those posed by Mapuche. My historiographic work historicizes the spatial practices I identify through an analysis of protest focused on spatiality. While most scholarly treatments of student and indigenous social movements conceive of protest as deliberative political enunciations addressed to a state apparatus, my project proposes an understanding of protest as spatial practice. This focus on space allows for a careful analysis of the differences between the everyday embodied practices of activists in the respective movements.

**Basic Background**

Since May 2011, Chilean university and high school students have been protesting institutionalized inequalities in the educational system, a system that displays the effects of the Pinochet regime's extreme neoliberal economic policies. Demanding free public education with access unrestricted by family economic status, students have held marches, occupied school buildings, and engaged in a variety of theatrical protest tactics ranging from kiss-ins in a public plaza to dancing flash mobs in front of the presidential palace. Scholarship and media to date has focused almost entirely on the students' more theatrical methods, as well as moments of violent confrontation between students and police. My dissertation aims to move beyond the moments of spectacularity to a serious analysis of the quotidian practices and histories that inform and shape the movement.

Chilean students have been a political force since the formation of the first federation of university students at the beginning of the 20th century. In the 1930s, students in Santiago led protests against dictatorial President Carlos Ibáñez and in the 1950s, they led protests against Chile's increasingly high cost of living. Though the Pinochet dictatorship effectively wiped out almost all forms of popular organization in Chile, student federations survived. The largest prior student movement was the Penguin Revolution of 2006, a brief period of protests critiquing the continuation of neoliberal educational policies put in place by the Pinochet government. While students pointed to Pinochet's privatization and commoditization of education as underlying structural causes of their major problems with education (e.g. unequal access and widely varying quality), the movement ended when then-president Bachelet agreed to address some of the

smaller-scale student demands (subsidized student bus passes, replacement of broken classroom furniture, etc.) and establish a presidential council on education with several student representatives. The movement was largely seen as a failure, given that the government did not address the underlying structural problems pointed out by students. The current protests are, to some extent, a continuation of the Penguin Revolution in that student demands are largely the same. However, this time it appears that students will not be satisfied until government addresses causes rather than symptoms.

Unlike student activism, Mapuche activism has been a more recent phenomenon. Mapuche people constitute roughly five percent of the total population of Chile today. The Chilean state violently incorporated the Mapuche following a war in 1883 and relegated them to small pieces of community-held land. Later governments provided the Mapuche with additional land, but the Pinochet government declared that Chile was a country without indigenous peoples, outlawed the use of indigenous languages, and seized all previously-Mapuche territory. Following the return to democracy in the 1990s, Chile passed a law officially recognizing the Mapuche and several other indigenous groups, but did not restore any of the seized land. Since then, Mapuche activists have sought the restoration of Mapuche land and fought against the destruction of heavily-Mapuche areas by government-sanctioned development projects. In particular, timber plantations and dam projects in Mapuche areas have made agriculture nearly impossible, prompting some Mapuche activists to start fires, sabotage equipment at plantations, and occupy construction sites. Mapuche living in urban areas work against discriminatory social practices and government policies, as well as support and publicize the actions of

those in rural areas. Activist tactics like arson have helped the state paint the Mapuche as an anti-government terrorist group. Much Mapuche activism does come in conflict with the state through asking for recognition of sovereign status rather than incorporation into a neoliberal system. While government projects promote ethnotourism and the marketing of Mapuche crafts, activists press for land rights. Both student protestors and Mapuche activists come into conflict with Chile's neoliberal government, though in very different ways.

Along with analyzing the particularities of student and Mapuche spatial practices in specific moments, I seek to identify the spaces of overlap and separation between government practices and student practices in relation to the Mapuche. The Chilean state has historically celebrated selective aspects of Mapuche history and culture, used the Mapuche past as an economic resource, and simultaneously promoted discriminatory policies towards the Mapuche people. Opposing notions of the authorized Mapuche who conforms to the demands of neoliberal multiculturalism and the insurrectionary Mapuche who seeks collective autonomy coexist in the Chilean imaginary, shaping dominant perceptions of the Mapuche. I ask whether student protestors' celebrations of and identifications with the Mapuche function as symbolic acts rather than active embodied alignments, similar to the way that government celebrations of the Mapuche remain largely symbolic. Do student expressions of solidarity with the Mapuche rights movement suggest an acknowledgement of the intersectionality of multiple protest movements, or do they accomplish an appropriation that recalls the dominant attitudes of the Chilean state towards the Mapuche? In focusing on space as an analytic, I seek to

foreground embodied practice rather than discourse in order to understand what happens rather than what is narrated. This allows me to move beyond the stated intentions of student practices to determine how they actually function with respect to the Mapuche.

**Space, Protest, & Performance**

Scholarship on the Mapuche rights movement in Chile has largely focused on discursive rather than embodied practices (see Rodriguez 2009, Richards 2005, Boccara 2002), a trend my project seeks to change. Scholarship to date on the Chilean student movement has been similarly limited, focusing on the movement's discursive tactics and use of the Internet (see Guzman-Concha 2012, Cabieses 2012, Salinas 2012). Where previously the embodied actions of the student movement have largely been addressed as spectacle and read as discursive statements, I argue instead that they constitute spatially transformative acts.

Susan Foster (2003) and Baz Kershaw (1997), in their important respective works on protest and performance, both reject the "volcanic" view of protest that sees it as purely spontaneous. Kershaw suggests that the duration of the protest performance is delimited not by the duration of a particular event, but rather the duration of the struggle as a whole. If we take Kershaw's view of the duration of protest, then all actions by protestors for the entire duration of the struggle can and should be taken seriously as tactics. Kershaw argues for a focus on the *movement* of the protest movement. Rather than focusing on the especially-performative aspects that the media pick up on as newsworthy, scholars should consider how "the analysis of protest as performance may

reveal dimensions to the action which are relatively opaque to other approaches" (260).

Kershaw argues that we should attend to qualities like "multiplicity, discontinuity, abrupt

eruptions of dramatic intensity, sudden shifts and changes of direction, tempo, focus"

(260). Kershaw suggests focusing on everyday activities, practices, the rhythms of protest

and activism.

Moving in a similar direction, Foster argues for a serious consideration of "the

tactics implemented in the protest itself" rather than merely the end results or

consequences of protest (396). Foster asks, "what kinds of connections can be traced

between their [protestors'] daily routines and the special moments of their protest?" (397).

This questions pushes for a focus not only on the quotidian activities of protestors and the

"special" moments, but also on the relationships between those two categories. How do

day-to-day practices fit into activist projects? Foster wants always to attend to the

embodied nature of protest, viewing the protesting body as an articulate signifying agent:

"The process of creating political interference calls forth a perceptive and responsive

physicality that, everywhere along the way, deciphers the social and then choreographs

an imagined alternative" (412). Foster's suggestion that the protesting body engages in a

different mode of physicality may suggest another way that activism changes space. With

an other physicality in space, protesters create new relationships to and in space, thereby

altering the way that space is constructed. (Perhaps this physicality can be considered part

of Lefebvre's new pedagogy of space and time.)

Foster and Kershaw's views on protest, though hardly recent, remain fairly novel

given the trends in performance studies work focused on protest and occupation. Richard

Schechner's work on the carnivalesque appears to continue to color the way that

performance scholars address protest. Schechner (1993) looks at festive protest events

through the lens of Bakhtin's carnivalesque, arguing that protest often uses a carnival

mode to act out a playful temporary utopia. Utopia, Schechner says, consists of

"performances that critique official social organization by offering the experience of an

alternative mode" (167). Ultimately Schechner concludes that "the carnival, more

strongly than other forms of theatre, can act out a powerful critique of the status quo, but

it cannot itself be what replaces the status quo" (206). For Schechner, the carnivalesque is

festive, exciting, and sensorily complex, if ineffective at actually enacting change (a view

he repeated in light of the global Occupy protests of 2011). Despite its rather gloomy

Bakhtinian conclusion, performance scholars continue to be attracted to protest through

the lens of the carnivalesque.  Currently, protest topics with the most buzz deal with

quirky, festive characters like Reverend Billy and Electronic Disturbance Theater.[3]

The only performance scholar so far to explicitly address the Chilean student

protests has been Diamela Eltit, Chilean artist and activist, in an interview with Diana

Taylor of the Hemispheric Institute of Performance and Politics.[4] Eltit, similar to the

media at large, focuses on the carnivalesque aspects of the student movement, addressing

only the entertaining large-scale spectacles that the movement appears to specialize in,

like kiss-ins, pillow fights, zombie marches, and flash mobs. For Eltit, the carnivalesque

matters greatly because it has given the movement the widespread public support and

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[3] Reverend Billy performs with an anti-consumerist message and was very popular with Occupy Wall Street. EDT are cyber-activists led by performer Ricardo Dominguez.
[4] Access the Scalar book here: ttp://scalar.usc.edu/nehvectors/wips/diamela-eltit-spanish

student participation that previous student rebellions have lacked. Eltit describes the students' amusing tactics as crucial for creating a "*buena onda*" (good vibe) that has captured public sympathies in Chile and around the world. Eltit also speaks to the multiplicity of tactics the students used in order to accomplish what she calls the "destabilization of political and social imaginaries." Eltit follows a general tendency of both scholars and journalists to ignore the everyday activities of protestors beyond, as Foster calls them, the special moments.

Overall, by looking at the Chilean student movement from a performance perspective, I take into consideration the multiplicity of tactics, both quotidian and spectacular, that activists use in their protests. I do not privilege certain types of embodied behavior over others. I move beyond the expected focus on the carnivalesque to look for a different approach to the question of efficacy in protest. In the movements I discuss, Mapuche activists and students open up new ways of considering their relationships to the systems of power that delimit their rights and lives in Chile, a new way of doing agency. They enact the production of space outside of that structured by hegemonic power. However, I argue that students also reinforce aspects of that hegemonic power through the way that they relate to the Mapuche rights movement. While students contest a historical erasure of the Mapuche by expressing solidarity with their cause, students also tend to echo dominant narratives that undercut Mapuche demands for sovereignty and render a living people as symbols.

My project takes as foundational the idea that space is constituted through its relations. Outside of the network of relations that forms it, space has no existence.

Drawing on the work of Doreen Massey (2005), space is "that sometimes happenstance, sometimes not- arrangement-in-relation-to-each-other" (39). In this way, space is constantly being made and remade, never finished, always in the process of reconfiguration. It is on the analysis of these makings and remakings that I wish to focus. Henri Lefebvre (1991) describes a dialectical process by which space is both produced and reproduced, a process he calls "spatial practice" (38). For Lefebvre, "The spatial practice of a society secretes that society's space; it propounds and presupposes it... it produces it slowly and surely as it masters and appropriates it" (38). While Lefebvre is skeptical of people's ability to manipulate spatial practices enough to produce entirely new space "untouched by hegemony," he does allow that some "deviant or diverted spaces, though initially subordinate, show distinct evidence of a true productive capacity" (383). I suggest that the space of occupation constitutes one such deviant or diverted space that performatively activates the potential for productive capacity. Lefebvre insists that the desire to change social relations "means nothing without the production of an appropriate space" (59). It is with this understanding of space and spatial practices that I enter into an analysis of the protest in Santiago, asking how activists challenge and change space performatively, their embodied presence and action activating that change.

In undertaking this project, I am influenced by several scholars in dance studies whose work combines choreographic analysis with ethnographic practice. Dance scholar Yutian Wong (2010) includes choreography as part of her methodology of "performative autoethnography," through which she acts as a participant-observer among Asian American dance performers. For Wong, the inclusion of choreography as an analytic

necessitates situating her subject (Asian American cultural production) within dance history and a history of U.S. racial discourse. Wong's ethnographic practice views movement and space as social processes, thus also historical processes, which must be contextualized as such. Dance ethnographer Cindy Garcia (2008, 2013) attends to choreography as a way of analyzing movement for what it can reveal about the codes of race, class, and gender that inflect particular spaces (as well as the disruptions of those codes). Dance scholar SanSan Kwan (2013) combines movement analysis with what she terms "kinesthetic ethnography" as a way of focusing on motion as key to the production of space. For Kwan, moving bodies, space, and time are interrelated and mutually productive processes, which necessitates close attention to movement and history in any analysis of space. I expand on kinesthesia by adding a consideration of sonic space and virtual space. Drawing on the work of Wong, Kwan, and Garcia, and others, I conceive of movement as making and revealing meaning and I historicize the movement practices I study.

**Method/ Research Design**

In order to determine how student spatial practices differ from Mapuche spatial practices, I undertake a historiographic and choreographic analysis of protest actions by both student protestors and Mapuche activists. Through choreographic analysis, or the study of how cultural codes relating to movement, gesture, and speech operate in particular spaces and contribute to shifting configurations of identity and membership in social groups, I investigate how particular embodied practices enact new frameworks for

the production of space. I rely on ethnographic fieldwork to gather material for analysis.

While in attendance at protest events, I focus my observations towards asking what is

performed or enacted through the actions and social interactions of the bodies present in

the space. I observe and note the movements of specific bodies in relation to one another

within my research sites in order to identify and analyze the choreographies that govern

those spaces. I also attend to specific forms of cultural production that have become

central to both movements, such as hip hop, in order to consider how those forms of

cultural production shape spatial practice. Through choreographic analysis, I seek to de-

emphasize the primacy of verbal information by focusing on embodied and spatial

analysis. Further, my choreographic analysis aims to move beyond the dominant focus of

moments of spectacularity in protest to a serious analysis of the quotidian practices that

inform and shape both movements. As I analyze the various means by which student

protestors and Mapuche activists enact new spatial practices, I am interested not only in

the most public and deliberative means, but also the more casual, extemporaneous,

everyday means.

While choreographic ethnography is my primary mode of analysis for

understanding the spatial practices of student protestors and Mapuche activists, it is also

necessary to historicize these practices in order to answer the question of how they differ

and what is the significance of those differences. Further, my historiographic work

contributes an understanding of the social, political, and economic forces at play in

shaping protestors' spatial practices in particular moments of Chilean history. I select and

analyze particular events from key moments in a history of both student and indigenous

protest in Chile. I refer to archival accounts in order to look for traces of the embodied

practices by which protestors in these moments produced and altered space.

**Within the Field**

My project responds to a recent recognition of a lack of interdisciplinary work

that seeks to address the everyday cultural dimensions of protest and social movements.

By reading the movements choreographically and spatially rather than discursively, I add

a critical embodied dimension to previous work. To my knowledge there has not yet been

any research adopting a choreographic ethnography approach to analyze spatial practices

in social movements.

My project raises important questions for scholars of indigenous studies, social

movements studies, Latin American studies, and performance studies. I pose questions

about the ethics of political alignment with indigeneity. What kinds of ethical practices

are possible for non-indigenous actors seeking to align with indigenous politics? While

the very real problem of appropriation remains, and must remain, a central concern, I ask

whether ethical practices of alignment beyond pure appropriation may be possible.

Comparative social movement analysis has not yet focused on appropriations of

or tactical alignments with indigeneity. By bringing the Chilean case into conversation

with social movements involving indigeneity throughout the Americas, I propose a way

of joining comparative social movement analysis with comparative indigeneity studies. I

engage critically with historical traditions of indigenism to ask whether contemporary

solidarity movements, like indigenisms of the past, may tend towards replicating

nationalist racialized tropes of indigeneity. My work offers a performance studies

perspective on the question of appropriation.

**Student Demands**

In June of 2011, Chilean students submitted a slate of demands to then Minister of

Education Felipe Bulnes. Entitled "*Bases para un acuerdo social por la educacion*

*chilena*," or "Foundation for a social agreement regarding Chilean education," the

document emerged from several weeks of meetings among university students, secondary

school students, and teachers, and organized by CONFECh, the *Confederación de*

*Estudiantes de Chile,* the student-run governing body that connects the varied student

unions of universities throughout the country. CONFECh leaders presented the list of

demands to government officials during an in-person meeting in July 2011 and also

published the document online, circulated it in flier form, and submitted it to many media

outlets.

The document states that Chile's educational system is in the midst of a deep

crisis requiring intensive structural reform. Students posit education as *"un derecho*

*social y humano universal,"* a universal social and human right, and demand that all

levels of education be public, free, democratic, high-quality, and organized and financed

by the state. The reformed system must be "*autónomo y democrático,"* untouched by

partisan politics, religious or economic interests, with a system of checks and balances to

ensure fairness in governance. It must be "*pluralista,"* representing a wide range of

opinions and knowledges. It must be "*de calidad*," including the values of "*la*

*solidaridad, la tolerancia, la igualdad, el respeto por el medio ambiente, la identidad y*

*las raíces culturales e históricas de nuestra sociedad y nuestros pueblos originarios."*

Finally, it must be "*gratuita*," fully funded by the state for all citizens of Chile.

Students specify that they wish to see constitutional reforms made by the national Congress to achieve their desired goals. The national government is to oversee everything. All for-profit educational institutions must be abolished. Teaching standards and salaries must be raised in order to bolster the status of the profession and improve pedagogy. Technical and professional education must be provided, and all students must have access to free transportation. Institutions of higher education must receive government accreditation to ensure that they meet quality standards. The eight-page document also suggests a system by which government might move gradually towards universal free education by beginning with increasing scholarship moneys.

**Mapuche Demands**

Given the absence of any singular overarching group or spokesperson, Mapuche demands cannot be/ have not been expressed in a concise eight-page document. However, a number of basic concepts are repeated in the words and actions of multiple Mapuche activists throughout Chile.

Mapuche demand legal recognition as a people. While indigenous "communities" are recognized by the 1993 "Indigenous People's Act," such communities are restricted from forming "associations," which effectively prevents Mapuche people from making

claims based on collective rights given that they cannot be recognized as a collective in this way.

Mapuche people also demand the return of lands stolen from them over the course of hundreds of years. Pinochet's military government fully put an end to communally-owned land in the 1970s, expropriating and privatizing most of it. Recent government-sanctioned recuperation programs have failed to have much effect, and development projects have further hurt the movement by displacing Mapuche people living in areas where the government would prefer to support logging expansion or hydro-electric dam projects.

Criminalization of Mapuche protest has also been a major problem in recent decades. Police and government have made use of an anti-terrorism law passed during the military dictatorship to imprison Mapuche activists indefinitely without trial. Massive police and military presence in Araucanía further suggests State aggression towards Mapuche and intention to squash all attempts to vocalize demands. In addition to government recognition, Mapuche demand an end to the criminalization of their activism and unfair treatment by police and the judicial system.

**Mapuche in The Chilean Winter**

At the inception of the protests in 2011, the Chilean Student Confederation (CONFECH, *Confederación de Estudiantes de Chile*, the major governing organization of student unions in Chile) publicly released a document of demands to the government. The document, entitled "*Bases para un acuerdo social por la educacion chilena*"

(foundation for a social agreement regarding Chilean education), included a section

called "*Derechos Educativos de los Pueblos Originarios*" (educational rights of

indigenous peoples). This section includes requirements for the creation of a Mapuche

university, an increase in scholarship moneys for indigenous students, and the

development and incorporation of curricula and institutional programming that take into

account the language, history, and worldview of each indigenous group. The inclusion of

this section in the basic list of demands suggests a seriousness of commitment on the part

of CONFECH to the needs of Mapuche and other indigenous students in higher

education. The student movement acknowledges the needs of all indigenous students in

their push to restructure education in Chile, though paying particular attention to the

Mapuche, who constitute the largest percentage of indigenous peoples in Chile. The

separate Mapuche student organization FEMAE, *Federación Mapuche de Estudiantes*,

joined forces with CONFECH in 2011 and gave approval of the *Acuerdo social*.[5]

Along with this official document, leaders of the student movement have often

spoken publicly to reiterate their demands related to Mapuche students, as well as to

make statements in support of or in solidarity with Mapuche protesters. For example, in

2012, CONFECH president Gabriel Boric delivered a letter to the government pledging

support for Mapuche protestors in the Aysén region of Southern Chile who have been

demonstrating to demand attention and resources from the central government.

According to Boric, "The student movement and the movement in the Aysén have the

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[5] FEMAE did not join the FECH until it was successfully voted into the union in 2011. FEMAE representatives have attributed the lack of prior inclusion to racism, an explanation that FECH representatives reject.

same causes and so it is vital that we mobilize together."[6] When FEMAE president Jose

Ancalao was arrested during a Mapuche rights march in the southern city of Temuco,

CONFECH vice president Camila Vallejo tweeted in solidarity, "*En Chile se sigue*

*abusando del poder para reprimir a todo luchador social. Fuerza Ancalao*!" (Chile

continues abusing its power to repress all social fighters. Strength, Ancalao!).[7] These

comments differ from the statements in the *Acuerdo social* in that they address not only

the concerns of Mapuche students in higher education, but the concerns of all Mapuche

throughout the country.

In a book chronicling his experience of the protests, former vice-president of

FECH (*Federación de Estudiantes de la Universidad de Chile*, one of the largest student

unions) Francisco Figueroa (2012) links the Mapuche struggle to the educational protests

by suggesting that both were issues that the right-wing Piñera administration (2010-2014)

strategically chose to ignore with the justification of "preserving national unity"

following the disastrous 2010 earthquake (26). Figueroa argues that Piñera identified both

movements as threatening to national unity in order to delegitimize their demands, which

made Figueroa feel a kinship with the other movement. At rallies and marches for the

student movement, alongside chants like "*Piñera, entiende, Chile no se vende*" (Piñera,

understand, Chile is not for sale), onlookers are likely to hear "*Liberar, liberar, al*

*Mapuche por luchar*" (liberate, liberate the Mapuche through struggle). Students publicly

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6 From Radio Bio-Bio. Listen at: http://www.biobiochile.cl/2012/08/12/vocero-del-movimiento-social-de-aysen-respaldo-dichos-de-boric-tras-incidentes-en-marcha-estudiantil.shtml

7 https://twitter.com/camila_vallejo/status/154607713337356288 Also interesting is that Vallejo has now successfully run for a congressional seat. She included the Mapuche in her platform, pledging to fight to end the criminalization of Mapuche activism.

express interest in the Mapuche cause both at official CONFECH events and in other

venues: supposedly, the student who famously spit in the face of ex-president Michelle

Bachelet at a campaign event (for her re-election) last year had been shouting slogans in

support of the Mapuche.

Statements and actions by student leaders and participants in the movement seem

to take for granted or assume an implicit connection between the student movement and

the Mapuche rights movement. But can we interrogate the popular refrain of *"respeto por*

*todos que luchan"* (respect for all who struggle)? What happens when those who don't

identify *as* Mapuche identify *with* the Mapuche? The expressions of solidarity with the

Mapuche rights movement mentioned above suggest an acknowledgement of the

intersectionality of multiple protest movements, while at the same time they may

accomplish an appropriation that recalls the dominant attitudes of the Chilean state

towards Mapuche people and minimize or even invisibilize specifically Mapuche

demands. I hope to address the tensions between intersectionality and appropriation in

my discussion of both the Mapuche rights movement and the student movement.


**Indigeneity in Chile**

Indigeneity is a contested concept, as many scholars have noted. Ronald Niezen

(2003) describes the use of the term "indigenous" to refer to a group of humans as a new

and strange trend. Indigenous, he says, "refers to a primordial identity, to people with

primary attachments to land and culture, "traditional" people with lasting connections to

ways of life that have survived "from time immemorial""(3). His scare quotes suggest

that he questions this designation, although he recognizes it as "a legal category, an analytical concept... and an expression of identity" (3). Niezen acknowledges that indigenous peoples, unlike the indigenous plants he also mentions as he lays out his definition, are joined as a category largely by a shared history of genocide, forced relocation, and marginalization at the hands of colonizing peoples. Indigeneity is an imposed construction that speaks of violence.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) notes that the term "indigenous" is problematic because it groups together many distinct populations whose experiences of colonial violence have been widely different (6). While the term has "enabled the collective voices of colonized people to be expressed strategically in the international arena" and aided in knowledge-sharing, it has also tends to erases differences among the voices in the collective (7). Nancy Grey Postero (2007) has written that "indigenousness- like any identity- is not an uncontested category of domination, but a contingent category negotiated by individual and collective subjects" (171). Consequently, many layers of meaning, shifts, and experiences of negotiation characterize the concept of indigeneity in relation to Mapuche-ness.

While I refer specifically to the Mapuche people in this project, and not to an abstract concept of indigeneity in general, I bring up the notion of indigeneity for several reasons: first, because the designation of "Mapuche" is already artificial and constructed, a joining of multiple peoples living across Chilean territory on the basis of a shared "indigenous" identity. Second, because I believe that the student movement's choice to identify most strongly with the Mapuche rights movement (rather than, say, the labor

movement, which is also strong in Chile and with which the student movement also

expresses solidarity) may be based in part on ideas about indigeneity, some of them quite

problematic. For instance, I will question notions of indigeneity understood as innately

radical, inherently anti-neoliberal, always based in a rights discourse, exclusively

connected to land claims, and so forth.

Scholars like Haidy Geismar (2013) have written about indigeneity as "both a

discourse and a political movement" (x). Indigeneity, Geismar suggests, is "defined by an

understanding of radical cultural difference" (3). Primarily addressing the context of

Aotearoa New Zealand and Vanuatu, Geismar focuses on indigeneity in the Pacific

Global South. More than a description or an identity, she argues, the concept of the

indigenous "is increasingly a call to arms and an international political manifesto, a

ground for resistance and a way of surmounting radical cultural difference in the face of

shared experiences of colonial and postcolonial "development"" (x). Indigenous

knowledges "jostle with ideologies of neoliberal economic development, the free market,

and the ideals of multicultural democracy" (xi). So, according to Geismar, indigeneity

and neoliberalism conflict with one another. But how, and is this always true?

Niezen describes indigeneity as predicated on a demand for autonomy, for

collective rights rather than individual rights (145). Diane Haughney (2006), writing

specifically about the Mapuche rights movement, notes that it's this demand for collective

rights that tends to position the Mapuche in conflict with neoliberal ideals, because it

pushes against "neoliberalism's emphasis on individually anchored rights, widely held

notions of Chilean nationalism, and the reigning consensus on economic policy among

political elites" (Haughney 9). When indigenous peoples demand collective rights, they also challenge a neoliberal tendency to separate culture from politics. According to Haughney, neoliberal policies "view culture as tangible, discrete traits (for example, language, religious beliefs and practices, ceremonies, typical dress, or artistsic expressions) and not as a question of collective rights... when language, religion, and traditional ceremonies are considered 'customs' rather than rights, and in no way linked to territory or material resources that are considered part of the nation-state, the loss of these cultural elements becomes the 'inevitable' consequence of modernization, rather than the result of political domination" (10). When the neoliberal state separates Mapuche-ness from territory, Mapuche no longer have a case for their claim on the land.

Because of the ways that indigenous rights movements often, but not always, clash with neoliberal states, many actors assume that indigeneity must constitute an inherently anti-neoliberal identity. However, while scholars and activists alike often make this assumption, all indigenous rights movements are not necessarily inherently anti-neoliberal, nor even necessarily contestatory to the state. In fact, quite often indigenous movements are constructed within the logics of neoliberalization, given that a discourse of rights and multicultural constitutional reforms are both available because of a neoliberal government structure. As Patricia Richards (2013) argues, "social movement activism may expand the scope of citizenship, but expansion of rights by the state simultaneously integrates citizens into the hegemonic project and generates consent for state objectives" (13). It is true that some indigenous movements have framed neoliberalism as "the latest move in a long history of colonial movements," as Aziz

Choudhury (2007) outlines in an article framing neoliberal globalization as "(re)colonization" (104). But, as in the case of Bolivia, for instance, Evo Morales has created a "renewed colonialist regime" while simultaneously professing to fight for indigenous rights (Laing 2012: 1053). I will discuss this at length in Chapter 3.

Richards argues that, for the Chilean state, "a colonizing logic remains strong: the Mapuche cannot be allowed to be actors in their own right, with the right to a form of knowledge, a way of being. Rather they continue to be a problem to be solved, a rogue element to be controlled, objects to be acted upon" (132). I ask to what extent the Chilean student movement perpetuates this dominant notion of the Mapuche as a problem to be solved. Tuhiwai Smith discusses the frequent use of "The ___ Problem" (the indigenous problem) as a way of thinking about the relationships between indigenous groups and the state. She talks about how this becomes embedded in discourse so that friends of as well as those hostile to indigenous groups conceptualize "the issues of colonization and European encroachment on indigenous territories in terms of a problem of the natives" (91). Time and again in the Global South, we see this idea of "The Indian Problem." My dissertation asks whether the student movement resists or perpetuates this notion of the Mapuche as a problem to be solved.

How do Mapuche students conceptualize Mapuche-ness? Geismar notes that even anthropologists tend to "emphasize difference in order to privilege indigenous epistemologies and to present an alternative analytic to that of 'Western' economics, for example" (14). Geismar stresses that she remains "critical of the ways in which difference may be magnified... to the point that 'alterity' becomes a romantic charter that

removes the possibility of shared conceptual structures, both cognitive and political"

(14). I wonder whether Geismar's comments might offer some insight into the case of the

Chilean student movement. While students clearly do (must?!) see something of shared

conceptual structures within the two fights (at the very least, students seem to recognize a

shared antagonist in the government), it also seems like they may be romanticizing

Mapuche alterity or otherness. I see evidence of this romanticization through the

performative use of symbols and cultural fragments, like the folktale that expounds some

sort of monolithic idea of "Mapuche values, suggesting a kind of symbolic or

essentialized Mapuche-ness rather than a true engagement with the Mapuche movement.

The danger that I see in the way that the students interact with the Mapuche is that

students, just like the state, seem to be relating to the "*indio símbolo*" or the "*alegoria del*

*indio*," the symbolic indian or allegorical indian, rather than actual, living Mapuche

people.[8]  Through the idealization of a Mapuche folktale with an anti-capitalist message,

students essentialize and romanticize difference.  It does not seem terribly far removed

from Chileans' use of the figure of the "*guerrero araucano*," the Araucanian warrior

(Mapuche were formerly known as Araucanos), in their fight for independence from

Spain.[9]

        Although I see students romanticizing difference, I also argue that what gets

erased in the way that the student movement takes up the Mapuche rights movement is

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8 I borrow these terms from Guillaume Boccara, who references them in his book
*Colonizacion, Resistencia, y Mestizaje en las Americas* (2002), although other scholars
use similar variations.

[9] This is a contested topic, as many Mapuche leaders sided with Spain during the war of
independence, while the "rebels" embraced the figure of the Indian as a symbol of
Chilean bravery.

precisely the question of difference, or race. As Richards, a sociologist, points out,

"Chileans are more likely [than those in other parts of Latin America] to elide race

altogether, preferring to emphasize class as a social marker. But that people do not talk

about race as a part of national identity does not mean it has not shaped the substance of

the nation as well as socioeconomic policies... race and cultural difference have played a

pivotal role in shaping social relations throughout the country" (8). Chilean political

science scholar Veronica Schild (2010) notes that race is rarely addressed in accounts of

Chilean nation-building. This has long been in the best interests of the Chilean state,

especially now, as the neoliberal state is heavily invested in the political project of

"multiculturalism." Javiera Barandiarán (2012) refers to a "founding myth of Chile" as its

being composed of "one homogenous mestizo race" but that racial differences, as well as

socioeconomic status, are used to discriminate both legally and socially (165). Clearly,

indigenous rights and recognition are only permissible as long as they do not threaten

state goals. Schild, Barandiarán, and Richards criticize the neoliberal multicultural

project for claiming to recognize diversity while ignoring power inequalities, systemic

racism, and ethnocentrism.

As Charles Hale and Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui have noted in other Latin American

nations (Hale in Guatemala and Cusicanqui in Bolivia), the idea of the "*indio permitido*"

as opposed to the "*indio insurrecto*" permeates Chilean society. Opposing notions of the

authorized Mapuche and the insurrectionary Mapuche coexist in the Chilean imaginary,

shaping dominant perceptions of the Mapuche.  In Chile, Richards writes, "the

'authorized' position describes an ideal Mapuche subject who accepts his or her role in

fostering diversity and appreciation for Chile's folkloric past, does not make demands that exceed state-sponsored multiculturalism, and actively promotes the intercultural policies it entails" (102). The two constructions of authorized and terrorist sustain one another, but cannot both be contained within one person. A Mapuche must be one or the other: the noble, silent Mapuche woman in traditional garb depicted on the face of the 100 peso coin, or the Mapuche terrorist setting fire to farmland in the South.

In addition to the kinds of evidence that social and political scientists offer to outline dominant attitudes towards the Mapuche in Chile (e.g. surveys about discrimination, anecdotal evidence of negative rants by interview subjects, legal policy, government declarations, legislator responses to proposed indigenous laws, news media representation, etc), I encourage a focus on the kinds of cultural events and representations that often get ignored. For instance, during my fieldwork, I noted the frequent performance of *La Araucana*, a theatrical rendering of a 16th century Spanish poem about the bloody conquest of the Araucanians, presented as a comedic musical theatre romp for schoolchildren. This kind of pop-culture reinforcement of Mapuche as part of a mythical past—and as entertainment for consumption—suggests the strength of these ideas in Chile.

During Pinochet's dictatorship, the government declared that there were no indigenous peoples in Chile. For the military regime, "national security was equated with a nationally homogeneous society" (Haughney 2006: 6). Only after the dictatorship did Chile return to the use of the noble Mapuche warrior as a symbol of national unity. Richards notes that some school textbooks to this day continue to refer to the

*Pacificación,* the final takeover of Mapuche territory in 1883, as "a victory of civilization over barbarity, disregarding Mapuche losses in human life, territory, and autonomy" (41). From the moment of European arrival, the Spanish incorporated Araucanos into national imagery. However, there was a simultaneous erasure of the actual Mapuche, the living, continuing people not represented by the "noble warrior" figure. The 1993 indigenous law, passed after the fall of the dictatorship, recognizes indigenous peoples once again. However, the law conceives of respect for indigeneity as "an appreciation for a heritage of customs, a celebration of folklore, and a rhetorical acknowledgment of the value of indigenous languages without granting them official status" (Haughney 98). The state recognizes Mapuche as a facet of Chile's past, part of the Chilean nation, but not as holders of collective rights.

The student movement's cooptation/ embrace of the Mapuche might serve to contest state erasure of indigeneity, but it also might force the Mapuche to be seen only as part of the larger student movement. In the students' actions, Mapuche become embedded within the student movement rather than being seen on their own terms. Students demonstrate little knowledge of or interest in Mapuche rights claims, and apparently make liberal use of stereotypes and archetypes; for instance, through the use of folktales that depict an anti-mainstream indian who is peaceful, disinterested in money, has mystical ancient wisdom, etc. Furthermore, the student movement depends upon the reiteration of the idea that "*somos todos Chilenos,*" we are all Chilean, which continues to incorporate the Mapuche within the idea of a unified Chile. Students ally themselves with the Mapuche ostensibly because they are another group of struggling Chileans, just as the

workers' unions are yet another group of struggling Chileans with whom to ally. This does not effectively support Mapuche demands for land and sovereignty. Mapuche again become subsumed within a larger group of Chileans.

