Expanding Women's Citizenship?

Mapuche Women and Chile's National Women's Service

by
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Even if it is true that there is a generalized demand vis-à-vis the subject of women . . . the subject of the indigenous women, the Mapuche woman, is much more complex and must be developed more carefully. It's not about arriving and applying policies for women without considering the particular cultural aspect.

—Ana Llao

The incorporation of women's interests into the state has been the subject of much feminist research on Southern Cone countries (see, among others, Alvarez, 1990; Franceschet, 2001; Schild, 1998; Valenzuela, 1998; Waylen, 1996). The establishment of state agencies, ministries, laws, and policies pertaining to women is in part a response to the efforts of national and international women's movements to bring attention to women's rights. In addition, transitions to democracy in Southern Cone countries have created the opportunity for citizens, including women, to negotiate the content of that democracy (Alvarez, Escobar, and Dagnino, 1998). Women's movements throughout the Southern Cone have taken advantage of this opportunity to seek the implementation of measures that better represent their interests. In Brazil, women's councils have been formed to advise the president, while in Argentina quotas have been initiated to increase the number of women representatives in government. And in Chile, a National Women's Service, the Servicio Nacional de la Mujer (SERNAM), has been created to "collaborate with the Executive Branch in the design and coordination of public policies that will

put an end to the discrimination that affects women in the family, social, economic, political, and cultural spheres" (SERNAM, 1998). While conservative political forces, traditional gender ideology, and competing state priorities have often limited the scope of reforms designed to benefit women, these changes have represented a positive step in the struggle of Latin American women's movements toward equality between women and men.

The principle of women's difference has been central to women's movements throughout Latin America. As Jelin (1996: 178–179) points out, a central characteristic of feminism has been to make claims not just for equal rights but also for "the right to a differentiated treatment and to the social recognition of women's uniqueness." Molyneux (2000: 45) explains that more so than in Europe and the United States, women's movements in Latin America have made gains on the basis of a gender discourse that appropriates aspects of a binary gender ideology, focusing on essentialist differences between women and men. Thus, they have rooted their activism in notions of domestic and maternal virtues and have demanded recognition as full citizens on the basis of contributions they have made to the nation through their roles as wives and mothers.

Unfortunately, the assertion of difference between men and women has not always translated into recognition of differences or inequality among women themselves. Burkett (1977) questioned universal sisterhood in an early piece on the colonial era, and the goal of gender equality has been problematized in contemporary Latin America by Afro-Latinas, poor and working-class women, indigenous women, lesbians, and others, who argue that their concerns have been excluded or misrepresented by women's movements dominated by middle-class, educated, whiter feminists. Barrios de Chungara (1978) poignantly describes how class, race, and ethnic differences emerged at the UN's 1975 International Year of the Woman meetings in Mexico. Sternbach et al. (1992) describe the role of difference in the Latin American women's conferences (*encuentros*), while Valdés and Weinstein (1993) and Schild (1994) show that differences in priorities and access to power have complicated relationships between *pobladoras* (poor and working-class women who reside in Santiago's shantytowns) and middle-class feminists in times of dictatorship as well as democracy.

Latin American women's movements' efforts to deal with inequalities and differences among women have been addressed by the authors just cited. However, apart from Schild's (1994; 1998) work on the exclusion of poor urban women's organizations from participation in state-sponsored projects, little detailed attention has been given to how well state strategies for representing women have incorporated claims for rights based on difference. In this article, I explore this issue through the case of Mapuche women in Chile.

I examine how Mapuche women activists, employing a discourse of difference based on a *visión de pueblo*, present a challenge to the gender discourse promulgated by SERNAM. Examining interactions between Mapuche women leaders and SERNAM, I contemplate the impact that Mapuche women have had on the service's discourse, policies, and programs. I demonstrate that while SERNAM has incorporated some Mapuche women's discourse into its own, little substantive change has actually occurred. The result is frustrating for Mapuche women activists—their discourse is appropriated, but their demands are seldom met. SERNAM's behavior fits the Chilean state's overall model of negotiation with the Mapuche: Mapuche claims are incorporated as priorities only insofar as they do not threaten national development or a coherent Chilean national identity. Select demands of select sectors of the Mapuche movement are met, while demands more directly linked to collective cultural rights are excluded. In this way, the state uses gender and indigenous politics to generate consent for its socioeconomic and ideological goals. Mapuche women leaders are aware of this tension, however, and continue to seek effective ways of promoting recognition of their demands and those of the Mapuche people as a whole.

The article is organized into eight sections. A discussion of citizenship and difference, the theoretical concepts that guide this article, is followed by a section on research methods and the sample. I then provide a summary of recent Mapuche history. I go on to review SERNAM's model of women's citizenship, noting the limited attention given to differences among women. Next, I demonstrate the central role of difference in Mapuche women activists' gender discourse. In the section that follows, I describe four instances in which Mapuche women have demanded inclusion of their priorities and interests in SERNAM's discourse, policies, and programs and address how the service has responded to these demands. I then place this response in the larger context of the Chilean state. Finally, I discuss the possibilities in Mapuche women's activism for expanding the concept of citizenship to include cultural rights.

CITIZENSHIP AND DIFFERENCE

The struggles of social movements—for a stake in the political system, for respect for civil rights, for basic social rights such as adequate housing and health care—are impelled from below by actors in civil society who make demands of the state and other members of society. They are the struggles of citizens seeking to renegotiate the terms of citizenship and the meanings of civil, political, socioeconomic, and cultural rights (Alvarez, Escobar, and

Dagnino, 1998). Such renegotiation has particular salience in post-Pinochet Chile. As the consolidation of democracy has taken place, citizens have sought to engage in dialogue with the state, attempting to participate in the creation of the terms of democracy.

