

Sebastian Garbe

WEAVING SOLIDARITY

Decolonial Perspectives on Transnational Advocacy
of and with the Mapuche



[transcript] Political Science

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Decolonial Perspectives on Transnational Advocacy of and with the Mapuche

[transcript]

Dissertation at the Faculty for Social Sciences and Cultural Studies, Justus-Liebig-University Giessen

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*Dedicated to all the Mapuche women, men, and children who have been violated,
tortured, abused, and murdered in Chile – you are not alone!*

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Tain kimun

ta tain keyagun mvleai kvme mogen ti fachi nag mapu meu.

El conocimiento

y la solidaridad de los pueblos es la llave de la paz en el mundo.

The knowledge

and the solidarity of the people are the key to peace in the world.

Rayen Kvyeh

1. Introduction: Still Loving Solidarity?

In the face of our societies' contemporary problems and particularly since the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, it seems that everyone can agree that we need more solidarity. But this apparently simple solution is broad enough to include conflicting and competing worldviews, different imaginations, and infinite sets of social practices and political strategies. There is no consensus on what solidarity actually is—neither in public nor in academic discourses.

At the same time, something that everyone agrees on deserves our reasonable doubt. Because, like every social praxis and political demand, solidarity is never pure or innocent. Rather, different political beliefs and convictions, epistemological and cosmological perspectives, ethical and moral frameworks, as well as social structures, operate within—and not outside of—whatever we might call solidarity. In short, solidarity is as messy as any other social praxis and discourse.

Whilst the multiple crises of our societies¹ today call for more solidarity, our framework of what, when, and how we perceive solidarity is complicated. Take the example of the former *Sea-Watch 3* captain, Carola Rackete: in solidarity with migrants and refugees crossing the Mediterranean, she has been

1 I agree with contemporary diagnoses of our societies being in a state of constant and multiple crisis and precarity. Particularly, I refer to the normalised precarity under neoliberalism, especially after the financial crisis in 2007 and the subsequent political and social crisis of and in the European Union resulting from austerity politics. The contemporary political crisis is marked by a rise of neofascism across the world on the backs of multiple migration and refugee movements, themselves a consequence of the crisis of postcolonial nation-states and the effects of the climate crisis in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. At the same time, antiracist, decolonial, and feminist movements confront and resist this crisis in multiple ways. Finally, the COVID-19 pandemic lay bare the vulnerability and structural inequality of our societies and produced an ongoing state of pandemic crisis with long-lasting effects on multiple levels.

in charge of rescuing people from boat wrecks on their way to Europe. She particularly gained worldwide attention in June 2019 by insisting on bringing 53 people to a safe harbour in Lampedusa, Italy despite contrary commands from the Italian coast guard and threats by former Italian Home Secretary and neofascist Matteo Salvini. European citizens claimed to stand in solidarity with Carola Rackete after she was detained. These declarations materialised in donations of over one and a half million euros for her and the Sea-Watch organisation after a few days. In public media, Carola Rackete became the face of European solidarity with refugees—and Europeans stood in solidarity with her.

In my undergraduate seminar in the 2019 summer term at Justus-Liebig University, entitled “Still Loving Solidarity?,” we discussed this case from a decolonial and antiracist perspective. Amongst other things, we debated why Carola Rackete’s agency is made so prominent compared to that of others. Why do we tell her story and not the ones of the 53 refugees in danger? Why do we need a symbol like her to stand in solidarity with refugees so that such an amount of donations would be possible? Why are her actions heroised whilst those of other refugee supporters are criminalised? What does it mean that she (and other supporters as well) can choose to engage in solidarity whilst others, particularly noncitizens, are forced to fight for their right to migrate? And finally, does asking these questions unequivocally mean a desolidarisation with her actions and the support she and Sea-Watch received? When looking out for solidarity, de-, postcolonial and antiracist perspectives thus demand us to reflect critically if we are really “all in the same boat” (Ehrmann 2019).

All these doubts point to the messiness of solidarity and how it is complicated by questions of unequal agency, privileges, vulnerability and visibility. Also, they are not limited to that particular example. Rather, they cut across all cases of external solidarity or solidarity with others—a type of solidarity in which the group who stands in solidarity is not affected by the same mechanisms of exclusion or discrimination as the group towards whom solidarity is directed. Many contemporary social justice movements—whether they are antiracist, feminist, or decolonial—struggle against these mechanisms of discrimination, oppression, persecution, violation, etc. based on their shared vulnerability. So, is there a horizon for solidarity between groups who do not share this vulnerability and, what is more, have unequal access to resources and privileges? And if there is a horizon, what does it look like in practice? What are the possibilities for solidarity for a white US-American citizen with

the #blacklivesmatter movement and what are its limitations? What does it mean to practice *Willkommenskultur*² in Germany after 2015 and how far are we willing to take it? Are symbolic and public acts, like applauding for health care workers on our balconies during the first months of the COVID-19 pandemic, really expressions of solidarity? What is a position of solidarity for cis men in feminist struggles like #metoo and #niunamenos? What does it mean for white people to stand for decolonisation and what kind of actions does such a declaration demand?