In the recent work *Comparative Indigeneities of the Americas* (2012), the editors write that

> scholars are painfully aware of the ways that dominant and nationalist discourses and practices of indigeneity, currently framed within the logic of predatory capitalism, affect indigenous communities across the hemisphere. Given the continued emphasis on neoliberalism and the increased mobility of indigenous peoples, it is a timely moment to reassess how indigeneity is being forged, adopted, manipulated, and re-envisioned to attend to globalizing processes, community/tribal agendas, and nationalist projects. 14

In my dissertation, I look at both how the Mapuche rights movement imagines itself (acknowledging that this is not monolithic, as there are multiple groups and multiple imaginations at work within) and also how the student movement imagines Mapuche-ness, as well as how those various imaginations interact with each other to overlap and contradict.

I view the student movement's alignment with the Mapuche rights movement functioning in several different registers: within the student movement itself, within Chile as a nation, and in the international arena. Within the student movement, there seems to be little risk to joining up with the Mapuche, as the radical leftist students appear eager to join up with any number of radical leftist social movements including Mapuche, workers' unions, etc. Within Chile as a whole, this alignment may be a bit riskier if we thinking

about social movements as looking to gain support and foster a positive public opinion to further their cause. As I have outlined above, there exists widespread discrimination against and distrust of Mapuche people in Chile. Aligning with the Mapuche movement could contribute to a lesser likelihood of gaining opportunities to dialogue with the government. Previous student movements in Chile (the 2006 Penguin Rebellion, for example) did not involve the Mapuche in the way that the current movement does, as I will discuss in Chapters 2 and 4.

In the international arena, however, this alignment has more tactical potential. By drawing connections between the student movement and the Mapuche rights movement, students increase the possibility for their cause to be taken seriously in that they might more effectively draw attention to the Chilean government's track record of severe repression of social protest, which could possibly help to put some international pressure on the government to act in a less abusive manner. Human rights organizations that pay attention to the Mapuche rights movement and the Chilean government's history of abuses might then also begin to devote greater attention to the student movement (and perhaps differentiate it from the global Occupy movement which has largely been seen as inarticulate and ineffective).

I can see this alignment as potentially beneficial for Mapuche in that it draws attention to their cause by including them in a well-publicized arena. However, it may also be somewhat of a paternalistic inclusion, a familiar way of dealing with the Mapuche in Chile ("*nuestros*" brothers and sisters, "our" Mapuche). As mentioned above, students often rely on tropes of the mystical, timeless, folksy indian and may also be using a

symbolic notion of Mapuche-ness as a tool for gaining attention from particular audiences. Overall, it appears that students, while professing support for Mapuche rights activists and considering the needs of Mapuche college students, make use of much of the same logics as the Chilean state in their discursive references to Mapuche.

Even the CONFECH demands effectively continue in the vein of neoliberal multiculturalism discussed by Geismar, Haughney, and others, looking to address "indigenous customs" and develop educational projects that take up Mapuche language, religion, and worldview rather than addressing territory, material resources, racism, structural inequality, or colonial violence. In this way, the student movement continues to play into the neoliberal multicultural notion of the Mapuche's place in Chile. Although the student movement vocally expresses support for Mapuche collective rights, students do not appear to act in a way that works toward effecting these kinds of changes.

In order to move beyond the discursive register, I analyze the embodied, spatial practices of both students and Mapuche activists in order to discern how the two movements differ and/ or converge. While Mapuche are not recognized by the state as autonomous or having sovereignty, much of their activism has been geared towards land, the reclaiming of land, the assertion of having territory outside of the control of the Chilean government. In this dissertation, I explore whether student protests attempt to change hegemonic spatial practices and develop new pedagogies of space. Perhaps an interest in the literal spatial and territorial alternative to the space of the state posed by Mapuche claims for sovereign land draws the student movement to the Mapuche movement. Perhaps students, like Mapuche, view space as a key to power.

**Occupation**

When I refer to "occupation," what do I mean? While conventional definitions of occupation focus largely on the material aspect of physical presence in a space, my thinking on occupation foregrounds its epistemic dimensions. I define occupation by what it *does*, not what it looks like.

Chilean sociologist Alvaro Cuadra (2012) notes the importance of the "*toma*," or occupation, to the student movement as it exists today. In his monograph on the protests of 2011, he identifies a difference between *"la toma"* (the taking/ the occupation) and "*la barricada"* (the barricade): "*la 'toma' no es, propiamente, un anacoluto en la sintaxis urbana, es decir, no ocupa el espacio publico, interrumpiendo el transito de vehiculos y enfrentando a la policia. Se trata, por el contrario, de ocupar el espacio institucional que suspende su normal funcionamiento*" (48).[10] Unlike the barricade, occupation "*se trata de un gesto politico... Desde una perspectiva tactica, la ocupacion de locales pareciera poseer un alcance mas moral que material, tal y como pensaba Friedrich Engels de la 'barricada' en el siglo XIX*" (48).[11] Cuadra's distinction between *toma* and *barricada* is similar to my differentiation between tactics of occupation and tactics of blockage (see

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10 The "toma" is not, strictly, a reveral of the urban syntax; that is to say, it does not occupy public space, disrupting the transit of vehicles and confronting the police. It is, on the contrary, occupying the institutional space and suspending normal operation. (translations mine)

11 It is a political gesture... From a tactical perspective, the occupation of spaces seems to have a scope more moral than material, just as Friedrich Engels thought of the 'barricade' in the 19th century.

Chapters 1 and 2, where I also compare this distinction to the distinction made by

Benjamin and Sorel between strike and permanent strike). According to Cuadra, "*una*

*'toma' se levanta como reclamo moral y politico en tanto imagen mediatica... no es solo*

*una subversion espacial sino una subversion del tiempo, es la irrupcion de un tiempo*

*otro*" (49).[12] For Cuadra, the importance is more about interrupting the officially

prescribed academic year with a temporality of protest and the emergence of *"un tiempo*

*politico,"* a political temporality. Though he mentions in passing a "*subversion*

*espacial,"* or spatial subversion, he glosses over the spatial implications of occupation as

a tactic. My thinking on occupation focuses on the spatiality of occupation, while

acknowledging that occupation also disrupts and creates on the level of temporality. In

Cuadra's estimation, the political aspect of occupation is that it creates a "*experiencia*

*estetica radical... nueva forma de percepcion y participacion politica*" (60).[13] Since space

and time are defined by what what Cuadra refers to as an *"imaginario oligarquico,"* an

oligarchic imaginary, it is especially crucial that protesting students create a *new*

imaginary, which manifests in the production of new forms of perception and political

participation. I argue that Cuadra here defines occupation very similarly to how I define

it. Occupation produces a new mode of thinking, a characteristic which distinguishes it

from the tactic of barricade.

(Physical) Occupation, while necessarily impermanent/ temporary (because of

eventual forcible ejection by military, etc), works through the intention of/ belief in

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12 A 'toma' stands as a moral and political demand as well as mediated image... It is not
only a spatial subversion, but also the emergence of another time.
13 A radical aesthetic experience... a new form of perception and political participation.

permanence (I argue). The long-term occupations undertaken by Chilean students go beyond a few days' interruption of normal activities and seek instead to create within occupied schools a model that enacts students' proposed changes. Because students profess to desire not concessions but rather a massive change of system (which would move away from a neoliberal, for-profit model of education that fits in with the goals and policies of the national government), and in some cases seek to create this system on their own within occupied schools, occupation spatially becomes more than simply a tactic of blockage, interruption, or barricade. Occupation, to borrow the words of Benjamin (1921), "takes place not in readiness to resume work following external concessions and this or that modification to working conditions, but in the determination to resume only a wholly transformed work" (292). Protest tactics with this kind of real system-overhauling goal constitute what Benjamin calls "permanent strike." When I refer to "occupation," I refer to a tactic that works with the goals of Benjamin's permanent strike. (I have been accused of sounding a little utopian when I say this, but I characterize occupation as having utopian/ revolutionary *goals,* if not effects.)

Argentinian education scholar Nathalia Jaramillo (2012) writes about the implications of "occupation" from a Latin American decolonial theoretical perspective, arguing for what occupation *could* accomplish if it functioned as those who undertake it as a tactic intend. According to Jaramillo, occupation *should* work towards changing the spatial codes of the occupied space, an undertaking that would "reveal the creation of new epistemic frameworks for the production of space" (70). (Jaramillo ultimately concludes that Occupy Wall Street and its multinational counterparts did not function in

this way, and perhaps the Chilean school occupations do not either, as I will discuss in Chapter 4.) Jaramillo distinguishes between the idea of occupation and that of "recuperation." To recuperate implies that those occupying the space maintain some ownership of that space, and also "to recuperate implies that another set of ideas and concepts will outline an oppositional logic and epistemic framework for the formation of a *relational* cultural space, one that has been crystallized from the sweat of human interaction" (70). While I do not find the distinction between the two terms particularly useful, Jaramillo's definition of recuperation comes very close to what I mean by occupation, in that its main undertaking is in the realm of epistemology.

I also believe that occupation, as it is practiced by Chilean students and Mapuche activists, contains a key economic element. Economist Massimo de Angelis (2003) describes possibilities for the "production of alternative, non-commodified means to fulfill social needs" (1). In order to "find ways to go beyond the invisible hand of the market and the visible fist of the state to coordinate our social practices," de Angelis calls for what he refers to as "commons" (7). Commons are spaces in which people struggle to create a "new political discourse... that must acknowledge that the process of creating a new world... is a praxis" (4). Commons are both a space and a practice, creating new forms of sociality and thereby new forms of spatiality. De Angelis distinguishes between "market exchanges" and "human exchanges," suggesting that human exchanges characterize the commons and do away with the enclosures (e.g. the for-profit school, the *población*, etc) imposed by the market and the state. I argue that this replacement of market exchanges by human exchanges is a key aspect of occupation (at least in intent if

not always in practice). As student activist practices in Chile shift from blockage to occupation in line with a shift towards neoliberal economic practices (and neoliberalism's attendant changes in socio-cultural values), I argue (in Chapter 2) that students are addressing the economic conditions that define their lives and space. Without changing economic conditions, space cannot change (and activist goals cannot be accomplished).

With my expanded definition of occupation, I seek to address those practices that operate with the goals or values of (physical occupation as I have discussed it?) but which may not fully fit under the category of occupation. Jaas, for example, does not "occupy" La Calle Records in Cerro Navia (for example) in the same sense that students "occupy" school buildings. However, her practices within that space espouse the goals and values I have outlined above and therefore, I argue, constitute an occupying project.

I also consider occupation in its other sense, that of profession or work. For activists like Jaas and the women of *Santiago Mapuche* and *Wixage Anai!*, their practices are their daily work (as in labor), but also their work produces meaning in a way that takes up the values of occupation I have outlined above. I understand occupation as what Freire (1986) might call "transforming labor" and what Soyini Madison (1993) calls "work as an act of creation." Occupation can be defined in multiple ways.

**Project Map**

In Chapter 1, I historicize Mapuche activism in Chile and briefly situate it within a broader history of indigenous social movements in the Americas. I analyze the work of early 20th century Mapuche theatre troupe Grupo Artístico Llufquehuenu alongside the

later activist practices of the Congreso Araucano (Araucanian Congress), Grupo de Teatro Mapuche (Mapuche Theatre Group), and Ad-Mapu (a radical political organization whose name literally means "all people"). I focus on these four groups in particular because I understand them as representative of key moments in a spatial history of Mapuche activism in Chile. I will argue that the foundation of Mapuche activism can be considered a type of spatial and social occupation. Through analyzing the spatial practices enacted at each of these four moments in a history of Mapuche activism, I identify several types of occupation, a term and a praxis which I believe defines Mapuche protest more generally and which I outline below. I show how the four groups do occupation a) in the sense of a seizing and recreating of the dominant group's space in order to form an autonomous space and/or define that space in contradistinction to that which is dominant, and b) as a repeated process of everyday action, a way of life, a way of being and doing in the world. Broadly speaking, I argue that Mapuche protest and activism seeks to transform space through a daily practice of opening-up and connecting, a practice that in I later argue resonates strongly with the work of urban Mapuche activists today.

In the second chapter, I situate the current Chilean student rebellion within a wider history of student activism in Chile, and Latin America more broadly, in order to analyze the relationship between education and protest in Chile and the region. I look at how the current Chilean movement differs from and has been informed by prior student protest movements. In my consideration of the history of student protest movements in Latin America, I ask what spatial practices have been activated in particular moments and

how those practices reflected or engaged with the specific concerns of students in those

moments. I study the characteristics of student spatial practices of protest and activism in

Chile in order to, eventually, analyze the relationship between student practices and

Mapuche practices as part of my investigation of the ethics of espousing indigeneity as a

politics. I ask: how do the past practices I study relate to contemporary practices, whether

consciously or unconsciously? How do the spatial practices of student protestors in

distinct moments reveal or reflect a changing relationship between education and the

state, and, concurrently, changing economic models and educational philosophies? How

did state reactions to student protest differ in varying moments, and why what does this

reveal about the relationship between education and the state? I look to the role of student

activism in pushing for the removal from office of dictatorial president Carlos Ibañez

(1930s); the *Santiagazo*, or the Battle of Santiago, a brief wave of protests that took place

in 1957; and the *Revolución Pingüina* (Penguin Revolution) of 2006, the most recent

wave of protests prior to the current movement, to show a drastic change in protest tactics

in response to new economic, political, and cultural characteristics of Chilean

neoliberalism. Ultimately, I argue that student spatial practices of protest have reacted to

the relationship between education and the Chilean state in particular, shaped in large part

by the economic model espoused by the Chilean state at the time, and I ask why the

current relationship to the state conditions the student movement to address Mapuche as

allies, when they did not do so in the past.

      The third chapter argues that Mapuche activist projects in Santiago establish what

Lefebvre (1991) refers to as a "new pedagogy of space" through their emphasis on

practices that engage an ethic of occupation. A new pedagogy of space involves both

contesting dominant notions of space and producing critical intellectual, embodied,

and/or affective knowledges. Occupation, as I have argued in earlier chapters, constitutes

both a spatial practice of producing a new mode of thinking, and an everyday practice of

transformational labor. Drawing on ethnographic research from three distinct sites of

urban activism, I analyze the everyday processes of spatial production and living labor

that three groups of Mapuche activists undertake in Santiago. By focusing on the

everyday practices of these three groups, I will show how Mapuche activism articulates

pedagogies of space processually. I first analyze how Centro Cultural la Calle Records

imagines a space of cultural production in the impoverished, heavily Mapuche

neighborhood of Cerro Navia on the Northwestern periphery of Santiago. Second, I

analyze the web-based mapping project *Santiago Mapuche*, initiated by geographers

Jenniffer Thiers Quintana and Paulina Zuñiga and visual artist Deborah Ahumada.

Finally, I analyze the radio program *Wixage Anai!*, a weekly broadcast from the

Santiago-based public station Radio Tierra. Through my discussion of these three distinct

sites, I hope to show how Mapuche activism creates spatial pedagogies that not only

disrupt dominant arrangements and conceptions of space but also produce critical

knowledges and assert Mapuche presence through denaturalizing a spatial order that

marginalizes or disregards Mapuche people and opening up conversations about history,

geography, politics, economics, and sociality that privilege Mapuche viewpoints.

    In the fourth chapter, I argue that student activist projects in Santiago perform

occupation in a way that differs significantly from Mapuche activists. In Chapter 3, I

identified Mapuche activists performing occupation as a sustained, transformative living labor as well as a physical inhabiting of places, producing projects that resist spatial and temporal limitations through their ongoing, unbounded nature. In Chapter 4, I argue that, in contrast, student activists perform occupation by creating geographically and temporally bounded spaces of exception that ultimately function within neoliberal space. To support my argument, I draw on my ethnographic work in Santiago to analyze practices by which student protestors produce and/or seize space. Continuing in the vein of the previous chapter, I focus specifically on student protests activities that are less public, less spectacular, and less likely to be defined by a cut-and-dried party line. I concentrate on activities that focus less on publicly articulating positions, or positioning the group with respect to loci of power, and more on establishing practices. I focus on the following sites to discuss the spatial practices of Santiago student protestors: three schools under occupation, the Universidad de Chile, the Liceo 4 de Ninas, and the Liceo Confederacion Suiza; and the Archivo FECh, a historical archive created and recently opened by the Federacion de Estudiantes de la Universidad de Chile, the organization that represents all Universidad de Chile students. Putting this work in conversation with the Mapuche activist work I discussed in Chapter Three, I identify how student spatial practices diverge from Mapuche spatial practices to suggest a fundamental disconnect between the student movement and Mapuche activism.

While students imagine and/or represent themselves as aligned with the political project of the Mapuche rights movement, I argue through analysis of their spatial practices that this alignment can only be surface-level. Student and Mapuche activism

differ in both goals and tactics. While Mapuche occupation encompasses every aspect of activists' daily lives in an ongoing way—because of the pressing nature of the problems at hand and the historical nature of the struggle—, I show how student occupations are limited spatially, temporally, and in terms of their address (as in, to whom they address their demands). Students carve out enclaves of occupation within hegemonic space, bounded spaces of temporary alterity, while Mapuche overlay the hegemonic space of the city with continuous alternate spaces.

**Chapter One**

**Foundations of Occupation: A historical look at theatre and politics in Mapuche activism during the 20<sup>th</sup> century**

**Introduction**

Two men dressed in long black robes hiked up in the middle at the waist bend, facing each other, in the center of the football field. Each man grips a curved wooden stick with both hands, sliding it back and forth against the ground as he squints at his opponent. A rhythmic combination of wooden flute and drums sounds in the background. Raising his hands above the two hunched men, a third man, distinctive in his colored robe and headdress, recites a prayer to God in Mapudungun while a crowd of men, also holding curved sticks, stand quietly on the field at a respectful distance. When the prayer finishes, the two men in the center cross their sticks against each other three times with a light touch and then lunge for a tiny gray ball just barely visible in the grass between them. A shout goes up from the group as one man succeeds in hitting the ball into the air and the field becomes a flurry of motion, a blur of robes and sticks and grass. In the stands beside the field, spectators sit with wide eyes, watching the strange game that looks nothing like the favorite sport they typically come here to see.[14]

For a few brief hours on the afternoon of October 6<sup>th</sup>, 1940, a football field in the bustling urban center of Temuco, Chile became the site of a performance by a troupe of Mapuche actors and musicians from Loncoche, a small town in the rural south. Instead of

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14. Photographs can be accessed through the Deportes Mapuches Archive curated by Carlos Lopez von Vriessen: www.deportesmapuches.cl

football, the field hosted a game of chueca, the most popular Mapuche sport.[15] Grupo

Artístico Llufquehuenu, billing themselves as representatives of "the glorious, immortal

Araucanian race, never defeated nor ruled by a foreign king," offered a selection of

activities that they would perform in order to help residents of Temuco "discover the

traditions, customs, dances, religious rites and sporting practices" of their people.[16] The

performance included a religious dance accompanied by traditional instruments, an

ostrich dance accompanied by singing, a demonstration of a betrothal custom involving

the capture of a bride by her suitor's friends, homages to God and the Holy Spirit, a game

of chueca, and a football match.[17] Though arguably focused mainly on the performance

of "traditional" everyday practices rather than devised scenarios or plot-based narrative,

the group defined itself as a theatre group and, as such, were presumably attuned to the

presentational elements of their performances.[18] I analyze the troupe's performances

spatially to argue that their work constitutes a practice of occupation, in the sense of both

a taking or claiming of space and an everyday doing of a specific labor. I see this practice

of occupation as consistent with the practices of other contemporary and later Mapuche

activist work, as I will discuss in this chapter with respect to the groups Congreso

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2. For a description of chueca (which sometimes goes by its alternate name, palín) and its rules, see Juan Ñanculef Huaiquinao. "Palín, Deporte Integral Mapuche." *Serie Documentos Mapuche, Comunicaciones Mapuche* Txeg-Txeg; 1992.

3 The Museo Municipal "Carlos Ochoa Oyarzo" de Loncoche offers online archives at loncomuseomuni.blogspot.com. The Llufquehuenu poster can be viewed here.

4 See again the archives of the Museo Municipal de Loncoche.

5 Aburto is quoted in a number of articles from the *Diario Austral* explicitly labeling the group as theatre. He also named the troupe "grupo artístico," or artistic group, which suggests that he conceived of the group as art or at least wanted them to be perceived as such.

Araucano, the Grupo de Teatro Mapuche, and Ad-Mapu, and in Chapter Three with

respect to present-day groups *Centro Cultural La Calle*, *Santiago Mapuche*, and *Wixage*

*Anai!*.

Llufquehuenu, founded by leading Mapuche political figure Manuel Aburto

Panguilef, traveled throughout the country of Chile to share their performances with

urbanites from Antofagasta in the north to Temuco in the south. Through turning

apparently everyday activities into theatrical spectacle, Aburto and Grupo Llufquehuenu

took on two (related but distinct) goals with their performances: making some Chileans

aware of the presence of indigenous peoples within Chile, and encouraging those already

aware to develop a more positive opinion of Mapuche. Aburto's goals for Llufquehuenu

reflect dominant perceptions of Mapuche in Chile at the time and would have been

formidable projects in this historical moment. In early 20$^{th}$ century Chile, most Chileans

were either largely unaware of any indigenous presence within their nation-state (given

that the majority of the Mapuche population lived in a relatively small area of the country

well away from the majority of the rest of the population, and also given that

representations in popular culture depicted them mostly as figments of a mythical

national past) or held negative stereotypes of Mapuche people (based on their reputation

as fearsome warriors- and thus combative, violent, and savage-, having only been

"conquered" finally by the independent nation of Chile in 1887, and their presence in

popular culture as the subject of a famous epic poem by Ercilla and other mythical tales

centering on their prowess as warriors in a past age, their simplicity/ primitiveness, etc).

During the time of Llufquehuenu's tenure— roughly 1916 through the mid-1940s— Mapuche people were up against substantial discrimination and ignorance. In addition to dominant attitudes towards Chile's indigenous peoples, shaped in part by popular representations of "Indians" in Chilean culture (as described above), state policy towards the Mapuche focused largely on assimilationist projects geared towards reducing or ignoring Mapuche difference and absorbing them into the nation-state. Government policy at the outset of the 20th century provided for the expropriation of the vast majority of Mapuche lands, splitting up the tiny remaining portion into *reducciones*, similar to reservations, to be shared by Mapuche groups. The loss of land and attendant disruption of social systems and cultural activities, combined with state-led attempts to eradicate the Madupdungun language and Mapuche religious practices, added to the racism and prejudice to create a hostile environment for being Mapuche.

The selection of activities Llufquehuenu shared with *wingka* (white, non-Mapuche) audiences was based on what would be most appealing, non-threatening, entertaining, and illustrative of a distinctive and pleasantly colorful Mapuche "culture." Aburto's vision for the project involved the peaceful coexistence of the Mapuche as a politically and culturally distinct nation within the modernizing Chilean state, sharing space, so it is unsurprising that he would choose non-threatening, entertaining activities such as sport, dance, and Christian prayer to include in such a performance.[19]

The location of the football stadium also holds significance for Aburto's activist project. Football has long been the most popular sport in Chile and throughout Latin

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9 See the chapter in Aburto's collected diaries under the heading of Grupo Artistico Llufquehuenu (collected and edited by Andre Menard).

America.[20] Many scholars have identified a strong link between football and nationalism

and/or nation-building in places as geographically disparate as Argentina, France, and

Cameroon.[21] While scholarship has devoted significantly less attention to the Chilean

case than to others, for example Argentina and Brazil, the importance of football to the

development of a Chilean national imaginary—and ideas about race, class, gender, and

political participation in Chile— should not be understated.[22] By repurposing a football

stadium, a place of Chilean national solidarity, friendly competition, and collective

energy-building, as a place to play a traditional Mapuche (and thus largely unknown)

sport, Llufquehuenu used the space in several ways. On one level, their performance

demonstrated that Mapuche practices could exist within or coexist with Chilean national

practices, in that the football field could be used just as it is for *chueca* and other

Mapuche activities. On another level, their performance also subverted this hegemonic

space of Chilean nationalism by repurposing it as Mapuche space. While this repurposing

certainly involved creating a space of selective Mapuche-ness intended for non-Mapuche

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10 The football I'm referring to here is the sport known as soccer in the United States.

11 More about the links between football and nationalism in Chile and elsewhere: See *Citizens and Sportsmen: Fútbol and Politics in Twentieth-Century Chile,* by Brenda Elsey. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011. Morgan, W.J. "Sports as the Moral Discourse of Nations." In *Values in Sport: Elitism, Nationalism, Gender Equality and the Scientific Manufacture of Winners*. Ed T. Tännsjö and C.M. Tamburrini. London, New York: Spon Press, 2000, pp 59-73. *La pelota no dobla?:Ensayos filosóficos entorno al fútbol,* César R. Torres and Daniel G. Campos (Eds.). Buenos Aires: Libros del Zorzal, 2006, pp. 149-186.

12 Trumper, Ricardo and Patricia Tomic. "Neoliberalism, sport and the Chilean Jaguar." In *Race & Class*. 40:45 (1999) pp 45-63. The authors stress in particular the contemporary connection between football and neoliberalism in Chile (which they argue has been under-explored/ under-theorized), but they also reference the historical/ past importance of football to Chilean politics and society (even if it didn't hold quite the same importance as in Brazil or Argentina.

audience consumption as non-threatening, the performance enacted Aburto's politics of

independent coexistence, inflecting the space of the field with this other political project.

In this way, the choice to present their theatrical performance in the space of a

football stadium reveals the complexity of Llufquehuenu's project and relates to existing

scholarly debates about the nature of Aburto's political goals, which in turn contribute to

larger debates regarding scholars' understandings of the goals of early Mapuche activists

in general. For example, prominent Chilean historian Jose Bengoa (1985) describes

Aburto's work as coming from a position of "radical ethnic resistance" and presenting the

first instance of radical Mapuche political activism, based on the fact that Aburto was one

of the first prominent political figures to call for an independent Mapuche republic

(385).[23] Menard (2003) also sees Aburto's leadership as somewhat radical, although he

categorizes it less so as resistant, saying instead that even "the most 'mythical' and

traditional aspects of Aburto's message… form part of a strategy… to occupy those

spaces of the *wingka* world that seem most apt for translation, communication, and even

communion" (10).[24] Translation, communication, and communion constitute more

cooperative, collaborative modes of engagement than "resistant" modes. These multiple

readings of the group's project are unsurprising, given that Aburto both declared the

existence of an autonomous Mapuche republic (at the Congreso Araucano in 1931) and

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13 Bengoa is widely recognized as one of the most 'important' Chilean historians, which colors the way I see his work. In more recent years, he's been called in by the Concertación governments to consult on indigenous issues—as an "expert on the Mapuche"— which has not turned out well. I'm citing his *Historia del Pueblo Mapuche* here.

14  The designation "wingka" means more than just "white people." It also has a racial and cultural connotation and is decidedly pejorative. The word is also sometimes written *huinca* and sometimes attached to its "original" or literal meaning (the rat, then the stealer of land/ the güero).

was described by a right-wing Chilean newspaper as "a perfect example of patriotism and good citizenship."[25] The care Aburto took to avoid attracting the ire of mainstream Chile, as we see in the carefully constructed image of Mapuche-ness that he presented to the public through Llufquehuenu, allowed him to pass as both a radical and a patriot.

The dual effects of the performance in the football stadium also illuminate the paradoxical nature of his politics reflected in the spatial practices of the troupe.[26] While scholars of indigenous studies have parsed in great detail the differences among assimilationist, accommodationist, separatist, and other varieties of indigenous political projects, Aburto's stance is difficult to position within these categories because of its contradictions in practice and discourse. Rather than fix him under one label or another, I embrace the contradictions in his practices to better understand his project and the kind of occupation it constitutes. Indeed, Menard and Pavez (2005) note that many scholars have labeled Aburto's project as "nativist" or "fundamentalist," but that in actuality his work can be seen as more strategic and less simplistic than such designations (216). These multiple and occasionally contradictory understandings of Aburto's politics and Llufquehuenu's work point to the complexity of early Mapuche activist practices, as well as the ambivalent stance of the Chilean state, and demand a careful and nuanced analysis of Llufquehuenu's project. I attend to the apparent contradictions in Aburto's politics by looking at Llufquehuenu's performances, considering the conditions that gave rise to

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15  I'm translating from *La Epoca*, the Loncoche paper, from May 24th, 1952. (This was just after Aburto's death, but it does seem like the idea of him as a patriot was a widely held opinion.)

such work and what the performances did spatially as a way of understanding Mapuche
activism.

I begin with an account of these traveling performers as an example par
excellence of early modes of activism undertaken by Mapuche people in Chile and as
representative of a particular mode of spatial practice that I argue characterizes Mapuche
activism since its inception, a mode that I have referred to above as occupation. In this
chapter, I analyze the work of Grupo Artístico Llufquehuenu alongside the later activist
practices of the Congreso Araucano (Araucanian Congress), Grupo de Teatro Mapuche
(Mapuche Theatre Group), and Ad-Mapu (a radical political organization whose name
literally means "all people"). I focus on these four groups in particular because I
understand them as representative of key moments in a spatial history of Mapuche
activism in Chile.[27] By spatial history, I mean a study of past strategies and practices of
space-making. Borrowing from Paul Carter (1988), I understand spatial history as
differing from "traditional imperial history" in its treatment of space as a mutable cultural
object rather than a fixed physical one. Consequently, a spatial history must attend to the
shifting nature of space and its relation with social processes. Doreen Massey (1999)
argues that a spatial history is "an account of history within which space is neither 'static'
nor merely a 'cross-section through time': it is rather a sphere in which distinct stories
coexist, meet up, affect each other, come into conflict or cooperate" (274). Massey's
conception of spatial history adds a dimension of treating the history itself as a spatial

17  Note that I say *a* spatial history of Mapuche activism in Chile, not *the* spatial history of Mapuche
    activism in Chile. I understand history as dynamic and multiple, so I want to be very transparent and
    cop to my selectivity (and, of course, the logic behind my selections).

object, changing and multiple. I borrow also from Michel De Certeau (2002), who writes

that "stories… every day, they traverse and organize places; they select and link them

together; they make sentences and itineraries out of them…. Every story is a travel story-

a spatial practice" (72). For De Certeau, every history is spatial, but that spatiality may

need to be drawn out through analysis. My understanding of spatial history emerges from

the ideas and methods of Carter, Massey, and De Certeau.

I consider the early 20th century Grupo Artístico Llufquehuenu in relation to the

later Grupo de Teatro Mapuche of the 1980s in order to illustrate that, even with an

important shift in activist goals of Mapuche social movement, occupation as a

foundational characteristic of tactics remained constant. Though both were traveling

theatre companies, Grupo Llufquehuenu brought their performances from their rural

homes near Loncoche to urban centers to serve as cultural ambassadors to the broader

Chilean public, while the radical socialist Grupo de Teatro Mapuche traveled from their

urban homes in Temuco to rural areas to employ tactics of community-based theatre and

teach other Mapuche skills related to activism and grassroots organizing. The contrasting

spatial politics of these two approaches to activist theatre reveal the concerns of Mapuche

social movement at two very different moments in Chilean history. However, I will argue

that both approaches constitute a type of spatial and social occupation.

In addition to these two theatre groups, I also analyze the activities of two major

Mapuche political institutions, which I have selected based on one being among the very

first and the other having been one of the most enduring of contemporary times. I focus

on the Congreso Araucano, or Araucanian Congress (which happened once annually from

1920-1939, totaling 19 congresses), in order to consider early instances of Mapuche

defining themselves and their political practices in contradistinction to the Chilean state,

a mode that I see as continuous with contemporary practices, although the distinction

perhaps becomes more pronounced over time). Congreso Araucano's mobile, shifting,

unbounded outdoor activities stand in stark contrast to Chilean government's closed,

unmoving institutions. I also analyze the practices of Ad-Mapu, an organization that was

initially formed in response to the repressive policies of military dictatorship and that

later introduced the tactics of physical action to assert ownership over lands believed to

be their own Mapuche ancestral territory.

Through analyzing the spatial practices enacted at each of these four moments in a

history of Mapuche activism, I identify several types of occupation, a term and a praxis

which I believe defines Mapuche protest more generally and which I outline below. I

show how varied groups do occupation a) in the sense of a seizing and recreating of the

dominant group's space in order to form an autonomous space and/or define that space in

contradistinction to that which is dominant, and b) as a repeated process of everyday

action, a way of life, a way of being and doing in the world. Broadly speaking, I argue

that Mapuche protest and activism seeks to transform space through a daily practice of

opening-up and connecting. Through performance analysis, I identify the embodied

practices through which Mapuche activists open up existing spaces to new uses and

purposes concurrent with their own worldview and connect disparate groups of Mapuche

to one another through these performed actions. In Chapter Three I will argue that the

performances of occupation I identify here resonate strongly with the work of urban

Mapuche activists today.

All four groups I consider have as the end goal of their occupation tactics

Mapuche autonomy. Over time, despite changing legal, social, and economic contexts, I

identify from the very beginning of Mapuche activism a continuous practice of defining

autonomy as the right to self-government and seeking to achieve that autonomy, or at the

very least legal recognition and an end to racism. While the way that groups push to

achieve these ends may have become more radical over time, in that some strategies have

moved in the direction of violence and destruction, I argue that goals remain

fundamentally the same.

I refer to archival accounts of each group's activities in order to look for traces of

the embodied practices by which Mapuche actors in particular historical moments have

produced and altered space. Through my analysis, I seek to understand the social,

political, and economic forces at play in shaping protestors' spatial practices in specific

moments of Chilean history. While I certainly do not pretend or aspire to offer a

comprehensive history of Mapuche activism, I have selected moments that I believe hold

particular significance for understanding an overall trajectory of the relationship between

Mapuche people and Chile more broadly, but also moments which can be better

illuminated through performance analysis. Where previously the embodied actions of

Mapuche movement have largely been addressed as spectacle and read as discursive

statements (statements directed at, primarily, the Chilean state), I argue instead that they

constitute spatially transformative acts, acts that transform space physically and/or

socially. I conceive of spatial practices, these embodied actions of Mapuche movement, as making and revealing meaning, and I ask what role the production of new spatialities has historically played in Mapuche social movement. If space is, as De Certeau, Massey, Carter, and Lefebvre have argued, a web of stories, acts of occupation operate as a way of commenting on and shifting that narrative, a way for Mapuche to take control of the story and write it for themselves.

To conclude the chapter, I briefly contrast Mapuche social movement with indigenous social movement in other parts of Latin America in order to illustrate other ways that indigenous activists accomplish spatially transformative acts, but also to provide some insight into possible reasoning behind Chilean student protestors' interest in aligning with an indigenous rights movement. I discuss the protest practices of indigenous activist groups in Bolivia, Ecuador, and Brazil to show how activists use tactics of blockage, rather than occupation, to define themselves in opposition to capital rather than to the state. I suggest that these patterns of blockage as a strategy of indigenous activists in Latin America more broadly may influence Chilean student protestors to align themselves with a general, homogenizing understanding of indigeneity as anti-capital political strategy rather than with a true understanding of the Mapuche context and goals. This brief look at the relationship between indigeneity and protest in Latin America illuminates the disjunction that I observe between the Chilean student movement and the Mapuche social movement.