To understand the struggles and achievements of movements, the "citizen-ship-from-below" perspective has to be balanced by a recognition of the restrictions placed on movements from above. A major contribution of recent feminist research on the state has been to point out that the state is not a uniform actor with intent (Pringle and Watson, 1998). Thus, for example, an agency such as SERNAM and the actors within it can create pro-women policies in an otherwise woman-hostile sociopolitical context. Nevertheless, movements do operate within the context of specific political regimes, and state priorities often hinder the achievement of movement goals. Indeed, the goals of movements that are incorporated into the state are likely to be those that cohere with the state's material and cultural objectives. In this sense, the rights granted by the state have the effect of integrating citizens into a hegemonic national identity and generating consent for state goals. Understanding the successes and limitations faced by social actors calls for a perspective that views their struggles in the context of citizenship from above and below.

Discussing the demands of indigenous peoples in terms of citizenship is complex. Throughout Latin American history, indigenous identities have consistently been sacrificed, marginalized, or utilized only symbolically in the creation of national identities rooted in citizenship regimes based on individual rights. Moreover, indigenous demands involve cultural and/or collective rights that are often unrecognized in these citizenship regimes. (I take cultural rights to mean "the right to preserve and develop their culture" [Das, 1995: 87], noting, as do Das [1995] and Stavenhagen [1996], that in many cases these are rights exercised by collectivities.) In addition, to some extent, demands for autonomy contest the very concept of citizenship as an obligatory status, and claims to territory or autonomy are often seen by states as threats to national development. The state is clearly not a neutral actor when it comes to indigenous rights. Indigenous claims, however, are often necessarily issued vis-à-vis the state and seek to expand what it means to be a citizen to include notions of ancestral territory, collective rights, multiculturalism, and self-governance.

Even where it appears that opportunities exist within the state for movement actors to issue their demands (such as SERNAM, for Chilean women), some individuals and groups are likely to be excluded on other bases, such as ethnicity, class, or sexual orientation. Some groups (albeit limited by the dominant gender ideology and state context) have more opportunities than others to influence how certain concepts—such as "woman" or "equality"—

are defined. "Multiracial feminism" in the United States, as outlined by Maxine Baca Zinn and Bonnie Thornton Dill (2000 [1997]), elucidates this point and provides some useful tools for looking at the relationship between Mapuche women and state-driven gender discourse. Zinn and Dill describe a women's movement that professes to accept difference while continuing to centralize the experience of white middle-class women. The result is the persistent marginalization of women of color through the failure to recognize "the inequalities that cause some characteristics to be seen as 'normal' while others are seen as 'different' and, thus, deviant" (24). They argue that race is "a basic social division, a structure of power, a focus of political struggle and hence a fundamental force in shaping women's and men's lives" (25).

Following Patricia Hill Collins (1991), Zinn and Dill assert that race, class, and gender inequalities are interlocking elements in a "matrix of domination." This means that women experience "being a woman" differently on the basis of their race, class, and so forth, and "women and men throughout the social order experience different forms of privilege and subordination depending on their race, class, gender, and sexuality" (26). Women who benefit from particular positions in this social order have power over others, and in this sense "women's differences are *connected* in systematic ways" (26). While it is clear that Northern concepts should not be applied uncritically to other realities, the lack of representation of Mapuche women's priorities in SERNAM matches this analytical description.

The concepts outlined here will prove useful in exploring how Mapuche women's efforts to have their priorities represented by SERNAM are restricted by the goals of the state but also by power differentials among women themselves, which serve to make invisible the specific "difference" of Mapuche women. Moreover, they will help elucidate the tensions between cultural and collective rights and national goals in the context of a citizenship regime based on individual rights.

METHOD AND SAMPLE

This article is largely based on semistructured, open-ended interviews with Mapuche women leaders in Santiago (the Metropolitan Region, where approximately 50 percent of the Mapuche live) and the Araucanía (Region IX, originally Mapuche territory, and the region with the highest concentration of Mapuche residents). In Santiago, I interviewed ten leaders of local-level, sociocultural Mapuche associations (who had varying histories and degrees of contact with the state and other organizations). In the Araucanía, I interviewed seven leaders with relatively long histories of activism in the

Mapuche movement, many of whom were originally from rural Mapuche communities but now worked in institutions serving Mapuche communities. Many were associated with the Coordinadora de Mujeres Mapuches (Mapuche Women's Coalition) and participated actively in the creation of the Indigenous Law and in the process surrounding the Beijing World Women's Conference. I also interviewed the leaders of a new rural women's organization that had had substantial contact with SERNAM, but in general, the women interviewed were not rural. The interviews focused on the women's activism histories, their organizations' activities, interactions with state agencies, demands vis-à-vis the state, and views on the relevance of gender to their activism. In addition, I interviewed two NGO workers, six functionaries from SERNAM at the national and regional levels, and two Mapuche women employed by the Corporación Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena (the National Corporation for Indigenous Development—CONADI). These interviews focused on the services they offered, particularly as they pertained to the Mapuche, interactions with organizations, and their own motivations for doing the work that they did. The interviews were supplemented by participant observation and additional conversations. Finally, I consulted documents from Mapuche organizations and written state and media representations of Mapuche women and the Mapuche people as a whole.

RECENT HISTORY OF
THE MAPUCHE MOVEMENT

The Mapuche, who according to the 1992 census make up almost 10 percent of the Chilean population, were harshly victimized during Pinochet's regime, and Mapuche organizations actively worked to bring an end to the dictatorship. The return to democracy represented a political opening for many marginalized sectors of Chilean society. Mapuche and other indigenous leaders signed a pact with then-candidate Patricio Aylwin of the Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia (Coalition of Parties for Democracy) in which he promised that, once elected, he would work toward constitutional recognition of indigenous peoples and an Indigenous Law. Although political opposition has precluded constitutional recognition, an Indigenous Law was created in 1993. In addition to establishing means for the protection and expansion of land and water rights, the law established CONADI as a state agency dependent on the Ministry of Planning and Cooperation. Most Mapuche leaders were hopeful that the return to democracy signaled a new era in relations between the Mapuche and the Chilean state.