Whilst the struggles for decolonisation are rather abstract and distant for people in the Global North, it is a fundamental part of the sociopolitical and cultural realities in societies of the Global South. Indigenous and Native people in particular continue to live under colonial relations within formally independent nation-states. Amongst many others, the Indigenous Mapuche in today's Chile and Argentina are key protagonists in the struggles for decolonisation in contemporary Latin America. In Chile, according to the latest national census (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas 2017, 16), approximately 10% of the population consider themselves Mapuche, but more recent studies show that more and more people in the country begin to identify as Indigenous today (CIIR 2020, 9). Especially since the formal return of democracy in Chile after 1990s, the Mapuche's struggle for the decolonisation of their territories and society, for political autonomy and ecological justice, and against state repression and persecution has become domestically and internationally more and more prominent. At the same time, their struggle has received international support from non-Indigenous actors and organisations throughout the globe, particularly Chilean exiles and the Mapuche diaspora. Today, the social uprising in Chile beginning in October 2019 put the country again in international spotlight.³ In these social protests and the political processes leading to the election of a constitutional convention in 2021, also the demands and the situation of the Mapuche society is gaining—at least symbolically—more attention. For example, the iconic photograph of the largest demonstration of

2 This term that has been used particularly since 2015 to describe a refugee and migrant friendly atmosphere and welcoming culture in Germany.

3 I was finishing the first manuscript of this investigation as a PhD thesis when the protests started. While the present text therefore only engages partially with the complex and constantly changing developments in Chile since late 2019, the epilogue will try to connect the results from this research with the latest developments in the contemporary struggle for a “new Chile” led by social and indigenous movements.

approximately two million people on October 25th, 2019, probably the largest in the country's history, has the *wenufoye*⁴, the Mapuche national flag, instead of the Chilean at its centre.

By addressing this case of international solidarity and transnational advocacy, the present study takes up the question of the limitations and possibilities of solidarity between two groups who do not share the same vulnerability. Those two groups are, on the one hand, the Indigenous Mapuche and their communities, organisations, and diaspora in Europe and, on the other, non-Indigenous, mostly white European actors and organisations who declare their solidarity or sympathy with the Mapuche and offer their support in numerous ways. But who exactly are the actors and protagonists of these solidarity efforts, who has the agency, and whose agency is (made) (in-)visible? Furthermore, are these solidarity efforts in Europe coordinated together with or independently from the Mapuche in Wallmapu?⁵ At the same time, it is interesting to ask what kind of solidarity and advocacy actions do these different actors take, as well as if and how they actually support the Mapuche in Wallmapu. Have these actions changed over time? If we accept the idea that struggles for decolonisation are rather abstract and distant for people in the Global North, it would be of further interest to look at how non-Mapuche actors make sense of their involvement in solidarity and advocacy. What is their relation to the Mapuche and what are their political beliefs? What is the role of colonial stereotypes in the relations between Mapuche and non-Mapuche people, and are they being confronted? Finally, if contemporary calls for solidarity are criticised as empty phrases based on a blurry understanding of solidarity everyone could possibly agree upon, then what does solidarity actually mean to the involved actors in theory and in praxis? In addition, what kind of relationships do the involved actors build amongst each other? Do these encounters in solidarity and advocacy transform these relationships?

These are some of the questions that the present research aims to discuss through a committed ethnographic approach. They inform the overall re-

4 This flag has been accepted and shared by most of the Mapuche organisations and communities since 1992. Instead of a nationalistic symbol, the *wenufoye* should rather be understood as a "symbol of ideological decolonisation" (Pairican 2019; my translation).

5 Wallmapu is the name of the ancient territory of the Mapuche in the southern parts of today's Chile and Argentina. On the Western (Chilean) side of the Andes, the territory is called Gulumapu, on the Eastern (Argentinian) side, Puelmapu. Although this research refers mostly to Gulumapu, I will continue using the term Wallmapu.

search question about the limitations and possibilities of solidarity between these groups (Mapuche and non-Mapuche) against the backdrop of the racialised, gendered, and colonial hierarchies and differences between them. In this way, I will not discuss solidarity in abstract terms, but rather base my elaboration on its concrete social and political expressions in a particular ethnographic case study, which I undertook from 2014 to 2017 in Europe and Chile. I will later detail this methodological approach as an ethnography of and in solidarity—a research agenda about expressions and experiences of international solidarity, conducted in solidarity with the involved actors. This enables a conceptualisation and analysis of my own position in (possible or limited) solidarity as an object of study within the ethnographic process. This multi-sited, networked, and committed ethnography included my active participation in solidarity networks, which allowed me to follow actors, sites, and processes of solidarity between Europe and Chile. Another key element of this methodological approach is the idea of an ethnographic translation that puts different knowledges within a crowded field of thoughts and ideas into conversation. This methodological approach presents some difficult challenges that will further nurture my understanding of the limitations and possibilities of solidarity across and beyond differences.

Through this ethnography of and in solidarity, and with the general research question as a starting point, the study looks at different but complementary arenas of solidarity: the networked aspect of solidarity, the strategies and tactics, the role of stereotypes and privileges within solidarity action, and finally the everyday praxis and interpersonal encounters of solidarity.

These arenas will be investigated each with a corresponding underlying research question by asking: 1) Who are the protagonists of these solidarity efforts and how is their network structured and organised?; 2) What are the political strategies and tactics of these solidarity and advocacy efforts?; 3) What is the role of privileges and (colonial and racist) stereotypes within these solidarity efforts (and if they are confronted, how)?, and 4) What are the social practices and interpersonal encounters of solidarity and what are their effects? Each of these underlying research questions will be discussed in a separate chapter and will inform the closing discussion about the limitations and possibilities for solidarity in the present case.