**Change & Continuity in Theatre: Grupo Llufquehuenu and Grupo de Teatro Mapuche**

In 1916, Manuel Aburto Panguilef founded the Compañia de Teatro Araucana (Araucanian Theatre Company, later known by other names) under the auspices of the Sociedad Mapuche de Protección Mutua de Loncoche (Mapuche Mutual Protection Society of Loncoche).[28] The Sociedad was formed by Aburto as "a response to the dire socioeconomic conditions in which many local Mapuche peasant-farmers were living and to the violent treatment they were suffering at the hands of *colonos* who sought to expropriate their lands" (Crow 2013: 71). The theatre troupe was to be the cultural dimension of the society, aspiring to "reestablish the lost dignity of their people" (Pradenas 2006: 248). Aburto soon expanded the Sociedad's project beyond the locally-oriented Loncoche group to found the larger, nationwide Federación Araucana (Araucanian Federation), in 1921 in hopes of connecting Mapuche of Loncoche to other communities of Mapuche dispersed throughout the country. The theatre troupe expanded along with Aburto, becoming a part of the Federación Araucana as well and quickly becoming nationally-focused rather than locally-focused on Loncoche.

According to Bengoa, Aburto's political goals diverged from those of other Mapuche leaders of the time, who primarily emphasized the importance of education and integration into Chilean society (392). Aburto, in contrast, "*está centrado en el tema de la tierra, la radicación, las usurpaciones, los atropellos que ocurrían diariamente en el*

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18 See Bengoa, *Historia del Pueblo Mapuche,* 1985. p391

*campo*" (392).[29] While Aburto did stress the need for education and "civilizing"

measures, he also made frequent reference to the concept of the Mapuche as "a people,"

which highlights his understanding that even with this education, the Mapuche would

remain a distinct group, separate from the broader Chilean society. This emphasis on

difference set Aburto apart from his contemporaries. Interestingly, while Aburto's goals

took on a more radical or "*indigenista*" political project than others, Aburto also began

forging alliances with other leftist groups: "*este discurso no solo trataba de expresar al*

*pueblo indígena, sino concretamente a una sociedad campesina e indígena*" (392).[30]

Aburto focused on land rights and the recuperation of stolen territories, yet still managed

to keep the project's address broad enough to attract the supportive interest of non-

indigenous farmers and workers. Aburto would later use his connections with leftist and

workers' organizations in large cities like Santiago and Valparaíso in order to help

facilitate his theatre company's tours. This complicated relationship between appealing to

more general leftist political ideals while simultaneously promoting a radical indigenous

movement would be visible throughout many of Aburto's undertakings.

Information related to the theatre group is fairly sparse and occasionally contains

contradictions among sources. The theatre group is referred to by different names in

various texts (Grupo Artistico Llanquehuenu by Joanna Crow, Compañia de Teatro

Araucana by Bengoa, Conjunto Artistico Mapuche by Menard, Grupo Llufquehuenu on

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19 Translation:  is centered on the theme of land, settlement, the encroachments, the abuses occurring daily in the countryside.

20 Translation: This discourse not only tried to speak to the indigenous people, but to a peasant/ rural/ farming and indigenous society.

an archival poster for a performance in Temuco…).[31] For the sake of continuity, I refer to

the group by the name Llufquehuenu because of its presence in advertising for multiple

performances.[32] Descriptions of actual performances are few and far between, existing

mainly in brief newspaper articles from the time that appeal to public interest in the

exotic and marvel at how surprisingly un-savage the troupe's players seemed. A few

photographs can be found in the archives of the small Mapuche museum, Lonko Museo

Municipal, as well as some posters and performance advertisements, mainly printed in

newspapers or on broadsides and again appealing to audiences in language that reflects

dominant attitudes towards Mapuche as mystical, exotic, semi-savage, and Other.

I acknowledge the scarcity of resources relating to the actual performances of

Grupo Llufquehuenu for several reasons. First, I wish to point out the difficulty of finding

archival information related to Mapuche at this time period, both because Mapuche

generally do not privilege documentation in physical forms and tend(ed) to use more oral

forms of history, and also because I feel it worth noting that the broader Chilean

population had little interest in archiving anything related to Mapuche at this historical

moment.

Second, I wish to be transparent about the amount of extrapolation and

interpretation I have done with/ from the limited (re)sources available to me. The

ephemerality of performance always poses a challenge for those who wish to write about

it, but perhaps especially so when the performance has been documented so little. In

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21  See Crow 2014, Menard 2012.

22 Collected in Menard 2012.

order to analyze the performance work of Grupo Llufquehuenu, I do my best to read the photographs, accounts, and posters for what they can reveal about the group's embodied practices, but I acknowledge that this process must be inherently incomplete. In the vein of work by scholars like Saloni Mathur (2007), I read my limited source material with an eye to understanding its historical frameworks and the epistemic structures in which it is embedded.

As noted briefly above, scholarly opinion differs on the ultimate goals and desires of Aburto and his company. According to Skuban (2013), "Mapuche would literally perform their cultural identity in order to maintain their distinctiveness within Chilean society" (1576). For Skuban, the troupe sought to set themselves apart and assert their difference from the broader Chilean population. Describing Aburto's goals as a political thinker, Skuban says that "Aburto sought coexistence [with the modernizing Chilean state] by preserving Mapuche cultural traditions and communal land ownership," a position that distinguished Aburto from other leading Mapuche political figures of the time such as Manuel Manquilef, who argued that Mapuche should make a more "complete political fusion with the modernizing Chilean state, including the privatization of Mapuche communal land." (1576) Skuban marks a difference between "coexistence" and "fusion," suggesting that that Aburto's politics involved keeping Mapuche distinct from the rest of Chile, while other Mapuche leaders sought to erase that difference and fuse to or assimilate into the broader mass of Chileans.

Other scholars support the assertion that Aburto's goals for Llufquehuenu focused largely on coexistence with the Chilean state. Crow (2010) identifies specific references

Aburto made to Ercilla's well-known poem *La Araucana* to argue that Aburto

"transformed history, as told by Ercilla, into theatrical performance, and by doing so

reinforced its contemporary relevance" (137).[33] For Crow, Aburto made use of familiar,

accepted tropes of the brave warrior and his ultimate submission to a Spanish conqueror

in order to simultaneously glorify Mapuche (for their bravery and their role in an origin

story of Chile) and render them innocuous in the eyes of the Chilean populace (as a

conquered people, submissive to the state). Through appealing to familiar ideas from

classic literature (literature that was and has been consistently held up as part of the

national mythos of Chile), Crow believes, Aburto sought to give Chileans a picture of the

Mapuche that was both positive and non-threatening, a picture which would promote and

help sustain peaceful coexistence.

My argument sees Aburto's strategy as much more complex than simply

capitulating to a dominant stereotype. His methods act more in line with Spivak's idea of

"strategic essentialism," in that Aburto makes use of dominant associations with

Mapuche-ness in order to further political goals involving legal recognition. Scholars like

Elizabeth Furniss (1999), Siegrid Deutschlander and Leslie Miller (2008), and Rosita

Henry (2010) have discussed the complexity of indigenous cultural performance and its

potential to create tensions between participation in and resistance to primitivist tropes

and racist state narratives. Llufquehuenu's apparent capitulation to state-sanctioned

stereotypes through, for example, repetition of phrasing and images used in Ercilla's epic

poem *La Araucana*, operates simultaneously with a carving out of public space for, and

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23 Ercilla's epic poem has been taught in schools as an example of both early Chilean history and
Renaissance poetry, giving it widespread recognition and influence.

marked as, Mapuche. The Mapuche performers both perform the expectations of an

exoticizing public and allow that public to continue feeling the nationalist sentiments of

the football stadium, and also subvert that space by occupying it in the interests of

Mapuche, rather than Chilean, nationalism.

I depart from previous scholars by looking to the group's spatial practices in order

to make my own analysis of Aburto's politics and Llufquehuenu's actions. To reveal

these spatial practices, I draw information from the scant photographs, newspaper

articles, advertisements, and manuscripts available and consider the impact of the

indicated or apparent movements of particular bodies in specific spaces as described or

shown, focusing on performance in order to uncover the embodied practices of the past

that we no longer have direct access to.

In 1940, the company visited Valparaíso, Viña del Mar, and Calera, three major

cities in central Chile, to present a show advertised in the following manner: "The

glorious, immortal Araucanian race, never defeated, or ruled by a foreign king presents a

group of its performers to the industrious and hard-working inhabitants of [Calera]."[34]

Those in the audience would "discover the traditions, customs, dances, religious rites and

sporting practices" of this "glorious, immortal race." According to the poster, the

program went as follows: first, a dramatic presentation, then a song and prayer to God

and the Christian saints, followed by a *chueca* game, religious dances accompanied by

music, an "ostrich dance," a "*rapto de la novia*" (capture of the fiancée), and finally a

football match. The program would last between 3 and 4 hours.

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24 This comes via a poster from the show in Calera, kept by the Museo Municipal de Loncoche.

The order of events, I argue, is not insignificant. Opening with a dramatic presentation sets the tone for a particular and expected mode of spectatorship which would then likely carry through to the rest of the performance, setting up the entire performance as theatre, which would have been understood at this time as popular, pleasurable entertainment geared towards a broad audience.[35] Following up with a prayer to God and the Christian saints would likely have put audiences at ease about being in the presence of "pagans, "while potentially allowing Mapuche performers to relate to their own performance of prayer as 'merely' theatrical and so perhaps not offensive to their own personal religious beliefs, if they held non-Christian beliefs. By placing Christian prayer before the display of "traditional" games, music, and dances, those potentially "exotic" cultural elements were likely relieved of some of their potential shock or scare factor, since they had been prefaced by a reassurance of the "not-fully-pagan-ness" of the indian performers. Ending with a football match, then, would have been appealing directly to the nationalistic, uber-"Chilean" aspect of the sport, thus leaving the audience on a positive note and reassuring spectators that Mapuche could (and perhaps wished to) blend with or adopt the practices of hegemonic Chilean-ness.

Aburto's personal diaries, collected and published in 2013 by Andre Menard, provide the most detailed accounts of Llufquehuenu's activities. He wrote daily accounts during a tour through Santiago, Viña del Mar, Valparaíso, Calera, and other cities in central Chile. Combining Aburto's accounts with readings of reviews from local newspapers during the tour, I seek to gain some insight into the troupe's performances.

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26 See, for example, Zlatko Brncic 1953, Mario Canepa Guzman 1974, Juan Villegas 1984.

Aburto refers to each performance as a "*Festival*" in his diaries and notes that they

typically took place mid-afternoon on weekend days, either Saturday or Sunday or both.

The *festivales* always took place in football stadiums, presumably because of the

inclusion of a football game in the program. In Santiago, they performed in the Estadio

Nacional; in Viña del Mar, the Estadio "*El Tranque*" Municipal; in Valparaíso, the

Estadio de Playa Ancha. The Conjunto had between 60 and 70 performers at this time, all

of whom participated in the musical portions of the program. Crowds generally numbered

more than a thousand, sometimes in the thousands, though Aburto describes feeling

terrible on an occasion when only around 300 spectators showed up. The large stadiums

were never filled, allowing ushers to direct the audience to sit all on one side, so that the

performers could direct their address towards the audience. Admission prices ran between

2 and 10 pesos, which would have been a nominal fee, making the performance

accessible to a wide audience. The cross-class popularity of football may also have

helped draw spectators from a wide range of backgrounds, and the stadium would have

been a place with which most people were already familiar.

Looking at entries from Llufquehuenu's performances in Valparaiso and reviews

from the local newspapers *El Mercurio, La Estrella,* and *La Union,* I discuss a piece of

the performance and analyze how it functioned spatially. At the designated starting time,

the group of performers would walk out onto the field together and stand in a line Aburto

introduced them to the audience (as a group, not individually) and described what the

audience was about to see. Aburto served as something of an emcee for the event,

opening and closing it, sometimes improvising short speeches between acts, and

introducing each activity as it was presented. He was also the only person to speak

*castellano* rather than *Mapudungun* during the entire event. The entire group then

participated in a prayer to the Christian God, coming down to their knees and bowing

their heads respectfully. The audience applauded appreciatively following each activity.

Coming to their feet again, the entire group participated in a song and dance, the

*choique purun*, or ostrich dance. A select group of five male dancers in especially ornate

costumes decorated with feathers performed the dance, while the rest of the company

provided drumming, chanting, and song. The dancers covered only the center area of the

field in their movements, while the musicians formed a semi-circle behind them. The

ostrich dance involves the performers imitating the movements of an ostrich at various

stages of life and in different activities, emphasizing motions of the head and neck that

sway right to left, up and down, right to left, up and down. Over and over the dancers

move their heads in a four-point pattern, mirroring the *kultrun*, the symbol depicting the

four cardinal points of the Mapuche world. All five dancers move counterclockwise in a

circle, mirroring the counterclockwise circular movements of the sun over the course of a

day. The dance is a celebration of nature, taking inspiration from the strong, shrewd

ostrich and Mapuche understandings of time and the cosmos.

A critic in the Valparaíso *El Mercurio* wrote, "*Los bailes son originales, y*

*recuerdan esos bailes guerreros o de costumbres de paises exóticos o de las tríbus*

*indianas de otros paises de nuestro continente.*"[36] The critic also mentioned the

monotony of the repetitive accompanying music, though conceding that it was interesting

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[36] Translation: The dances are original, and recall those war dances or customary dances of exotic countries or the indian tribes of other countries of our continent.

in its own way. In *La Union*, a reporter simply stated that the dance "*mantuvo el interés del public durante todo su desarollo*" and "*recibido buenos aplausos*," while *La Estrella* called the performance "*agradable*."[37] While spectators may have experienced little more than an entertaining dance show with strange music, the performance held greater significance for the Mapuche performers.

The audience was seated such that performers, when facing forward towards the audience, would be looking in the direction of the east, the best and most important of the four cardinal directions, the direction of the Andes and of the sunrise. The ostrich dancers further asserted the directionality of the stadium through their movements, beginning the dance facing east and moving only counterclockwise, reinforcing the power of the sun as the creator of time and never lingering in a west-facing position, the most evil of all directions. The dance, as one of the first parts of the presentation, immediately set up the space according to a Mapuche worldview and directed movement through the space based on that worldview. By having the them sit facing the west, the audience was already unknowingly participating in a Mapuche organization of space and reinforcing Mapuche beliefs.

Through their embodied actions, through the distinctive choreographies they brought to the football stadiums, Llufquehuenu rejected a hegemonic spatial ordering and produced their own spatiality, into which they assimilated an unknowing audience. Their troupe brought Mapuche spatial practices to heterogeneous audiences in major cities and disrupted important spaces of Chilean nationalism, though audiences likely did not

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[37] Translation: Maintained the interest of the public during its entire development; received much applause; was agreeable.

understand the performances in this way. I see the Mapuche spatial practices exemplified

in the ostrich dance as constituting a type of occupation, temporarily imposing a new

logic and epistemic framework for the production of space in the places they visited, and

practicing that logic and epistemology in their day to day lives, as they traveled

throughout Chile and as they went about their business at home in Loncoche.

Bengoa describes Aburto's theatre group as "*un elenco político teatral*,"

highlighting the importance of the troupe's political work over its presentational work

(393).[38] Similarly, Menard describes Aburto as providing audiences with "*bellos*

*paisajes, costumbres intactas y colorido*" to create a "*plato exótico*" in which to serve up

political content: "*Del objeto exótico surge nuevamente el sujeto politico… [con una]*

*combinación de demanda de autoctonía y lógica de explotación política*" (11).[39] Bengoa

and Menard foreground the idea that, under the flashy exterior of an appealingly exotic

spectacle, Aburto hid a political message. He used the logic of exploitation to make

covert demands for autonomy.

As I have indicated, the activities performed and their significance potentially

contain multiple meanings and accomplish different ends-- including, I'm suggesting,

possibly very different meanings and ends for the Mapuche performers than for the

Chilean spectators. While the Chilean spectators could read Llufquehuenu's performance

as reassuringly non-threatening, Mapuche activists like Aburto could understand the

performance as enacting a subversive spatial practice that asserted Mapuche presence and

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28 A theatrical political team

29 Translation: beautiful scenery, unspoiled colorful customs… exotic dish… from the exotic object, the
    political subject rises again… through a combination of the demand for autochtony and the logic of
    political exploitation.

visibility throughout Chile. As mentioned briefly above, holding the event in the space of

a football stadium was a meaningful choice that simultaneously located Mapuche

difference safely within the existing structures of a unified Chilean nation *and* subverted

this space of hegemonic values and Chilean nationalism by repurposing it for Mapuche

activities and political goals. While communicating a non-threatening folkloric picture of

Mapuche-ness to Chilean audiences and mostly reinforcing dominant ideas about the

ahistorical Indian, the performance also physically and socially coopted the nationalistic

space of the football stadium for the production of Mapuche space.

In sharp contrast to Aburto's Grupo Llufquehuenu, the Grupo de Teatro Mapuche

(hereafter GTM) of the 1980s engaged in community-based theatre largely in southern

Chile and highly rural areas. Making collective artistic creations, the radical leftist

indigenous artists of the GTM traveled to rural areas of southern Chile to create theatrical

performances inspired by and responding to issues of concern to each particular Mapuche

community they visited. Using techniques from Augusto Boal's Theatre of the

Oppressed, these performances were intended to empower, inspire, and incite

conversation among community members. Domingo Colicoy Caniulen, a socialist

militant and key member of the "radical" Mapuche political organization Ad-Mapu,

founded the group in 1981, "*motivado por la inquietud común de realizar un aporte*

*concreto a la causa del pueblo mapuche, a través de la proyección de su cultura, valores*

*y problemas*" (*Cauce,* núm. 102, abril de 1987:31).[40] While this description of the

group's goals initially appear similar to that of Llufquehuenu, I argue that spatially their

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30 Translation: motivated by the common concern of making a concrete contribution to the cause of the
    Mapuche people, through the sharing of their culture, values, and problems.

tactics differed greatly. While Llufquehuenu focused on bringing Mapuche presence and

visibility to Wingka in the large urban centers, GTM focused on creating spaces of

Mapuche interaction, growth, and strengthening from within.

As with Llufquehuenu, scholars offer differing interpretations of the work of

GTM. Crow (2013) cites Mapuche political leader Domingo Montupil's opinion that the

GTM began as a folkloric venture but also showed "the reality and suffering of the

Mapuche people," helping young people "develop a sense of their Mapuche identity by

enacting captivating scenes such as those related to traditional marriage customs" (163).[41]

This description indicates a mixture of portraying the lived realities of Mapuche in the

(present) moment and "preserving" the traditional practices of past Mapuche. Founding

leader Colicoy described the group's project as seeking to "defend and reconstruct"

Mapuche culture (qtd. in Pradenas 2006: 440). Skuban (2013) states that, "during the

Pinochet dictatorship, when the state violently repressed political opposition and

attempted to 'de-indigenize' the Mapuche and their territorial base, they organized theater

groups, cultural festivals, and sporting tournaments to maintain a distinct identity"

(1576). Skuban's comment reduces GTM's project as akin to his similarly simplistic

understanding of Llufquehuenu (see above), suggesting that the Mapuche performers

were "merely" performing their difference-- though here in order to "preserve" it for

themselves rather than to display it for Chilean audiences. These multiple and sometimes

contradictory appraisals of GTM's work once again show the complexity of cultural

performance projects and the need for care in examining what they do. Rather than

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31 Domingo Montupil was another political leader in that moment, one of the few prominent Mapuche of
the moment.

discuss these practices in terms of "identity maintenance" or identity "preservation," as other scholars have done, I consider them for their significance as practices that create new modes of spatial production in contrast to those imposed by the state. GTM, through attending to the rural areas where large populations of Mapuche already exist, seeks to occupy those spaces and recreate them as communities where the Mapudungun language can be spoken or learned, Mapuche knowledges can be shared, and people can learn everyday practices to maintain and recreate such communities.

Many scholars have argued that community-based theatre, generally speaking, seeks to accomplish uniquely spatial goals. Shari Popen (2006), addressing Theatre of the Oppressed in particular, argues that TO takes on spatiality because "changing the dominant structures of power requires unpacking the ways in which space performs or acts on us" (127). Popen discusses how Boal's techniques strive to create "aesthetic space," a space for transitive learning, departures from norms, and imaginative geographies (125). The practices Boal envisions attempt to create spatialities similar to those described by Foucault (1984) as "heterotopias," Lefebvre (1991) as "differential space," and Deleuze and Guattari (1987) as "smooth space."[42]

It is worth mentioning that the GTM was part of a broader "flowering" of theatre throughout Chile during the 1980s, which scholars have attributed to theatre's ability to remain officially considered not political, or at least not a threat to maintaining state strength. While Pinochet and his administration violently crushed most forms of resistant

32 I do NOT mean to collapse these three distinct concepts into one another. I'm just pointing out that these are all possible ways of thinking about how to create "openings, slippages, fissures, spaces that can provide footholds onto different ways of thinking and acting," as Popen would say (125).

political expression and popular organization, certain forms persisted.[43] Most of the types

of activist statements or resistance visible from this time were discursive: poetry, song,

and other types of writing, which makes sense, given that discursive forms could,

perhaps, fly under the radar more easily than, say, mass public demonstrations or

occupations.[44] Theatre appears to be one of the only embodied forms that managed to

persist throughout the repressive years of the dictatorship. Playwright Ramon Griffero in

1994 described theater as "the most feasible art form to do in Chile as an act of

dissidence" (quoted in Pottlitzer, "Game of Expression under Pinochet," 8). Maria de la

Luz Hurtado and Carlos Ochsenius (1980) discuss the growth of theatre during the

dictatorship, pointing out that the ephemerality of performance and the subjectivity of its

reception helped it persist. My focus on theatre as a spatial practice raises the question of

how theatre groups like GTM were able to (as I argue) instantiate new spatial practices

while also managing to escape the notice and wrath of the repressive military government

under a dictator who famously declared that Chile had no indigenous peoples.

Ad-Mapu's Mapuche theatre group, directed by Domingo Colicoy, was composed

primarily of young people, well-educated and fluent in Mapudungun, working together in

Temuco beginning in 1981.[45] In an interview with Martinez Neira (done in Santiago in

2006), former GTM participant Guido Huaiquil describes the group as "*como bien*

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33 Pinochet's administration crushed resistance through both official and unofficial channels, imprisoning or "disappearing" tens of thousands over the course of two decades.

34 Although some artists, a prominent example being Victor Jara, were persecuted (Jara was murdered) by Pinochet.

36 See Ochsenius 1986.

*sólido*"[46] because it was a part of Ad-Mapu and "*habíamos gente que también, de alguna manera, participabamos dentro de las políticas del Partido Socialista, pero no estabamos casados con ninguno de ellos, entonces eramos autónomos, en ese sentido*" (2009: 603).[47] In Huaiquil's estimation, the theatre troupe was foundational for the creation of a true "Mapuche movement": "*En esos tiempos, el planteamiento era que había que crear un movimiento mapuche, pero que se plantee desde la visión mapuche, ese era el tema, nada más de partidos ni cosas, porque esa no era la esencia nuestra, la esencia nuestra son las demandas mapuches*" (603).[48] In order to set aside partisan politics and move beyond socialist or Marxist doctrine, Colicoy posed the idea of a theatre troupe, a group that would try to get at "*la visión mapuche*," "*la esencia nuestra*," through artistic practice rather than pure "politics."

According to Martínez Neira (2009), the theatre group "*luego se volvió central para comprender la fundación del Consejo*"[49] and goes on to say how it showed that they had "*las capacidades y los recursos organizativos para realizar política étnica sin necesidad de las mediaciones partidarias*" (603).[50] The theatre group became a singular faction within Ad-Mapu because of its capacity to do ethnic politics without recourse to

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37  Translation: very solid/ stable

38 Translation: we were people who also, in some way, participated in Socialist Party politics, but we weren't married to them, so in that sense we were autonomous.

39 Translation: In those times, the proposition was that a Mapuche movement had to be created, but it had to be created through the Mapuche vision, that was the thing, not through political parties or anything, because that wasn't our essence; our essence was Mapuche demands.

40 Translation: later became central for understanding the founding of the Council of All Lands, the organization that Ad-Mapu later became (it went through several iterations).

41 Translation: the ability and organizational resources to form an ethnic politics without partisan measures

partisan measures. Colicoy and his theatre group had a number of political differences from the majority of Ad-Mapu, which made it more or less attractive/ acceptable to particular members based on their politics. "*Ya en 1988 muchos miembros de Ad-Mapu se habían retirado de la organización o participaban en sólo algunas instancias muy específicas de esta. El grupo de teatro fue una de ellas, el cual tuvo en esa epoca una gran cantidad de diferencias con la directiva debido a su autonomía de la organización*" (Martinez Neira 606).[51] By the late '80s, a significant number of Ad-Mapu members participated only in the theatre group and in no other activities of the organization, because of Ad-Mapu's strong alliance with Chile's Communist party and the troupe's rejection of existing political parties in favor of self-determination.

Given that it incited (or at least helped bring about) a major split in one of the largest, most prominent Mapuche political organizations of all time, the Grupo de Teatro Mapuche was clearly a politically significant organization. In order to consider its political significance as a spatially transformative group rather than "merely" a discursively noisy group, I again turn to analysis of the spatial practices proposed and enacted through its work.

As described by Carlos Ochsenius (1987), "A presentation by the group *Ad-Mapu* (an activist group of Mapuche Indians) in the Santiago *población* of Sara Gajardo ends with an unplanned, emotional conversation between the actors and the audience in their native language. Many *pobladores* among them have almost lost their original language.

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42 Translation: Already in 1988 many members of Ad-Mapu had retired from the organization or participated only in certain very specific parts of the organization. The theatre group was one of those, and it had in that time a large quantity of differences with the larger directive owing to its autonomy from the organization.

They do not expect to have an opportunity to practice it in the big city. When the *trutruca*

and the *kultrun* (Mapuche musical instruments) sound, announcing the end of the event, it

is too soon for everyone. A deep tie between north and south, between *campesinos* and

*pobladores*, has been rediscovered" (178).[52] Ochsenius offers a narrative account of

GTM's activities, but while it is quite obviously subjective, it is also the most thorough

and descriptive available.

According to Ochsenius (1982), Ad-Mapu's theatrical project was centered on "*la*

*denuncia social de problemas como la extrema pobreza, la asimilación a la sociedad*

*mayoritaria (wuinca), la discriminación racial, la emigración de la juventud mapuche a*

*los centros urbanos, la falta de libertad, etc*" (103).[53] The GTM made use of theatre to

discuss and denounce the social problems facing Mapuche people in Chile. As a broader

national project, Ad-Mapu's purpose was "*la defensa de los derechos del pueblo*

*mapuche, la tenencia comunitaria de la tierra y todo su patrimonio cultural*" (103).[54] In

addition to speaking out against social ills, the organization also spoke out in defense of

rights. Beyond theatrical performance, the group also "*se realizan charlas de educación*

*complementaria incluyendo temas históricos, culturales y sobre todo realizando y*

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43 Población, in the context of Chile, has a particular meaning: it's not quite a ghetto, not quite a slum, but also doesn't just mean "population" which is its literal definition translated from Spanish. It's one of those special Chileanisms and tends to refer to a low-income area on the outskirts of the city—like where Jaas lives—BUT also often refers to an area that's heavily Mapuche because Mapuche tend to live in poverty, especially in the cities, at a higher instance/ percentage than the rest of the population.

44 Translation: the social/ public denunciation of problems like extreme poverty, assimilation into the majoritarian (wingka) society, the emigration of Mapuche youth to urban centers, the lack of freedom, etc.

45 Translation: the defense of the rights of the Mapuche people, their communal lands, and all their cultural patrimony,

*participando en actividades de las comunidades campesinas tales como: Nguillatunes*

*(ceremonia religiosa) y Palin (deporte tradicional mapuche muy similar al Jokey)*"

(104).[55] Group members not only performed for Mapuche communities, but also engaged

them in public discussions of history and culture, religious ceremonies, and friendly

sporting competitions. The interactive element of performance is a key aspect of GTM's

version of occupation, because it encourages active spectatorship, community-building,

and critical thinking, as I will discuss below.

Most of GTM's performances were presented in Mapudungun or a combination of

Mapudungun and Spanish. The performances made use of improvisations on quotidian

themes or general problems affecting the Mapuche community. The company would

improvise on these topics during their rehearsals, then expand the best of these works into

a longer dramatic piece to present for audiences. A few years after its beginnings, the

group took up the techniques and activities of Augusto Boal's Theatre of the Oppressed

(106). The group strove for a horizontal system of direction in which all members

contributed to the guidance and oversight of the group (105). The choices to work

through improvisation and horizontal leadership positioned all members as creators and

sought to foster a participatory atmosphere in rehearsal as well as performance.

After a week of such a rehearsal process, the actors would typically travel on the

weekends to rural communities where they would perform in the open air. After each

performance, the actors conversed with spectators. Sometimes they would share meals

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46 Translation: gave complementary educational talks including historical and cultural topics and above all
organizing and participating in rural community activities like Nguillatunes (a religious ceremony) and
Palin (a traditional Mapuche sport very similar to hockey).

with the public as well, during which they would converse more (107). The group

performed in Temuco and its surrounding zona,[56] as well as Concepción, Santiago,

Chiloé, etc, in both rural and urban areas, depending upon where Mapuche people lived.

"*En todos esos lugares se han vuelto a estrechar los lazos de hermandad al interior del*

*pueblo mapuche*" (110).[57] By connecting with Mapuche people and communities in

disparate parts of Chile, the GTM sought to bring a sense of connectedness and group

belonging to a Mapuche nation.

From the scant information Ochsenius provides, I identify several important

points: the open air workshops and performances eschewed the limitations imposed by

buildings or institutions, and the bringing together of rural and urban Mapuche to share

space as one community sought to spatially and socially suture disparate groups into one

Mapuche nation. Crow (2013) writes that "members did not simply take plays and

perform them *to* the communities, but rather worked together *with* the communities on

the productions. The approach was all about collective artistic production. This direct

involvement was crucial to the process of political consciousness raising" (164).

Through improvisation, rather than beginning from text-based scripts, the GTM

created a Mapuche theatre, one that privileged oral and embodied practice rather than

text. By involving the audience/ public in decisions about what topics should be

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47  Chilean government is largely centralized, but the country is also split up into twelve "zonas" or regions
     which have (limited) regional government

48 Translation: In all these places they have come to strengthen the bonds of brotherhood within the
Mapuche people.

addressed and what stories should be told, they further avoided the top-down strategies of many theatres at the time.

The GTM created the play "*Ñuke Mapu*," meaning Mother Earth in Mapudungun, in response to concerns about the assimilation into mainstream Chilean society of Mapuches who leave the Araucanía for urban areas. The action of the play involves a small Mapuche town experiencing the return of one of their own who had left for Santiago. Finding that he no longer knows who he is, the town must come together to reintroduce Mapuche beliefs and identity, primarily through a connection to, understanding of, and respect for the earth. To show the process of reinvigorating the "*ahuincado*" character's identification with his Mapuche-ness, the performers take the character through a series of activities. He must listen to his family conversing in Mapudungun; he must dance as part of a *nguillatun* religious ceremony; he must kill a goat to be sacrificed during the ceremony; he must learn how to weave from his grandmother. The group performed revival of one's Mapuche-ness as possible through action, practice, and connection. Following performances, the troupe would ask audience members for input about how they felt connected to Mapuche-ness, how they might help someone who they felt had lost connection, and whether they worried about this kind of loss.

While the content of a performance such as "*Ñuke Mapu*" clearly holds significance, and can even be said to model occupation in the sense of daily labor (a daily practice of being and becoming Mapuche), I find spatially most interesting the premise of the group's work. Traveling to places where Mapuche lived in isolation, whether in the

poor *poblas* of Santiago or tiny rural towns in the Araucanía, and making a space for

them to create and rehearse belonging to a nation and responsibility to a larger people,

constitutes another type of occupation, the kind devoted to seizing space and imposing

new or different logics to govern it. The group upended hierarchies, privileging

Mapudungun over Spanish, improvisation over text, and discussion of Mapuche issues

rather than attempts to blend in as *mestizo.* Traveling across the country, the GTM sought

to create space for Mapuche people to think, speak, and be Mapuche, to conceive of

themselves as interconnected within a Mapuche nation, and potentially offered them a

model for how to create this kind of space through their day-to-day actions and

interactions.

       While the two theatre groups I discuss were each generated by and to some extent

constituted part of a larger Mapuche political organization, I now turn to two explicitly

political groups that worked specifically in the political sphere rather than the artistic

sphere. I do so in order to show how occupation characterized not only the spatial

practices of artistically or aesthetically-oriented activist groups, but also the spatial

practices of Mapuche activist groups more generally.


**Occupying Politics: The Congreso Araucano and Ad-Mapu**

       The Congreso Araucano, or Mapuche National Congress, formed by Manuel

Aburto Panguilef in 1920, served as a space of representation for the Mapuche, who were

otherwise completely unrepresented in Chilean politics.[58] The Mapuche had had the

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51 Yes, this is the same Aburto of the previous section, but I think this project has a different importance
    than the theatre project, and he is inarguably a major figure in the history of the Mapuche movement.

majority of their lands expropriated by the state, were experiencing forced assimilation through education, health care, and language, held no formal representation in the Chilean government, and due to social custom largely favoring horizontal leadership, as well as physical dispersal throughout a large expanse of territory, had not had any type of unified political organization prior to the *pacificación,* either. In order to make action within or against the Chilean state possible, and to avoid disappearing completely, Aburto deemed it necessary to move towards some sort of coalition or unification of Mapuche throughout Chile.

According to Menard and Pavez (2005), "*el Congreso Araucano operaba a la vez como un evento o forma puntual de movilización social, y como una institución permanente de representación política mapuche*" (211).[59] The existing Mapuche political organizations, including Aburto's Federación Araucana and Manuel Manquilef's Sociedad Caupolicán,[60] participated in the congress, along with representatives from Mapuche communities all over the country. "*El Congreso Araucano constituyó a la vez una institución con vocación representativa y carácter resolutivo, y un conjunto de manifestaciones políticas desarrolladas entre 1921 y 1950, de ahi que el concepto oscile entre su forma singular y el plural de la serie de congresos realizados*" (213).[61] Menard

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52 Translation: the Araucanian Congress operated simultaneously as an event or (time-bracketed) form of social mobilization and also as a permanent institution of Mapuche political organization

53 Manuel Manquilef and his organization were significantly more assimilationist as a group: see Menard and Pavez 2003.

54 Translation: the Araucanian Congress constituted at the same time an institution with a representative purpose and a resolute character, and a combination of political activities developed between 1921 and 1951, and from here the concept oscillates between its singular form and its plural form as a series of congresses that took place.

and Pavez point out that to refer to the Congreso Araucano is to refer to a permanent institution, a series of events, and an evolving network of people. The Congresos also included important religious and ritual components, melding politics with other aspects of culture to create a distinctly Mapuche experience (216).