For many Mapuche, guarded optimism has given way to disillusionment as the state has demonstrated that indigenous rights are not a priority when national development is at stake. The first two national directors of CONADI were forced to resign because they refused to support the state's construction of the Ralco Dam, which violated the Indigenous Law and will eventually flood Pehuenche (a branch of Mapuche) territory. Chile has also granted aquaculture and forestry concessions to nonindigenous Chilean and multinational corporations and is in the process of building highways that disrupt Mapuche territory. Many Mapuche now feel deceived by the Chilean state. They say that CONADI, which they expected to represent their interests, is underfunded, bureaucratic, and inefficient and, even worse, has turned out to be a tool of the state.

This situation has led to diverse and diffuse forms of activism and protest. There are more than 60 Mapuche associations in Santiago, about 175 associations and 3,000 communities in the Araucanía, and many more in other regions. Mapuche demands are diverse and often contested among different sectors of the movement. They range from demands that focus on issues of redistribution and integration such as access to more land, agricultural training, and social policies that recognize cultural specificities (intercultural education, health, housing, and child-care programs) to demands that emphasize autonomy and recognition of Mapuche status as a people such as ratification of the International Labor Organization's Convention 169 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples, independent territory, and self-government. Mapuche organizations and communities have developed diverse strategies to advance their struggles for rights, including gaining control of local government and participating in state-led development programs. The most visible strategy, however, has been the sometimes violent struggle over agricultural and forestry lands in the Chilean South. For most Mapuche, even demands that seem integrationist are built on the principle of recognition of their status as a people (Valdés, n.d.). Most women told me that satisfaction of their demands with regard to integration or redistribution meant little if the Mapuche's status as a people was not recognized. In turn, the demand for status as a people is linked to the historical exploitation of the Mapuche, the expropriation of their lands, and the denial of their right to autonomy.

The Frei (1994–2000) and Lagos (2000–present) administrations have responded by designating more funds for use in areas with high indigenous populations and by increasing the budget of CONADI. In addition, shortly after taking office, President Ricardo Lagos created a national-level working group for indigenous peoples that included representatives from indigenous movements, business, and the government. He responded to the group's final

report with 16 measures intended as steps toward resolving the issues it raised. The initiatives addressed demands in the areas of land, training, intercultural education and health care, and constitutional recognition but notably did not address more contentious issues such as autonomous territory or self-government.

While women's participation in the Mapuche movement per se is not the subject of this article, it should be noted that they are actively and often centrally involved. Mapuche women defend the rights of the people, most famously in the case of Berta and Nicolasa Quintremán, the Pehuenche sisters and winners of the 2000 Petra Kelly award, who have led a small number of families in refusing to abandon land that will be flooded if and when the Ralco Dam is finished. In many cases, Mapuche women also make gender-specific demands that involve interacting with SERNAM. Until recently, SERNAM's representation of Mapuche women occurred along three main lines. First, Mapuche women appeared in photos on posters and pamphlets in symbolic recognition of Chile's diversity. Second, in accordance with the mandate of the Indigenous Law, SERNAM created formal agreements with CONADI at the national level and in the Araucanía. According to Cesar Marilaf, head of Support for Indigenous Social Management at CONADI's Southern Office, other than a short series of workshops for Mapuche women in the Araucanía, very little has come of these agreements, and CONADI has not developed an official line of action on women's issues (interview, December 6, 2000). Third, since 1999, Mapuche organizations have had access to small grants for projects dealing with equal opportunities for women through the Civil Society Fund, which was designed by SERNAM and is composed of funds from SERNAM, CONADI, and two other agencies. As will be seen, Mapuche women consider these efforts inadequate and, often, ethnocentric.

SERNAM'S MODEL OF WOMEN'S CITIZENSHIP

During the Pinochet dictatorship, the Chilean women's movement struggled not just for the return to democracy but for inclusion in that democracy as full subjects of rights. When democracy was achieved, one of its major accomplishments was the establishment of SERNAM. While SERNAM is not a ministry, its national director is a member of the president's cabinet. It is responsible for achieving the incorporation of a gendered perspective in all government ministries. It has little funding of its own and is expected to generate support and funding for policies and programs that benefit women among the other ministries. Despite the limitations of this framework, as a result of the struggles of women's organizations, the official image of the

Chilean citizen is no longer exclusively male. The responsibility for promulgating both the rights and the responsibilities of women citizens has fallen largely on the shoulders of SERNAM.

Despite feminism's claim to difference, SERNAM's citizenship discourse focuses principally on the concept of equality. This is demonstrated in the Equal Opportunities Plan for Women 1994–1999 (Plan 1) (SERNAM, 1996) and the Plan for Equal Opportunities between Women and Men 2000–2010 (Plan 2) (SERNAM, 2000). In its discussion of "A Culture of Equality" in Plan 2, SERNAM (2000: 22) states: "Equality is a recent value in history. Modern societies, by affirming universal rights and formal equality before the law, eliminated customs, norms, and beliefs that predetermined people's place in society in accordance with their sex, and social, religious, ethnic and cultural origin." The Plan maintains that in Chile equality is not yet generalized and, as a result, women have fewer opportunities than men.

Weinstein (1997) suggests that SERNAM has played an important role by articulating the constraints that discrimination places on women's ability to exercise their citizenship rights, but it has been challenged by rural, *pobladora*, and indigenous women who argue that they do not recognize themselves in its discourse. They say that the Plans (particularly Plan 1) are written by and represent the interests of urban, middle-class, educated, nonindigenous women. In essence, they point out that the discrimination to which Weinstein refers is not experienced in the same way by all women. Applying universal concepts such as "equality" to a diverse population can lead to the exclusion of groups whose priorities are not represented in the way the concept is developed. In the case of indigenous women, this is even more problematic, as their own conceptions of rights may consider collective rather than just individual attributes. By not identifying ethnicity and class as "basic structures of power" (Zinn and Dill, 2000) that differentiate among women in its general discussion of equality, SERNAM fails to address the ways in which even a discourse of equality for women is complex—by their presence or absence in the model of women's citizenship, different women are affected in different ways.