Over time, the research focus shifted significantly and changed the overall direction of this investigation. Originally, I had assumed that solidarity and advocacy with the Mapuche in Europe is carried out foremost by non-Indigenous actors and organisations. Very much to the contrary, at the begin-

ning of my ethnography I found myself in a scenario in which (diasporic) Mapuche actors and organisations have a significant role, and shape and transform the solidarity network, its actions, and its aims. This means that I encountered international solidarity with the Mapuche as solidarity carried out foremost by Mapuche actors themselves, subsequently supported by a wide range of different non-Mapuche actors and organisations. As a reaction to this situation, the present research discusses solidarity, on the one hand, as relations, (dis)encounters, and interpersonal experiences between Mapuche and non-Mapuche (European as well as Chilean) actors across and beyond their differences; on the other, it tries to understand solidarity as a crowded field of transnational advocacy to support the struggle of the Mapuche in Chile, in which all these actors participate with different positionalities, privileges, resources, motivations, and aims. Research questions one and two focus on the latter (chapters four and five), whilst questions three and four address the former (chapters six and seven).

Towards the conclusion, I will be able to formulate an empirically and theoretically informed notion of (international) solidarity that connects actors across and beyond differences and transforms their relationship by taking into consideration their historically and structurally heterogenous socio-cultural and political experiences. Solidarity as a transformative and creative relationship is thus open and without guarantees, but has the potential to produce relationships that are based on mutuality, reciprocity, and horizontality. If these relationships are sustainably perpetuated in close interaction, they generate new and heterogenous social assemblages amongst the involved actors. In summation, I will show how (international and political) solidarity transforms and creates (new) social bonds (i.e., social solidarity).

The final analysis will hopefully not only shed light on contemporary political and social expressions of solidarity between the Mapuche and non-Mapuche, but also on other cases of solidarity between unequally situated groups. Finally, this research hopes to update discussions about solidarity that have rarely focused on the inequalities involved from an antiracist and decolonial perspective. In this way, it seeks to dust off solidarity as a crucial and much needed tool for contemporary struggles for social justice in today's times of multiple and pandemic crisis. At the same time, it seeks to show how these experiences demand and point out new forms of sociability and conviviality (Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2015) across and beyond differences.

A central aim of the present research is to update notions of solidarity based on its historical definition of describing international or domestic connections between political and sociocultural struggles (Süß and Woyke 2020). This meaning of solidarity refers to its political dimension, which creates bonds amongst actors who seek to achieve a particular goal against an antagonist (Bayertz 1998a; Scholz 2008). Such political notions of solidarity usually describe the experiences of international or domestic connections amongst and between collectives who share a certain political ideology or class position. Nevertheless, only a few studies have focused on what happens to such political solidarities if the involved actors and groups do not share the same background, vulnerability, and access to resources. This raises the question of how to deal with difference within struggles in solidarity. In fact, not only will this research aim to contribute to the discussions about the limitations and possibilities of political solidarity across and beyond differences, but it will show how the sole focus on the political dimension of solidarity falls short in understanding such experiences and (dis)encounters.

Some authors have detailed various historical expressions of the political solidarities and connections in the last centuries amongst groups and actors beyond differences—whether they are racial, colonial, or ethnic, or on the basis of a different citizenship or class belonging (Featherstone 2012; Gandhi 2006; Linebaugh and Rediker 2013). A particular focus on difference within solidarity further helps to value the agency of groups who have been silenced or forgotten as political protagonists in a common struggle—for instance, those who took part in the student uprisings in West Germany in the 1960s (Seibert 2008; Slobodian 2012). These studies do more than just bring back such silenced and forgotten actors into the narrative of historical experiences of solidarity; they also enrich the debate by confronting us with these actors' different ways of organising and practicing solidarity, their analysis of political problems, as well as their different foci for struggles. The present case also shows how Mapuche actors themselves have been and still are the protagonists of the transnationalisation of their struggle and that they shape the international solidarity network through their ideas and concepts. The aforementioned critical historical approaches also indicate how, for example, in the second half of the twentieth century, colonised, Third World, or Indigenous people have fought parallel battles against racism and coloniality within the shared struggles in solidarity with people from the Global North or white activists. Furthermore, whilst the resistance against racism and coloniality was subsumed or even silenced under the assumed common goals of national lib-

eration in the Global South and socialist internationalism, they became more and more visible as struggles of their own after the fall of the Berlin Wall (Seibert 2008).

By the 1990s, the quest for a socialist solidarity became increasingly sidelined and movements against racial injustice and right-wing terror, as well as decolonial and noncitizens' movements, demanded new forms of solidarity from possible allies beyond the old-fashioned forms of international solidarity. For the Global North, this meant shifting the focus from revolutionary or national liberation movements in the Global South towards their own domestic context, confronting itself and its racial and colonial continuities (Steylerl and Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2012). Thus, in the 1990s, the right-wing terror attacks in Rostock-Lichtenhagen, Hoyerswerda, Mölln, and Solingen in Germany, the assault on Rodney King and thousands of other African-Americans in the US, the racial discrimination and marginalisation in the *banlieues* in France, and the securitised border regimes all over the Global North began to demand more and possibly a different type of solidarity than the revolutionary movements in the distant mountain ridges of Cuba, Nicaragua, or Vietnam.