In contrast to the Chilean National Congress, an institution installed in a permanent building, in an enclosed space in downtown Santiago, the Congreso Araucano posed a territorially and organizationally distinct space. I see the values of each of the two congresses reflected in their respective spatial practices. For the strongly centralized Chilean government, Congress met in a massive, iconic building with classical architecture in a highly visible area of Chile's most populous city, serving as a symbol of power and institutional strength. The young indigenous Congress, formed explicitly as an alternative or corrective to the National Congress from which it was excluded, met outdoors, in varying locations throughout the Araucanía, honoring the importance of this particular territory and its land, mobile and at different times of year depending on convenience for those involved, in unbounded spaces accessible to all. The Congreso Araucano traveled throughout the land and people whose concerns it sought to address, while the National Congress remained static and fixed in the center of the country. The differences in spatial practice highlight the distinct beliefs and values shaping each Congress, showing state concern for centrality, stability, and limited access as compared to Mapuche preference for mobility, decentralization, flexibility, and access.

The claiming of autonomous, or at least separate, political space, as well as the establishment of an inverse governmental body clearly posited as being in direct contrast to the Chilean National Congress showed the Mapuche carving out a space to create their own politics, distinct from those of the Chilean state and its citizens. The Congreso Araucano's ever-changing location and convening outdoors in the open air reveal a unique relationship to and conception of space. Rather than having a stable, permanent, stationary, singular structure with limited access, the Mapuche congress made use of the natural environment, the most important of spaces for the Mapuche, rather than an ornate building which would only serve as a marker of status and deterrent to access for other Chileans. Its varied location shows that the Congreso's importance, efficacy, and legitimacy were not based on being held in a particular location or even with particular bodies, necessarily, since the location was also open-air and therefore freely accessible.

By bringing together representatives from Mapuche areas all over Chile, the Congreso tried to create a space of national togetherness in opposition to the Chilean nation. At a time when Mapuche in different areas of the country felt little connection to one another, Aburto made a case (and a space) for those people to link themselves together. A fair amount of time during the week-ish-long Congresos was devoted to performing activities together that reinforced participants' connections to one another, such as singing or reciting traditional stories, performing dances that were common to all groups, and performing religious ceremonies and rituals that affirmed and celebrated shared Mapuche beliefs. The Congreso created a new relational space for Mapuche from

all parts of Chile to experience social, cultural, and political connection. For a little while, Araucanía could encompass the entirety of the territory where Mapuche lived.

According to Bengoa (1985) Aburto was, "*poco a poco construyendo un rito. Recuperaba las antiguas juntas de los mapuches, ocupaba los viejos lugares sagrados donde se realizaban los cahuines para la guerra. Fue creando un rito que removía la vieja cultura: oraciones, cantos, sueños. Los congresos duraban días y días y acudían mapuches de todos los rincones de la Araucanía*" (394).[62] Bengoa describes how Aburto was remembered later "*como un hombre religioso, un 'mistico,' que recorrió los campos de la Araucanía, predicando la defensa de la raza, de la tierra, de la lengua, de las tradiciones; fue el primer predicador de la resistencia étnica radical*" (395).[63] While Congresos included song, dance, and prayer, the major goal seemed to be to articulate demands related to a law that would protect Mapuche rights and ensure Mapuche representation in government at the national level.

The Congreso Araucano also placed great importance on the production of writings/ texts about Mapuche history, politics, and culture: "*en la enorme producción escrita… se esbozaba la constitución de un escritorio mapuche propio, análogo del territorio soberano que se buscaba recuperar, por oposición a la escritura colonizada del texto etnográfico o al terreno asignado o usurpado por la sociedad... En otras*

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54 Translation: little by little constructing a ritual. He recovered the old guard of Mapuches, occupied the old sacred spaces where preparations for war had been made. He was creating a ritual that revived the old culture: prayers, songs, dreams. The congresses lasted days and days and Mapuches came from all corners of the Araucanía.

55 Translation: as a religious man, a 'mystic,' who traveled the fields of the Araucanía preaching the defense of the race, the land, the language, the traditions; he was the first preacher of radical ethnic resistance.

*palabras, el escritorio mapuche es a las escrituras mapuches inscritas en el escritorio*

*etnográfico o administrativo chileno, lo que un territorio mapuche autónomo es a los*

*terrenos inscritos en el territorio nacional chileno*" (217).[64] Menard and Pavez describe

this aspect of the Congreso as "*la política del registro o la soberanía por la escritura*"

(217). Historical accounts reference many instances of the various Congresos Araucanos

over the years prioritizing projects involving the publishing of written manuscripts or the

collection of various types of written records, which speaks to the importance of this idea

of "sovereignty through writing." Menard and Pavez describe numerous participants in

the Congresos speaking in order to be written, or acting with a consideration for the fact

that the proceedings would be recorded and published.

By attending to the importance of text, Aburto and his Congreso participants

acknowledged the colonial legacy of writing for indigenous peoples, especially peoples

with orally-based historical traditions, like the Mapuche. As De Certeau (1988) noted in

*The Writing of History,* writing creates the story that it tells, and that story has often been

written in service of those seeking to take power over others. De Certeau describes

"writing that conquers," referring to how colonizing Europeans used text-based forms

like mapping, ethnography, and history to claim and maintain their dominance over

exotic indigenous Others (xxv). By producing texts of their own, from their own

perspectives and with their own interests in mind, the Congreso Araucano sought to

counter this damaging tradition and write their own stories, refusing the narratives placed

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 53 Translation: in its massive textual production… they outlined the creation of a
specifically Mapuche *writing*, analogous to the sovereign *territory* they sought to recover,
in opposition to the colonial writing of ethnographic or administrative texts, what an
autonomous Mapuche territory is to the Chilean national territory.

upon them by Spanish and Chilean text-producers. The production of text is also a spatial practice, as De Certeau argues, and I see it as a practice of occupation, as well. Through publishing their minutes, commissioning historical texts, and reproducing speeches in print, the Congreso Araucano occupied the space of history, seizing and creating for themselves a way of participating in the writing of the history of Chile and also doing history on their own terms. While this move may also be seen as a surrender to the primacy of Western textuality and a rejection of or distancing from Mapuche oral dissemination of history, I understand it as part of the strategy of occupation by which Mapuche activists sought to carve out an oppositional space for themselves.

I argue that the spatial practices of this early Mapuche political organization to a certain extent persist in the activities of the prominent contemporary Mapuche political organization Ad-Mapu. I now consider the spatial practices of Ad-Mapu in relation to those of the Congreso Araucano in order to illustrate the continuation of occupation as a key strategy for Mapuche political activists, even with a notable shift towards violent and destructive methods.

Briefly mentioned above in relation to the GTM, which began as one of its subgroups, the radical Mapuche political organization Ad-Mapu initally formed as a Mapuche response to the military dictatorship. "Ad-Mapu was the most broad-based Mapuche organization of all time, at one point representing fifteen hundred communities (Reuque Paillalef 2002). It was an active force in the movement against the dictatorship" (Richards 2013: 61-62). Rosamel Millaman, a leader of Ad-Mapu during the 1980s, describes the organization's project as "the pursuit of autonomy of the Mapuche people,

in the sense that we organize ourselves to define our destiny, our path of liberation,

without waiting for recipes from this ministry or that organism" (qtd. in Richards, 173).

In Southern Chile in particular, Mapuche activists began using overtly spatial

tactics in relationship to their land claims during the 1990s. In particular, activists would

use the tactics known as *corridas de cerco* (moving of fences) or *tomas de fundo* (illegal

land occupations) in order to assert their rights to particular areas that they felt had been

unjustly taken from them. As fairly familiar strategies among indigenous movements

globally in their struggles to claim land rights, activist groups from Canada to New

Zealand have taken actions of these kind.

This gets brought up by Crow (2013) as the "*eje comunitaria*" of Mapuche

political organizing during the 1960s, or a "wave of direct actions instigated at the local,

grassroots level" (122).[65] According to Crow, "Such actions were indicative of the

communities' growing exasperation with the state's legal mechanisms, which were

supposed to help defend indigenous lands but were either unable to do so or actively

sided with landowners, logging companies, and other intruders" (122). During the

presidencies of Frei and Allende, a small amount of land was repatriated to Mapuche

groups, but this minor and short-lived attempt at land reform could not counter centuries

of injustice.[66] Pinochet's government quickly put a stop to land reform and issued a

decree prohibiting traditional communal land use and opening up Mapuche lands to

privatization, often selling off large quantities of land to timber companies.

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58 Literally, "eje comunitaria" means "community hub." Crow uses the term to mean the initiation of
grassroots, community-based activism.

[66] See Repetto, M, *Politicas indigenistas en el Cono Sur: Argentina y Chile frente a los
Mapuche, siglos XIX y XX,*

After the dictatorship, while there has certainly been a continuation of *corridas de cerco* and *tomas de fundo*, as well as more destructive tactics like arson and destruction of equipment on farms or damming projects in the area, there have also been new activist tactics that make interesting and important uses of space in ways worth examining for the purposes of this analysis. With increasing migration of Mapuche from rural areas to urban areas during and after the dictatorship, activism has taken new forms in the cities, where Mapuche activists often take on goals beyond those of land restoration, such as spreading awareness of and putting an end to racism and discrimination, gaining language rights, gaining access to—and being able to guide policy regarding— healthcare and education, teaching Mapuche beliefs and language, and providing spaces for urban Mapuche to meet and interact with one another. I acknowledge the diversity of Mapuche activist strategies, and the different focuses of activist groups in Santiago compared to those in the Araucanía, in order to avoid homogenizing all Mapuche activism into a singular entity.

Ad-Mapu's brand of occupation involves a constant assertion of presence in the territory they believe belongs to Mapuche. Whether through peaceful marches, destruction to property situated on stolen land, or teaching Mapuche children the principles of radical socialism, Ad-Mapu establishes, announces, and renews their presence in and claim to space, both territorially and epistemically in Chile. This involves both the seizure of physical space and the creation of other ways of being in that space.

The Piñera government (2010-2014) announced the creation of a special anti-terrorist unit and a "controlled zone" in Araucanía intended to respond to the alleged

"terrorist activities" of radical Mapuche organizations. The region has become increasingly militarized, with an ever-growing police force, "perimeter" patrols, and roadblocks for ID checking. In many ways, the Mapuche have not experienced an improvement in status or living conditions with the return to democracy. A 1993 "indigenous law," passed after the fall of the dictatorship, recognizes indigenous peoples once again as existing in Chile. However, the law conceives of respect for indigeneity as "an appreciation for a heritage of customs, a celebration of folklore, and a rhetorical acknowledgment of the value of indigenous languages without granting them official status" (Haughney 2006: 98). The government recognizes Mapuche as a facet of Chile's past, part of the Chilean nation, but not as holders of collective rights.

Mapuche scholar Pablo Marimán Quemenado (2010) describes how "in the minds of Chileans… profound mechanisms of exclusion, denial, and prejudice continue to operate and are held in place by memory… For the Chileans, the Mapuche are lazy people who do not work their lands properly and, therefore, cannot escape poverty" (182). Further, "since the conquest of Wallmapu at the end of the nineteenth century, our relations with the national state and society have been overdetermined by colonialism, that is, by the forced harnessing of our lives, territory and resources to the rhythms and needs of a metropolis" (188). MC Jaas, a rapper and activist whose work I discuss at length in Chapter 3, has talked about harmful stereotypes of Mapuches ("*que somos todos borrachos,*" that we are all drunks) combined with a lack of Mapuche visibility and scant media coverage related to Mapuche struggles, all of which contribute to "*una sociedad dormida,*" a society asleep to the presence and problems of Mapuche people, especially in large cities like Santiago.

**Situating Mapuche Activism in a Regional Context**

The spatial practices that I have identified in my selective history of Mapuche

activism connect to and differ from those of other indigenous activist movements in the

region in important ways. I have argued that Mapuche spatial practices illuminate how

Mapuche activists use tactics of occupation to carve out spaces for themselves in Chile,

through which I see Mapuche defining themselves in opposition to the Chilean state,

perhaps most obviously in a project like the Congreso Araucano, but in the others as well.

In contrast, I argue that the broader tendency of indigenous groups in the region is, or at

least appears to be, to define themselves in opposition to capital. As I will show, groups

mobilizing in the name of indigeneity in Brazil, Bolivia, and Ecuador, for example,

largely take up tactics that seek to block the expansion of capital. Of course, Mapuche

often block the expansion of capital as well, such as when organizing against logging

companies or the building of dams. However, I wish to make the point that Mapuche

activism *also* seeks to occupy or carve out and instantiate a new mode of spatial

production, as I have argued above. I characterize Mapuche spatial practices as

"occupation," while the spatial practices of indigenous movements in Brazil, Bolivia, and

Ecuador, which contribute to an understanding of regional indigenous activism more

generally, I characterize as "blockage" or "interference." Again, certainly there are also

instances of occupation among these groups; however, I point out the prevalence of

blockage and interference in order to contextualize Chilean students' misunderstandings

or oversimplifications of Mapuche protest. I see the idea of indigeneity as a political

position being taken up in other parts of the region, making use of a discourse of indigeneity that bears little resemblance to the work of Mapuche activists. Later, as I analyze the student protests in Chile, I will show how they make recourse to this more general concept of indigeneity as anti-capital political strategy.

I briefly gloss the ways that indigeneity emerges in activist movements in several Latin American states, in terms of uses of both tactics of blockage and a politics of indigeneity. Certainly my examples cannot do justice to the overall movements in these states, and also I do not wish to suggest that any of these states may be considered to have a fully unified or singular "indigenous movement." Still, I carry on with these examples because I believe this provides invaluable insight into the way indigenous protest in Latin America is perceived by non-indigenous groups.

As discussed in the introduction, tactics of blockage or barricade differ from occupation in that it takes place in readiness to resume normal operations following external concessions. Blockage creates disruption in order to gain attention and modification, while occupation seeks to produce new modes of thinking and new kinds of sociality.

As Canessa (2006) points out, "indigeneity as defined by indigenous leaders and NGOs/ international agencies may often be in sharp contrast with the identities expressed by rural people who may not identify with the indigenous movement (local or global) at all" (241). This statement approaches what I think makes the Mapuche case in Chile so unique. The movement in and from the south, beginning in the very rural, heavily Mapuche areas creates a locally specific concept of indigeneity that seems to try to steer

away from the homogenizing, leftist, mestizo-style indigeneity that can be observed in other Latin American states, like Bolivia or Peru, for example. While in places like Bolivia it may appear progressive "the indigenous" is now being seen as "iconically national," I argue that this in fact achieves a homogenizing effect that promotes the type of folkloric, stereotypical, apolitical/ ahistorical, mythical indian-ness that is largely unhelpful to indigenous rights movements.

Canessa writes (of Bolivia, but this certainly happens elsewhere as well), "it appears that central political issues, national issues that affect everyone, are represented as indigenous issues- after all, there is nothing intrinsically indigenous about a gas pipe line. Indigeneity is becoming the language of protests over resources and the defence of the *patria* against the forces of globalization; it is breaking out of its specific concerns and offering a language of political engagement for a much broader public" (254). In order to show how this type of politics diverges from the real needs and demands of specific indigenous groups (like the Mapuche in Chile), I look to the spatial practices taken up and what these practices do. The type of inclusive indigenism espoused by Morales, I argue, manifests in spatial practices that do very little to contest or disrupt hegemonic space.

Bolivia, unlike Chile, considers itself a plurinational, plurilinguistic state and has an electorally viable ethnic political party. Evo Morales, who identifies as Aymara, has held the presidency since 2006, during which time he has fostered both a nationalist discourse of indigenism, glorifying the indigenous peoples of Bolivia as a foundational element of Bolivia's past, while also taking up a more global discourse of indigenism,

professing to fight for cultural rights based on a set definition of indigeneity. Laing

(2012) describes Morales as having created a "renewed colonialist regime," based on the

way his government has mobilized in the service of neoliberalism (1053). Though

indigeneity holds different connotations in Bolivia, in that Morales has created a kind of

mainstream, homogenized indigeneity, many indigenous activists continue to view the

state as oppositional to indigenous interests and co-opting their identity for the purposes

of neoliberal expansion and development. Prominent Aymara activist Felipe Quispe

famously pronounced Morales' policies as "neoliberalism with an Indian face" (qtd in

Farthing and Kohl 2014: 148). Even before Morales' tenure, leftist groups successfully

used the language of indigeneity to further not-necessarily-indigenous-specific goals. For

example, during the Cochabamba "water wars" of April 2000, leftist and environmental

groups took on indigenous imagery and rhetoric to pose a mystical, tradition-based

attachment to natural resources as a way of defending their own interests. The dominant

association between indigenous peoples and land has made the language of indigeneity

particularly strategically useful for environmental causes.

In Ecuador, indigenous movements have protested oil drilling and mining in the

Amazon and fought for land rights and recognition of a plurinational state, mainly

through the use of marches, rallies, and demonstrations in the capital city of Quito. A

1990 uprising against discriminatory and unjust government policies blocked major

highways as a means of putting pressure on officials and attracting public attention. A

series of protests in 2010 against pro-mining legislation blockaded the national congress

building and a number of major roads throughout the country. Pallares (2003) describes

Ecuador as a "neo-indigenist" state, where the state "encouraged the creation of

indigenous organizations, created policies and programs designed to uphold and support Indian language and culture, and made several attempts to create governmental units focused on indigenous policy" (275). But when the state begins to govern an authorized version of indigeneity, indigenous actors and activists often work only within the existing discourse and follow the logics of the state. As Pallares writes about Ecuador, "activists relied on the recovery of pre-Columbian and colonial histories of noble grandeur and ethnic resistance to achieve changes in the status quo" (287).

In Brazil, mass demonstrations by coalitions of leftist groups in urban centers have been the most popular tactic towards forcing negotiations with the government, along with holding national transportation strikes, blocking roads, and surrounding public officials' cars. According to Jasmine Mitchell (2012), "Brazil's national imaginary and foundational myth of the synthesis of three races relies on popular culture representations of indigenous groups" (81). Mitchell mines Brazilian popular culture to show how Brazil, like Mexico, celebrated an imagined racial harmony based on simultaneously celebrating, romanticizing, and disregarding indigenous peoples (92).

In Colombia, the *minga*, initially an indigenous movement comprising multiple distinct indigenous groups that came together against violence in their lands, expanded to become a national movement, collaborating with peasants, workers, trade unions, Afro-Colombians, and students. In Peru, careful state narration of a shared indigenous past has become a nation-building tool. In Mexico, governments have made use of references to a grand, mythical native past without recognizing indigenous autonomy or even the presence/ needs of contemporary native peoples.

In mentioning the ways that indigeneity comes into play in various social movements around Latin America, I want to show that quite often it's a concept of

indigeneity that's constructed within the logics of neoliberalization, particularly given that a discourse of rights and multicultural constitutional reforms are both available because of a neoliberal government structure. Indigeneity has become a way to do a certain kind of politics, to some extent both resisting *and* reinscribing or reinforcing neoliberal agendas, variously in different moments. While it may initially seem radical that an "indigenous ideology" now has the potential to become mainstream, that ideology has been shaped in a way that makes it harmless to and supportive of neoliberal development agendas (or at least nationalist projects that don't connect to an indigenous cosmovision or ideology like, for example, Evo's privatization of water in Bolivia, which he was able to frame rhetorically in the language of respect for and protection of indigeneity, but which in actuality goes against indigenous ideas about shared holding of resources and instead endorses and enacts a neoliberal development strategy).

While it is true that Mapuche activists have also engaged in tactics that could be construed as blockage and posed in opposition to capital (for example, creating human barriers across roads in Araucanía to prevent the entrance of anti-terrorist military units, destroying logging equipment, etc), these practices do not define the movement. The simplification that occurs when indigeneity is reduced to an anti-capitalist political project may be what allows Chilean students to take up the banner of the Mapuche cause while working through fundamentally different modes.

**Chapter Two**
***Las generaciones sin miedo:* Three Case Studies in a History of Chilean Student Activism**

**Introduction**

In this chapter, I situate the current Chilean student rebellion within a wider history of student activism in Chile, and Latin America more broadly, in order to analyze the relationship between education and protest in Chile and the region. I look at how the current Chilean movement differs from and has been informed by prior student protest movements. In my consideration of the history of student protest movements in Latin America, I ask what spatial practices have been activated in particular moments and how those practices reflected or engaged with the specific concerns of students in those moments. I study the characteristics of student spatial practices of protest and activism in Chile in order to, eventually, analyze the relationship between student practices and Mapuche practices as part of my investigation of the ethics of espousing indigeneity as a politics. I ask: how do the past practices I study relate to contemporary practices, whether consciously or unconsciously? How do the spatial practices of student protestors in distinct moments reveal or reflect a changing relationship between education and the state, and, concurrently, changing economic models and educational philosophies? How did state reactions to student protest differ in varying moments, and why what does this reveal about the relationship between education and the state?

In examining student protest practices, I look to other countries in the region, such as Peru, Argentina, and Brazil, for several reasons: I want to know which characteristics

of the current Chilean student rebellion stand apart from and which resonate with past regional practices and what this might indicate about the particularities of the current Chilean movement. I question how this may be related to particular government attitudes and economic models. I seek to understand the specificity of the contemporary student movement's spatial practices, what distinguishes them from the long history of student protest, and how they strategically address and/or theorize contemporary configurations of capital and government. Key to my inquiry, I wish to know whether trends exist towards relationships between students and local indigenous groups, in Chile or elsewhere in the region, as I seek to uncover the nature of the relationship between Mapuche activism and student activism in Chile, and question the ethics of imagining indigeneity as a politics.

Recognizing that I cannot tell a full or "complete" history of student activism in Chile, I select three specific cases to analyze based on their significance as both exemplifying a particular mode of spatial practice and illustrating three distinct moments in the relationship between education and the state in Chile. First, I look to the role of student activism in pushing for the removal from office of dictatorial president Carlos Ibañez (1930s). Shortly after the emergence of student activism as a phenomenon in Latin America, and showing the influence of la Reforma de Córdoba, this moment of protest marked Chilean students as important political actors. Second, I analyze the *Santiagazo*, or the Battle of Santiago, a brief wave of protests that took place in 1957, marked by violence and a repressive government response, in a markedly different economic and political moment for Chile. Lastly, I analyze the *Revolución Pingüina* (Penguin

Revolution) of 2006, the most recent wave of protests prior to the current (beginning in 2011) movement, to show a drastic change in protest tactics in response to new economic, political, and cultural characteristics of Chilean neoliberalism. While the Penguin Revolution arguably saw the origins or seedlings of certain spatial practices continued in the present movement, I argue that it was also markedly different from the current movement based on its origins among secondary school students, rather than university students. I discuss the move away from tactics of strike and blockage towards tactics of occupation in order to understand the spatial practices of the current movement.

Perhaps most crucially, I find no evidence to suggest that any of these prior movements sought a relationship with Chile's Mapuche rights movement. This factor is one of several that sharply distinguish the current movement as a departure from past episodes. Ultimately, I argue that student spatial practices of protest have reacted to the relationship between education and the Chilean state at particular moments and that this relationship has always been shaped in large part by the economic model espoused by the Chilean state at the time. Student protest practices have generally responded to the particular demands of the state in specific moments. In the 1930s and 1950s, when the state related to young people as future labor, students responded by taking up labor tactics. In 2006, when the state related to young people as consumers (and debtors), students responded with recourse to new tactics in the vein of occupation. In analyzing these aspects of protest, I ask, why does the current relationship to the state condition the student movement to address Mapuche as allies, when they did not do so in the past?

By adding a brief survey of student protest practices around Latin America, I argue that student protests in the region prior to 2011 follow fairly similar patterns, in that they tend to a) use the strike (the kind of actions I've previously referred to as blockage or "barricade") as the main tactic (which I argue makes sense when the state figures the student as laborer/ future laborer), b) collaborate frequently with labor unions and other leftist groups (which again makes sense with the idea of the student as worker), and c) display no discernible interest in forging a connection to indigenous movements. I see the move to align with indigenous peoples and groups coming with the shift to neoliberalism and a major focus on tactics of long-term occupation. Chile may serve as a case study for thinking about how student protest practices change over time in order to address most effectively the role of education in varying economic models, and also an example of why and how alignment with indigeneity may be perceived as a strategic move by leftist anti-neoliberal protest movements.

Many scholars have noted that students (and youth in general) have long been some of the major initiators of protest in Latin America (see, for example, Altbach 1984, Levy 1981, Lipset 1958, Gill & Defronzo 2009). While students are obviously not the only group to have demanded social change in the region, they have been among the most vocal, visible, and influential. Politically active, socially engaged youth have played crucial roles in the overthrow (or just the fights against) repressive regimes in Argentina, Brazil, and Peru, among other Latin American nations. Scholars widely credit Argentina with sparking a trend of specifically education-oriented protests by students with the 1918 *Reforma Universitaria de Córdoba*, during which student leaders organized a

nationwide strike of both students and labor unions, resulting in a slate of educational reforms ranging from the addition of student representation in university administration to a sweeping review of curricula. Shortly following the success of Argentina's student rebellion, students in Chile, Peru, and a number of other countries followed suit.

The alliance between students and labor unions has been enduring, and has been a facet of virtually all student movements. Argentina later saw students and labor come together in opposition of military dictators, high taxes, repression, even the current president, Cristina Fernández. In Brazil, students and labor came together to support nationalizing the oil industry, dispute U.S. intervention in the country, fight repression, and oppose inflation. In Peru, students and labor joined forces to fight for an 8-hour work day, decry government corruption, and oppose a 2014 labor law that cut benefits in order to make hiring young people cheaper. Throughout these actions, the popular tactics of strike, mass demonstration, and short-term occupation appeared most frequently. Clearly, students have historically taken on wide-reaching goals and issues and commonly collaborate with other left-wing and marginal groups. However, in cases where the objects at stake are so specific—as in the case of educational reform in Chile currently, where students have concrete demands for changes in the education system—students have not historically identified with or reached out to indigenous groups.[67] As I move forward in my examination of student protest tactics, I seek to uncover how alignment with indigenous groups emerges as a tactic for Chilean students.

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[67] Environmentalists, on the other hand, have reached out.

I argue that student protest practices historically, which have focused heavily on the tactic of strike, largely seek to extort concessions from the state in a way that does not seriously challenge the power and authority of the state. In Chile, similar to elsewhere in the region, students have predominantly used the spatial tactics of blockage or interference, rather than trying to carve out and instantiate a new mode of spatial production (as I've argued the Mapuche have tried to do and which I will argue that students in the current rebellion have tried to do to some extent and less successfully). Blockage and interference, as I will discuss, do not effectively block/ replace/ seriously threaten hegemonic spatial production (and therefore only constitute what Benjamin and Sorel refer to as the "political strike"). I show that this mode of protest responds to state positioning of students as future laborers and constitutes a labor tactic, while occupation, as a tactic that foregrounds changes in thought and social relations, is a tactic that tries to respond to neoliberal government positioning of students as consumers and participants in a system of constant debt. It is the response against neoliberalism, I argue, combined with a discourse of indigeneity understood globally rather than locally, that leads Chilean students in the protests of 2011 to seek alliance with and make reference to the Mapuche.

Italian philosopher Maurizio Lazzarato (2006) describes neoliberalism as a governmental technique, arguing that its primary function is to trap the individual in an infinite cycle of debt. According to Lazzarato, "debt is a technique for the control of subjectivity" (18). Following the logic of Lazzarato and Felix Guattari (2000), within a neoliberal model, education must also become a technology of governmentality, a tool for the creation of debt and neoliberal subjectivity/ subjectivization. While the idea of

education as part of the governmental assemblage/ a technique of power is not new (see, for example, Weber and Maurer 2006, Carter 2009), what becomes central to this analysis is the role of education in the perpetuation of a particularly neoliberal subjectivity: or, more precisely, education as a tool of debt. Debt contributes to what Lazzarato calls the "financialization of social life," forcing individuals to reorganize their entire lives based on the debts that they need to pay back. As Haiven (2014) explains, "social life itself becomes an object of capitalist speculation and commodification" (127). Various scholars have drawn on Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) concept of the rhizome to describe the way that neoliberalism, a designation spanning multiple heterogeneous discourses and actions, spreads through the social sphere in a tangled and unpredictable way, eventually affecting every aspect of life.

Through its focus on the creation of a particular kind of subjectivity, neoliberalism can be considered inherently disciplinary, and in its rhizomatic pathways through social life, neoliberalism and its attendant values and interests shape the ordering of space, socially and territorially. For Foucault (1977), discipline refers to the techniques through which governments exert control over the lives, behaviors, and bodies of their citizens. Discipline is inherently spatial, in that it seeks to influence both the physical and social behaviors of people and societies. Neoliberalism, then, I argue, acts in and on the body; any reaction against neoliberalism must also be embodied and spatial, or else it cannot begin to address and reject the subjectivization attendant to the operation of neoliberalism. For this reason, a student movement that truly seeks to reject the qualities of neoliberal culture that direct education in Chile must address its embodied and spatial

aspects as well. This helps to explain the major differences between the Penguin

Revolution and previous protests, although it does not suggest why the Penguin

Revolution differed so greatly from the 2011 movement.

Lazzarato defines neoliberalism as the "fundamental transformation of all into

shareholders, fundamental transformation of everyone into small property owners" (4).

Importantly, neoliberalism tries to "destroy the belief in collective action" (4). Through

prioritizing individual wealth, growth, and achievement, neoliberalism seeks to remove

any focus on the possibility of a "collective" and thereby prevent collective or social

action. In this way, the shift towards individualization seeks to destroy the power and

influence of group tactics like the strike. As Manning (2012) points out, "by enforcing a

battle of individuals, as the… government has incessantly done since the beginning of the

strike, a splintering of the nascent collective discourse is sought that gives voice to the

fracturing of the field of political activation. This is a tactic that understands well that an

emergent politics never grows from an individual" (1).

However, collective action persists, and perhaps becomes even more radical in the

face of increasing forces of individualization. But effective collective action may now

look different. As I have discussed earlier in relation to groups like the Grupo Artistico

Llufquehuenu, Grupo de Teatro Mapuche, Congreso Araucano, and Ad-Mapu, modes of

action beyond strikes and marches have long been taken up by Mapuche activists. While

not "collective action" in the dominant sense, each of these groups focused strongly on

forming a network and fostering the idea of a Mapuche nation, clearly in opposition to an

individualizing project. As I will show in the following chapter, Mapuche activists today

continue to work against isolation and individualization, creating community and

fostering a sense of belonging through projects like the community center *Centro*

*Cultural y Deportivo la Calle*, the web site *Santiago Mapuche,* and the radio broadcast

"*Wixage Anai!".* The continuity of Mapuche activist concerns stands apart from the

shifting tactics of students, though students have also taken up new tactics to react to

neoliberal conditions. I will argue that 2006 and 2011 attempts at occupation, rather than

blockage, seek to reassert the possibility and power of collectivity.

While the strike may have been an effective tool in early times of economic crisis,

or when its only goal has been the removal of an already unpopular leader, strikes have

been theorized by Sorel (1908) and Benjamin (1921) as generally fundamentally serving

to reinforce the status quo. In his essay, "Critique of Violence," Benjamin (following

Sorel's "Reflections on Violence") distinguishes between two types of strikes: the

political and the proletarian. As Benjamin notes, the right to strike, having been legally

granted by the state, can only serve to reinforce state power. Strikes that take place "in

the context of a conscious readiness to resume the suspended action under certain

circumstances that either have nothing whatever to do with this action or only

superficially modify it" amount to little more than "extortion" (282). This type of strike,

the type that strengthens state power, Benjamin (and Sorel) labels the "political" strike,

which differs from the "revolutionary general strike" or ("proletarian general strike"),

which "sets itself the sole task of destroying state power" (291). According to Benjamin,

"while the first form of interruption of work is violent since it causes only an external

modification of labor conditions, the second, as a pure means, is nonviolent. For it takes

place not in readiness to resume work following external concessions and this or that

modification to working conditions, but in the determination to resume only a wholly

transformed work" (292). The political strike is "lawmaking" and the general strike is

"anarchistic" (292). Permanent strike, then, may be the only solution, unless there is a

change of *system*.

I will argue that what students in the current rebellion have tried to do, and which

they presumably learned about at least somewhat during the Penguin Revolution,

amounts to an attempt at or gesture towards permanent strike. Obviously, the movement

is always technically impermanent because students end up being forcibly removed from

the spaces they occupy and/ or strike in, but from the way they behave in these spaces,

their intention or preparation is clearly for permanence.

Indeed, while student protestors in the Penguin Revolution made fairly extensive

demands that would have altered the educational system in Chile, the alterations they

proposed would only modify, not revolutionize or destroy or re-create that system. The

restructuring of the educational system in Chile as called for by the Penguins could still

conceivably function within the existing political and ideological system of the state at

that time. Or, at least, the concessions that students succeeded in receiving from the

government all simply fit into the existing model rather than modifying it in any

significant way. Expansion of programs for free lunches and free bus passes, for instance,

did not present a challenge to either the political or economic structures already in place.

Still, when students in 2006 added to the strike by living inside of their school

buildings, they began to move towards occupation in the sense that I have earlier

described it. Economist Massimo de Angelis (2003) outlines possibilities for the "production of alternative, non-commodified means to fulfill social needs" (1). In order to "find ways to go beyond the invisible hand of the market and the visible fist of the state to coordinate our social practices," de Angelis argues for what he calls "commons" (7). Commons are spaces in which people struggle to create a "new political discourse... that must acknowledge that the process of creating a new world... is a praxis" (4). Commons are both a space and a practice, creating new forms of sociality and thereby new forms of spatiality. In the move to occupation, to not merely stopping normal operations but inventing new ones, I see a glimpse of de Angelis's commons. For de Angelis, the opposite of commons are "neoliberal capitalist enclosures," of which education in Chile has, as students point out, become one (7). Because of this, de Angelis allows that "[s]truggles against the privatization of education opens the question of education as commons" (8). As students resist the neoliberal imagining of their school as consumer product and disciplinary institution, they attempt creation of a commons.

Erin Manning (2012) refers to what she calls "cognitive capitalism," arguing that the model of education described by Lazzarato above, where education is primarily a tool for the creation of debt and the creation of the neoliberal indebted subject, removes the possibility of creative thought. This, she says, is wrong: "Education is not about mimicking what already exists, it is about opening the field of potential toward the invention of new modes of existence" (1). Her call echoes Guattari's (2000) claim that truly radical politics must demand the impossible. Alongside the cognitive in Manning's challenge to invent new modes of existence, we must consider as well the embodied and

spatial. Occupation, I argue, works to address the cognitive, embodied, and spatial dimensions of neoliberalism.

However, de Angelis acknowledges, "there is a political space in which co-optation—that is the acknowledgement of struggles *in order to subsume them* into a new modality of capital accumulation—can still take place" (8). He writes of "playing by the rules" or conforming to the "logic of the game" (9). This kind of "playing by the rules" happened in Chile in 2006, when Michelle Bachelet's administration finally addressed student demands by offering to form a government committee on education on which students could serve, a move that effectively put an end to the protests but which eventually achieved none of the students' original goals. This aspect of the Penguin Revolution led to students involved in the 2011 protests being much warier about dialoguing with and conceding to government.