MAPUCHE WOMEN'S DISCOURSE OF DIFFERENCE

Gender identity and discourse among Mapuche women are complex. Views on the relevance of the Western concept of gender for understanding relationships between Mapuche women and men are diverse, as are opinions on whether gender inequality or "machismo" exists among them. These issues are important but beyond the scope of this article. My purpose in this

section is to demonstrate the central role of difference in Mapuche women's gender discourse. In discussing their demands vis-à-vis SERNAM or their relationships with other organized women, Mapuche women emphasize that their own struggles, interests, and demands are distinct.

In discussing difference, Mapuche women appropriate and subvert the discourse of equal rights and opportunities. By "appropriation" I mean adopting a discourse that calls for an expansion of the concept of equal opportunities to include the priorities of Mapuche women, who do not feel represented by SERNAM. By "subversion" I mean playing on the word "equal," which contains a sense of both "fairness" and "sameness." Mapuche women argue that they are *not* the same and that this is precisely the point: an equal-opportunities plan that does not take account of their difference will not result in justice for the Mapuche people. The appropriation and subversion of equal-opportunities discourse are linked in Mapuche women's efforts to have their demands addressed.

Mapuche women assert their difference along three main lines. First, the discrimination experienced by Mapuche women is different from that experienced by other women and is often perpetrated by non-Mapuche women. Second, because of cultural differences, gender relations in Mapuche society and the dominant Chilean society are not the same. And third, even when Mapuche women are focusing on women's needs and interests, their central struggle is that of the Mapuche people as a whole. Together, these factors make it difficult for Mapuche women to recognize themselves in SERNAM's gender discourse.

The Mapuche women I spoke with emphasized that the discrimination they experienced was different from that experienced by other women. They spoke of double and often triple discrimination against them as women, as indigenous, and as poor, and they insisted that social inequalities and discrimination existed among women—not just between men and women. As María Pinda, leader of Katriwala in Cerro Navia (a municipality in Santiago) explained, Mapuche women are often not hired for jobs in which they would be attending the public because their physical characteristics do not accord with Chilean standards of beauty, which value "European" features (interview, November 3, 2000). Mapuche women often receive substandard treatment in municipal offices and other public services. A leader from Cerro Navia said that she was often treated with suspicion, as if she were trying to get away with something rather than claiming services to which she was entitled. She also complained of being attended only after "whiter" women (field notes, December 13, 2000). Finally, middle- and upper-class women employ Mapuche women as servants, exploiting their labor and often resorting to ethnic slurs such as *mapuchita* or "dirty Indian" to address them.

When I asked her what she thought of feminism, Carolina Manque, a social worker and cofounder of Aukiñko Domo, an NGO run by Mapuche women, said that it was a "legitimate current" but that "there has also been a certain discrimination, or a certain lack of preoccupation, of many feminist movements toward indigenous women" (interview, May 26, 2000). She told the story of her mother, who had been a servant in the Santiago home of a feminist who worked in a women's NGO: "She was a feminist, but she treated my mother as a 'shitty Indian.' She said that to her! And, well, she would always say, 'You don't have rights, you have no rights.' I said, 'This woman . . . is a feminist!?' " While surely not all feminists share this woman's views, this story vividly demonstrates that fighting against one form of injustice does not necessarily lead to a conscious position against all forms of injustice. That Mapuche women experience discrimination differently and that they are often discriminated against by other women indicates that women's substantive experience of citizenship is not the same—Mapuche women are not treated as "equals" of other women. This implies that not all women have the same interests.

The argument that gender relations work differently among the Mapuche has two aspects: duality and complementarity. Both are rooted in the Mapuche religious worldview, in which the supreme being has four aspects: old woman, old man, young woman, young man. Elisa Avendaño, an expert on the Mapuche worldview, explains that the man and the woman always appear together, hand in hand (interview, August 2, 2000). This was reflected in the observation of several women that state policies compartmentalized them (as women, youth, aged, and so forth) while Mapuche culture was more integrative and equilibrium-oriented. Furthermore, they suggested that complementary gender roles among the Mapuche did not necessarily signal inequalities between men and women.

My interviews did indicate some important differences of opinion among Mapuche women on this issue, however (see Richards, 2002). Women who say that discrimination against women exists within Mapuche organizations and society as it does in any society often express their perspective in terms of the influence of Western patriarchal structure. In this vein, Carolina Manque maintains that the infiltration of "machismo" among the Mapuche represents "the loss of values and the weakening of our roots and worldview" (in Coordinadora de Mujeres de Organizaciones e Instituciones Mapuches, 1995: 17). Others suggest that the ideal of complementary roles does not result in equal opportunities for women. Isolde Reuque, an officially appointed consultant on indigenous issues to President Lagos, says that the concept may result in fewer leadership opportunities for women (interview, August 3, 2000).

Sometimes, Mapuche women directly challenge Chilean gender stereotypes. A highly publicized example occurred when a woman from the Consejo de Todas las Tierras (Council of All Lands—CTT), a radical organization involved in numerous land reoccupations, hit a former director of CONADI at a meeting in Temuco. Women have been protagonists in other recent events, such as the occupation of a regional government building and some land reoccupations, as well. The Mapuche are sometimes accused of "using" women because according to Chilean cultural norms, force cannot be used against women. For example, Berta Belmar, the former *intendente* (the presidentially appointed head of regional government) of the Araucanía, stated that she felt it was regrettable that the Mapuche involved children, women, and old people in their actions. Women associated with the CTT responded: "In this way, the *intendente* expresses the paternalism of women without a gendered perspective, mediated by men. We, as Mapuche women, do not participate in that patriarchal order which constructs women as beings marked by inferiority, subordinated and dependent on men; we direct our own actions" (*El Austral*, January 20, 2001). So these Mapuche women— often accused by feminists and representatives of the state of being dependent on men, of not speaking for themselves, of lacking gender consciousness, of being victims of a primitive cultural order—have turned that argument on its head, pointing out that in this case, it is the chief representative of the state in the region, herself a woman, who is analyzing Mapuche women's participation from a patriarchal perspective that restricts acceptable roles for women. In this case, the argument is not merely that Mapuche women are not equal but that they are *not the same as other women*.