Such demands for antiracist types of solidarity pushed actors in the Global North to reflect about and reconsider their former concepts and ideas of internationalist solidarity (Foitzik and Marvakis 1997). Primarily, the post- and decolonial critiques from authors and activists with backgrounds in the Global South, who are first- or second-generation residents of the Global North, demanded a reconsideration and reflection about the possibilities and limitations of solidarity across differences. Amongst other things, they contributed to understanding how the imaginations of regions or people in the Global South are influenced by colonial representations (Said 2003) or how well-meaning advocacy reproduces paternalism and silences subaltern voices (Alcoff 1992; Spivak 1988). Such critiques began to trouble and complicate ideas of solidarity across differences because they understood its practice as located within colonial and racial structures, not outside of them (Mohanty 2003). As such, solidarity might even reproduce these structures of colonial and racial inequalities, as long as it remains nonperformative, does not change the terms of the relationship, and does not redistribute material (access to) resources (Ahmed 2004). Based on these post- and decolonial critiques of the possibilities and limitations of solidarity, only a few studies have taken up the challenge to empirically study expressions of (international or domestic) solidarity and transnational advocacy, with a focus on the differences between the in-

volved groups and actors (Land 2015; Mahrouse 2014). And despite the newly increasing theoretical interest in solidarity, there are only a few contemporary testimonies, which valorise the epistemic and critical potential of practices of solidarity and mutual aid that are being carried out from below and on the ground by subalternised actors, groups and organizations, for example in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic (Sitrin and Colectivo Sembrar 2020).

The present study takes up these theoretical and empirical antecedents and critically discusses whiteness, privileges, and the continuation of colonial stereotypes—exemplified in the notion of ‘Maputhusiasm’—within international solidarity and advocacy. It aims to enrich these ongoing debates by ethnographically translating and discussing the perspectives on these issues of the Mapuche actors involved. The present research hereby aims to complicate notions and possibilities of solidarity by focusing on the different positionalities between the involved actors and groups—in this case, Mapuche and non-Mapuche (non-Indigenous Chileans and European citizens). In that context, difference is essentially the result of the modern and colonial inter-subjective order that has foregrounded and continues to rearticulate ideas of race (Quijano 2014a). Particularly, the Indigeneity of the Mapuche can only be understood as an essentially colonial category (Bonfil Batalla 1972) that helps to explain their illegitimate citizenship (Silva Tapia 2016) in today’s Chile. In that way, this study introduces another context in which solidarity is complicated by the involved actors’ different positionality and vulnerability. It takes their difference as a starting point and looks at its effects on particular expressions of international solidarity and transnational advocacy.

The case of the Mapuche is further insightful because it connects historical experiences of international solidarity from the twentieth century with contemporary forms of struggle. In the second half of the twentieth century, many Latin American countries aligned themselves with other nations in the Global South, seeking a third way beyond US-dominated capitalism and USSR-dominated state communism (Young 2001). In countries like Cuba, Chile, and Nicaragua, this led to revolutionary processes and movements in favour of a domestic alternative of socialist development towards social justice and away from the US imperialist policy in the region. These developments became not only (sometimes romanticised) inspirational sources for the struggle of socialist movements and parties in the Global North, but also led to sustained waves of solidarity with their comrades in the Global South (Balsen and Rössel 1986; Georga and Arenhövel 1992). Such experiences of solidarity included declarations, protests, and information campaigns in the Global

North, as well as monetary donations and funding for these revolutionary movements. Activists from the Global North also travelled to these countries to support alphabetisation campaigns or even the armed struggle. But these political projects and their international solidarity became marginalised on a regional level after incisive events like the electoral loss of the *Sandinistas* and the return to formal democracy in Chile in 1989. On a global scale, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the disintegration of the Soviet Union and its historical horizon for socialist change further frustrated such developments in Latin America and their allies in the Global North.

However, shortly after the false assumption of the end of history (Fukuyama 1992), with the *Zapatistas* and the EZLN in Mexico, a new revolutionary movement from Latin America surfaced and sparked international fascination, along with new waves of solidarity. It updated anti-imperialist and anticapitalist language and iconography into a new form of decolonial struggle by transculturalising Western and Indigenous political ideas. This anticapitalist and antipatriarchal decolonial struggle proposed a new horizon for political change and emancipation for people around the world (Hayden 2002). In a similar way, the Mapuche in Chile and Argentina opted for strategies favouring their political, sociocultural, epistemological, and territorial autonomy without neglecting their situatedness within a Westernised framework from the 1990s onwards (Marimán 2012; Tricot 2013). But, in contrast to the *Zapatistas*, international solidarity with the Mapuche since the late twentieth century is framed by the experiences of international solidarity with the Chilean people after the military coup in 1973. In that way, the contemporary expressions of solidarity with and by the Mapuche are historically linked to these older experiences of international solidarity.

With this historical framework in mind, the present study is based on the idea that decolonial movements, especially of groups in Latin America, such as the *Zapatistas* or the Mapuche,⁶ serve as key reference points for contemporary expressions of international solidarity in the Global North. Nevertheless, the struggle of the Mapuche in particular is largely overlooked and internationally unrecognised. For that purpose, the present study provides a detailed

6 One could add to this the Indigenous mobilisations in Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador that, since the 1990s, have managed to materialise political changes in their respective countries, such as the legal frameworks surrounding the Aymara and Quechua ideas of *Sumak Kawsay/Sumaq Qamaña* in the constitutions of Bolivia and Ecuador or the proposals of the “Living Forest” led by Amazonian women (Sempértegui 2020).

account of how the struggle of the Mapuche became transnationalised since the 1970s (chapter four) and explains the reasons for transnational Mapuche advocacy transcending the domestic context in Chile, as well as its framework and strategies (chapter five).

Notwithstanding, using Indigenous movements as reference points for struggles for liberation and emancipation is not without its difficulties. On the one hand, such decolonial movements outside of Eurocentric constraints are often conceptualised as historical alternatives outside of the left-wing melancholia (Traverso 2017) in the Global North—that is, a state of mind to mourn and self-reflect upon the failed and defeated left-wing political projects throughout the twentieth century, that nevertheless continue to inspire future political action. As such, they carry the burden of representing a historical horizon for humankind beyond late capitalism and the climate crisis. Put in drastic terms, the Global North needs to “forget the socialist mumbo-jumbo and play the Indian card” (Oppenheimer 2002, 54). The present research will engage in that debate and discuss the complicated relationship between the Mapuche and the non-Indigenous Left, as well as the consequences and opportunities arising thereof.