Still, de Angelis is delighted by "all these instances of human beings cooperating with each other with no need of capitalist market to do the coordinating job for them!" (9). With the rise of the global "Occupy" movement and mass protests around the world, many examples of people getting along in alternative social spaces have been witnessed in recent years, though they often represented short-lived and fraught communities.

Scholars have noted that one of the characteristics of student movements that generally keeps them from becoming larger social movements is their brief, sporadic nature (see, for example, Altbach 1984). While this appears accurate of the events and practices I discuss in the chapter, I will argue that this is another one of the important characteristics that sets the *current* movement apart from previous movements and

movements in other nations. I suggest that what we see happening in the practices of the

Chilean students involved in the current rebellion tries to approach what Benjamin (1921)

and Sorel (2004) refer to as "permanent strike," the only "truly radical" mode of

organized resistance. Without becoming overly laudatory or utopian, I believe that

Chilean students' persistence in continuing their protests unceasingly throughout the past

four years demonstrates a commitment to the spirit of permanent strike—though that may

not be what they achieve— and an intention to settle for nothing less than a complete

overhaul of the economic, political, and social system at work in Chile today. As de

Angelis says of the commons, it is also a praxis. Occupation, too, I argue, is a praxis, a

practice that must be continually remade and renewed. Rather than a singular moment of

strike or revolt, change must be endlessly refreshed and revisited; it must be practiced.

Chilean scholars like Cuadra, Mayol, Azocar Rosenkranz, and Salazar have argued that

the current movement has been special in that it has created a new imaginary, a radical

experience, a new form of perception and political participation, going far beyond mere

blockage. As I discuss the following examples, I hope to show how and why protest

tactics among students in Chile shift from blockage to the kinds of "radical experience"

that occupation can produce.

**First Case Study: The Anti-Ibáñez Protests (1930s)**

The 1930s saw the first major instance of student unionization and assembly on a

large scale in Chile following the *Reforma de Córdoba*. As a consequence of the Great

Depression, Chile was experiencing the economic crisis that the rest of the world felt as

well and President Ibáñez was taking the heat. General Carlos Ibáñez del Campo, whose

presidency began in 1927, led Chile as an authoritarian regime, suspending elections and

creating a massive, unified police force under the control of the central government

(which was, essentially, himself). Ragged on by journalists and muttered about in the

streets, Ibáñez suffered a drastic blow to his reputation during the period of economic

stress brought on by the Depression, as the government shut down the banks in order to

avoid a major run. Ibáñez's minister of the interior quickly cracked down on freedom of

the press and strong repression of dissent of any kind soon followed, with the help of the

newly founded military police.[68] Because of the economic decline, thousands of Chileans

flocked to Santiago from other parts of the country, contributing to the presence of a

massive population of angry unemployed citizens in the capital.

Future president and socialist hero Salvador Allende was, at this time, the vice-

president of the FECh, the Federación de Estudiantes de la Universidad de Chile, the

student union belonging to the University of Chile in Santiago. Allende and the rest of the

student organization's socialist leadership began in 1930 to amass a coalition of students

and workers ready to fight against the military regime. The combination of student

organizations and trade unions the students and trade unions "*constituyeron una fuerza*

*capaz de manifestar el cansancio ciudadano respecto al militarismo y, sobre todo, a la*

*crisis económica*" (528).[69] Taking up the concerns of the broader public, students and

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[68] See: Jaksić and Nazario 1989.
[69] Translation: constituted a force capable of manifesting the public's tiredness with
respect to militarism and, above all, the economic crisis.

workers, who were at least to some extent already organized, came out in masses to fill

the streets of Santiago and express their disapproval.

Acevedo (2012) discusses how the influence of the 1918 Reforma de Cordoba in

Chile "*sirvió para que la sociedad chilena caracterizara a los estudiantes bajo el afan de*

*convertirlos en la vanguardia del pueblo, asignándoles con esta idea la misioón de*

*encabezar la reforma de la sociedad*" (1495).[70] As the "*vanguardia del pueblo,*" students

took the lead in moments such as this, where an unpopular president was instating

policies that negatively affected the general populace. According to Acevedo, "*el pueblo*

*chileno vio en la juventud un halo de esperanza para la transformación de la sociedad*"

(1495).[71] Following the Argentinian reforms, students became recognized as leaders of

change throughout Latin America, and in Chile, the case was no different. Societal

transformation lay in the hands of students.

In 1931, students at the University of Chile in Santiago called a strike, which was

observed by thousands of students and workers around the country. A group of FECh

members barricaded themselves inside the imposing Casa Central of the University of

Chile in downtown Santiago, remaining there for several days until the government sent

representatives to bargain with a spokesman of the student group, a surprisingly peaceful

move for such a militarized state. Upon beginning their stay, students had announced that

"they would abandon it only upon the restoration of civil rights in Chile," a statement

they made with regard to Ibanez's dictatorial methods and apparent disregard for

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70 "...led Chilean society to characterize students under the banner of "the country's vanguard," assigning
to them with this idea that it was their mission to lead in the reform of society"(my translation).
71 "the Chilean people saw in the youth a halo of hope for the transformation of society"

individual rights and legal norms (Bonilla 1970: 81). Government representatives begged

students to call off the strike, but even as the students abandoned the university, crowds

were forming in the streets, blocking major arteries in Santiago and other major cities.

After medical personnel joined the strike, all hell broke loose, with giant crowds

attacking the police and Ibanez quickly resigning and fleeing the country.

Spatially, the tactics involved in the protests against Ibanez focused on dramatic

disruptions of the daily workings of important places with the goal of extorting

concessions. Student seizure of the Casa Central functioned more symbolically than

anything else, given that the real method for forcing a government response was in

guiding the participation of as many different sectors of labor as possible. In an

industrializing, early capitalist system where the ability to produce capital depends on the

participation of laborers, the clear method for achieving results would be withholding

labor. Student participation was largely organizational and symbolic, while the real work

of the strike came from laborers.

**Second Case Study:** *El Santiagazo* **(1950s)**

The Battle of Santiago took place in 1957 when General Carlos Ibáñez once again

held the presidency. However, the economic and political situation of Chile in 1957

differed significantly from that of Chile in 1931. After Ibáñez's exile and the return to

democratic government, the state pushed for extensive development measures:

industrialization, mechanization of agriculture, expansion of mining, and oil extraction.

Chile embraced capitalism and the economy flourished. Still, when the government

imposed a fare hike for public buses, civil unrest arose, likely as result more generally of the rising costs of urban living, which resonated throughout the country's cities.

On April 1, 1957, the FECh organized a meeting to be held at their headquarters in downtown Santiago in the evening to discuss plans for a general strike in response to the fare increases. After deciding on a 48-hour strike to begin the next morning, students filed out of the building with plans to march together along the Alameda (Avenida Libertador Bernardo O'Higgins, the main thoroughfare) to the front of the University of Chile. Arm in arm, they marched to the University, singing the national anthem, and arrived without incident. As students left in groups to walk home for the night, one of the larger groups was accosted in front of the National Library by a police patrol who fired tear-gas bombs and bullets into the crowd, resulting in a small stampede as students struggled to run away and the death of one student, a nursing student named Alicia Ramírez.

Canadian artist Sophie Yanow (2014), in her autobiographical graphic novel about the Montreal student protests of 2012, explores the space of protest in both abstract and concrete ways. Her drawings illustrate the differences between students' actions inside of school buildings and outside in public areas. She depicts the vast, empty spaces of downtown Montreal after the protests with panels of stark white blankness, describing "That ever present feeling/ That in this place/ We are up against something bigger" and referring to its seeming openness as a characteristic of "disciplinary space," that layout of sites that Foucault sees as a government technique of power (29). Here, Yanow points out yet another way that strike differs significantly from occupation: occupation takes the

protest out of the wide boulevards, the open avenues that were created with surveillance in mind and which police prefer to deal with, and back into these more private, concealed spaces. As a spatial tactic, while strike addresses itself to the state, occupation refuses the disciplinary effects of visibility and access by moving into the enclosed, unseen spaces of school buildings. To some extent, the tactics of strike and blockage that take place in the streets, by addressing themselves to the state, also open themselves up to being squashed by the state. To disrupt the spaces that are, as Yanow points out, so clearly designed for the purposes of maintaining state control is especially difficult precisely because of that carefully calculated spatial control.

The violent response of the government in 1957 compared to the nonviolent response in 1931 perhaps suggests a difference in stakes for the state.

Interestingly, some authors have suggested that students had internalized the capitalist economic values of the country, which contributed to the goals and tactics of their protest movements. Philip Altbach, Iván Jaksić, and Sonia Nazario (1989) argue that "the advancement of corporate interests has been paramount in students' minds all along, but it has not prevented them from protesting the injustice and the numerous other ills of Chilean society" (368). Jaksić and Nazario argue that "national politics has not been an aim with an intrinsic value; it has been an instrument for the advancement of student interests" (368). This argument supports mine in suggesting that these early movements really sought to improve students' situation *within* the existing model, a model that valued capital, and thus labor, and valued students inasmuch as they represented future labor. As a result, students made use of current politics, like national sentiment already

biased against a particular leader, for example, to improve their own situation and ability to continue to train as future labor.


**Third Case Study: The Penguin Revolution (2006) (*Somos la generación que perdió el miedo*)**

The cutesy name for the Penguin Revolution, the most recent wave of protests prior to the current movement, comes from the black-and-white uniforms of secondary school students, who instigated and largely drove the movement, later joined by university students. In 2005-2006, under the government of President and Socialist party leader Michelle Bachelet, students took to the streets to speak out against rising school bus fares and increasing fees for entrance exams. Though initially coalescing around an outcry by high school students in Santiago against specific, largely financial concerns, the protests quickly evolved into a national movement "demanding quality education for all Chileans, irrespective of class, ability or spending power (Vogler 51). Protesters "demanded the end of the municipal administration of schools as well as changes in school curricula" (Somma 2012: 299). They called for the abolition of Pinochet's education law, the Organic Constitutional Law on Teaching (LOCE), which had removed the state from most of its responsibility for education, transferring a majority of schools to the control of private corporations, and which "greatly diminished the state's ability to guarantee the social right to education" (Frens-String 2013: 30). The privatization of education and the resulting increases in cost and decreases in quality and access comprised the bulk of students' concerns, although they chose to focus on particular

items like the cost of bus passes and admission exams, rather than target privatization itself.

According to Vogler (2007), "No one took much notice at the start of May when the Coordinating Assembly of Secondary School Students was formed and students in several of Santiago's public schools walked out of classes. Protests and walkouts are a rite of passage for public school students in Chile. The movements usually fizzle out" (51). But then they didn't fizzle out. Students gathered to demonstrate on the Alameda and in various parks near downtown, attracting negative attention from police and no attention from the government. When President Bachelet opted not to address education as an issue in her May 21$^{st}$, 2006 state of the nation address, students were incensed and began to undertake school occupations starting the very next day, May 22. Over the course of a week, students around Chile took over dozens of schools, held strikes, and marched in visible public areas. University students soon joined in the strike, while secondary students took over more schools.

Students were careful about their occupation tactics: according to Vogler, "classrooms [were] in pristine condition without graffiti or vandalism. Everyone was searched for drugs, alcohol or weapons at the school gates and students from other schools were turned away. Meals were served in communal kitchens, with cleaning duties shared. Decisions were made in meticulously democratic assemblies" (51). These peaceful occupations required a great deal of careful planning, coordinated efforts, and extended cooperation. Beyond the occupied schools, violence occasionally broke out during mass demonstrations, and small factions of students sometimes instigated police

response by throwing rocks or matches. Police responded with water cannons, tear gas, rubber bullets, and hundreds of arrests.

When President Bachelet made a public offer pledging grants to pay for university entrance exams, an increase in the number of free school meals and free bus passes provided, and building repairs on some of the oldest schools, students rejected the offer and held another national strike—but then the movement started to break down. There were disagreements within the secondary school students' union, and two of the largest public schools in Santiago returned to class. Without strong internal agreement and the support of the larger group, students gave up on the strike.

Although the "official" dates of the Penguin Revolution are limited to April-August 2006, actions continued throughout the year and even into 2007, which is noted by some authors. As Chovanec and Benitez (2008) note, "demonstrations and takeovers continued across the country from August to the end of the school term in November, albeit with fewer students," and they "resumed demonstrations in March 2007 upon their return to classes after the summer holidays… Just prior to the winter break on June 6th, students from some of Santiago's most prestigious schools initiated school takeovers. From then, the protests became aligned with broad-based movements challenging neoliberalism across all sectors" (45). The mention of students aligning with other anti-neoliberal movements points towards the current movement, taking place after 2008, following the major global recession that pushed Chile and many other states to embrace more severe neoliberal policies. Chovanec and Benitez's statement might be construed as a way of saying that students got involved with Mapuche, because the Mapuche

movement would likely be considered part of "broad-based movements challenging neoliberalism across all sectors."

However, Mapuche figures like Pedro Cayuqueo and Natividad Llanquileo say that this did not happen, despite some similarity of goals. According to Cayuqueo (2006), "*Las demandas planteadas por los secundarios… no son ajenas a la lucha de nuestro pueblo por sus derechos.*"[72] Still, no alliance formed between students and Mapuche, and students continued to attract the interest and attention of press and government while Mapuche remained largely invisibilized.

Chilean scholar Somma (2012) notes that the Chilean young people in school during these early years of the 21st century were the first generation completely without memory of the dictatorship: "a blanket hanging from the wall of an occupied high school building in 2006 thus claimed: 'We are the generation that was born without fear'" (299). The protesters' spatial practices, I argue, reflect a difference in their thinking and experiences that put them into conflict with the state, even if they could not yet effectively articulate this difference.

Spatially, the strategies that students experimented with during the Penguin Revolution pointed towards the future (2011) movement. As students saw the failure of the strike and other tactics of disturbance and blockage to achieve goals and effect change, they appeared to begin to consider the potential impact of more long-term strategies. Mardones (2007) argues that the Penguin Revolution stood out from previous student protests/ movements because of its "*estrategia distinta que promovía la 'toma*

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[72] Translation: the demands posed by the secondary schoolers… They're not that distant from the struggle of our people for their rights.

*pacífica' de escuelas y liceos, lo que también sorprendió por su alto grado de*

*organización*" (80).[73]

To end the Penguin Rebellion, Bachelet signed the General Education Law,

which, in the end, satisfied almost none of the students' demands. Superficially, it

responded to student demands, but mainly by creating an ad-hoc education committee

that included token student representatives and that was, for the most part, unable to

contribute to any real reform in practice. The less than ideal conclusion of the Penguin

Revolution perhaps taught students of the need for more careful organization and a

rethinking of tactics, as well as care in who they aligned themselves with and whose

interests are then represented. Somma (2012) suggests that "the 'penguins' learned two

important lessons from this experience: first, to be critical about attempts by politicians to

institutionalize and co-opt the movement's demands; and second, that mobilization

should continue while negotiating with authorities" (299). Once again, this points

somewhat toward the idea of occupation as I define it because of the care against

cooptation and also the continuation of mobilizations, though it stops short of the call for

permanence. As it grew beyond its initial specific demands of free bus passes etc, the

movement began to question the very foundations/ structures of Chilean society. Webb

and Radcliffe (2013) discuss how the Penguin Revolution "scrutinized the political

agenda of democratic governments. The neoliberal model, which had brought economic

growth and stability, was publicly denounced as creating inequality within the nation"

and students "shone a harsh light on Chilean politics of education, bringing into question

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"distinct strategy that promoted the 'peaceful taking' of high schools and middle schools, which was also surprising because of the high level of organization" (my translation).

individual and collective rights in a polarized society with deep underlying social contradictions" (333). While Chilean students have, perhaps, always addressed social problems beyond those explicitly associated with education, the Penguin Revolution differed in that it began to see how the educational reforms it sought might actually be functionally incompatible with the existing political and economic system.

**CONCLUSION**

In an interview with Brian Massumi and Erin Manning, Italian sociologist Maurizio Lazzarato (2008) discusses how education becomes a technology of neoliberal governmentality through its reinforcement of the problem of debt. Neoliberalism itself, according to Lazzarato, functions by creating a particular kind of subjectivity that depends on controlling the individual's thoughts and behavior through the primacy of debt: the indebted subject must reorganize their entire life with respect to the debts that they need to repay.

Lazzarato's argument posits a particular relationship between education and neoliberal governmentality, with education becoming a tool for the creation of debt and consequently for the control of subjectivity. However, education has often been co-opted as a tool of government power. This is nothing new-- but the concept of 'debt' adds a new dimension. As I have shown in the previous examples (where I considered the relationship between education and the Chilean state in distinct moments), education has been a part of the governmental assemblage in the way it conditions students to particular kinds of subjectivities. By understanding *how* education has served as a tool of the

government in distinct moments, we can understand how the particular modes of protest that students use in these moments reflect or respond to specific forms of governmentality. Overall it appears that protest actions always respond to or resist governmentality, but they do so in ways specific to particular forms of governmentality. For instance, education as tool for creation and maintenance of debt demands different response tactics than education as a system for the production of future laborers.

As I have argued above, in Benjamin's (and Sorel's) estimation, the student strike would be considered a "political general strike," and therefore can be considered a protest action through which "the state will lose none of its strength" and power will continue to be "transferred from the privileged to the privileged" (291). Because the student strike is an interruption of work that "causes only an external modification of labor conditions" and occurs "in readiness to resume work following external concessions and this or that modification to working conditions," the student strike is ultimately a protest action that serves to reinforce (or at least not seriously disrupt) the hegemonic power of the state (291). Relatedly, I argue that the practice of occupation, in contrast to that of the strike, presents a greater threat to the power of the state. Although occupation is also a process that occurs, theoretically, in readiness to resume work following external concessions etc, occupation differs in that (I argue) it can also generate an entirely new set of spatial practices, as I discuss in relation to the student rebellion. While students do still seek "external concessions," the activities they engage in during occupations suggest "a wholly transformed work."

In this way, I see occupation as starkly in contrast to the strike. The strike, I argue, becomes obsolete in the current age of protest based on the addition of the critique of neoliberalism. As immaterial labor and other forms of capital become prevalent, and as governmentality finds more abstract forms like debt, the disruption of everyday production activities does not pose the same threat to the State. This analysis of the neoliberal presses students to look for different strategies, strategies that can pose a serious menace to the power of the state and not simply serve to underscore state power As students find themselves positioned by the state to become consumers and debtors, they seek strategies that rethink the logics of spatial production in ways that reject the role of consumer or indebted man.

And perhaps it is for this reason that (I think) students look to the strategies of the Mapuche, the indigenous, in order to surpass the strike: the Mapuche, always already engaged in a critique of the state (and, therefore, concurrently a critique of the neoliberal),[74] use tactics that Benjamin and Sorel would label "anarchistic," seeking to undercut and destroy the power of the state. And it is also the students' appeal to the tactics of the Mapuche, an indigenous people, that possibly points them in the direction of creating new spatial practices to define themselves in contradistinction to the neoliberal state, even spatially speaking.

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[74] Note that this argument is specific to the Mapuche practices I have discussed so far, in Chapter 1, and not the practices I discuss in Chapter 4.

**Chapter Three: *Mari Mari, Santiago Newen!:* Spatial Practices in Mapuche Activism Today**[75]

> *Change life! Change society! These precepts mean nothing without the production of an appropriate space (*Henri Lefebvre 1991, 59)
>
> *Space is never ontologically given but developed through practices, discursively grasped in an embodied way. It thereby becomes important to rewrite spatialities as* spacing*, practising and producing (*David Crouch 2010, 71)
>
> *Sólo deseo luz para las mentes... Estámos en la nave de los sueños* (MC Jaas 2014)

**INTRODUCTION**

In this chapter, I argue that Mapuche activist projects in Santiago establish what Lefebvre (1991) refers to as a "new pedagogy of space" through their emphasis on practices that engage an ethic of occupation. A new pedagogy of space involves both contesting dominant notions of space and producing critical intellectual, embodied, and/or affective knowledges. Occupation, as I have argued in earlier chapters, constitutes both a spatial practice of producing a new mode of thinking, and an everyday practice of transformational labor. Drawing on ethnographic research from three distinct sites of urban activism, I analyze the everyday processes of spatial production and living labor that three groups of Mapuche activists undertake in Santiago. By focusing on the everyday practices of these three groups, I will show how Mapuche activism articulates pedagogies of space processually.

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[75] In Mapudungun, "Mari Mari, Santiago Newen" translates roughly to "welcome, life force of Santiago!"

I first analyze how Centro Cultural la Calle Records imagines a space of cultural production in the impoverished, heavily Mapuche neighborhood of Cerro Navia on the Northwestern periphery of Santiago. MC Jaas, co-founder of the center, is a Santiago-based hip hop artist who identifies strongly with her Mapuche ancestry and makes this evident in her music and videos. I first met Jaas in 2011, 7 years after the release of her first album, during a time when she had largely disappeared from public life in order to raise children and attend school. In the subsequent years, Jaas, along with her life partner, hip hop producer Manuel Alvarado, more widely known as Sexmanolex, has returned to the public eye through the release of her second full-length album, a return to the stage, and the founding of Centro Cultural la Calle Records, which is also their family's home. I argue that la Calle denaturalizes the unequal distribution of wealth in Santiago and reorganizes the concept of the "*población*," the term for peripheral low-income high-population-density neighborhoods (most dictionaries simply translate it as "slum") around a set of knowledges and values that are both *Mapuche* and *hip hop.* By rethinking the space of the *pobla* from within, and acting through that rethinking on a daily basis, Jaas and her collaborators turn Centro Cultural la Calle into a project of occupation.

Second, I analyze the web-based mapping project *Santiago Mapuche,* initiated by geographers Jenniffer Thiers Quintana and Paulina Zuñiga and visual artist Deborah Ahumada. The three women, all Mapuche residents of Santiago, began the project together in order to counter dominant understandings of the city as not-indigenous. By cataloguing and mapping sites of importance to and/ or presence of Mapuche people, I argue that Santiago Mapuche both establishes and reaffirms the Mapucheness of Santiago

while creating a network of alternative knowledges and spatial values. By occupying the virtual realm of the Internet, Santiago Mapuche seeks to create and propagate an understanding of the real physical and social space of Santiago *as* Mapuche.

Finally, I analyze the radio program *Wixage Anai!*, a weekly broadcast from the Santiago-based public station Radio Tierra. Directed by Elizabeth Huenchual, *Wixage Anai!* is the only bilingual (Spanish and Mapudungun) radio program in the city. The hourlong show focuses exclusively on coverage of issues affecting Mapuche in Santiago and throughout Chile, interviews with Mapuche elders, artists, and political figures, and Mapuche music and storytelling. Others have written about the program's importance as decolonizing the soundscape of the city and fostering the continuity of Mapuche oral traditions (see, for example, Cárcamo-Huechante and Legnani, 2010). Building on these claims, I further argue that *Wixage Anai!* espouses an ethic of occupation through creating an experiential point of engagement in space, offering alternate sonic spaces that overlay the city of Santiago in an unbounded way.

Through my discussion of these three distinct sites, I hope to show how Mapuche activism creates spatial pedagogies that not only disrupt dominant arrangements and conceptions of space but also produce critical knowledges and assert Mapuche presence through denaturalizing a spatial order that marginalizes or disregards Mapuche people and opening up conversations about history, geography, politics, economics, and sociality that privilege Mapuche viewpoints. I will later compare and contrast these Mapuche spatial pedagogies with student practices in order to discover whether or not the two sets of activist practices may support or align with one another.

As I have shown in previous chapters, my argument characterizes Mapuche spatial practices as organized around the principle of "occupation." In this chapter, I will further develop this principle by showing how each of the three sites I analyze is informed by an ethic of occupation. By taking on the labor of continuously asserting Mapuche presence, and practicing disruptive spatial pedagogies on a daily basis, activists occupy the *pobla*, the Internet, and the radio as a way of occupying Santiago and forging a Mapuche nation.

Many Mapuche writers have pointed to the specificity of Mapuche experience based on location, noting that Mapuche in the city of Santiago will have markedly different experiences and identifications than Mapuche living in rural Araucanía. David Añinir, reknowned Mapuche poet, has coined the term "*Mapurbe*" to name the unique category of Mapuche-descended people living in metropolitan Santiago: "*Somos mapuche de hormigon/ Debajo del asfalto duerme nuestra madre*" (2011).[76] Because of the specificity of *urban* Mapuche life, i.e. what is of central importance to Mapuche in Santiago rather than in the heartland, I look to what I see as examples *par excellence* of the kind of everyday work being done by "*Mapurbes*" to create and claim space for themselves in the city.

My restricted focus on the city of Santiago also helps to hone in on examples of practices focused less on articulating a position to an outside entity and more on creating daily actions that produce local knowledge. I am interesting in activism as *doing* rather than *announcing*. In Temuco (or, certainly, other parts of Araucanía), the actions of

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76    "We are mapuche of the concrete/ under the asphalt sleeps our mother" (translation mine)

Mapuche activists are often directed "at" a number of different entities: not only the central government of Chile, but also local leaders, individual landowners, particular corporations, and so on. My focus on quotidian events and practices-- those which are less publicized, less spectacular, and less likely to be defined by a standardized party line-- distinguishes between brief statements and continuous praxis. I prefer to analyze activities that focus less on publicly articulating positions and/or positioning a group with respect to loci of power and more on *establishing practices*, which is accomplished through repetition. I do this in order to attend to the practiced, constructed, always-in-process nature of space. Only through a focus on practice can we approach an understanding of spatiality.

My focus on the everyday work of urban Mapuche activists parallels my focus on the everyday doings of student activists. Rather than analyzing the spectacular or bracketed-off moments when students seek to draw widespread public attention, I focus on the day-to-day practices that I believe are more spatially meaningful. In both instances, I seek to identify *ongoing practices* rather than *isolated actions*. I consider occupation as not only taking up space, but also taking up time. While some forms of protest, being temporary and impermanent, fulfill themselves as gesture, I focus on occupation as a way of considering protests that persist as work, profession, practice, doing. While there is a naming or claiming difference based on the students in my ethnographic sites claiming themselves as activists and the Mapuche women in my ethnographic sites *not* explicitly naming themselves as activists, I argue that the value of

putting these varied sites and actors in conversation arises from the practices they undertake rather than the labels they place on themselves.

While in no way a "scientific" selection of sites, my examples represent what I believe to be three versions of a *Mapurbe* ethic of occupation. While not explicitly "political" sites or organizations-- as in, they're not billing themselves or their work as political projects, or even necessarily as activist-- I argue that these three sites are doing crucial political work through the way that they produce space, running counter to hegemonic conditions and giving rise to critical knowledges.

I have selected sites that span multiple registers of space: physical or material space, web space, and aural space, each of which forms one part of a multiple and always-becoming spatial praxis Through analyzing these varied registers of spatial production, I show how Mapuche activist principles and goals manifest in different spatial planes. My analysis puts pressure on definitions of indigeneity that focus on historical connection to physical territory, seeking instead to understand Mapuche spatialities as dynamic and multiple.

**CASE STUDY 1: MC JAAS & CENTRO CULTURAL LA CALLE RECORDS**

To get to Centro Cultural La Calle Records, I ride the train half an hour from the city center to Pudahuel, a poblacion on the eastern outskirts of Santiago[77]. Then I take a bus another half hour to the north, to Cerro Navia, where I meet up with Jaas, who accompanies me on the last leg of the journey, a ten minute walk. Anyone who's not

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Poblacion means simply "population" or "town" in castellano; however, in Chilean vernacular, it refers to an impoverished area of a city (akin to the term "slum").

familiar with Cerro Navia would never be able to find it, she told me the first time I

visited her at home, and she wasn't exaggerating. Navigating the winding unmarked

streets, frequent dead ends, and noisy groups of teenage boys would be nearly impossible

on my own.[78]

We (Jaas and I) walk on hard gray dirt beside parched pavement, though we may

as well walk straight up the middle of the road, since so few cars go by. The buildings

here are low and tightly nestled next to one another, squat concrete structures with flat tin

roofs and iron bars across the windows, or makeshift combinations of patchwork

materials in a vaguely cube-like shape. There's no sign of shops or businesses; the air is

quiet and still. The streets twist and curve in unpredictable directions. I miss the reliable

numbered grid of Manhattan and feel glad to have Jaas guiding me. She could walk these

streets blindfolded and find her way home. She turns us onto a dirt road and the space

opens up, buildings spreading farther apart, wide expanses of dusty, litter-strewn ground

stretching between the high wooden fences that enclose people's homes.

This isn't a popular place to live, Jaas explains as we walk towards a tall, peeling

black fence with gate slightly ajar. "*Solia e'tar verte'ero*," she tells me. I don't know the

word, and shake my head. "*Vertedero*?" She repeats slowly, smirking. "*Basurero*?

...Garbage?" Once she pronounces the word in a teasingly harsh American accent, I get it.

Jaas is telling me that this neighborhood used to be a garbage dump. Obviously it has

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When I go to Cerro Navia, my Chilean roommates—who can't understand why I'm going there to begin
with-- always try to insist on coming with me because they "just know" I'll get lost and wander somewhere
dangerous. I will also discover that cab drivers visit this area of the city so infrequently that they quickly
become frustrated by their inability to locate the address I give them and eventually insist that I exit without
paying the fare, which would have been exorbitant. And why do you want to go to Cerro Navia, anyway?,
they ask in irritation.

since been covered over, but perhaps that's an explanation as to why this particular spot

appears so sparsely populated: it's not exactly coveted land.

As we near the open gate, two filthy dogs come bounding out from inside the

fence, barking and wagging their tails. Do you like animals? Jaas asks me as she pushes

the excited dogs off of her. We have a little menagerie, she adds with a laugh. I've met

the menagerie before: a motley collection of dogs, cats, chickens, and two goats that

wander around the compound as they please. I had wondered if the animals would get to

stay after construction of Centro Cultural La Calle, and apparently they would (though

later I will note that the goats have not made an appearance). Calling the dogs back in a

loud voice, Manolo (Jaas's *novio* and father of her four children) welcomes us in and

shuts the gate behind us. He kisses me on the cheek and immediately exclaims, "*y que*

*pensai*?!" I take a moment to gawk.[79]

Where there used to be a collection of small cinder-block structures with dirt

floors and long strips of cloth covering the doorways, there now stands a two-story

building. The last time I was in Santiago to see Jaas, this yard held only a skeleton of

wood and metal covered by plastic tarps to protect the family's belongings. Manolo, Jaas,

and an assortment of friends, family, and neighbors constructed the building by hand in a

painstaking process that took well over a year of physical labor (along with countless

years of emotional labor in dreaming it up and turning it into a valid possibility).

Manolo insists on giving me a tour of the new building. They've designed exactly

the kind of space that they want, with their family's living quarters housed under the same

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79 "And what do you think?" ("Pensai" is the verbally truncated vosotros form of "pensar"—pensais—a
   verbal conjugation typical of Chilean vernacular. e.g. "Como estás?" becomes "como estai?")

roof as a recording studio and two large open spaces for holding tokatas, workshops, dance performances, or any number of activities. Behind the building, a grassy patio holds a cozy-looking group of benches, chairs, and a *taca-taca* (foosball) table. The outside walls shine white except for one side that's covered with a bright, busy mural-- which I stop to look at more closely.

In the mural, I see Jaas, Manolo, and a third figure all depicted against an orange background and a multicolored "La Calle Records" logo. Manolo sits at a computer surrounded by speakers and electronic equipment, while Jaas stands in an enclosed booth, wearing headphones, face partially hidden by a microphone, presumably recording a vocal track. The third person, Manolo informs me, is the rapper Huenchulaf MC, who designed the piece and whose next album Manolo will record and produce. On hearing the name "Huenchulaf," I exclaim, that's a Mapuche name, right? Manolo nods.

The painting shows Huenchulaf wearing a silver quilted jacket with hood up. Next to him float the words "*rap*" and "*ulkantun*," and between them I recognize a version of the *meli witran mapu*, a symbol that represents the four cardinal directions in Mapuche cosmology. "*Ulkantun*" can mean any type of singing or chanting in Mapudungun. Each discrete entity in the mural is connected to the others through a series of lines, drawing everything into one interconnected assemblage.

Manolo ushers me along, announcing that Jaas has gone to the kitchen and we should all eat soon. But my mind stays with the mural. While perhaps initially lending itself to a discursive reading-- of what the image itself does, how Huenchulaf creates links visually, verbally, symbolically between rap and 'traditional' mapuche oral

practices, and so on-- I want instead to see the mural spatially. The practice of decorating

or creating one's homespace/ workspace with murals is a spatial choice. The presence of

artwork underscores the createdness of the surroundings, reminding viewers of the choice

and labor involved in constructing not only it but the surface it covers and everything

surrounding. Further, graffiti as a practice embraces and enacts what Murray Forman

(year) refers to as "the spatial logics of hip hop," which include reclaiming and

reimagining spaces (e.g., in this case, the space of the pobla) that are meant to invisibilize

and marginalize, and questioning the division between public and private space. The

mural also signals la Calle's embrace of practices outside of capitalism. Huenchulaf

painted the mural not in exchange for payment, but rather as a gesture of gratitude and

appreciation for his experience of recording at La Calle and finding friendship with

Manolo and Jaas: he first gifted the couple a small 8 and a half by 11 painting, after

which they asked if he would be willing to repeat the design on a large scale for the walls

of their center. Rather than analyze the content of the image, I see the painting as

indicating the 'other' knowledges at play in constructing the spatiality of la Calle. The

traces of Huenchulaf's labor and the hip hop resonances it holds color the space of the

center.

If I am concerned with practices rather than images, why do I look at this

artwork? I begin with this brief consideration of Huenchulaf's mural as a way of

introducing the space of la Calle: a non-commercial, non-profit-making, multi-use, hip-

hop community space that asserts Mapucheness in and through old-school hip hop

values. Further, I am interested in the way that graffiti constitutes a practice of

occupation, a seizing and claiming of space, and in this case, the creation of a home-space that reflects the values and lives of its owners. In addition to Huenchulaf's mural, Jaas and Manolo frequently cover parts of their fence with huge sheets of canvas for various visitors to the Centro—and sometimes Manolo himself, who is a talented graffiti artist—to work on. Offering Mapuche artists, whose ability to paint on surfaces around the city is arguably more limited based on a higher likelihood of legal repercussions for Mapuche bodies than others, a place to practice their art constitutes another disruption of dominant spatial choreographies.