Finally, gender issues are not usually the focus of Mapuche women's activism. Even when the women I interviewed spoke of gender differences or inequalities, they made it very clear that their principal struggle, their reason for being organized, was to bring about justice for the Mapuche as a whole. Moreover, women who advocated supporting, training, and organizing women stressed that these activities were a support to the Mapuche struggle more generally. For example, while clarifying that her NGO, Aukiñko Domo, did not wish to "separate" women from men, Carolina Manque noted that, "to the extent that the women can be on better footing, more valued, more recognized, it will be a benefit for women and for the [Mapuche] people. For a people that is oppressed and needs to rise up and needs to speak out—as a people" (interview, May 26, 2000). Isolde Reuque agreed: "There is an idea inside of me, that is like that challenge to say, 'I am capable . . . and I want to support this challenge of the people, on one hand, [and] of women, on the other, in what we want to arrive at: the autonomy of the Mapuche people' " (interview, August 3, 2000). She added that women's fundamental role in

cultural reproduction meant that supporting women's training and participation was particularly important to the defense of the Mapuche. And, when asked how Mapuche women's gender discourse differed from that of non-Mapuche women, Elisa Avendaño answered: "The principal difference is that we women struggle as a People, we have a *visión de pueblo*. We women assert as a People that we have to be recognized, we want autonomy, and we are not going to achieve autonomy as women, we are going to achieve it as a People" (quoted in Calfio, 1997). Understanding this *visión de pueblo*, which incorporates elements of "non-fairness" and "non-sameness," is essential to understanding Mapuche women activists, their goals, and their frustration with SERNAM's ethnocentric portrayal of gender interests.

I view this perspective as an important theoretical contribution, in some ways similar to "multiracial feminism" in the United States, on the part of Mapuche women. One important difference, however, is that most Mapuche women leaders do not identify themselves as feminists. Another is that Zinn and Dill privilege race while for Mapuche women the privileged concept is clearly indigenous identity.

The social divisions, hierarchies, and differential access to power that exist on the basis of race also exist among indigenous and nonindigenous women. Indeed, "being indigenous" involves elements of race: many Mapuche women are distinct in skin color and body shape from Chilean women with more "European" characteristics and suffer discrimination as a result. In addition, though, *place* is essential to an understanding of *visión de pueblo*. Wade (1997) contends that in Latin America, indigenous people are ideologically located *outside of* dominant society. They are constructed as separate from "modern" society (and thus, when they leave their communities and migrate to the city, are often constructed as no longer indigenous). Indigenous people may also *construct themselves* as outside dominant society, as in historically based claims for autonomous territory.

Place is essential to understanding the *visión de pueblo* because Mapuche demands are rooted in a worldview that centralizes it. Indeed, "Mapuche" is often translated as "people of the land." The Chilean historian José Bengoa (1992: 135) points out, however, that the meaning of *mapu* goes beyond that of "land." "Mapu is the territory in which the men who form the people, who form the lineage, or group of lineages related by marriage, live. Mapuche would be the people who live, hunt, wander these territories, and as such, have been born, and are from there." And ultimately, of course, most Mapuche demands are related to the invasion and appropriation of Mapuche territory.

By adding the element of place to the tenets of multiracial feminism, we can begin to understand the *visión de pueblo* upon which Mapuche women base their activism. This explanation goes beyond arguing that Mapuche

women are triply discriminated against to capture the relational aspects of the oppression they describe. Indeed, Zinn and Dill's observations are reflected in Mapuche women's experience with SERNAM. The social locations (educated, nonpoor, nonindigenous) of the women who work at SERNAM have given them access to more powerful positions. As a result, SERNAM defines women and their interests in a way that normalizes and centralizes non-indigenous women, thereby marginalizing Mapuche women's lived experience. Even Plan 2, while including some references to ethnicity and indigenous women, continues to posit that there is an experience of oppression universally shared by all Chilean women—something that the Mapuche women in this study assert is untrue. A better approach would entail consideration of the impacts of policy, programs, and discourse on indigenous women, thereby centering ethnic difference as one of the principal matrices of power and domination in society much as feminist movements have insisted on the incorporation of gender.

THE CONTESTED REPRESENTATION
OF MAPUCHE WOMEN

Despite the limitations described above, some Mapuche women leaders have chosen to interact with SERNAM. They do so for a variety of reasons. In addition to people-level demands, these women have issued gender-specific demands. For instance, among the proposals submitted to SERNAM Minister Adriana DelPiano by the Mapuche Women's Executive Secretariat in the Araucanía were intercultural sexual education and family planning, an intercultural mobile gynecological clinic, intercultural family-violence programs, and access to land subsidy programs for single mothers. In Santiago, proposals have included the creation of an "Indigenous Women's House" with programs for and by Mapuche women, the creation of an Indigenous Women's Department staffed by Mapuche women within SERNAM, the celebration of the International Day of the Indigenous Woman, spaces for them to sell traditional crafts, and intercultural child-care centers.

Furthermore, there is a growing tendency in project and funding opportunities (in the state as well as in international development agencies and NGOs) to focus on gender. Some Mapuche women complain about this, saying that it is inconsistent with their worldview. At the same time, they recognize that by focusing on gender themselves they can get access to important resources. Finally, some see SERNAM as a potential ally in getting access to other parts of the state government. In discussing the proposals made to SERNAM through the Urban Mapuche Women's Working Group, the

Mapuche activist and former adviser to CONADI Beatriz Painequeo commented: "Well, they weren't that many, because we know that SERNAM doesn't give that much. . . . So the idea is that they also help us to open spaces, because for us, it's not so easy to open spaces in other public services . . . because in reality we don't have the spaces to rely upon, but for them it should be somewhat easier" (interview, November 28, 2000). Achieving access for women by ensuring that state ministries incorporate a gendered perspective is the institutional purpose of SERNAM. Beatriz's comments are interesting because she includes Mapuche women in the group of people toward whom SERNAM has a responsibility. She and others who share her views are reformulating that discourse to demand that state ministries not only not be gender-biased but also not be biased against indigenous peoples.