On the other hand, and taking the insights from postcolonial critique to the context of the Americas, there is a long-lasting tradition in the Global North of stereotyping and romanticising American Indigenous and Native people (Berkhofer 1979). Particularly, the German-speaking context has been analysed as overly enthusiastically engaging with and referring to Indigenous people and Native Americans. Here, the term “Indianthusiasm” intends to describe the particular German racial gaze through which Indigenous people and Native Americans are racially stereotyped, idealised, and romanticised (Calloway, Gemunden, and Zantop 2002; Usbeck 2015). In addition to these debates, the present study seeks to critically discuss the relevance of a Maputhusiasm within the expressions and experiences of international solidarity and advocacy with and of the Mapuche.

Before discussing each topic in a separate chapter, this research will present its theoretical and methodological foundations. The theoretical focus of this study is the concept and idea of solidarity, which will be tackled from different disciplinary backgrounds in the humanities, as well as social and cultural sciences. After offering a brief history of the concept of solidarity, this chapter will provide four conceptual distinctions of solidarity that are widely accepted in academic literature today: solidarity as a universal ethical norm, solidarity as a concept to describe mechanisms of creating social bonds,

solidarity as a mutual civic responsibility within modern nation-states, and finally solidarity as a concept for political struggle. These approaches to solidarity have sometimes led to disagreements around a series of controversies and provide contemporary diagnoses that will be presented in the following section. Nevertheless, in these historical and conceptual approaches, as well as in contemporary debates and controversies, the understanding of solidarity is limited, since it does not take into consideration gendered, colonial, or racialised differences or critically address social and political hierarchies.

This is why, after these hegemonic debates, the chapter will move on to discuss critical approaches to solidarity. It begins by discussing if and how solidarity is a concept that helps to understand the transformation and production of new sociopolitical relations, before turning the focus on the question of difference in solidarity. This section will present theoretical insights that inform a potential decolonisation of the Western idea of solidarity. I will particularly focus on discussions about the limitations and possibilities of solidarity across and beyond differences from critical race, decolonial, and feminist approaches. These critical perspectives will finally allow to formulate a notion of solidarity as a conflictive relationship between actors with different positionalities, privileges, resources, and motivations. This critical approach thus shifts the focus to questions of agency and difference in solidarity, as well as its potential for critical decolonised social relations.

The last two sections of this chapter have a similar approach: First, I provide a brief overview of the more prominent and hegemonic theoretical approaches of new social movement research, particularly the transnationalisation of Indigenous resistances. Afterwards, I will articulate some challenges and critiques of Eurocentrism within this theoretical field. This will allow to develop a theoretical approach of the transnationalisation of the Mapuche struggle that recognises the heterogeneity and differences of the involved actors, goes beyond the nation-state container, and considers its networked structure as a decentralised rhizomatic field that produces connectivities and relationalities as new assemblages.

Chapter three describes the research process as a networked, activist ethnography of and in solidarity from 2014–2017 in Chile and Europe. The epistemological point of departure draws inspiration from Marxist and (Black) feminist epistemology, which will guide the following inquiry and research questions. The research methodology is stimulated by research programmes such as Participatory Action Research, ethnography, and decolonial methodologies. Combining these programmes led to the set of research

methods that were used to answer the research questions. The reader will be able to follow the steps of my networked activist ethnography, which started in 2014 in Europe and led me to conduct fieldwork in Europe over a period of three years and to undertake two research trips to Chile in 2016 and 2017. In this section, I will introduce the key interlocutors and sites of my research and propose some reflections about the research process, questions of how to balance academic and activist spaces, how to deal with (my own and others') vulnerability, and how to make academic results beneficial for those who participated in my research.

The first chapter introduces the networked features of international solidarity based on the transnational cultural politics of autonomy of the Mapuche. It hereby presents the main actors of the solidarity network with and of the Mapuche and introduces some features of this network's structure. I will argue that international solidarity with the Mapuche is based on a culturally embedded understanding of the Mapuche's autonomy. For that purpose, this chapter begins with an exploration of their cultural politics of autonomy starting from historical experiences of political autonomy until today's mobilisations and conceptualisations. The contemporary solidarity network's structure needs to be understood as a result of the diasporic experience of the Mapuche after the military coup in Chile in 1973 and the subsequent transnationalisation of Wallmapu as a site of resistance and hope. This is because the first- and second-generation diaspora of the Mapuche are today's main protagonists of the solidarity network. Finally, I will propose to understand this network's structure and organisation as an expression of autonomous cultural politics based on five characteristics: it is essentially decentral and rhizomatic; solidarity is pursued as a form of international relations with non-Mapuche actors and organisations; solidarity is a form of struggle that is hidden and obscured to non-Mapuche outsiders; solidarity is woven by the agency of the Mapuche themselves; and solidarity takes place within different arenas of political and sociocultural life.