La Calle Records, the independent label that Manolo founded in the 90s to record influential artists like Panteras Negras, has begun taking on projects with other "indigenous" artists, like Huenchulaf MC and Bolivian Aymara rapper and *grafitera* Imilla MC. Jaas was the first Mapuche artist on the label, which she acknowledges was largely a result of her personal relationship with Manolo. But now, Jaas has fought for the inclusion of other indigenous hip hop artists from throughout Latin America and recorded tracks collaborating with several of them. For instance, on "*Cordillera de los Andes,*" Jaas trades verses with Imilla MC, the two women mixing Mapudungun and Aymara to forge a musical connection between indigenous struggles in Chile and Bolivia. By actively supporting and producing indigenous hip hop artists, la Calle rejects a dominant view of Mapuche as simultaneously invisible and folkloric. The center becomes a space through which indigenous bodies may pass freely, choosing to be marked as indigenous or not *as long as* they are marked as hip hop. La Calle allows indigenous bodies to become central rather than marginal and to take on a mobility otherwise not afforded

them. For a long time, Jaas was only approached about performing at events organized around indigeneity, like festivals of Mapuche culture or concerts of only indigenous musicians. However, through La Calle, Jaas and other indigenous hip hop artists perform at events organized around hip hop, which enables them to reach a broader audience and not experience the essentialization of being considered only as an "indigenous" artist. Through providing more hip hop-focused performance opportunities, La Calle has increased the mobility of Jaas, Huenchulaf, Imilla, and other indigenous artists, helping them net further opportunities through interaction with a wider population of artists and spectators. In an interview with Jeff Chang (2008), Jaas commented that the hip hop community "was a lot more open to and interested in these themes, to this *causa* [Mapuche rights], more conscious and seeking of truths. They really get it, I think. I feel good knowing that maybe my ideas will spread and people will be more conscious about and recognize the Indigenous side of Chile" (287). With increased mobility in the hip hop world of Santiago and beyond, Jaas's experience tells her that she could gain wider visibility for the Mapuche causes she raps about.

As we eat lunch together in the kitchen, Jaas takes out her phone and shows me a video of her youngest child, Amanda Likan ("*likan*" names an important ceremonial stone in Mapudungun), wiggling around to a breakbeat while Jaas and the older daughters imitate her movements. She's already a trainer, Jaas laughs. A few years back, Jaas earned her certificate in personal athletic training from a community college in the area. At La Calle, she leads physical fitness classes five days a week, most specifically for women but others open to all. She charges $500 pesos per class, which equates to less

than one U.S. dollar. The low cost makes her classes accessible to the community around

La Calle, which is a low-income *población*. With nearly 20% of the population living

below the poverty line[80], residents of Cerro Navia are unlikely to have significant

resources (in money or time) to devote to physical fitness. As shown in studies by

Bonhauser, Fernandez, Berrios, Jadue, and others, the levels of regular physical activity

in low-income neighborhoods of Santiago fall drastically below international standards

for health.[81] A disproportionately high percentage of both the population of Cerro Navia

and the Mapuche population live in poverty, which makes both groups especially

vulnerable to health problems like heart disease and diabetes. By offering low-cost fitness

classes, Jaas promotes an interest in health and wellness not typical of (or necessarily

accessible to) *población* residents. Jaas describes wanting to teach a sustainable practice,

so that participants can continue to train without her instruction. Care of the body is care

of the mind, she argues. While an interest in fitness might be construed as coming from

the influence of colonizing or neoliberal-healthism logics, Jaas understands it as a way

for women and other marginalized groups to take control over their bodies and build a

community around shared activities. Rather than preaching a disciplining view of fit

bodies as moral bodies, Jaas hopes to dispel myths of exercise as only for the wealthy and

privileged, and instead bring her fellow *pobla* residents together to create their own

version of a daily movement practice.

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80 See "Encuesta de Caracterizacion Socioeconomica Nacional" del Gobierno de Chile
Ministerio de Planificacion, CASEN 2006 Region Metropolitana.
81 See "Improving Physical Fitness and Emotional Well-Being in Adolescents of Low
Socioeconomic Status in Chile: Results of a School-Based Controlled Trial," in *Health
Promotion International* 20(2): 113-122.

Centro Cultural la Calle constitutes a hip hop community that imagines itself "old-school" in the way of supporting and promoting social justice projects, paying attention to politics-- especially *local* politics--, making their work widely accessible to a specific community, and working without a goal of profit. Jaas and Manolex spearhead the creation of a community-based pedagogy, every single day working to re-create and re-imagine a space where independent artists can do their work and collaborate with peers, people in the community can come to experience art-- this is one of precious few, if any, other arts spaces in the Cerro Navia area-- and where the couple can raise their family. They do not seek government funding or grants; rather, they try to make ends meet through small contributions like the $500 peso fitness class fees and suggested donations for tokatas and other events in the space. Recording and producing is generally done through a trade system rather than monetary payment. Manolo rents out the record label's sound equipment as a way to earn income for supporting the center and the children, though as a musician I know his rates here are also very low.

Relations outside of capitalism constitute a major part of la Calle's hip hop ethic. Alhough Jaas sells her album at the Rudeboys store in Eurocentro—Rudeboys being a tiny kiosk selling local hip hop discs and gear inside of a huge shopping center in downtown Santiago— she also gives it out whenever she can (I've seen her hand out albums many times and she's never let me give her money for a disc). She always says she's just glad that people listen. Hip hop saved my life, she tells me.

During my first few years of knowing Jaas, I felt increasingly worried that she might never perform or record again because of her family obligations. She would

mention a local hip hop event that she thought was important and cool, but then tell me to attend with Manolo or another friend because she needed to take the toddler to a birthday party or the baby was sick. It seemed as if she always had to stay home caring for the children while Manolo got to go have fun and/or focus on his career. But I needn't have worried about Jaas staying home, since she has now turned her actual home into a place where she can attend to both her family and her career. As a practice of occupation, Jaas's work on La Calle disrupts notions of the home as a limiting space for women/ mothers and asserts her ability and right to watch her child playing while she simultaneously sings inside the recording booth. Jaas seizes the physical space of her own home and creates new possibilities for the movements, relationships, and ways of thinking that happen within it.

I also see an ethic of occupation in the way that La Calle reclaims the space of the *pobla* and privileges its own production of knowledge and culture. I see occupation as the *being-in* Cerro Navia, in Santiago, *being-Mapuche* in Cerro Navia, *being-hip hop* in Cerro Navia. The La Calle crew occupies the space of the *población* (which, as discussed above, holds a specific, pejorative meaning in Chile) and makes it into a new spatiality. Instead of the slum on the outskirts, they turn the *pobla* (and specifically their home space) into a "*centro*," truly, recentering around art, hip hop, Mapuche-ness, and community. By asserting their home as an important center of cultural production, Jaas and Sexmanolex denaturalize the spatial arrangement (or an understanding of space) that favors the higher-income residents of Santiago's central neighborhoods. They challenge any notion that the uneven distribution of wealth/ resources/ privilege in Santiago is

inevitable or irreversible. In a way, by establishing Centro Cultural la Calle and engaging in the practices I have described, Jaas and Sexmanolex point out the constructedness of space, of slums, of class divisions, of inequality. They create a space for recognizing and empowering social groups that are typically marginalized. They produce a space of vibrancy, art, access, and culture within a place of poverty, crime, and lack. While I do not mean to suggest that this is a revolutionary act of "resistance" or that it has a widespread material impact on the city, I *do* wish to argue that these practices constitute a local site of alternative created spatialities. Of course, Cerro Navia is still a *pobla*, still largely neglected by city government, still has lower literacy rates and higher poverty, and perhaps the Centro will only be able to stay open for the next year or even less because of the need for Jaas and Manolo to earn more income, or because an earthquake destroys the neighborhood, or any number of terrible circumstances. Nonetheless, this shouldn't keep us from appreciating La Calle's daily contestation of hegemonic forces of inequality.

Furthermore, Jaas challenges a broader perception of Santiago, and also of hip hop, as not-indigenous or not-Mapuche spaces. Dominant understandings of Mapuche-ness emphasize an indigenous identity rooted in place, limited to a particular geographical location (Araucanía), and contingent upon inclusion in a community of other Mapuche, existing authentically only outside of contemporary urban life. Similarly, Anthropologist Carolijn Terwindt (2009) discusses the tensions among various conceptions of what it means to be Mapuche, noting that many Mapuche express a negative attitude towards "Chileanized" Mapuche, referred to as *ahuincados*, or Mapuche

who are considered to have become too integrated into Chilean society (250). Mapuche who live in urban spaces outside of Araucanía are often dismissed as *ahuincados* by those who still live in the ancestral homeland. Mapuche anthropologist Andrea Avaria Saavedra (2005) further explores this tension in relation to her own crisis of identity upon moving to Santiago from her home in the largely indigenous southern city of Temuco. Saavedra contends that Mapuche identity is very much bound up with place, but that the increasing mobility of the Mapuche population necessitates new ways of thinking about the relationship between identity and place. Saavedra argues for the conceptualization of mobile, evolving Mapuche identities, concluding that life outside of the Araucanía allows for the recognition or discovery of "all kinds of different cultural traits that are part of cultural/social/political particularities of what it means to be Mapuche" (56). Jaas asserts her own Mapuche-ness in and from Santiago.

On her Myspace page (2008), Jaas writes about her struggles to identify with her cultural background while living in Santiago, ultimately stating that only through hip hop was she able to fully confront her Mapuche identity: "*Por supuesto que el hip hop me inquieto a conocer mi propia identidad, desperto conciencia de mi pasado y quise averiguar de donde venia... Cuando rapié 'Newen' entendí lo que significaba cantar con el corazon, vivir, estar atento a lo verdadero*."[82] However, embracing hip hop can also lead to being labeled *ahuincado* or "inauthentic." Danko Mariman, a Mapuche rapper, poet, and anthropologist, stated in a 2006 interview,

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[82] Translation: Of course hip hop made me anxious to know my own identity, awakened consciousness of my past and I wanted to know where I came from… When I rapped "Newen" I understood what it meant to sing with the heart, to live, to know the truth.

*Cuando hablamos de 'mapuchizar' el hip-hop y la poesía, nos referimos a*

*incorporarlos como elementos a nuestra cultura. A través de estas expresiones*

*artísticas nosotros traemos a luz nuestras luchas personales y colectivas . . .*

*Nuestra cultura no está congelada en libros, al contrario, está viva en los*

*Mapuche que estamos vivos hoy tal y como nos envolvemos en relaciones*

*culturales, con otras comunidades humanas, adquirimos nuevas herramientas que*

*incorporamos sin perder nuestra identidad como Mapuche.* [83]

Mariman counters questions of authenticity by suggesting that hip hop is a "tool we can

incorporate."

Similarly, anthropologist Ana Mariella Bacigalupo (2003) stresses that

understanding new indigenous practices involving non-Native traditions or systems of

knowledge must see such practices not as homogenizing or modernizing tools, but rather

as processes of remaking from the inside. For JAAS, Marimán, and many others, hip hop

performance has been a powerful mode of exploring what it means to be Mapuche.

Marimán's term, "*mapuchizar"* or to "Mapuchify" hip hop constitutes another

articulation of occupation. By bringing her knowledge and experience as Mapuche to her

hip hop practice, Jaas occupies hip hop, creating a unique mode of doing hip hop through

which she makes space for herself and other Mapuche in the *pobla* of Cerro Navia.

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[83] Translation: When we speak of "Mapuchifying" hip hop and poetry, we're referring to incorporating them as elements of our culture. Through these artistic expressions, we bring to light our personal and collective battles… Our culture isn't frozen in books; on the contrary, it's alive in the Mapuche living today as we engage in cultural relations, with other human communities, acquiring new tools that we incorporate without losing our identity as Mapuche.

**CASE STUDY 2: SANTIAGO MAPUCHE, WEB-BASED URBAN MAPPING**

**PROJECT**

MC Jaas often speaks about how difficult it was for her to grow up Mapuche in

the city of Santiago, so far from Araucanía, the southern region of Chile with the highest

population of Mapuche people. Living in Santiago, Jaas says, "*no me enseñaron nada de*

*identidad cultural ni de un pueblo guerrero, muy vagos pasajes de historia real del*

*pasado de Chile*" (2008).[84] School, popular culture, and everyday life in the city failed to

help her have any sense of what it meant to be Mapuche. The preponderance of streets

named after famed "conquerors" and statues of Spanish generals, she adds, did nothing to

help contradict the dominant perception that Mapuche people do not and cannot exist in

the city.

Three Mapuche women living in Santiago took on this problem in 2011 by

creating a web site called *Santiago Mapuche*. Founded by geographer Jenniffer Thiers

Quintana and visual artist Deborah Ahumada, with assistance from cultural geography

student Paulina Zuñiga, *Santiago Mapuche* seeks to uncover, catalog, and publicize

Mapuche presence in the Santiago Metropolitan Region. Through mapping places,

collecting relevant resources, compiling lists of events, and inviting participation and

collaboration from the public, *Santiago Mapuche* seeks to create a new experience of

Santiago from a perspective that gives centrality and spatial importance to to Mapuche

people. The project claims space, real space in the city of Santiago, from within the realm

of the virtual. The spaces are compiled in both map form and list form, offering multiple

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[84] Nothing about cultural identity nor the Mapuche warrior nation, only the vaguest
passages of Chilean history.

ways to interact with the information/ content. The virtual map both *creates* space and allows for *visualizing* the physical space of the city differently.

*Santiago Mapuche* publicizes events that relate to Mapuche interests, cultures, and politics, not only in Santiago but also throughout Chile and even around the world (for instance, the calendar currently includes events in Argentina and Germany). The site does not limit focus when it comes to the calendar of events, which serves to expand their reach and to extend the understanding of what constitutes "Mapuche space." To publicize Mapuche-related events occurring in Germany, Argentina, etc, is (to a certain extent) to reaffirm the importance of Mapucheness and to remind people of the transnational reach and significance of Mapucheness. While focusing most heavily on the local dimension, *Santiago Mapuche* also brings attention to the global dimension of Mapuche space and points out that those in Santiago are not isolated or alone but rather part of a larger community around the world (and all connected through the internet, in theory if not in actual practice).

Along with places and events, the site includes times and call letters and station numbers for Mapuche radio programs inside and outside of Santiago. The inclusion of sonic space along with material space and social spaces again broadens the map of Santiago's "Mapuche space," helping visitors to the site find broadcasts that include the Mapudungun language, Mapuche music, storytelling, and news and politics from a variety of Mapuche perspectives.

The fundamental question behind the project asks, "*Donde está el Santiago Mapuche?*" Where is the Mapuche Santiago? Thiers Quintana expands on this basic

question by adding that, "*El recorrer las calles de Santiago sin notar la fuerte presencia de poblacion indigena en los rasgos de sus habitantes locales es un hecho practicamente imposible, pero donde encontramos en esta gran ciudad aquellos espacios propios de la cultura madre de aquella poblacion?*"[85] For Thiers Quintana, Mapuche presence can be seen and felt everywhere, but --The project makes it possible to find *rukas, rehues, chemamulles, machis,* and other "*espacios propios*" of Mapuche people, spaces that one might not readily expect to be able to find in Chile's major urban capital city. [86] The collaboration of geographer and visual artist creates a theoretically and visually complex project.

*Santiago Mapuche* promotes different ways of conceptualizing the space of Santiago. The maps created for the site do not follow the standard conventions of placing downtown Santiago at the center of the map and foregrounding sites like La Moneda (the presidential palace), the Plaza de Armas, or the *bolsa de cambios* (stock exchange). Instead, the project's maps, created by Ahumadas, find focus in the previously marginal areas of the city, the sites unmarked on standard maps, places on the outskirts of the city, the previously inconspicuous areas that lie within larger or more "important" areas. A majority of the sites included in the lists and on the maps form something of a circle shape around the area popularly known as "*Santiago Centro.*" This circle shows how Mapuche have largely remained on the geographical margins of the city, but also how it

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[85] To travel the streets of Santiago without noticing the strong presence of the indigenous population in the characteristics of the locals is practically impossible, but where in this big city can we find those spaces specific to the mother culture of that population?
[86] Traditional dwellings, sculptures, ceremonial parks, and practitioners of Mapuche healing arts.

is possible to reframe one's understanding of the space of the city to make those margins central. By dwelling in the margins, placing a focus on these peripheral spaces, the creators of *Santiago Mapuche* recenter and rethink the city through a Mapuche spatiality.

The site's maps foreground action taken by Mapuche people to create their own places in the city and the agency they have exerted over and within the city in order to establish spaces for themselves. Geographer Irene Hirt (2012) discusses the importance of mapping as a practice through which Mapuche people and communities reclaim space: "the Mapuche people's struggle to reappropriate and 'reconstruct' their historical territories also takes place on an epistemological and cultural ground" (106). The choices and conventions involved in mapping constitute one site of the struggle for reappropriation.

By inviting participation from the public, *Santiago Mapuche's* creators hope to avoid a closed, singular interpretation of the meaning of "Mapuche" and create a living archive that shifts and changes with the lived experiences of its users/ participants/ contributors. The interactive nature of the site foregrounds the community-based pedagogy at work, a desire for collective creation, group input, continuous renewal, and constant reimagining of the project and its goals and functions.

*Santiago Mapuche* creates a praxis-oriented archive with the goal of continually renewing its commitment to finding and foregrounding the Santiago that is Mapuche. Geographers Rob Kitchin and Martin Dodge (2007) argue for a reconceptualization of mapping as "a set of *spatial practices*, including gestural and performative mappings, rather than an end product, and as a process of constant reterritorialization aimed at

solving spatial problems" (108). Following this concept, I see *Santiago Mapuche* as enacting a set of *spatial practices*: not only is the ultimate collection/ list and map of sites important, but also the active process of gathering, reclaiming, networking, rethinking, redefining, reconstructing. I argue that the "constant reterritorialization" undertaken by *Santiago Mapuche* aims at solving the "spatial problem" of how to understand Santiago as a Mapuche space.

Joseph Gerlach (2010) presents a category of mapping practices that he names "vernacular mapping," or a mapping of the everyday, that also contributes to an understanding of the project of *Santiago Mapuche*. Gerlach argues that, "if viewed as vernacular processes, and performed as such, maps are not mere static renderings of the world but instead can move alongside and, indeed, change the world" (166). Rather than a single discrete event, Gerlach's mapping takes place continuously, looking "to always add to our abstractions of the world, to generate maps that attend to the everyday, to reorientate and disorientate bodies and things in the spaces of day-to-day life," leading to the "production-through-mapping of other worlds, of other spaces" (167). Thinking about *Santiago Mapuche* as a vernacular mapping project allows us to see the project as producing-through-mapping an "other world," an other Santiago, the Santiago Mapuche of its name.

Of course, naming the project one type of map or another is not the important part— what matters is my argument for understanding the project as a *practice*, rather than simply a document. As a practice, the project works to rethink how Mapuche people living in Santiago conceptualize the space of their city, to allow and encourage them to

see it as *their* city, a city towards which they feel a sense of ownership and influence, to

avoid the often-described tension between connecting to a "Mapuche identity" and living

in the city (see, for example, Saavedra 2005, Briones 2007, Boccara 2002), to assert the

Mapuche presence that already exists, to point out new and developing Mapuche

presence, and to exert influence over the ongoing life and evolution of the city. As a

socially produced map, continuously changing and updating, *Santiago Mapuche* does not

merely represent the city of Santiago but also produces it—produces it *as Mapuche*.

Thiers Quintana, a scholar of geography, describes the organizing principle of

their inventory/ map as "*patrimonio urbano*," urban patrimony. This choice points to the

worldwide spread of interest in "patrimony" as a concept, citing UNESCO and other

projects that seek to (preserve or promote the existence and preservation of "cultural

sites" in an organized way). However, the creators of *Santiago Mapuche* clearly wish to

go beyond conventional definitions of patrimony by including within that concept "*obras*

*que en tiempos previos no habrian sido reconocidas como tal, como lo son en los casos*

*de las modernas rukas construidas hace no mas de 10 anos en Santiago.*"[87] They also

include within their expanded understanding of patrimony "*edificios modestos*" and other

more everyday, less grand or spectacular sites, along with sites that have been recently

built or that would conventionally be considered "modern" (in opposition to "Mapuche,"

in an understanding of indigeneity that seeks to freeze the indigenous in a mythical

past...). They create their own definition of what constitutes a site of Mapuche

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[87] works that in earlier times had not been recognized as such, such as in the case of
modern rukas built no more than ten years ago in Santiago

patrimony, allowing their community to decide for themselves what merits inclusion in their map, with no set rules about what to include or exclude.

According to the site's founders, the process of creating the site and compiling the information it shares was a surprising experience for them. Because of the fact that "*el Santiago Mapuche es es una realidad poco conocida para muchos ciudadandos y visitantes, para mapuche y no mapuche que habitan la ciudad,*" the site's creators themselves say that they felt (and feel) continuously surprised by the richness and diversity of what they found.[88] Through gathering/ collecting information about spaces and events of Mapuche significance, the women simultaneously compiled a kind of history of Mapuche agency and activity in Santiago and the efforts that Mapuche people have had to undertake in order to create, establish, or claim space for themselves in Santiago.

While collecting information and compiling this corresponding history, Thiers Quintana and Ahumadas also amassed a network of Mapuche people around the Región Metropolitana. According to Quintana, they wanted to be sure to get the approval and participation of all the "*agrupaciones responsables de cada espacio inventariado,*" making certain that the appropriate parties had authorized the inclusion of material about their spaces and participated in the process of web site creation.[89] In this way, the mapping process involved not only lists and drawings and locating points on paper, but also interacting with a network of people who contributed to the creation and/or

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[88] Santiago Mapuche is a reality little-known for many citizens and visitors, for Mapuche and non-Mapuche who live in the city
[89] groups responsible for each inventoried space

maintenance and care of these places. The map is more than simply a collection of dots

on a flat plane, a document to look at, or a list to peruse—it is also a process of

discussing and articulating values, of finding or creating and defining community, of the

everyday living labor that produces the commons, seeking to create a place for the

production of non-commodified means to fulfill social needs.[90]

In thinking about the project and its life on and off the Internet, I wonder, what is

the relationship between the Internet and the city? How might an internet-based project

mediate or inflect how Mapuche visitors (as in, visitors to the web site) experience space

in the city? What effects, if any, does or can this project have in the non-cyber space of

the city? How does *Santiago Mapuche* influence space in Santiago? What makes this

project a spatial practice (or not)? In what ways can a web-based project like *Santiago*

*Mapuche* effectively impact the experiences of subjects traversing the material and social

space of the city? Graham (2013) writes that "information in and communication through

the internet can be thought to take place as part of the many palimpsests (or layers) of

space" (179). But the question of efficacy remains. How (if indeed at all) does the virtual

map of *Santiago Mapuche* impact the real? How do or can mapping practices impact real

lived experiences of space? How does mapping constitute a spatial practice and/or impact

spatiality?

As Graham points out, while "the Internet can indeed be harnessed to challenge

entrenched economic, cultural and political interests, it remains that it is not a utopian

space that allows us to automatically transcend most of the real and place-based

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[90] … If we can speak of the Internet as non-commodified, because being internet-based
does implicate one in a web of commodity-exchange-based relations…

constraints that we face" (2013: 180). While *Santiago Mapuche* clearly challenges a

hegemonic understanding of the map of Santiago (by simultaneously challenging

conceptions of Mapucheness that see it as incompatible with urban residence, economic

values that prioritize profit, etc), it cannot allow Mapuche to "automatically transcend"

all such constraints on their beings/ identities/ movements/ experiences. Rather, *Santiago*

*Mapuche* augments the space of the city by creating different maps of Santiago that

privilege other knowledges and values.

Recognizing the limits of the Internet as a tool for transcending social constraints

does not negate its ability to open up spaces of possibility. However, it is important to ask

how useful a web site can be to the particular community it intends to serve. This mode

of dissemination of information certainly limits the audience it can reach, in that it

requires access to the Internet. The specifically *urban* population the site intends to serve

does have fairly widespread access to the Internet. However, in the lower-income

neighborhoods that are home to the majority of Mapuche residents of Santiago, Internet

access is more limited. Recognizing this helps to move away from visions of the Internet

as a utopian space of radical change. Still, knowledge initially gained from the web site

could be spread through other channels as well. One person with Internet access could

share information, maps, event locations, etc through word-of-mouth, allowing for a

larger population to benefit from the site.

Each section of the web site focuses on a type of space potentially of interest to

Santiago's Mapuche residents. Clicking on "*Rukas,*" the name for a traditional dwelling,

the site lists five *rukas* around greater Santiago. For each *ruka*, the site provides

information about its construction, location, and caretakers, as well as contacts for further information, detailed explanations of how to get there on foot or by public transportation, and descriptions of the activities taking place there, along with photographs. *Ruka Kimn,* for example, on the northeast periphery of Santiago in Peñalolén, specializes in traditional healing and linking *machis*, Mapuche healers, with those throughout the city and eastern suburbs interested in their services. The group that cares for the *ruka*, Gremial Mapuche Folil Che Aflaiai, grows herbs inside for use by *machis* and offers regular workshops on Mapuche cosmology, health, and history. Many of the *rukas* focus on the healing arts and helping urban Mapuche find practitioners of traditional medicine. Access to traditional medicine is difficult to find in Santiago, particularly for those not already linked to other Mapuche residents of the city. By offering an alternative to the assimilating forces of dominant Chilean medicine, *rukas* foreground and promote Mapuche knowledge.

Scrolling through the site's images of *Ruka Kimn*, I see plants growing in pots, tables set up for workshops, health-related posters in Spanish and Mapudungun affixed to the walls, a fire pit with glowing coals. The surrounding neighborhood is visible in the background, with high-rise apartment buildings, a basketball court, squat cement-block homes. Seeing this building of bamboo sticks and eucalyptus, with bundled reeds as the roof, depicted within its Peñalolén neighborhood shows a Mapuche Santiago, Santiago as Mapuche. As I move through the images, starting outside the *ruka* and moving within, I experience both the situatedness of the building in the city of Santiago and also its particularity as a Mapuche space inside.

The most interactive parts of the web site are the sections of events and links, for which Quintana regularly receives submissions. Links suggest other places on the web to find local, national, and world news written from a Mapuche perspective, dictionaries of Mapudungun, NGOs dedicated to indigenous rights causes, Mapuche social and political organizations in Santiago and beyond, sources for Mapuche history, and so on. Events currently listed include a march in support of making Mapudungun an official language of Chile, a Mapuche new year celebration, a congress on indigenous languages, and a festival of indigenous filmmaking. Site visitors can opt to subscribe to an evolving calendar of Mapuche events. The web site's main project, I argue, is to create a network of relations through its lists, maps, and collections of information, offering people ways to connect with one another through the places of their city and the space of the Internet.

Through creating this collaborative, frequently updated online mapping project, I argue that the women of *Santiago Mapuche* both establish and reaffirm the Mapuche-ness of Santiago while creating a network of alternative knowledges and spatial values. The project constitutes occupation in both senses of the term. Through its promotion of a vernacular mapping practice (as Gerlach calls it), an everyday ongoing process understanding the city as constantly changing, the practice becomes an occupation in the sense of labor. But the practice also invites Mapuche residents of Santiago to occupy the city, to take it over, to dwell within it and take it as their own.

**CASE STUDY 3: *WIXAGE ANAI!* ON RADIO TIERRA**

Radio Tierra broadcasts from a small, inconspicuous building in the artsy

neighborhood of Bellavista in central Santiago, at Calle Purísima where it intersects with

Santa Inés. A bright yellow with dark red trim and barred windows painted pale aqua, the

colorful building blends in with the vibrant murals and strong colors of the surrounding

area, bordered just to the north by Pablo Neruda's quirky Santiago home-turned-museum,

La Chascona. Inside the short, one-story building, the yellow walls are lined with posters

touting the station's affiliation with causes spanning reproductive justice, the student

movement, LGBT rights, media freedom, and many more. This home for socially–

conscious radio programming has also been, since 1993, the home for *Wixage Anai!,* a

weekly show that spreads Mapuche language, culture, politics, and stories across the

airwaves from Santiago to the Araucanía.

*Wixage Anai* can be translated from Mapudungun as "wake up," "get up," or "rise

up," and as curated by current host Elizabeth Huenchual, all three translations are

accurate to the program in their own way. Huenchual, who migrated to Santiago from a

rural village in southern Chile, speaks strongly about her goals for the program: "*La

televisión logra transmitir mucha información visual que busca lavar el cerebro de las

personas. La gente se queda con eso, nos cuesta sacarlos de sus casas para convocarlos

a marchas o actividades*" (2013).[91] For Huenchual, *Wixage Anai!* exists to combat this

sort of normatively desirable apathy. Huenchual runs the program outside of her multiple

other jobs and she did not hesitate to tell me she did not have time for me and my many

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[91] Television transmits so much visual information that's trying to brainwash people. The
people stay with that, it's really hard for us to get them out of their homes to meet or go
to marches or activities.

questions. *Wixage Anai!*, which in better times used to broadcast three days a week or even daily, is now a labor of love for Huenchual, who regularly wonders whether she'll even be able to get an hourlong show together each week. But after over two decades, she feels that the program is more important now than ever.

The small studio with pale peachy walls and big black squares of soundproofing material holds a wooden table with microphones. Behind the table, a glass window gives onto the recording booth, with computers and a mixing board, and around the window more posters: "*Tú le crees a televisa? Yo tampoco*;" "*PATAGONIA SIN REPRESIÓN*;" "*Revolución Democrática*!" and so on.[92] In the summer, fans run in the mixing booth, though not in the studio because of the noise. Like most buildings, the weather outside determines the weather inside.

Even on a hot November day, when Huenchual and her guests for the day enter the studio, the *machi*, a woman practiced in traditional healing arts, wears a full-length *kupam*, a long-sleeved garment that reaches to the floor, with a *trariwe*, a wide cloth belt, with *ukulla*, an overcoat, and *trarilonko*, a woven headband. Two male musicians wear long woven shirts and *trarilonko* and carry several instruments: a *trutruka* (horn) and *kultrun* (drum). Huenchual does not wear Mapuche garments, although she says she does own them and sometimes wears them during broadcasts. Given that the program broadcasts over the radio, so no visuals will be transmitted to listeners, and also the heat, it might seem odd that any of the participants bother with costuming at all. However, to Huenchual, it feels appropriate. "*Lo que más me gusta*," Huenchual shares, "*es el*

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[92] Do you believe TV? Neither do I; Patagonia without repression; Democratic Revolution!

*intercambio con la gente, el acompañarlos, el compartir experiencias y conocimiento.*"[93]

The experiences Huenchual has with her many guests, the spaces they create and share

with each other, are an important facet of the program and a part of the network the show

creates. Being here together in these clothes, sharing a language spoken fluently by so

few in Santiago, playing music with familiar instruments, simply making this room a

room inhabited only by Mapuche: this is one part of the project, even before they go live

on the air. The practice of making the program, of doing the broadcast, creates a special

space inside of Radio Tierra, a space made by and for Mapuche.

Huenchual describes how the program was founded in 1993 by Ramón Curivil, a

Mapuche high school teacher (she refers to him as a "*sociólogo,*" a sociologist) who saw

the necessity of creating "*un espacio para el pueblo Mapu*che," a space for the Mapuche

people, a space for Mapuche to share and spread information about events, culture, and

music. Curivil believed that they needed to broadcast in Mapudungun because so few

Mapuche residents of Santiago were continuing to speak the language and language,

Curivil believed, formed a crucial connective tissue among the dispersed people. The

history of *Wixage Anai!* is almost entirely oral, which seems somewhat fitting as well,

given that Mapudungun has no written component beyond awkward translations into the

Spanish alphabet. During a time, Huenchual says, *Wixage Anai!* used to broadcast every

weekday, and then on Saturdays the producers would travel to the homes of Mapuche

city-dwellers who listened to the program and visit them and get to know them. Later, the

program aired three times per week; these days, only on Sunday. The show is funded

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[93] What I like the most is the exchange with people, to accompany them, to share
experiences and knowledge.

through community fundraising efforts and Radio Tierra, the station with which it collaborates, was founded by Casa de la Mujer la Morada, a Santiago-based non-governmental organization founded by feminist activists in the 1980s. *Wixage Anai!* is squarely grounded in this space of activism and political radicalism, a space that the Chilean government has continuously tried to eradicate. A number of Chilean laws spanning several decades (including several passed under Pinochet that remain on the books) set restrictive policies for community radio broadcasting, "establishing arbitrary limitations to the technical and administrative features to broadcast" and requiring expensive permits that must be renewed frequently.[94] Like most everything else in Chile, radio is treated as a business, which makes it difficult for non-profit, community-based radio operations to continue.

Despite the challenge of keeping community radio going, Huenchual persists. The program's goals include the linking of the city to the country, connecting migrants to their families or roots, and fostering a community across distance. In this way, the program seeks to create a space of connection, to both create and strengthen togetherness/ a sense of proximity. By broadcasting in both Santiago and locations around Araucanía, the show spans a vast geographical distance and ignores/ negates boundaries between regions and separations between urban and rural areas. The show also promotes and organizes open *chueca* games, a traditional Mapuche sport (described in Chapter One, as played by Aburto's Grupo Artistico Llufquehuenu) which have become important social occasions and ways for Mapuche to find and connect with one another in person.

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[94] Report by the Asociacion Mundial de Radios Comunitarias, 2009, p18.

Huenchual sees herself as seeking to bridge a gap through the broadcast; however, it's not the obvious "bridge between rural and urban" that we might jump to. "*Hay como una separación del mundo Mapuche: una parte que lucha y un mundo Mapuche pasivo… somos un medio para hacer el llamado para que la gente se movilice.*"[95] To instill political consciousness and a sense of responsibility towards a larger group of Mapuche, Huenchual insists that those in the "*mundo pasivo*" must hear and experience Mapuche worldviews.

The guiding question behind the program's work asks: how can Mapuche dispersed throughout Santiago and all over Chile maintain a sense of connection to a larger body of Mapuche people and/or a language, history, and culture? But further: what are the stakes of such connection or its lack? Huenchual argues strongly that while Mapuche flags may fly in Santiago, very little real activism is taking place and the results are felt violently in the Araucanía. "*El problema es que los mapuches en Santiago no somos visibles. Los estudiantes pueden hacer algo, porque convocan masivamente. En nuestro caso somos algunos quienes están en lucha y mientras no sea masiva la presión mapuche que se haga en Santiago no es mucho lo que se pueda hacer.*"[96] *Wixage Anai* offers Mapuche people living in Santiago an opportunity to grapple with their relationship to the larger Mapuche nation, as well as to hear arguments about the

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[95] There's like a separation in the Mapuche world: one part that fights, and one that's passive… We are a medium for sounding the call for the people to mobilize.
[96] The problem is that Mapuche in Santiago aren't visible. The students can do something because they come together in massive numbers. In our case, there are some of us that are fighting and as long as we're not massive numbers the Mapuche influence in Santiago won't be much.

necessity of such grappling. The program produces and disseminates knowledge that Huenchual feels is largely absent in Santiago and spreads it across the airwaves.

Radio scholar Michele Hilmes (2002) writes that "[r]adio waves and their impervious mobility across social boundaries" have served "as an ideal symbol for national togetherness" (xi). While Mapuche are dispersed throughout Chile and in various neighborhoods of the Santiago Metropolitan Region, radio programs like *Wixage Anai!* can become points of reference for a scattered population to identify with an imagined community, feel a sense of togetherness, and connect with Mapuche language and cultures. In this sense, Nicole Delia Legnani and Luis Carcamo-Huechante (2010) discuss radio as both "an art of communication and an art of community" (46). For Huenchual, these qualities of radio make it an ideal format for creating togetherness, fostering community, and building a sense of belonging to a unified, if physically dispersed, Mapuche nation. *Wixage Anai*, I argue, creates an experiential point of engagement in space for Mapuche people through creating an alternate sonic space that overlays the city of Santiago.