Mapuche women's gender-based demands were documented as part of the preparations for the World Women's Conference held in Beijing in 1995, although they had also been discussed in earlier forums. Mapuche women have also initiated dialogue with SERNAM and other state agencies. SERNAM has opened up to dialogue in some cases, although the results have seldom been very substantive. Its current discourse with regard to indigenous issues seems more promising, however, and some Mapuche women express hope that this new "openness" will result in more appropriate policies and programs. Four recent efforts of Mapuche women to have their interests represented by SERNAM are summarized below. The first one illustrates the complete absence of indigenous issues in SERNAM's early discourse. The following three highlight the additive approach to indigenous women and ethnicity that prevails in SERNAM's discourse today.

THE MESA RURAL: PROPOSALS WITHOUT A PLAN

Rural and indigenous women were mentioned nowhere in the first Equal Opportunities Plan. In response to this, groups representing these women successfully petitioned SERNAM to form a committee (the Mesa Rural) in 1995 to create an equal opportunities plan for rural women. The resulting document (1997) was published, however, not as a plan but as "Proposals for Equal Opportunity Policies for Rural Women," and these proposals were not adopted as part of the presidential platform. Additionally, the specific issues faced by urban indigenous women (more than half the indigenous women in the country) were not addressed in either document.

Today, SERNAM has shifted from completely ignoring indigenous issues to viewing them additively. Indigenous women are mentioned in various places in Plan 2 but almost exclusively in terms of their being a "marginal group." Being indigenous is conceptualized as an additional barrier to access

to resources and services. While this is indeed one aspect of Mapuche women's claims, SERNAM has made no effort to create lines of action that start from the perspective of Mapuche women, and therefore their more substantial claims of difference remain unaddressed. As the following cases demonstrate, SERNAM views being indigenous as one more impediment rather than as a principal source of identity that creates differences in the perspectives of women and, because of power differences in Chilean society, results in restricted access to resources and decision making.

FROM PLAN 1 TO PLAN 2: THE ADDITIVE NONSOLUTION

In response to criticisms expressed by rural and indigenous as well as *pobladora* women, SERNAM invited groups of women representing diverse sectors of society to participate in evaluating Plan 1 prior to the creation of Plan 2. Mapuche women in Santiago and in the Araucanía participated in these evaluations and, particularly in the Araucanía, contributed very specific proposals to the process. But as Erica López, former director of SERNAM in the Araucanía, pointed out, Plan 2 is made up of general objectives and lines of action, and few of these proposals actually appear in it. The women were left to protest that their time and efforts had been wasted.

According to various accounts, the Santiago evaluation process was particularly tense. It was a two-month-long, multistage process in which groups of women representing different sectors of society generated evaluations and proposals and were brought together at the end to approve a final document that would be sent on to the national level. The Mapuche women who participated protested that many had not even known the plan existed before they were invited to evaluate it. According to Margarita Cayupil, leader of Trawun Mapu in Santiago, the women also felt that SERNAM was coming at them with pregenerated proposals for approval, and therefore they decided to submit proposals without the facilitation of SERNAM (interview, September 11, 2000). According to one SERNAM functionary, several Mapuche women interrupted the final event, saying that they were not represented in the proposals. She complained that the Mapuche women were organizationally immature: "Include them or don't include them, they'll attack me all the same." This official seems to have expected that Mapuche women would have simply been happy with the invitation.

Plan 2 is nevertheless somewhat more promising than the first plan. Ethnicity is mentioned in 15 of 147 total lines of action (14 of 31 total objectives). However, while it makes reference to "indigenous peoples" and "ethnicity" in general terms, it never specifically mentions who these peoples are (Mapuche, Aymara, Rapa Nui, and so on). In addition, most of the references

involve suggesting that their access (along with that of other vulnerable groups) to particular resources and programs needs to be improved. While this is true, it is a completely additive approach to incorporating difference. By not moving the experiences of indigenous women from the margin to the center, Plan 2 perpetuates SERNAM's exclusionary gender discourse.

While Plan 2 tacks on ethnicity at key points, it fails to incorporate it as a "basic social division and structure of power" that results in inequalities and differences among women (Zinn and Dill, 2000 [1997]). Gender equality is presented as fundamental to a more democratic society, but the ways in which nonindigenous Chilean women are complicit in the oppression of Mapuche women are not considered one of the inequalities that should be addressed. Nor does the plan acknowledge that Mapuche women do not wish to be equal in the sense of being the same as nonindigenous Chilean women. Nowhere in the plan does SERNAM assume the responsibility of ensuring that the policies it advocates are free of ethnic bias or, for that matter, that all other ministries consider the impact of their policies not just on women but on indigenous women in particular. Inclusion in SERNAM's written discourse gives Mapuche women more of a base from which to make claims on the service, but since no specific initiatives are outlined, their chances of having their interests represented will be at least partially a function of the goodwill of the individual state functionaries involved. Unless ethnic difference is seen as a principal vector by which power is distributed in society (including among women) rather than as an additional barrier faced by some women, SERNAM's approach will continue to marginalize Mapuche women.