The second empirical chapter looks at the political strategies and tactics of transnational Mapuche advocacy (TMA) employed by Mapuche representatives, communities, and organisations from Wallmapu, the Mapuche diaspora, as well as non-Mapuche actors and organisations. I propose to understand these strategies and tactics as expressions of transnational advocacy seeking to overcome the domestic blockage of the Mapuche's political and sociocultural articulation in Chile. In that context, particular as well as structural issues are made internationally prominent and are articulated within a

master and several injustice frames for transnational advocacy. The first key strategy of Mapuche and non-Mapuche allies involves their informational politics via producing and pluralising information, as well as by raising awareness and sensitivity about the situation in Wallmapu. I will put a special focus on contemporary digital Mapuche media and digital Mapuche activism, as well as the challenges and transformation this activism faces today. Second, transnational advocacy produces political pressure through a series of symbolic politics and protests that seek to create leverage and accountability amongst powerful domestic or international actors. As a third step, I will present two case studies of how international solidarity aims to fortify Mapuche communities and organisations through financial support and funding. I will engage with critiques and alternatives that Mapuche actors articulate regarding these experiences. The chapter closes with a section on how transnational advocacy becomes 'Mapuchised' through transcultural dialogues and translations as a political strategy employed by Mapuche actors.

Chapter six critically discusses the role of privileges and (colonial and racist) stereotypes, expressed in the notions of whiteness and Maputhusiasm, within experiences of solidarity. The chapter starts by looking at how non-Mapuche supporters establish contact and make connections with the struggle of the Mapuche, and how this reflects their privileges. Based on interviews with these actors, I discuss their ideological and political references to the Mapuche resistance. These statements will demonstrate the complicated relationship between the Mapuche and (Western, Eurocentric, and non-Indigenous) Leftism, and how solidarity might become dangerously depoliticised but also eventually lead to an ecological cosmopolitanism from below. The final section of this chapter discusses the notion of Maputhusiasm as a representational framework activated by non-Mapuche, particularly German, actors that racialises and stereotypes the Mapuche culture and society through mostly positively connoted, romanticised, and antimodern imaginaries. Their awareness of these stereotypes ultimately results in a quest for an authentic experience with the Mapuche within solidarity and advocacy activism. Finally, I will enter into a critical conversation with some of my Mapuche interlocutors about these stereotypes and their different strategies of confronting and transforming them.

The last empirical chapter will discuss the critical practices and interpersonal encounters and assemblages of solidarity through three principles: solidarity as a critical commitment (*compromiso*), as critical practices of sharing (*compartir*), and finally as a communal, mutual responsibility and the creation

of social bonds (*keyuwvn* and *mingako*). Looking at the interpersonal practices of solidarity enables a critique of white agency and paternalism within experiences of solidarity. In contrast, *compromiso* relates to more ethical practices of solidarity. In the present case, solidarity is also articulated and performed as a practice of sharing time—*compartir*—and exchanging spaces, goods, and knowledge. These practices might lead to exploitative relations within solidarity action, in which non-Mapuche actors might extract a surplus. The Mapuche propose a series of mechanisms through which possible exploitative relationships are evaded and relations of solidarity become beneficial through mutual redistribution. Finally, these interpersonal practices of solidarity between Mapuche and non-Mapuche assemble new forms of social encounters, based on a Mapuche understanding of solidarity as a communal, reciprocal, and horizontal relation—solidarity as *keyuwvn* or *mingako*. Such relations of solidarity are sought to be enduring and socially intimate. On that basis, relations of political solidarity between Mapuche and non-Mapuche can be transformed and assembled into relations of mutual identification, recognition, belonging, mimesis, or family and friendships ties.

Before entering the maze of solidarity with the Mapuche, this introduction requires some formal remarks. The quotations from my ethnographic interviews with most of the interlocutors are anonymised. Some interview partners are referenced with their full names, either because they have a public role as political or cultural representatives or because of their renowned contribution to international solidarity efforts. The final pages provide an appendix with glossaries of the most recurrent abbreviations and for the words used in Mapuzugun, as well as a list of the interviews referenced in this work. As indications of location and language, Wallmapu and Mapuzugun will remain capitalised. All other terms in languages different than English, amongst them Mapuzugun, will be written according to their own capitalisation rules and in italics. As far as possible, the terms in Mapuzugun will be written according to the Mapuche alphabet proposed by Raguileo Lincopil (Berreta, Cañumil, and Cañumil 2008).

2. Theorising Solidarity and New Transnational Social Movements

Solidarity activism in Europe with Wallmapu demands a theoretical reflection from two different but complementary fields of study. This is because, on the one hand, solidarity activism concerns the multiple (dis)encounters and types of collaborations between Mapuche and non-Mapuche (Chilean and European citizens) actors. The present study aims to understand the nature of these relationships by critically drawing on theoretical debates around the concept and idea of solidarity. In order to discuss the relationship of differently positioned actors coming together in political struggle, I will particularly focus on discussions about the limitations and possibilities of solidarity across and beyond differences from critical race, decolonial, and feminist approaches. On the other hand, a wide array of different actors, amongst them Mapuche representatives from Wallmapu, diasporic Mapuche organisations in Europe, and white supporters and NGOs, all contribute to making the injustices in Wallmapu and the Mapuche resistance internationally visible. These actors hereby transnationalise the Mapuche struggle, build networked relations amongst themselves, organise advocacy, and develop different protest strategies and tactics. To understand these dynamics, this research will critically engage with theoretical approaches from new, international, and transnational social movement research.

The first two sections of this chapter deal with theoretical approaches to solidarity. The first section presents the rather hegemonic debates about solidarity and introduces the historical and conceptual approaches to solidarity, as well as contemporary debates and controversies. The second section will then engage with critical approaches to solidarity across and beyond differences from the perspectives of critical race, critical migration, decolonial, and feminist studies. The last two sections of this chapter connect to each other in a similar way: First, I provide a brief overview of the more prominent theoretical

approaches of new social movement research, particularly the transnationalisation of Indigenous resistance. Second, I will articulate some challenges and critiques of Eurocentrism within this theoretical field.