In a history of Chilean media, radio has long held a legacy as a space for dissent, particularly in its role as one of the last remaining strongholds for pro-democracy discourse during the dictatorship (for more detailed history of Chilean radio, see: Bresnahan 2002 & 2007, Rivera Aravena 2008). During the period of transition to a democratic government, radio diversity was squelched in a movement towards conservative, state-sponsored media. (Of course, also, in a longer history of radio, it's connected to a legacy of colonialism and assimilationist state propaganda…) While

Radio Tierra and most of its programs struggle to maintain their existence, the struggle

constitutes part of the everyday practices through which these communities must

continuously create and reassert spaces for themselves in the city.

Beyond the space of the station itself, and the process of making the *Wixage Anai!*

program with Huenchual and her varied weekly guests, the sounds that they transmit have

a spatiality of their own. Much has been written about indigenous radio across a variety

of contexts, from Chile to Nigeria to Brazil. Derek Pardue (2011), writing about

community radio in São Paulo, Brazil, argues that radio constitutes a form of spatial

occupation (103). For Pardue, the spatiality of radio is essential to its social significance,

in that it comes from a particular local place, spans a certain area, and creates a space of

contact and engagement for listeners who are all connected through the act of listening.

Radio is also, Pardue points out, "among the few institutions of cultural production and

political agency that are accessible to the majority of working class people and is

distinctively grounded in the physical space of everyday life" (103). Indeed, a program

like *Wixage Anai!,* broadcasting on Sundays at noon, a time when most people would be

at home or on a lunch break, is as accessible as possible, being both free to anyone with a

radio and at a generally convenient weekend time.

The locality of radio and its potential to foster collectivity constitute key aspects

of radio's importance for marginalized populations like the Mapuche in Chile. Pardue

argues that community radio espouses a particular epistemology of space, which, in the

case of São Paulo, connects strongly to a hip hop epistemology of space. In the case of

Santiago, *Wixage Anai!* connects to a Mapuche epistemology of space, which I would

argue is grounded in ideas of autonomy and belonging. "Listening to the radio is not only

a 'social act' but also a spatialized one," Pardue adds (106). The act of listening to

*Wixage Anai!* is spatialized in that it is grounded in the local experience of Mapuche in

the marginal neighborhoods of Santiago. Community radio, in particular, mediates the

periphery, which Pardue describes as both "a material place and a contested ideology"

(107). Addressing these peripheral spaces, *Wixage Anai!* both makes them central and

connects them to one another through sound.

     The creation of a space for specifically Santiago-dwelling Mapuche, but one that

simultaneously helps to connect them to a larger population of Mapuche rather than

separate them out into a discrete category, is a tall order. Legnani and Cárcamo-

Huechante, writing about Mapuche radio in Chile and Argentina, cite poet David Añinir's

neologism, "*mapurbe*," which Añinir uses to refer to an urban indigenous identity of

Mapuche people living in Chilean cities (34). According to Legnani and Cárcamo-

Huechante, "this neologism constitutes an ingenious bilingual way of naming a new

urban landscape that has been reshaped by the recent waves of Mapuche migration from

rural areas to major urban centers; a process through which Mapuche communities

appropriate and redefine the symbolic and spatial configuration of cities" (34). As I

discussed earlier in relation to the *Santiago Mapuche* project, media projects like *Wixage*

*Anai!* create new ways of understanding, relating to, and creating the space of Santiago

through radio airwaves and network-building.

     Each program begins with a call to attention by traditional Mapuche instruments

and a pre-recorded bilingual introduction, over the music, announcing the show as "*un*

*programa para reencontrarnos con* nuestra *historia y* nuestra *forma de ver al mundo.*"[97]

The April 5th, 2015 program then opens with storytelling: a man speaking Spanish over

the sounds of a Mapuche string instrument tells the story of a historic battle between

Spanish and Araucanos in the 16th century, in which Lautaro, a legendary Mapuche

warrior, was killed in a surprise attack. The same music continues, and a vocabulary

lesson commences: a male voice speaks a phrase in Spanish, then a female voice

(Huenchual) repeats the phrase in Mapudungun. The host then offers a live bilingual

welcome to the show, announcing that the Mapuche nation is alive and well in Santiago

and speaking of the right to communication and the right to community. An instrumental

song plays, interspersed with portions of an interview with a Mapuche historian who

discusses the problem of trying to do history with Mapuche as the protagonists: "*los*

*vencedores escriben la historia de los vencidos*," he says. [98] The instrumental song

switches to a woman's voice chanting melodically in Mapudungun, continuing to

alternate with the interview. The historian, continuing to discuss problems in Araucanía,

in particular the state takeover of a certain ceremonial land in the lakes region, stresses

that the problems of those in the south must be considered the problems of *all* Mapuche.

Another song; another bilingual vocabulary lesson, teaching words like "conversation"

and short phrases like "what do you mean?" and "what are you doing?" A woman

originally from a Mapuche community near Rio Lagos comes on to discuss feminist

issues and the necessity of Mapuche women coming together to talk about women's

problems from a Mapuche perspective. Her comments are then translated into

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[97] A program to reacquaint ourselves with *our* history and *our* way of seeing the world.
[98] The victors write the history of the vanquished.

Mapudungun as well. A female elder then tells a story in Mapudungun, and the program

closes with a farewell from the host and a final song.

This combination of politics, news, opinion, music, storytelling, and language

study is typical of all *Wixage Anai!* broadcasts. The program's organizers (these days it's

almost entirely Huenchual) strive to keep the show varied and multi-voiced, steering

clear of any single narrative of Mapuche experience. Serving as a forum for community

interests and issues, the show at various times addresses arts and culture, music, sports,

politics, recreation, social engagement, politics, and activism. Interview subjects often

make use of the oral tradition of the *nvxam,* a mixture of spoken word and song, bringing

an older to form to younger generations. Speakers address land struggles, migration,

environmental concerns, national politics, education, feminism, and the question of

autonomy, all from Mapuche perspectives. While not everything is translated in both

languages, there is enough of a mix to make the program mostly accessible to someone

who speaks either only Spanish or only Mapudungun.

Some scholars, like Legnani and Cárcamo-Huechante, argue that indigenous radio

allows minority subjects to build "their own acoustic and sonorous space amid the

hegemonic noise of mainstream media" (34) and establish "oral territories of resistance

and survival, from the margins" (162). But, on the flip side of arguments celebrating the

decolonizing power of indigenous radio, the fact remains that individuals may choose

whether or not to listen to radio. The limits of a self-selecting audience are once again at

play. Programs like *Wixage Anai!* can be said to cut through boundaries and disrupt the

dominant aural space of the city, but only so long as the listener does not switch the radio

off. Still, even when switched off, the program is still present, still accessible, and someone, somewhere is still listening. The unbounded nature of radio, its openness and accessibility, make it a particularly powerful form of occupation.

As a practice of occupation, radio harnesses the power of sound to impact bodies, movement, and knowledge. Revill (2000) argues that "the auditory must be central to the formation of subjectivity and its spatial constitution" (604). Sound acts on and through the body, and its meaning is interpreted with spatial and temporal specificity. Sound can be both representational and textual, and also nonrepresentational and affective. *Wixage Anai!* makes use of both of these types of sound in its creation of a space for Mapuche listeners. Music plays a special role in *Wixage Anai!,*As Susan Smith (1997) argues, music influences space in that it constitutes "a way of apprehending, experiencing, and creating the world" (617). Both the music and the speech shared on *Wixage Anai!* offer listeners new ways of experiencing and creating the world.

Reaching people in their homes, cars, in Mapuche businesses around the city, *Wixage Anai!* comes to the personal spaces of Mapuche around Santiago and knits them together in the act of listening and participating in Mapuche knowledge-production and spatial production.

**Chapter Four**

**Occupying Buildings, Occupying History: Spatial Practices in Student Activism**

**Today**

> *...el proyecto educativo que nosotros creemos que hay que crear para el futuro tiene que involucrar la realidad del pueblo Mapuche: su historia, su construccion, su vision de sociedad, su vision de futuro, su relacion con el medio; ahi ha jugado un papel muy importante el pueblo Mapuche con la integracion particular de la Federacion Mapuche de Estudiantes a la Confech, que nos ha permitido repensar el proyecto educativo con este factor .*
>
> *-Camila Vallejo, presidente del FECh, 2011*

> *...the educational project that we believe must be created for the future has to involve the reality of the Mapuche people: their history, their origins, their vision of society, their vision of the future, their relationship with the environment; here the Mapuche people have played a very important role through the particular integration of the Mapuche Federation of Students into the Confech, which has permitted us to rethink the educational project with this factor.*
>
> *-Camila Vallejo, president of FECh, 2011*

> *Ésta es una reforma racista… Nosotros vemos que en general son muchas las federaciones que simpatizan con el pueblo mapuche, yo diría que la mayoría. Sin embargo, el desconocimiento que hay sobre las demandas mapuches es preocupante, porque siempre se termina reproduciendo la misma política que ejercen los partidos tradicionales, y se puede ver lo mismo en el movimiento estudiantil. Como digo, ellos tienen la intención de participar pero tampoco encuentro la forma… Eso hace que no solamente los dirigentes del Confech sean ignorantes, sino la sociedad en general.*
>
> *-Jaqueline Curaqueo, vocero de FEMAE, 2014*

> *This is a racist reform… We see in general that there are many federations that sympathize with the Mapuche people, I would say the majority.*

*However, the lack of knowledge about Mapuche demands is worrisome because it always ends up reproducing the same politics of the traditional parties, and you can see the same in the student movement. As I say, they have the intention to participate but they haven't found the right way… It's not just that Confech leaders are ignorant, but society in general.*
                                    *-Jaqueline Curaqueo, FEMAE spokesperson, 2014*

**INTRODUCTION**

In this chapter, I argue that student activist projects in Santiago perform occupation in a way that differs significantly from Mapuche activists. In Chapter 1 and Chapter 3, I identified Mapuche activists performing occupation as a sustained, transformative living labor as well as a physical inhabiting of places, producing projects that resist spatial and temporal limitations through their ongoing, unbounded nature. I argue in this chapter that, in contrast, student activists perform occupation by creating geographically and temporally bounded spaces of exception that ultimately function within neoliberal space. To support my argument, I draw on my ethnographic work in Santiago to analyze practices by which student protestors produce and/or seize space. Continuing in the vein of the previous chapter, I focus specifically on student protests activities that are less public, less spectacular, and less likely to be defined by a cut-and-dried party line. I concentrate on activities that focus less on publicly articulating positions, or positioning the group with respect to loci of power, and more on establishing practices. For this reason, I will focus on the following sites to discuss the spatial practices of Santiago student protestors: three schools under occupation, the Universidad de Chile, the Liceo 4 de Ninas, and the Liceo Confederacion Suiza; and the Archivo FECh, a historical archive created and recently opened by the Federacion de Estudiantes

de la Universidad de Chile, the organization that represents all Universidad de Chile students. Putting this work in conversation with the Mapuche activist work I discussed in Chapter Three (the community building of MC Jaas and La Calle, the mapping and reclaiming project of Santiago Mapuche, and the radio broadcasts of *Wixage Anai!*), I identify how student spatial practices diverge from Mapuche spatial practices to suggest a real disconnect between the student movement and Mapuche activism.

While students imagine and/or represent themselves as aligned with the political project of the Mapuche rights movement, I argue through analysis of their spatial practices that this alignment can only be surface-level. Student and Mapuche activism differ in both goals and tactics. While Mapuche occupation encompasses every aspect of activists' daily lives in an ongoing way—because of the pressing nature of the problems at hand and the historical nature of the struggle—, I show how student occupations are limited spatially, temporally, and in terms of their address (as in, to whom they address their demands). Students carve out enclaves of occupation within hegemonic space, bounded spaces of temporary alterity, while Mapuche overlay the hegemonic space of the city with continuous alternate spaces.

Given the crucial differences between the two activist projects, the stakes of students' professed alignment with Mapuche causes hinge on the use of "indigeneity" as a political position rather than an identity. When non-indigenous activists, in this case Chilean student protestors, claim a connection to indigeneity without actually aligning their practices with indigenous projects they speak of, they risk undercutting those indigenous projects by glossing over and making invisible the vital needs and demands of

local indigenous populations. This fact raises serious questions about the ethics of non-indigenous activists claiming to represent or speak for indigenous peoples.

As the quotations that open this chapter help to demonstrate, student movement leaders and Mapuche people, even Mapuche students within the movement, express very different understandings of the relationship between the two movements. Mapuche student leaders like Curaqueo are acutely aware of the student movement's failure to recognize and support Mapuche demands in a meaningful way, while student leaders like Vallejo paint a picture of the student movement as champions of Mapuche rights. And certainly on a discursive level, students protestors have expressed a great deal of support for and solidarity with their Mapuche "brothers and sisters" across the nation. My analysis moves beyond this discursive level in order to show how the everyday practices of student activists diverge from those of Mapuche activists. Whereas in the case studies I analyze in Chapter Three create everyday practices of transformational labor and spatial practices of producing new modes of thinking, the student activist practices I examine below largely reinforce dominant spatial practices and modes of thinking. I argue that this difference in the way the two groups operate spatially provides critical insight into the larger incompatibilities between the two projects and serve to support Mapuche leaders' claims regarding the failure of the student movement to effectively support their struggles. While activists like Jaas, Jenniffer Quintana Thierrs, and Elizabeth Huenchual work on everyday projects that denaturalize and critique spatial and social conventions that marginalize or seek to erase Mapuche people, students' occupations move beyond

blockage but stop short of posing serious lasting challenges to the hegemonic spatial and social order in Chile.


**PART ONE: SCHOOLS UNDER OCCUPATION**

Occupation in the sense of physical takeover of place has, inarguably, been one of the distinguishing characteristics of the current student movement. Although occupation has long been a protest tactic across many times and places (as discussed in earlier chapters), this movement has uniquely involved both the occupation of hundreds of schools throughout the country and long-term school occupations lasting as long as eight months. The wide spread and lengthy duration of occupations sets the movement apart from prior movements (such as those I discussed in Chapter Two) and, I argue, demands close attention to this tactic, and particularly so within a movement that has garnered much of its popular attention through an embrace of more overtly theatrical tactics like massive pillow fights, kiss-ins, zombie marches, and dancing flash mobs in public squares. Chilean writer Diamela Eltit (2011) describes these tactics as the "*buena onda,*" or good vibes of the movement, through which students cleverly captured the amused attention of national and international media. Eltit suggests that *buena onda* constituted a way for students to mollify their parents who might "worry about their children being in conflict with the State," but also that it demonstrated a "plural methodology," in that students used myriad different forms in their protests. Headlines from *The New York Times* to al-Jazeera proclaimed:

*With Kiss-ins and Dances, Young Chileans Push for Reform.*

*Mass Arrests in Chile after Police Teargas Student Protest.*

*Students Protest Education System with a Pillow Fight in Chile.*

*Chile Cracks Down on Violent Student Protest.*

*Students Stage Michael Jackson Dance for Education Rally.*

Media outlets inarguably focused on either playful/ creative tactics or accounts of violence.

Occupation is arguably a less theatrical tactic than, for example, a pillow fight among thousands. Although the moment of takeover and the inevitable moment of eviction (in a physical occupation of space) have been deemed newsworthy spectacles by the media, this focus often ignores months and months of activity in between. It is this in-between time that interests me. The day-to-day activities of students participating in an occupation, I argue, reveal a set of practices that define the movement and can be considered in contrast to the quotidian practices of Mapuche activists.

Chilean sociologist Alvaro Cuadra (2012) also highlights the importance of the "*toma*," or occupation, to the student movement as it exists today. In his monograph on the protests of 2011, he identifies a difference between *"la toma"* (the taking/ the occupation) and *"la barricada"* (the barricade): "*la 'toma' no es, propiamente, un anacoluto en la sintáxis urbana, es decir, no ocupa el espacio público, interrumpiendo el tránsito de vehículos y enfrentando a la policia. Se trata, por el contrario, de ocupar el espacio institucional que suspende su normal funcionamiento*" (48).[99] Unlike the

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99 The "toma" is not, strictly, a reversal of the urban syntax; that is to say, it does not occupy public space, disrupting the transit of vehicles and confronting the police. It is, on

barricade, occupation "*se trata de un gesto político... Desde una perspectiva táctica, la ocupación de locales pareciera poseer un alcance mas moral que material, tal y como pensaba Friedrich Engels de la 'barricada' en el siglo XIX*" (48).[100] Cuadra's distinction between *toma* and *barricada* resembles my differentiation between tactics of occupation and tactics of blockage (in Chapters One and Two, where I also compare this distinction to the distinction made by Benjamin and Sorel between strike and permanent strike).

According to Cuadra, "*una 'toma' se levanta como reclamo moral y politico en tanto imagen mediatica... no es solo una subversion espacial sino una subversion del tiempo, es la irrupcion de un tiempo otro*" (49).[101] For Cuadra, the importance of occupation hinges on its interruption of the officially prescribed academic year with a temporality of protest and the emergence of *"un tiempo politico,"* a political temporality. (My thinking on occupation focuses on the spatiality of occupation, while acknowledging that occupation also disrupts and creates on the level of temporality.) Though he mentions in passing a "*subversión espacial,"* or spatial subversion, he glosses over the spatial implications of occupation as a tactic and celebrates its radicality without fully specifying how that radicality emerges or is achieved.

In Cuadra's estimation, the political aspect of occupation lies in its creation of an "*experiencia estética radical... nueva forma de percepción y participación política*"

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the contrary, occupying the institutional space and suspending normal operation. (translations mine)

100 It is a political gesture... From a tactical perspective, the occupation of spaces seems to have a scope more moral than material, just as Friedrich Engels thought of the 'barricade' in the 19th century.

101 A 'toma' stands as a moral and political demand as well as mediated image... It is not only a spatial subversion, but also the emergence of another time.

(60).[102] Since space and time are defined by what what Cuadra refers to as an

*"imaginario oligarquico,"* an oligarchic imaginary, it is especially crucial that protesting

students create a *new* imaginary, which manifests in the production of new forms of

perception and political participation. Occupation, according to Cuadra, stands apart from

barricade as a tactic because occupation produces a new mode of thinking. Although he

himself does not specify this, through defining occupation in this way Cuadra shows that

occupation is a space-changing tactic in a Lefebvrian sense, while blockage is not. If

indeed it produces a new mode of thinking, occupation holds the potential to produce a

new space that differs in its logic and experience from hegemonic space. However, while

Cuadra is right to signal the importance of occupation to the current student movement,

and also its potential difference from blockage, his analysis stops short of actually asking

just *how* radical students' occupations have really been and *what* exactly characterizes the

mode of thinking they have produced. I seek to address these questions in my analysis.

To discuss the day-to-day practices of students occupying schools, I draw on

ethnographic fieldwork I undertook in Santiago over the years of 2011 to 2014. I have

chosen to discuss the three schools under occupation for which I can provide the most

details: the Universidad de Chile, specifically the central campus in downtown Santiago,

which students occupied continuously from June to December of 2011; the Liceo 4 de

Niñas, a public girls' high school in the lower-class Quinta Normal neighborhood,

occupied by students from June through September of 2011; and the Liceo Confederación

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102 A radical aesthetic experience... a new form of perception and political participation.

Suiza, a private high school in the wealthier La Reina neighborhood, occupied from July through September of 2012.

My selection of sites was guided by the limitations of time and access as a visiting foreign researcher, as well as the fact that much of my early experience in occupied schools came as a result of my interest in hip hop rather than a specific interest in occupation. However, by combining my ethnographic work with archival research and participant testimonies, I believe that I am able to identify key characteristics of the tactic of occupation as practiced by students in Santiago. By including both high schools and universities, and by spanning multiple years of the current movement, I hope to speak to a range of experiences across a variety of sites. While occupations have continued into recent times, they have grown farther apart geographically and shorter in duration as the years of protests have worn on. By concentrating on the early, energetic occupations of the movement's beginnings, I perhaps soften my critique, which can at times fall hard on the activities of students. (My later discussion of the *Archivo y Centro de Documentación FECh* will serve as a counter to these more celebratory moments by revealing a fundamental confusion within the student movement itself.)

When I arrived in Chile for my first research trip in 2011, I had no intention of writing about the student movement. In fact, I was only vaguely aware of it, as the protests had begun mere days before my arrival. I was in Chile to study hip hop performance and develop a support network for my research. But as the student protests began to influence, restrict, and direct my crossings through the city of Santiago, I started to pay attention. My movements were affected almost daily. After a research interview,

the subject told me: don't get out of the subway at Plaza de Armas because the cops have been tear-gassing students all day and your eyes will burn as soon as you get above ground; just take a different route. Walking back to my apartment after language class one day, I had to jump out of the way as a crowd of masked young people ran down the street throwing rocks at a military tank rolling casually along the Alameda. I knew to allot extra time for all intra-city travel to account for the presence of marching crowds, clouds of tear gas, unexpected police lines, and stopped trains. Even the sonic space of the city felt the effects of the students. One night I nearly jumped out of my skin while typing up fieldnotes in my apartment, surprised by the sudden intrusion into my earspace of a cacophonous banging. It wasn't until I stepped out onto the street where I could discern the sounds more clearly and see the police vehicles lining the streets that I realized it was a *cacerolazo*, a pots-and-pans protest, echoing the anti-Pinochet actions of the 80s and signaling widespread popular support of the students.

Inadvertently, I drew my own personal map of Santiago with careful attention to the activities of students, something that I'm certain many residents of and visitors to the city experienced as well. The protests have altered the physical landscape of the city, as well as its space, on a daily basis for the past four years. I bring up my experiential map of Santiago in order to emphasize the pervasiveness of the student protests in the city. In a way, the movement asserted itself as a more pressing area of study than what I'd arrived with.

Thinking about the protests from a performance studies background, foregrounding the embodied practices of students on a day-to-day basis, I offer an

analysis that asks whether the movement truly poses a threat to neoliberal hegemony and illuminates the stakes of the movement's declared alignment with the Mapuche rights movement.

### Universidad de Chile, Casa Central (2011)

On June 9th, 2011, following a massive march along the Alameda in downtown Santiago, thousands of students poured through the imposing wooden doors of the Universidad de Chile's Casa Central and announced their intention to stay put until education in Chile was "*pública, gratuita, y de calidad*" once and for all; public, free, and of quality. For nearly seven months, from June to December 2011, the Santiago central campus of the Universidad de Chile served as a locus of student activity and an inspiration for students occupying hundreds of other schools throughout the country. Organized by the *Federación de Estudiantes de la Universidad de Chile,* the FECh, the occupation of the Casa Central was by far the most visible and accessible occupied site of the movement in that it received a great deal of press coverage and was located in a central area of the city with considerable traffic. As Scarlett MacGinty, former FECh president, describes it, "*la Casa Central es un símbolo de la lucha por la educación,*" a symbol of the fight for education.

For the months of its occupation, the iconic yellow castle-like building at 1058 Alameda remained covered in cloth banners touting popular student slogans like "*LUCHA Y SUBVERSIÓN*" and "*ARRIBA LOS QUE LUCHAN,*"[103] along with ever-

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[103] Struggle and subversion! Support for those who struggle!

changing lists of other schools taken over by students in solidarity. A stage erected on the

sidewalks in front of the Casa Central hosted near-constant entertainment and

enlightenment. Crowds gathered outside of the building on a daily basis to listen to

speeches, watch skits, hear music, see dancers, and take turns hopping up onstage to

spout their own opinions through megaphones. Students strolled back and forth along the

sidewalks around the stage, handing out fliers, pamphlets, sometimes even books to any

passersby who would accept.[104] People walking through downtown Santiago could not

avoid the noise or the crowds. *Carabineros* (police officers) paced warily around the

area, keeping an eye on the shifting masses. I stopped one day on my way to language

class to watch rapper Profeta Marginal perform a set out front for a shifting crowd of a

hundred or more, ranging from groups of teenagers with trendy haircuts to lone

businessmen in their suits distracted on their way from the office to the metro. Its position

in Santiago's busiest neighborhood makes the Casa Central an ideal site for any event

wishing to attract widespread attention.

But beyond the entertaining, theatrical spectacles put on outside and the noisy

crowds and megaphone-wielding orators, the Casa Central was a site of daily life for the

hundreds of students who contributed to maintaining its status as "occupied" by taking

turns staying within its walls. Chilean sociologist Fernando Labbe (2013) points out the

problem of "*la invisibilidad de acontecimientos en desarrollo que solo son registrados en*

*tanto representen un hito (muestra de esto es que se consigne solo el inicio y el fin de la*

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[104] My favorite handouts were the Marxist and socialist books that students passed out. I
don't know where they came from, but it's possible they were giving out University
books.

*toma de la Casa Central de la Universidad de Chile, ocupada durante 195 dias…*)"

(9).[105] Indeed, the popular focus on only the beginnings and ends of occupation ignores

months and months of constant activity within the schools, invisibilizing a host of events

and practices in between the students marching and barricading themselves inside with

classroom furniture and the police arriving in riot gear to forcibly extract students from

the premises. Aside from these moments, as well as the activities I have described on the

sidewalk in front of the Casa Central, students held workshops, meetings, sporting events,

cultural festivals, and more inside the Casa. The separation between the spectacular

activities outside on the street and those that took place within the walls of the Casa

Central rendered the latter to some extent private. I argue that these less public, or at least

less publicized, moments provide important sites for analyzing the spatial practices of

student protestors, practices that might approach the daily, transformational "living labor"

that (I argued in Chapters 1 and 3) constitutes Mapuche activism.

Walking inside the Casa Central in July, the initial hallway is filled with bicycles,

leaning against the walls on both sides. My guide for the day, Kemy, is a student in the

Facultad de Arquitectura who has been staying at the Casa Central off and on since the

beginning of the *toma* in June. I met Kemy through my *profe* at language school,

Rolando. Arriving in Chile, I'd realized quickly that my proper, academic Spanish

learned from *madrileños* would not serve me here and that I needed to learn the dialect.

I'd told Rolando about my research interests over drinks after class and he offered to put

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[105] "the invisibility of developing events that are only registered as representing a milestone (an example of this being that only the beginning and end of the occupation of the Casa Central of the U Chile are recognized, and it was occupied 195 days)"

me in touch with his friend Kemy who was very involved in the movement. Kemy agreed

to talk to me on campus, which allowed me access to the space (I'm not sure, but I doubt

I would have been able to enter had Rolando not thought I was cute and also happened to

know someone involved in the Casa Central occupation). When I ask about the bikes,

Kemy explains that many students ride to campus, but that they don't encourage locking

them up so that anyone who needs to go somewhere can just borrow one from the group.

Sharing of supplies seems to be an important part of the occupation. Since it is winter,

and the open-air hallways and paneless windows of the Casa Central let in the cold,

students have amassed a pile of blankets, sleeping bags, and scarves for open use.

Recycling goes hand in hand with sharing: a banner with the word "*RECICLAGE*" hangs

over a huge pile of boxes holding paper, cardboard, bottles, and other objects, and I see

multiple people grabbing items from the piles in order to repurpose them. One student

grabs a torn sheet of cardboard and brings it out to the courtyard to turn it into a sign,

painting a red fist and the words "*Jamás vamos a descansar*," we will never relax.

Many of the activities I witness in the Casa Central appear to be geared towards

reaching the public outside. Students paint signs, stitch banners, film music videos to post

on Youtube, and discuss ideas about how the state could reasonably finance universal

free education (mostly involving higher taxes on either the wealthy or corporations). A

group of students sits at a folding table covered with recording equipment. They offer a

microphone labeled with the Universidad de Chile FM radio station call letters to anyone

who wishes to speak, asking people to share their thoughts about education, inequality,

economics, the Chilean constitution, or any number of issues to be broadcast publicly.

Students maintain a radio broadcast around the clock, sometimes from inside the building and sometimes from outside on the street, trying to offer an open microphone to the public as much as possible.

As Kemy puts it, "*tenemos que concentrarnos en crear conciencia en la gente,*" we have to concentrate on creating a consciousness among the people. Students in the Casa Central understand themselves as having a duty to educate the broader public about their cause and its relevance to other political struggles in Chile, to engage both each other and passersby in conversations about student demands and other social issues, and to remain constantly cognizant of the goals at stake for the movement and the importance of the Casa Central as a key site for promoting and pursuing these goals.

For the public outside of the Casa Central, a public of uncertain/ non-specific and dispersed background, students create space for both participation and spectatorship. While inviting passersby to express opinions and join in conversation and debate, students also provide entertainment for those who wish simply to watch. Students ask for donations to their cause, coins or nonperishable food items to help sustain the occupation—a reminder of the necessity of capital. Crowds ebb and flow throughout the day and thousands pass by on foot or in cars without stopping, seeing only the façade of the building and the crowd amassed around it. When they hand out books and fliers, invite pedestrians to speak onstage or over the radio, and initiate conversations with people on the sidewalk, students encourage the public to join a dialogue about student demands, frustration with government, and the Chilean political system in general. While drawing passersby into a political dialogue to whatever degree of success, students at the

Casa Central also held an awareness of their location as symbolic of the larger movement, a place to be looked at, a place represented in the news: a place that would return to its former unobtrusiveness if student demands were met.

Inside the enclosed space of the Casa Central, students changed the rules and choreographies of the University to suit their own needs, which revolved around sustaining the movement for as long as it would take to elicit an acceptable government response and gaining as many supporters, preferably *active* supporters, as possible. The production of propaganda (more signs, banners, pamphlets, planning ideas for protest actions) and the dissemination of information related to education (in workshops, debates, lectures) took up a majority of student time inside the Casa Central. Students clearly understood the temporal limitations of their occupation and worked with an end in sight, not looking to sustain the kind of collaborative work they were doing in order to make the movement possible, but rather to convince the State to agree to their proposed reforms.

While the student takeover of the Casa Central posed a certain disruption to neoliberal space through the rejection of the for-profit educational model, collaborative non-profit-driven labor, and encouragement of critical thought and debate related to state policies, this disruption was undercut somewhat by students' obvious understanding of the ephemeral nature of their project. Of course, as a performance scholar, I cannot discount an event or practice based on its ephemerality. Resonances of the occupied University persist in the space and people's imaginations long after students have ended the protest action. Still, the acknowledgement of the occupation as temporary, largely

symbolic, and with a definite end situates the action as closer spatially to blockage than to the kinds of occupation I have discussed earlier.

The limited, symbolic nature of the student occupation contrasts with the work of Mapuche activists whose encompassing everyday labors function to continuously create Mapuche space in an ongoing way. While Mapuche activists also enunciate specific demands on the state, such as official recognition of the Mapudungun language and restoration of land in Araucanía, they do not act with the understanding of curtailing their practices upon the receipt of concessions; Mapuche do not have this luxury. The ability to hold protests that are spatially and temporally bounded is to some extent a marker of power, showing student privilege related to the precarity of protest (the state has responded to student protests with violence, but not nearly to the extent that Mapuche have experienced) and the stakes (student lives do not depend on the changes they demand; perhaps livelihoods, but not *lives*).

### *Liceo 4 de Niñas (2011)*

2011. July. Winter. Where am I? Clutching the flier I'd picked up in the local expat coffeeshop[106] in one hand, I shade my eyes against the midday sun with the other and peer down the block.[107] *Liceo 04 de ninas*, the flier says: public school for girls number 4. I've been up and down the street multiple times and I still can't find the

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[106] Importance of where the students are advertising. They want to make this international.

[107] Bon Voyage, in Barrio Italia, a coffeeshop that caters to foreign visitors and exchange students, was a place where I often wrote and occasionally picked up information about places to go and events to attend.

building. Finally I stop someone on the sidewalk and ask if he knows where the school is.

*Ahhh*, *liceo 4 'ta en toma por los estudiantes,* he says, and points behind us to a chain link

fence lined by stacks of toppled chairs and desks. Some of the metal legs are twisted and

bent to intertwine with the fence, turning it into a sculptural art piece and a (mostly

symbolic) barrier against anyone who might wish to enter. I'd taken it for a junkyard

when I walked by, ignorant that the sculpted wall of classroom furniture is a visual sign

for passersby to read and understand. Number 4, the man had told me, is under

occupation by the students.

I enter through a gate in the fence, open just wide enough for a single body to pass

through, and walk cautiously down a long open-air corridor to a doorway in a stone wall.

Three young women sit at a folding table beside the doorway, adorned with posters

proclaiming "Festival Gallo Rojo." I'm in the right place.[108] One of the teens asks if I'm

here for the festival and if I've brought a donation. I produce a bag of dry rice from my

backpack and hand it to the women. The flier had included a request that audience

members bring a canned good or nonperishable food item. I'd assumed it was for charity,

but now I realize-- they're collecting donations of food for the students who are living

inside the school. As a token of our thanks for the privilege of sharing in the space,

visitors provide assistance towards sustaining the occupation. The event must serve

several purposes: collecting materials for sustenance, publicizing the movement, and

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[108] Translates to Festival Red Rooster. Gallo Rojo is the name of an album by rapper
Inkognito, a big supporter of the student movement and a political rapper very critical of
the government.

drawing in potential supporters with the promise of music for an extended opportunity to proselytize.

After accepting my rice, the women at the table welcome me to their school, tell me I'm very early for the music and then point me through the doorway into an expansive courtyard surrounded on three sides by the school and the fourth side by the stone wall I'd come through. The building is typical of the neighborhood, low, flat, grey stone, still bearing cracks from the 2009 earthquake. A group of young people is setting up a makeshift stage, a large wooden platform raised up by cement blocks, and piling speakers and sound equipment around it. To the left of the stage, two people are using a combination of wooden laundry racks, string, and clothespins to set up what appears to be a display of large printed photographs. To the right of the stage, a group of young men and women play on the basketball court, laughing and grunting as they toss the ball around. More young people are scattered throughout the courtyard, sitting in small groups on the ground or perched in the windowsills along the school walls. Most look to be teenagers, though some appear older. All are casually dressed, puffy coats or heavy hooded sweatshirts to cut the chill winter air, jeans and sneakers. No uniforms here; occupying students and visitors for the festival blend together in appearance (except for me, with my red hair). Through the windows I can make out sleeping bags, space heaters, backpacks, and piles of blankets inside of the building.

This glimpse of the accoutrements of the students' daily life on the school grounds contrasts with my preexisting ideas about what happens in a school. Occupation, I argue, as it is practiced by Chilean students, produces a space where "education" cannot be

separated from "the practices of everyday living." This artificial boundary disappears as the school space becomes living space and students eat, sleep, and dwell where they are meant to learn. The lines blur, the demarcation disappears between school and home. What becomes of the neoliberal model of education-- education as commodity, as discrete saleable object-- when life and school bleed into one another? How can you commodify that which you cannot isolate? Everyday living and education, learning, become inseparable, practiced in the same space, together inextricably. With no need to physically move to a new space in order to accomplish one thing or the other, school becomes home becomes learning becomes life.

Occupation tactics also change the *temporality* of education-- no longer bracketed off for certain periods of the day, no longer limited, no longer necessarily relegated to certain moments or particular days of the week or months of the year. Any time may now be the time of education. Breaking down the temporal structuring of education poses further difficulties to any attempt to commodify it.