WORKING GROUP WITH URBAN MAPUCHE WOMEN:
SERNAM'S DISCOURSE CONFUSED

In Santiago, Mapuche women from the Commission of Urban Indigenous Peoples requested that the national office of SERNAM create a Working Group with Urban Mapuche Women. SERNAM agreed, and four meetings were held, starting on May 24, 2000. SERNAM documents on the working group demonstrate an inconsistent understanding of the importance of improving their representation of Mapuche women. In a document titled "Minuta: Mujeres Indígenas Urbanas" (n.d.), SERNAM acknowledges that it has a mandate to "eradicate all forms of discrimination." It also notes the state's recognition that "true democracy is possible only to the extent that each group and person feels part of and represented by the diverse public policies that the state incorporates into its management." The document sets short-, medium-, and long-term challenges for SERNAM's work with Mapuche women, among them to "incorporate them as a group of bene-

ficiaries in the corresponding regions" and to "visualize them within the management and services that the programs offer to the community at the regional level." This second challenge seems to be getting at what is necessary: to consider the priorities and perspectives of Mapuche women. The document goes on, however, to mention a presidential mandate that all sectors of the government "design a programmatic agenda that integrates the wisdom and knowledge unique to the ancestral cultures." The mandate is presented as a positive step for SERNAM and other state agencies, but by focusing on integration and implying that indigenous peoples are the *past* of what is now Chile it indicates the limits to "true democracy" and deemphasizes the rights that recognizing their status as peoples might entail.

Thus far, the main positive result of this working group has been the celebration of the International Day of the Indigenous Woman in Santiago on September 5, 2000. This was considered an important achievement by many of the women who participated. At the event, Adriana DelPiano spoke candidly of the difficulties SERNAM faced in confronting the issues of Mapuche women without equivocation—trying to understand where their concerns overlap with those of other women and in what ways they are different is a major challenge. Yet her speech revealed many of the problems with official state discourse vis-à-vis indigenous peoples. She repeated several times that the dialogues taking place between the Mapuche movement and the state had to do with how Chile could incorporate the country's "indigenous richness." Mapuche women agree that recognizing diversity is a real need; the problem is that official Chilean discourse focuses so intently on diversity, deemphasizing historical demands and the Mapuche's status as a people.

DelPiano also said that Chile would be a different country if it acknowledged its mestizo identity as do many other Latin American countries. Acknowledging *mestizaje*, she said, makes us recognize a shared identity, and therefore the issue of *mestizaje* is just as important as that of indigenous peoples and she would like to see CONADI address it. DelPiano accurately identified a problem: the widespread belief among Chileans that theirs is a racially homogeneous society of European origin and the almost complete denial of *mestizaje* among Chilean individuals (Aylwin, 1998). But *mestizaje* discourse has been used in many countries throughout Latin America to deny the right to *difference* asserted by indigenous peoples. It may not have been DelPiano's intent, but by claiming shared identity, *mestizaje* discourse can have pernicious effects on indigenous peoples' efforts to make demands based on historical injustices and cultural difference.

SERNAM's agreement to enter into dialogue with Mapuche women is a step in the right direction, and, clearly, Mapuche women's activism has led

SERNAM to consider diversity. But diversity alone is not sufficient to address Mapuche women's claims for cultural rights.

THE MAPUCHE WOMEN'S EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT:
SELLING PROGRAMS TO THE MAPUCHE

SERNAM's regional office in the Araucanía has displayed increasing willingness to initiate solutions. A regional document acknowledges the "nonexistence of equality policies for Mapuche women that are based on real needs and expectations" (Matte, 1999), and Erica López, former director of the regional office, recognized that measures to address the needs of Mapuche women were long overdue. She added, however, that regional offices were severely limited in the extent to which they could tailor their programs to regional needs, because programmatic as well as budgetary decisions were made at the national level. But at least recently, SERNAM-IX has demonstrated more political will for addressing Mapuche women's demands. In 2000, Karin Treulen, a Mapuche adviser, was made responsible for organizing the Mapuche Women's Executive Secretariat, a group of academics, NGO and government workers, and members of Mapuche women's organizations. The objective of the secretariat was to create a list of proposals to be integrated into the regional development plan and to form the basis for a regional equal-opportunities plan for Mapuche women. The proposals were submitted to DelPiano in a formal ceremony on November 3, 2000. The proposal-developing process was very participative, incorporating the four groups mentioned above.

One way in which state agencies respond to Mapuche demands is by attempting to "sell" programs that already exist or have already been planned as answers to Mapuche demands. An example of this is the creation of two intrafamily-violence centers for the Araucanía, one of them easily accessible to Mapuche women. The point is not that these centers are unwanted or unnecessary but rather that SERNAM's strategy appears to be to ask, "What do we have that more or less fits their demands?" SERNAM officials often explain that it is difficult to incorporate the proposals because annual budgets are determined approximately a year in advance. The weakness of this argument is evident when we consider that Mapuche women's demands and proposals have existed in written form since at least 1995. This strategy can also be interpreted as an attempt to impose discourses and priorities that do not always reflect the reality or priorities of Mapuche women. Once again, Mapuche women are simply being added to existing programs.

Still, in the Araucanía, SERNAM has begun to respond to Mapuche women's demands by initiating this process, and this should not be over-

looked. Karin Treulen, moreover, often expressed her frustration that her multiple duties did not allow her to spend more time on Mapuche women's issues. The willingness of López and Treulen demonstrated that the state is not a monolithic actor. Mapuche women are more likely to have their demands addressed when sympathetic actors exist within the state. Such willingness is barely apparent in the Metropolitan Region and is inconsistent at the national level.

In 2001, SERNAM backed up its verbal commitment to Mapuche women in the Araucanía by signing a national-level agreement with CONADI that designated 50 million pesos (approximately US$85,000) for productive development, integral development for women with land, intercultural health, intrafamily violence, and leadership training, among other initiatives (*El Austral*, March 23, 2001). While this effort was a significant gesture toward change in the relationship between SERNAM and Mapuche women, the allocation of 50 million pesos—less than US$8.50 per intended beneficiary—indicates both the severely limited budgets of SERNAM and CONADI and the low priority assigned to Mapuche women's concerns. Since my fieldwork ended, however, a Mapuche woman, Rosa Rapiman of the Casa de la Mujer Mapuche, was designated regional director of SERNAM by Ramiro Pizarro, who was appointed *intendente* of the Araucanía in January 2002. Whether she will be able to implement programs and policies from a perspective more in line with Mapuche women's priorities remains to be seen.