Thus, theorising solidarity and new transnational social movements means first, introducing their hegemonic and traditional perspectives and second, engaging with more critical approaches from critical race, critical migration, decolonial, and feminist studies. This is because, whilst the dominant perspectives on both theoretical areas are helpful to grasp transnationalisation and solidarity, they fall short in understanding how racialised, colonial, and gendered differences and hierarchies inform these encounters and mobilisations. Furthermore, it is necessary to discuss both theoretical areas—solidarity and new transnational social movements—inter- and transdisciplinarily. This is why the following chapter will engage with insights from different disciplinary backgrounds such as sociology, political sciences, anthropology, philosophy, and history.

Historical and Conceptual Approaches to Solidarity and their Controversies

The theoretical discussion of the idea and concept of solidarity begins with introducing the hegemonic historical approaches to solidarity. Hauke Brunkhorst (2002) identifies three historical traditions as semantic resources for contemporary understandings of solidarity within ancient Greek and Roman thinking, the biblical tradition and a combination of both after the French revolution.¹ These three historical traditions have an implicit exclusionary character and consider solidarity uncritically as a relationship amongst privileged men, as members of the elites and citizens of the *polis*. This historical

1 First, the ancient Greek tradition of friendship amongst the citizens of the ancient polis (*philia* in Greek or *amicitia* in Latin) as a political, legal, and public term implying equality and unity (*hormonia* in Greek or *concordia* in Latin) amongst men as equals; second, the biblical tradition of fraternity as an apolitical or metapolitical notion (as expressed in the New Testament) facilitated a stance that is critical of social hierarchies and is opposed to the institution of slavery; the third tradition is a combination of the two aforementioned ones, leading to a radical politicisation of the Christian idea of fraternity and a recontextualisation of the Greek and Roman tradition after the French revolution of 1789.

understanding of solidarity is therefore limited and does not take into consideration gendered or racialised differences or critically address social and political hierarchies. This is why this tradition is not fully capable of taking up or understanding gendered, racialised, social, and political hierarchies within debates on solidarity.

Now from the early nineteenth century onwards, the French revolution's *fraternité* morphed into debates about 'solidarity' within philosophical and early socialist thinking (Brunkhorst 2002, 86; Wildt 1998).² The term was introduced to the early social sciences by August Comte as a way to describe "socio-economic interdependencies [within the modern European nation-state], without losing [its] universalistic moral and affective dimension" (Wildt 1998, 206; my translation). It was finally the French sociologist Émile Durkheim who provided an elaborate discussion about solidarity at the end of the nineteenth century (Delitz 2013; Durkheim 2012). The resurfacing of these ideas in political and sociological debates at that time also narrowed the horizon for solidarity to the experience of white and mostly male workers and citizens of European nation-states. In these debates, solidarity remained an exclusive concept without addressing colonial, racialised, or gendered hierarchies and the division of labour based on them (Quijano 2014b; Lugones 2007).

However, against these narrow and exclusive understandings of solidarity within a Eurocentric tradition, historical investigations show that solidarities across colonial, racialised, and gendered hierarchies did exist within the expansion of modern/colonial capitalism.³ In this way, international, translocal, and transethnic practices of solidarity precede and exceed (early) socialist developments of the concept. At the same time there is currently a growing tendency to uncover theoretical debates about solidarity within the history of Black and anti-colonial thought (Holley 2020; Shelby 2005). Over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, experiences of solidarity between

2 From this point on, it is safe to say that solidarity develops both as a "political slogan of the worker movement" and as a "guiding concept for sociologists and economists" (Steinvorth 1998, 57; my translation), implying moral ideas about charity, justice, and mutual help, as well as self-determination and common property.

3 It is possible, for example, to reconstruct a global history of translocal solidarities and of a revolutionary universalism from below throughout the first three centuries of the European colonial expansion (Linebaugh and Rediker 2013); furthermore, a very rich and dense history of intranational and international solidarities within political, emancipatory movements can be traced from the nineteenth century onwards.

what is now known as the Global North and the Global South have been investigated under such terms as, just to name a few, (socialist) internationalism (Featherstone 2012; Hierlmeier 2006; Seibert 2008), anticolonial radicalism (Gandhi 2006), abolitionism and feminist internationalism (Mohanty 2003; Roth 2017; Sheller 2003), anticolonial, national liberation, and decolonisation struggles (Stam and Shohat 2012; Young 2001).

Of particular importance for the present investigation are the historical experiences of international solidarity between Europe and leftist revolutionary movements in Latin America from the second half of the twentieth century onwards (Balsen and Rössel 1986; Gerlach 2009; Harzer and Volks 2008; Kemner 2014; Trnka 2015). Within this context, a series of investigations stand out by highlighting the agency of the so-called Third World activists in these experiences of international solidarity (Seibert 2008; Slobodian 2012).

After the decline of the actually existing socialism and the partial disintegration of its historical horizon for social change, in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, the need for global and international solidarity was addressed in relation to alternatives to neoliberal, financial-capitalist globalisation, with its inherent border and migration regimes (Hardt and Negri 2004; 2018; Waterman 2001). These alternatives have been similarly nurtured by a growing preoccupation with and resistance against the ecologically disastrous consequences of global capitalism (Klein 2015) as well as by more and more globally visible historical alternatives proposed and inspired by subalternised and Indigenous actors and communities from the Global South. The latter include, for example, the Zapatista Movement and their statements and declarations (Hayden 2002; Olesen 2005; Khasnabish 2008) or the concept of *Buen Vivir* as an alternative to Eurocentric development (Acosta 2013), to which contemporary practices of solidarity from the Global North are directed. The transnationalisation of the struggle of the Mapuche connects directly to such experiences.