Returning to the idea of disciplinary space brought up in Chapter 2, Foucault (1972) listed schools among the many disciplining "spaces of enclosure" through which individuals pass during their lives, along with families, barracks, factories, hospitals, and prisons. As Deleuze (1992) has described, "the ideal project of these environments of enclosure: to concentrate; to distribute in space; to order in time; to compose a productive force within the dimension of space-time whose effect will be greater than the sum of its component forces" (3). Student practices as I have described them clearly seek to

destabilize this project, undoing the spatial, temporal, and productivity-focused functions of the school.

However, as students fight for free public education, even with a changed curriculum this education still aims towards a future in which students join the labor force in some capacity. While a reduction of debt to some extent threatens the neoliberal indebted subjectivization described in Chapter 2, only *student* debt is done away with in this imagining. Past education, the drive to take on loans to finance cars, houses, and so on is not addressed. By detailing how the Chilean state could change tax codes in a way that would provide enough revenue to subsidize education, students show how the changes they desire could reasonably fit into the existing system, with only a few small alterations. While I argue that student spatial practices of occupation sometimes create radical new ways of doing and knowing, the student project as a whole could succeed without toppling Chilean neoliberalism.

In a concrete way, the success of occupation would mean its cessation in order to make way for this altered system of education. The ceasing of occupation would put an end to the most radical part of the students' project: its refusal of the temporal structuration of both neoliberal and disciplinary pedagogical space and, in contrast, its insistence on an unbounded, ceaseless productivity of knowledge, which do not topple neoliberalism but do, perhaps, temporarily change the shape of neoliberal space.

I am not, of course, suggesting that students must live in a school building in order to destroy the notion of education as commodity. I am simply trying to show how I see occupation as an effective way for students to contest the dominant way that policy-

makers imagine and construct education in Chile right now, which is as a commodity to be sold for maximum profit. Once the spatial and temporal boundaries are broken down, the containers of the commodity questioned, the potential for education to be de-commodified, even to be everywhere and at any time, becomes greater.

Looking away from the windows, I wander towards the young man and woman setting up the photo display and ask whether they mind if I look while they're working. Not at all, the guy answers and hands me a flier containing an outline of the students' demands, an abbreviated version of the Chilean Student Confederation's official list of demands.[109] I notice a banner hanging below a row of photographs: the photos were taken and are being displayed by *Frente Fotográfico*, a group of independent photographers dedicated to documenting and publicizing visual reports of all protests, marches, mobilizations, and popular actions in Chile, focusing particularly on Santiago. I circle around the makeshift installation, examining the pictures. They constitute an archive of violence, showing mainly confrontations between students and police. Uniformed officers dragging a bloody-faced girl by her elbows, a ripped banner under their feet. An army-green tank spraying water at a group of protestors, who shield their eyes and mouths. Lines of riot police with their billy clubs and plastic shields up, facing a crowd of young people holding a sign that reads "*Estudiar no es un acto de consumir ideas sino de crearlas*"-- to study is not an act of consuming ideas, but of creating them.

The young woman affixing photos to string with clothespins asks where I'm from, her eyes landing on my red hair. New York, I say, and she nods seriously. It's good that

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[109] See: *Acuerdo Social por la Educacion Chilena*, published by the Confech.

you see these photographs, she says, and that you should tell people what you've seen (a gesture to students' interest in transnationalizing the movement). This is what we suffer for only the demands you see here, and don't they make sense? She gestures at the flier I hold. Aren't they just so simple? I nod to agree with her.

The dissemination of counterinformation is a key aspect of schools under occupation. Displays like *Frente Fotográfico's* photography installation offer an alternative to state-controlled media, and the distribution of the abbreviated *Acuerdo social* shows the clarity of the student movement's ideas and the specificity of its goals. The demands listed on the *Frente Fotográfico* flier include: free public education to ensure that access does not depend on socioeconomic status, the repeal of existing laws that prevent students from participating in any way in school governance, increased government financial support for education, and higher pay for teachers to raise the status of the profession and lead to higher quality educators. The student confederation's longer document includes detailed plans for how each of their demands could be met, which demonstrates how well-thought-out the movement is and how well-informed its participants. In stark contrast to the highly publicized global Occupy movement, Chilean protestors can name both exactly what they want and how it would be possible for them to get it. In the occupied schools, students take on those goals that they can plausibly address without government intervention, like the broadening of the curriculum, the inclusion of courses addressing subjects such as global anti-capitalist protest movements and close studies of the Chilean Constitution, and more abstract goals, like the de-commodification of education. Students host free public workshops and classes on

everything from oil painting to Marxist literature while they occupy their school. Onstage

and offstage, in song lyrics (*"Oiga, mi cabo, pa'que quiere el carnet? Si nací culpable*

*porque mi padre dueño del país no es")*, on banners hanging from classroom windows

(*la educación es de todos)*, in graffiti murals on the walls of the school, and in

conversations among audience members, radical ideas circulate. I argue that this

constitutes a counter-epistemology that arises through performance, embodied behavior,

to shape space and social relations at the site of occupation.

Over the course of the afternoon, the courtyard fills with more and more young

people, men and women, and the atmosphere feels more like a party. People hug, dance,

laugh, talk in loud, cheerful voices. Empanadas are passed around to eat, and blankets for

those who aren't sufficiently bundled up against the chill July air. The stage is the focal

point of the space, with most of the crowd sitting or standing facing the area where the

musicians will perform.

When the music begins, it is political from the very start. The emcee for the event

freestyles between acts, rhyming around the fact that we're inside of this occupied school

and making frequent reference to the demands and struggles of the student movement.

The performers' lyrics explicitly reference Chilean political and economic history (I never

thought I'd hear so many rappers able to find rhymes for *neoliberalismo*), and the crowd

reacts enthusiastically. Audience members respond loudly to performers' entreaties to

chant along with them (phrases like "*educar, no lucrar*!"/ educate, don't profiteer!) and to

jump up and down ("*él que no salta es Pinochet*!"/ whoever doesn't jump right now is for

Pinochet, a chant that explicitly aligns the current government's educational policy with that of the widely-denounced former dictator).

Some young women climb onstage, take the mic, and introduce themselves as students of the Liceo 4, students who are currently occupying the school and have been for several months now. They thank the audience for all the donations of food and coins and tell us to keep checking Facebook and Twitter to find out when there will be other events open to the public at the school.[110] They mention that the event is a collaboration between the students of Liceo 4 and the Gallo Rojo collective, which imagines itself as "*una propuesta musical revolucionaria*," a revolutionary musical undertaking. Gallo Rojo's mission, they tell us, is to offer a free and public space for the sharing of diverse ideas and opinions through music with "*un fin comun: nuestra libertad*" (one common goal: our freedom).[111]

The audience learns that all the artists involved- rappers, breakdancers, photographers- have donated their time. Collaborators shared resources, relying on each other to provide the equipment necessary for the event to work: sound system, platform, display tools, publicity materials. Artists traded or gave away independently pressed discs and tapes during and after their sets, a practice that is characteristic of the informal economy of the underground music scene. Artists have told me on many occasions that no one is making money off of this type of exchange; no one is profiting. However, this

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[110] The use of Facebook and Twitter in protests of this kind is interesting to consider: the online dimension and the use of social media as an organizing tool and/or possible space of online occupation, but also what does it say that Chilean students must use apparatuses created by and capitalized upon by US companies to protest neoliberalism?
[111] I reference a flier received at the event.

way artists are able to circulate their work to reach new listeners and build their network

of supporters and potential future collaborators.

Education scholars Sarah Amsler and Mike Neary (2012) describe the potential of

occupation as creating what they name "anti-value." By anti-value, they mean a

resistance to the dominance of exchange value, or abstract value, in defining social

relations. Anti-value falls outside of the logic of capital, being explicitly anti-capitalist

through its rejection of both exchange value *and* use value as criteria for assessment.

Events like the Festival Gallo Rojo at Liceo 04, I argue, begin to expose how occupation

constitutes a threat to the logics of capital. These protest events strive to become "anti-

value in motion," with the goal of giving rise to social relations that function outside of

capitalism, creating an informal economy based on sharing, collaboration, and the trading

of favors.  Still, as I have noted on more than one occasion, students ask for donations of

money and food. While visitors often give willingly, this still speaks to the money

economy inside of which student occupations must continue to function. Whatever

informal economy students create must exist as subordinate to the formal economy.

The photography exhibition discussed earlier, with images provided by Frente

Fotográfico, includes roughly 40% photographs of Mapuche protestors involved in

violent confrontation with police and military. (I recognize this from the contrast between

the backgrounds of urban Santiago and the rural south, as well as the presence of banners

related to freeing "*los presos políticos mapuches*" or the wearing of certain garments,

especially woven headbands and jackets.) The curators of the exhibition have selected

photographs of Mapuche activists running from police in riot gear, blood streaming from

beneath woven headbands, Mapuche political prisoners being force-fed. These images hang alongside photographs of screaming students being doused by giant *carabinero* water cannons, grimacing students holding vinegar-soaked bandannas to their face in clouds of tear gas, police wielding billy clubs over the heads of young girls carrying banners.

This photography exhibition sets up a spatial relationship between student and Mapuche protests, placing them side by side, sharing the space. That *Frente Fotográfico* brought these photos into the space in the first place grabs my attention, as no other specific group (beyond 'students') is represented. For me, the photo exhibition underscores the dissonances between the two movements. Though the photographs suggest similar consequences for protestors from both groups (i.e. police brutality, imprisonment, etc), the overall stakes of the protestors' demands differ so greatly, as I have discussed elsewhere. While students and Mapuche activists engaged in demonstrations may experience similar responses from authority figures, the respective purposes of those activists are fundamentally different.

I include the *Festival Gallo Rojo* in order to highlight the complicated relationship between student and Mapuche movements while showing the relative privilege of students with respect to the precarity of protest. The spatially and temporally bounded nature of the event in particular sets it apart from the work of Mapuche activists, as I will later discuss.

***Liceo Confederacion Suiza (2012)***

On a drizzly, gray winter day in August, I am pressed in shoulder-to-shoulder with a crowd of hundreds of shivering youths on the blacktop basketball court. The damp but energetic throng here in the courtyard of Liceo Confederación Suiza in the La Reina neighborhood is waiting for Chile's international hip hop superstar Ana Tijoux to appear on the makeshift stage. We've been listening to music all afternoon: Michu MC, Portavoz, Liricistas, all the best hip hop Chile's capital city has to offer, plus some acoustic guitar-playing singer-songwriters whose names I didn't catch. *Tokata rap y guitarras,* the fliers had said, rap and acoustic guitars concert. Though it appears at first an odd combination, the pairing works on a thematic level. Every artist, whether hip hop or folk, lyrically addresses the same subject: the need for educational reform.

The young woman standing to my right asks if I have a cigarette. I don't, but she generously offers to share some of her *sopaipillas* with me anyway. Catching my accent as I thank her, she asks where I'm from. *Nueva York*, I reply between bites of the flaky pastry. *Que wena*, she exclaims. How wonderful that you are here, supporting the students *en la lucha*!  Sheepishly, I smile and lick the grease from my fingers, saying nothing. In truth, my interest in the event was driven mainly by the idea of seeing Ana Tijoux perform for free. Joining *la lucha* had not been on my to-do list for the day.

At that moment, we feel ourselves knocked off balance as the crowd surges forward, pushing closer to the stage. Tijoux has taken the mic: *Buenas tardes! Como estamos, chiquillos, esta tarde?* she greets us.[112] The crowd roars with excitement. The

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[112] Good afternoon! How are we this afternoon, kids? (chiquillos, rather than chicos, is more familiar)

opening strains of Tijoux's latest single, "Shock," echo through the courtyard and Tijoux begins to sing.

> *Tu estado de control, tu trono podrido del oro/ tu política y tu riqueza,y tu tesoro no/ La hora sonó, la hora sonó/ No permiteremos más tu doctrina del shock!* "Your state of control, your corrupt throne of gold/ Your politics and your wealth and your treasure, no/ The hour has struck, the hour has struck/ We will no longer stand for your doctrine of shock!"

Tijoux's lyrics refer explicitly to what political journalist Naomi Klein has termed the "shock doctrine," the swift imposition of extreme free-market economic policies during Pinochet's dictatorship under the advisement of economist Milton Friedman. The 1970s post-coup shock doctrine, as Tijoux argues in her lyrics, has had dire lasting effects for Chile, and Tijoux's song targets the legacy of disaster capitalism for Chilean students: *Todo este tubo de ensayo, todo este laboratorio que a diario/ todo este fallo, todo este económico modelo condenado de dinosaurio/ Todo se criminaliza, todo se justifica en la noticia.* "Everything, this test tube, this daily laboratory/ everything, this failure, this condemned dinosaur of an economic model/ They criminalize everything, they justify it all in the news." Tijoux declares neoliberal economics a failure and accuses mainstream media of colluding with government to maintain the ineffective system.

It's an awfully sharp critique to hear in a hip hop song, I think. My love of Ana Tijoux has inadvertently led me into the midst of the student protest movement, into a high school under occupation by students. Today's *tokata* constitutes just one of the

many events occupying students have organized to promote their cause, bring supporters

together, and keep themselves busy during their occupation while they wait for eviction.

Standing in the crush of the crowd in the courtyard, I can't help but marvel at how

the choreography of the schoolyard has been drastically altered. While of course I cannot

speak to the precise past choreographies of this school courtyard in particular, I can

venture a guess that the norm would not include: young people draping themselves across

window-frames and perching on balcony railings; bodies filling and crossing the

courtyard seemingly without rules; people touching each other, hugging, kissing, linking

arms, even including people they've never met before (like, for instance, me). Protestors

challenge the existing choreographies that govern the space they inhabit and change the

rules to suit their needs. They create new ways of interacting with each other--

interactions that, returning to Massey and Lefebvre, thereby change the space. The

loosening of the strict codes of conduct typically required in an educational environment

suggests a difference in values between students and administrators of state-sponsored

schools.

Upon taking the stage, Tijoux denounces the government's labeling of the

students as terrorists and turns the label around to also denounce "*los terroristas del

estado*," the terrorists of the state. The crowd cheers in agreement. Taking this distinction

that the government has used to characterize-- and criminalize-- the students, Tijoux

throws it back on the government.[113] Onstage and offstage, in song lyrics, on banners

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[113] Police and government officials have made extensive use of the same anti-terrorism
law often used against Mapuche activists to aid in jailing and convicting students as
criminals. The definition of terrorism is so broad as to be applicable to almost any protest

hanging from classroom windows, in graffiti murals on the walls of the school, and in conversations among audience members, radical ideas circulate. Again, I see anti-value in motion, the circulation of critical knowledge, social relations that want to exist outside of capitalism. Even the sharing of food, the stranger handing me a piece of her *sopaipillas*, seems radical to me in this context.

The occupied school becomes a space of encounter, a collective conversation. Occupation opens up spaces for collective rejection of unfair government and institutional practices, provides a space for discussion and deliberation on economic and political issues related to education, and invites individuals to consider their own positions in relation to systems of control.

The occupations also push students to become accountable for their own education. Despite the strong statements labeling the president as a terrorist and demanding action from the Minster of Education, students do not fully push responsibility onto the government, but rather join forces to create their own reality with the intention of meeting their own demands. The space of occupation gives protesters a chance to imagine, improvise, and rehearse possible solutions, which highlights both individual and group accountability. The events I attended simultaneously publicize the students' demands and model a means of their resolution. Students demonstrate that they have become producers, not consumers, of their own education. Refusing the passive role of consumer that the existing order asks them to play, they take charge of creating and defining how they will choose to learn. Students occupy knowledge and social relations

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activity. Congress has also routinely tried to criminalize occupation, although these measures have failed so far.

as they reinvent the spaces of their schools.

I am not, of course, suggesting that occupation is a *new* tactic. Occupation in and of itself is not a novel approach in Chile or elsewhere. As noted in Chapter Two, Chilean students have often taken the central location and strategic significance of the Universidad de Chile's main Santiago campus as reasons to occupy the Casa Central during moments of protest (though never coming close to the duration of the 2011 occupation). What might, I argue, be new about the Chilean case is the breadth of the movement's goals, the sheer magnitude of what students are trying to do. They want nothing less than a total reinvention of education in Chile, a reimagining of its contents, its costs, and its accessibility. They want a total rethinking of what education means. In their key document, *Bases para un acuerdo social por la educación chilena,* students describe the current situation of the Chilean educational system as "*una profunda crisis estructural,*" a profound structural crisis, requiring a complete rethinking of "*sus bases programáticas, sus objetivos y metas, sus formas de financiamiento, así como sus alcances y competencias*" (2011).[114]

Lefebvre might suggest that what the Chilean student movement aims for is a "new pedagogy of space and time." The way that teaching and learning are organized spatially and temporally in schools is, as Amsler and Neary point out, what makes the production of capitalist knowledge possible, because the space of the school is, as Lefebvre might phrase it, "mobilized for the purposes of production through its commodification, abstracting, fetishizing, and converting into exchange value" (338). If

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[114] Translation: its programmatic bases, its goals and objectives, its financing, as well as its scope and powers.

we follow Lefebvre's thinking, we see that the spatial and temporal codes that characterize the school must be changed in order to take teaching and learning "off the market," so to speak. This change in spatial and temporal codes, I have argued, is accomplished through occupation, creating a new pedagogy of space and time.

The *way* this space is produced becomes significant: collectively, horizontally, creatively, playfully. Everyone present is accountable. The space is not formed passively, by habit or custom, but actively, by choice. By imagining a new mode of spatial production, students generate a practice that can live on in their bodies long after the occupation has been shut down. Students' practice of the new pedagogy of space and time, as Lefebvre calls it, creates temporary breaks in the hegemonic space of their schools, pointing towards a way of removing the space of education from the neoliberal economic model that has forced education into the space of capital.

**CONCLUDING THOUGHTS**

As a counter to my occasionally overly-celebratory analysis of these protest performances, I turn to Foucault's (1986) concept of heterotopic space. I suggest that occupied schools constitute heterotopias, or counter-sites to the real, connected with all other sites because each individual must at one point or another attend school, but yet also separate from and incompatible with those other sites. Part of what defines a heterotopia, according to Foucault, is that it keeps its contestatory reality contained within itself, therefore making little actual impact on the existing order. Some interpreters of Foucault have concluded that, because of how it contains resistance, entering a

heterotopia ensures the stability of the hegemonic order, excluding its own revolutionary

ideal (see, for example, Saldanha 2008, Johnson 2012, Siebers 1994).

In a sense, it is only during events like the concert and festival I describe that the

closed-off, separate heterotopic space of the occupied school becomes less contained, or

at least opens up to let some of the outside in. During these events, the resistant order of

the heterotopia becomes accessible to more than those who dwell within it on a daily

basis, and members of the wider public are absorbed into the space for a brief encounter.

And of course, these heterotopias are unsustainable, if only because each

occupation must inevitably end with forcible ejection by the military and reinstatement of

the previous system. About a week after Ana Tijoux performed, the military emptied out

Liceo Confederacion Suiza in a violent confrontation with students. It was a few months

after Festival Gallo Rojo that Liceo 4 was taken, an eviction that I read about with

particular horror as I thought about how the young women I'd met must have fared

against armed soldiers. These violent evictions in a way expose the instability of the

system, in that we see the Chilean government viewing the occupations as crises to be

dealt with, threats to stability, requiring force to contain.

Some performance scholars have suggested that it may be only those of us

actively approaching the protests from a performance studies perspective who can (so far)

see the occupations doing *anything* beyond creating a mostly fruitless disruption intended

to irritate and put pressure on government and school officials. Are there any tangible

effects that follow those generated in the moment? Is there anything beyond the

temporary? How do the occupations read to those who aren't performance studies

scholars? How do they read to government officials, school administrators, or student protestors outside of the occupied spaces? If I conceive of the occupations as performance, then the question of audience arises: who are these performances really for? While I have stressed that I look to performance as a way of recognizing and focusing on the power of the ephemeral, I wonder whether there is potential for less temporary accomplishments (though perhaps it's still too early to tell).

In thinking through these questions of efficacy and duration, I look to the work of theatre scholar Joanne Tompkins (2012) related to heterotopias. In an analysis of site-specific performance, Tompkins discusses heterotopia as a concept that allows us to consider how ephemeral projects reach beyond the moment of their occurrence. Tompkins' version of heterotopia borrows ideas from Foucault as interpreted by Kevin Hetherington (1997) to state that "heterotopias are... imagined spaces in dialogue with real ones" (106). If we conceptualize the student occupations as site-specific performances-- an appropriate designation, I think-- then Tompkins offers a suggestive argument about how such performances might continue beyond their obvious temporal boundaries.

Heterotopic spaces offer alternatives to the rules that structure space outside of the heterotopia. As heterotopias, the student occupations "provided an alternate ordering for the real world, ... a different way of thinking about *this* [space]" (109). Through producing these different ways of thinking about particular spaces, "the impact of the performance lingered" in that the venue could not go back to being merely a school after the occupation's conclusion (109). By "raising what-ifs and if-onlys," the occupation

persists even after students are ejected from the premises, living on through memory and public awareness (110). Students and onlookers inevitably associate *this* school with other schools and are invited to consider "how such endeavors could be achieved again in this and in other locations in the future" (110). While these effects are not exactly *tangible*, they should not be disregarded.

Site-specific performance, Tompkins argues, can point "to a space where more takes place than the quotidian, helping, nevertheless, to define both the quotidian and what this more might be: what the possibilities of this particular location reveal as the imagined space of production engages with real bricks and mortar to create the in-between space of heterotopia" (110). Students and visitors develop a new embodied, experiential relationship to the particular location of the occupied school, while onlookers develop an altered way of thinking about that location. Through the occupation's production of a heterotopia, the school "can be seen as more potent and malleable than its geometric dimensions and principal function would suggest" (111). By bringing the characteristics of the heterotopia into the memory of those who witness or participate in it, Tompkins argues that the prospects of the event happening again become stronger (111).

Another perspective comes from Randy Martin (2011), who discusses how dance and protest share similar problems in that they both leave a sense of lack, vanishing without a tangible trace. But, Martin adds, "Perhaps in both performance and protest, the lack lies not in what was put on display, but in how to notice the ways that an assemblage invited to take a different course, to move otherwise, now lives on" (30). Martin proposes

a corrective to the "sense that what we create is forever insufficient to what needs doing," arguing that we must "take motion not stasis as our posture of evaluation" (30). The problem Martin identifies is that "the critical act of judgment fixes what it looks at, creates a theater for theory by stripping out the very motion that would take the event beyond itself" (30). Analysis runs the risk of freezing its object, which is particularly dangerous for movement-based forms like protest. If instead we focus on time and space as always already in motion, we can see both dance and protest, like Martin does, as "fleeting yet persistent" (43). Martin suggests that changing the framework by which we look at events can help us to tackle the question of efficacy.

The tension between recognizing the radical potential of occupation and acknowledging the reality of its isolation and ephemerality necessarily complicates any attempt to identify what occupation *does*. Maintaining the complexity of this interplay of forces helps to avoid naively celebratory claims like those of some scholars studying the global Occupy movement, but without foreclosing on the performative potential of occupation as a protest tactic and a spatial practice. While I have discussed occupation as a practice that creates temporary breaks in the hegemonic space of schools in Santiago, pointing towards a way of removing the space of education from the neoliberal economic model that has forced education into the space of capital, I complicate this rupturing spatial practice by attending to its failures and questioning the limits of its capacity to transform space. Although occupation seeks to create both a territorial and conceptual alternative to the space of the state, it does not always function as such. In the following section, I examine a different type of occupation enacted by students to show how

occupation can sometimes serve to reinforce existing spatial codes and state ideals rather than contest them.

**PART TWO: ARCHIVO Y CENTRO DE DOCUMENTACION FECH (which leads into a conclusion, providing a concrete example of the fundamental difference between the two movements)**

*Calle Periodista Jose Carrasco Tapia.* I locate the street on my map of the city, but when I arrive at the place where it should be, I can't find it. I walk up and down *Avenida Vicuña Mackenna* several times, getting more frustrated-- and sweaty-- with each pass. When I ask passersby if they know of the street, they shake their heads and ask if I'm sure I have the right name. Natalia and I have been emailing back and forth for weeks now and I won't be in the country for much longer, so I'm nervous about missing my chance to visit the place.

The unseasonable heat leads me to pause under the shade of a large palm tree for a rest, where I bend down to talk to a street cat. She allows me to stroke the matted fur of her face for a moment before slipping out from under my fingers to stroll away. I follow the cat around a corner onto a shortish, unmarked dead-end street, where she disappears underneath a parked car. Looking up, I notice brightly-colored murals along the fences further up the block. Curiosity leads me towards them. As I recognize portraits of Salvador Allende and slogans like "*Arriba los que luchan,*" I think, this has to be FECh headquarters. The street was unmarked. If not for my cat-lady tendencies, I might never have found my way here. How does anyone ever find it, I wonder?

A tall iron gate surrounds the buildings at the end of the dead-end street. A guard

sits at the entrance to the gate, inside an enclosed booth. I approach cautiously and stand

on tip-toes to speak into the small window in the glass, asking if I'm in the right place for

the Archivo y Centro de Documentacion FECh. The guard smirks, stands up, and steps

out of his booth. *De'onde ere, princesa?* He asks. *Nueva York,* I say, eyeing the gun

holster at his waist, and tell him I'm a student. He gestures towards a yellow building

behind the gate. *El FECh, no? Yastá,* he says, or at least that's what it sounds like—"*Allá*

*está,*" there it is. I thank him and cautiously step past the fence onto a gravel driveway.

The FECh headquarters sit in a pale yellow building that looks like a plain two-

story family house. The front door is slightly ajar, and I see no bell, so I step inside,

keenly aware that the guard is still watching me from beside his station. Just inside the

front door is a hallway with two more doorways, one door glass and the other wood/

opaque, and a staircase. I decide to knock on the glass door, since I can see people

through it. Two middle-aged women sit at desks situated next to one another, each talking

to someone on a phone. They look up at me in unison as I enter the room, then continue

their conversations. I'm certain there are rivers of sweat running down my face. I

probably look like I just came in from a rainstorm. A small box fan whirrs next to the

open window, doing just enough to make the curtains move but not quite enough to make

a perceptible difference in the air temperature. I wait, quietly dripping sweat, until one of

the women puts a hand over the phone and asks if she can help me. I tell her I'm looking

for Natalia, and she frowns. Natalia's not here, she tells me, did you have an appointment

with her? Yes, I say, to visit the archive. Oh, well I don't think she is coming in today,

the woman tells me. I was supposed to meet her here at 1, I say, as much to reassure myself as to tell the woman at the desk. Ah, okay, well just wait here for a minute, I will call her, she tells me before returning to her previous phone call. There are no chairs, so I continue to stand awkwardly in the middle of the room, sweating. Eventually she hangs up and punches in a new number. No answer, she tells me, and shrugs. Wait a few minutes, we'll try again. More sweating.

Eventually she reaches Natalia, who promises to arrive in the near future. I go outside to wait for her where there's a possibility of a breeze. When Natalia appears, at least an hour after our appointment time, she gives me a cursory form to fill out (it asks my passport number but not what I'm looking for in the archive) and a list of rules for archive use (no food or drink, no photography, defer to the archive staff). Natalia brings me up a short flight of stairs into a tiny room containing only a small round table and rows of filing cabinets. The room is hot, stuffy, windowless, and without a fan. Natalia directs me to a thin binder atop one of the filing cabinets closest to the door and tells me I'll find a list of archive contents there. While I look, she leans against the cabinet and plays with her phone.

The majority of documents listed are from 1980 and onward. I'm disappointed, hoping to find source material for my second chapter, focusing on events from the 1930s and 1950s, decades that do not appear in this archive. And I'm sweating, dripping, wishing for moving air. It's quiet, aside from Natalia's fingers tapping at her phone.

Mostly, I come away thinking about the inaccessibility of the archive. Despite supposedly having set hours, they clearly don't, since I had to make an appointment. I

came to the archive three times before actually getting to speak with Natalia. The location

was difficult to find. The public doesn't seem to know where the street is, either. Clearly,

*Archivo FECh* does not consider accessibility its key concern. Then what is it about?

Other archives have existed without devoting much attention to making their

contents accessible. Jennifer Milligan (2005) discusses the 18th century founding of the

French National Archive, a place and a collection that existed solely to legitimate the

newborn nation (161). This archive did not need to be seen or visited; it simply needed to

in the public imagination. Through establishing a place to collect documents related to

the new government, the archive became a tool for "control over the memory of the

state's exercise of power over citizens; and of who had the power to mobilize or

intervene in this memory to shape the body politic, to make as well as to write history"

(160). Milligan offers the example of the French archive to suggest how archives have

often been tools for legitimizing and preserving power.

This view of archives has been theorized by Foucault (1972), who conceives of

archives as "documents of exclusion," "monuments to particular configurations of

power," "systems that establish statements as events and things," "the law of what can be

said, the system that governs the appearance of statements," "the general system of the

formation and transformation of statements" (130). For Foucault, the archive dictates

what is possible to think and say. Carolyn Steedman (2002) describes archives as places

that solidify and memorialize power, defining the archive "simply as a name for the many

places in which that past (which does not now exist, but which once did actually happen;

which cannot be retrieved, but which may be represented) has deposited some traces and

fragments, usually in written form" (69). The privileging of the written also serves to limit what can be remembered. Mapudungun, for example, does not have a written form, so documents of Mapuche life prior to Spanish invasion do not exist.

Antoinette Burton (2005) promotes the idea of telling "archive stories" as a way of recognizing the constructedness, non-objectiveness, and weirdness of archives. Burton describes archive stories as "narratives about how archives are created, drawn upon, and experienced by those who use them to write history" (6). I consider the brief account I provide here as an archive story, a self-conscious look at how the archive, both materially and epistemically, shapes what can be found or done in it and how it relates to the student movement. Following Burton, Steedman, Foucault, and Derrida, I consider the archive as a historical actor, acknowledge how colonial archives served as technologies of power and conquest, and focus on historicizing the archive and how it performs.

As Derrida suggests, the founding of an archive is the ultimate patriarchal gesture. The *Archivo FECh* published a book of 'major' documents in their collection in connection with the *Biblioteca Nacional*, the National Library, receiving government funding and essentially becoming a State project. The Archivo itself was initially funded by an institutional development grant through the Ministry of Education (2008), essentially making it a government project in its creation. Since 2011, the archive has been funded by the FECh itself, which is funded through member dues and public donation.

The "major" documents included in the *Biblioteca Nacional* publication tell a very selective history, creating a narrative that distances the FECh from efforts to remove

Allende, since Allende has now been adopted as a national hero; and asserting their

presence throughout the dictatorship, documenting human rights abuses by the Pinochet

government. Both moves work in the service of making the group legible and legitimate

within the current political moment in Chile, in which politicians frequently make

recourse to rhetoric denouncing Pinochet and praising Allende as a way of appealing to a

broad public. The narration of the archive appearing in the book describes the FECh as

supporting the Popular Unity (Allende), facing repression under Pinochet, and

resurfacing as an important and progressive political actor following the return to

democracy. Documents in support of this range from letters drafted by the FECh

Secretary General during the dictatorship denouncing repression and demanding a return

to democracy, newsletters distributed by the FECh during the dictatorship containing

messages from student political prisoners and publicizing upcoming meetings, open

letters to the University Rector demanding that he defend the FECh's right to exist, and

fliers advertising concerts and cultural events.

As Derrida, Steedman, Mulligan, Burton, and others have shown, this gesture of

institutionalizing in order to make the group legible within the existing system is not a

radical gesture at all, despite student claims to radicalism and anti-neoliberal demands.

This history that selectively remembers and forgets particular aspects of the student

movement's past also serves to reinforce a history absent of Mapuche people and

uninvolved in the Mapuche struggle. How would Mapuche students feel in this space, I

wonder, finding none of their own history here?

The *Archivo FECh* does not seek to keep a record of the FECh's activities, but rather to 'occupy' history, creating a very careful, limited-scope narrative that positions the students as progressive yet not "radical," political movers but not a threat to state power. This archive isn't meant for doing research in, and it certainly isn't meant for creating a critical history. Even the archivists don't have much time for the archive. It's cared for through a volunteer system, involving entirely undergraduate students, which leads to lots of turnover and not much continuing oversight.

The *Archivo*, I think, is how the students of the FECh assert their own importance and legitimacy in the present moment; perhaps how they will pass their story to future generations, but more as if they are curating their own memory to ensure a positive spin. The FECh embraces the power of the archive: the archive as exclusionary, privileging the voice of the powerful, the most foundational colonial gesture, as De Certeau writes, that ensures the visibility and legibility of one particular kind of voice. This colonial, patriarchal gesture stands out to me as an example *par excellence* of how student spatial practices tend towards enacting a capitulation to state power, a reinforcement of the status quo, contrasting starkly with Mapuche practices that truly seek to create Other spaces.

**Conclusions**

Ideas of occupation have particular resonances for the Mapuche, a group whose demands center on restoration of ancestral lands and recognition of sovereignty, resonances that help me think about the difference of occupation as students perform it. I argue that student practices of occupation like the Archivo FECh demonstrate the

impossibility of ethical practices through which non-indigenous actors can align with "indigeneity." Given the stark contrasts between the spatial projects of the two groups, students seem to edge over the line between solidarity and appropriation, which speaks to the consequences of the divergence between the two projects. Analyzing student spaces and practices as compared to Mapuche spaces and practices, I see the different projects at work and argue for their incommensurability. Consider the day-to-day activities and stakes of Jaas's community center vs. the day-to-day activites and stakes of the Archivo FECh; the community-based pedagogy of space vs the legitimizing practice addressed more or less to state power; Mapudungun conversation groups vs. students distributing books on the street.

With such different goals, tactics, and audiences, students and Mapuche work in entirely different modes. Though student occupation sometimes seems to create radical new spaces and gesture towards a commons, as seen in the cases of *Liceo Confederación Suiza* and *Liceo 4 de Niñas*, institutions such as the *Archivo y Centro de Documentación FECh* function within the conventions of hegemonic space and suggest that the student movement ultimately seeks changes to the education system that will not disrupt the status quo in Chile.

**A Brief Epilogue**

In recent months as I've been working on finishing this document (early spring 2015), President Michelle Bachelet and her administration have announced that education in Chile will be free by Fall 2016, to be funded by raising taxes on corporations and the wealthy. However, while this has led to Chile being widely celebrated in the media as a progressive inspiration, the actual legislation passed does not accomplish the stated goal. NACLA reports that Bachelet's reforms seek to gradually decommodify privatized primary and secondary schools, run all admissions by lottery system, and replace tuition fees little by little with state subsidies, although loopholes exist in each of these areas. The program does not address the existing public school system, nor does it address student demands for quality control and improved teacher training and salaries. Nor, in fact, does the legislation actually provide for free university education.

Student leaders have reacted with disgust and disappointment, calling for Bachelet to enact further reforms and close loopholes that allow for a continuation of for-profit educational endeavors. The last few weeks (I write this in April 2015) have seen a resurgence of student protests, with hundreds of thousands of students marching in downtown Santiago on April 16th and CONFECh President Valentina Saavedra issuing a statement suggesting that students will actively protest the new legislation. This is to say that despite headlines suggesting that Chile's education problems have been solved, the student movement persists.

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