In sum, these four cases show that while SERNAM has recently begun to recognize the need to represent Mapuche women, its main strategy has been an additive approach that fails to acknowledge Mapuche women's assertions of cultural difference. Issues such as the ways in which some women are implicated in the discrimination suffered by others, possible cultural differences in gender relations, and the need for intercultural programs are not on its agenda.

SERNAM IN THE CONTEXT OF THE STATE

SERNAM's discourse and actions can only be understood in the context of the state as a whole. The Chilean state has been selective in addressing Mapuche demands. Some revindications have been defined as illegitimate (autonomous territory) or illegal (land invasions). Programs that fit within a loosely defined diversity/integration paradigm (such as intercultural health or education programs) have been funded and highly publicized. Finally, the Mapuche's struggle has been framed not as historically based claims but as socioeconomic problems easily eradicated by development-oriented solu-

tions such as land subsidy programs, education, and training. This approach does respond to some demands, but it avoids directly addressing the demands for recognition and autonomy that challenge the state's interconnected goals in the economic (strengthening Chile's position in the global market) and ideological (maintaining a unitary Chilean national identity) spheres. The state's current response to the Mapuche thus seems to be an effort to contain Mapuche demands in order to protect these goals. Carolina Manque objects to the injustice of this strategy (personal communication, November 24, 2000):

> The Chilean state has a historical debt with our people for having taken from us, by force of death and arms, our territory and independence. It's obvious that all the public policies the state generates for the Mapuche population are going to act vis-à-vis the "effects" of a colonialist state: poverty, illiteracy, lack of economic, educational, etc., opportunities, but always thinking of us as a vulnerable and poor sector. . . . In the current situation of oppression and colonialism from the state toward our Mapuche people, the path of public policies, like the laws, has served until now to seek "integrationism" or dependency. Now, in terms of the issue of public policies and Mapuche women, as a doubly or triply discriminated sector of society, what role is there for the state?

When Mapuche demands *are* incorporated as part of public policy, it is not historical injustice or cultural difference that the state recognizes. Rather, as Manque notes, policies directed at indigenous peoples in Chile are linked to poverty alleviation and "vulnerability." SERNAM's response to Mapuche women's claims fits into this overall state strategy. Addressing indigenous peoples not only in terms of a loosely conceived "diversity" or an additional "vulnerable" sector but also as participants in a historical relationship that has resulted in the depredation of their societies, cultures, and nations, as well as modern-day discrimination and the devaluation of their cultures, would mean radically changing the way SERNAM and the state (and, indeed, the nation itself) are organized. It would entail recognition of differentiated cultural rather than simply individual rights.

CITIZENSHIP, DIFFERENCE, AND MAPUCHE WOMEN'S ACTIVISM

Mapuche women's claims based on *visión de pueblo* incorporate aspects of equality and difference, drawing attention to the differences and inequalities that exist among women. They represent a challenge to SERNAM's portrayal of the interests of Chilean women citizens, which is based funda-

mentally on the principle of equality between women and men. SERNAM's shortcomings in this regard match the reluctance of the wider state to deal with claims based on cultural difference and historical injustice.

What, then, does challenging state-driven gender discourse matter in this context? Is there room within Mapuche women's interactions with the state for the expression of a critical politics based on cultural difference and historical justice? While hopeful, Mapuche women leaders increasingly challenge SERNAM (and other ministries) for not supporting its discourse with actions, and some question the point of formally issuing demands to the state or participating in meetings to develop proposals in coordination with the state. They argue that the solution to the Mapuche conflict does not lie in public policy; Mapuche women's claims are part of broader demands over a historical conflict that is unlikely to be resolved by increasing funds for multicultural education or intercultural health programs. The construction of a strong movement that focuses on historical demands is therefore more important than negotiating with the state. Carolina Manque, for example, argues that in the context of the state she describes above, establishing a strong movement of Mapuche women that empowers them while struggling for justice for the people as a whole is more important (personal communication, November 24, 2000).

Others agree that fortifying the movement is essential and struggle to find ways to work for continued change within and outside their relationship with the state. María Hueichaqueo, president of Taiñ Adkimn in La Pintana (Santiago), explained that in one meeting of SERNAM's Working Group with Urban Mapuche Women, she became concerned about the lack of unity among the perspectives of the Mapuche women who were participating. She felt that this made it easier for SERNAM to avoid addressing the women's more important demands by appealing to the specific interests of particular women such as micro-entrepreneurs. She explained the strategy they came up with to prevent this from happening again as follows (interview, July 26, 2000):

> We are going to get together before meetings with the state and after the meetings . . . because the idea is to keep improving ourselves as leaders—not lowering our profile, not saying, "Yes, yes, yes" to everything the state is saying or offering. Because, definitely, there are always going to be crumbs. . . . You know, 40 million [pesos] in the area of intercultural health is, to me, a laugh. Or 15 million for intercultural, bilingual education, is also, for me, a laugh. It's a miserable amount, and that's what we have to tell the state: There is a historical debt here.

This perspective emphasizes the difficulty of getting the state to incorporate claims for rights based on cultural difference. Approaches that focus on strengthening the movement may have more success insofar as they clarify what the movement's objectives actually are.

Mapuche women have achieved important changes in the way in which SERNAM approaches gender. They are limited, though, by its reluctance to address the priorities and demands of Mapuche women and by the general state context, in which gaining recognition of cultural rights is extremely difficult. Yet the unique challenge that they pose to state-driven gender discourse and their ability to sustain activities outside of their relationship with the state indicate possibilities for the growth of a critical politics around cultural difference and historical injustices that could lead to the inclusion of cultural rights as part of Chilean citizenship.

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