This very brief and by no means exhaustive history of ideas and practices of solidarity highlights the historical embeddedness of the term, its rich heterogeneity in traditions, as well as its Eurocentric limitations. Ultimately, the contemporary political developments since the end of the twentieth century seem to demand an updated understanding of the term that is able to adequately describe the ongoing practices and contradictions of solidarity across and beyond differences. For this purpose, I will turn the attention now to a more conceptual approach to the different usages and dimensions of solidarity.

Generic definitions about solidarity share the basic assumption of solidarity being about a certain level of cohesiveness amongst group members with particular normative goals (Bayertz 1998a, 11–12). In this way, solidarity “mediates between the community and the individual,” “is a form of unity,” and “entails positive moral obligations” (Scholz 2008, 18–19). Solidarity thus has both a descriptive and normative dimension. Nevertheless, there is no single accepted definition of the term but rather a “relative marginalisation of the solidarity concept” (Bayertz 1998a, 13; my translation) and even objections to theorising solidarity at all in social sciences and philosophy (Scholz 2008; Thome 1998).

Besides this broad definition, a widely accepted conceptual differentiation of solidarity (Laitinen and Pessi 2015a; Scholz 2008) proposed by Kurt Bayertz (1998a) looks at solidarity as a) a moral and universal idea, b) a notion that describes social and communal bonds, c) civic obligations, state responsibility, and care within the modern nation-state, and finally d) political solidarity in struggles for social justice. Whilst this conceptual differentiation is analytically helpful, over the course of this study I will show how particularly political (d) and social forms (b) of solidarity can co-exist and even morph into one another. For the present case, this means that political expressions of solidarity with the Mapuche can lead to relationships between Mapuche and non-Mapuche that can be described more accurately as social solidarities. In short, political solidarities are able to produce social solidarities. This possibility has been largely ignored by authors who accept the following conceptual differentiation.

Solidarity has been suggested as a universal principle for positive moral obligations amongst humanity (Bayertz 1998a; Laitinen and Pessi 2015b). Posed this way, solidarity has become a problem and object of study for moral and social philosophy throughout the twentieth century (Brunkhorst 2002; Dean 1996; Honneth 2012a; 2012b; Löschke 2016; May 1996; 2007; Laitinen 2015; Rorty 1992; Wildt 1998).⁴

4 In these debates, according to Jörg Löschke (2015), three basic conceptualisations of solidarity can be differentiated: solidarity as oriented towards public and common welfare (by Jürgen Habermas), as compassion and sympathy towards the humiliated (by Richard Rorty), and as a form of recognition (by Axel Honneth). What these debates have in common is that they define solidarity as a moral concept that implies positive duties, is group and identity related, is normatively grounded, and is oriented towards achieving morally qualified goals (Löschke 2015, 76).

These debates have not gone unchallenged. Jodi Dean (1996), for example, does not rule out the possibility of a universal and moral notion of solidarity, but stresses the particularity and situatedness of different actors. She proposes the notion of a “reflexive solidarity,” which “urges that we replace ascribed identities with achieved ones and substitute an enforced commonality of oppression with communities of those who have chosen to work and fight together” (Ibid., 179). Similarly, David Featherstone (2012) invites us to think of solidarity not as a given universal principle, but as a potentially universalising principle. Similar to the idea of a reflexive solidarity, solidarity here is created through political struggles and as a site on which competing meanings of universality can be negotiated (Butler 2000).

Thus, solidarity as a universalising principle refers to two different directions of discussions in moral and social philosophy: The first encompasses all discussions in social and moral philosophy that assume solidarity as a universal moral principle despite contrary historical experiences, the particularities of different standpoints, and its implicit Eurocentric and male-centred bias. At the same time, universalising solidarity can be described as an unfinished and reflexive process of moving towards shared moral notions across differences and competing understandings through political struggle.

Following the conceptual distinction by Kurt Bayertz (1998a) and others (Laitinen and Pessi 2015b; Rippe 1998; Scholz 2008), the next type of solidarity will be called sociological or social solidarity. Drawing on early discussions from the developing social sciences from the nineteenth century, social solidarity is used to describe forms of social, communal, and collective cohesion and belonging to “measure the interdependence amongst individuals within a group” (Scholz 2008, 21) both normatively and descriptively.⁵

In order to understand social solidarity properly, I suggest briefly revisiting the works of Durkheim (2012) and Marcel Mauss (2013), who gave the concept of solidarity a central role in their sociological and anthropological studies. Their “sociocentrist” (Delitz 2013, 11–12; my translation) perspective

5 The question of social cohesion in the (European) modern nation-states of the nineteenth century became a growing preoccupation for social scientists, since the increasing capitalist division of labour seemed to undermine traditional communal bonds. With the idea of a (social) solidarity, scholars like Comte, Tönnies, and Durkheim wanted to provide an explanation for both the transition from so-called traditional to modern societies and for the persistence or even strengthening of social bonds in industrial, capitalist societies (Baumann 2015, 102–49, 223–45; Bayertz 1998a; Scholz 2008; Wallerstein et al. 1996, 9–39).

is helpful in understanding solidarity as a “total social fact” (Mauss 2013, 176; my translation) beyond emotional or moral ideals. Whilst moral or universalising solidarity is an essentially normative concept, social solidarity is rather descriptive and thus empirically observable.

In his study on the social division of labour, Durkheim suggests that in so-called traditional or archaic social formations and in capitalist, industrial societies, two different types of solidarity can be found, which he calls mechanic and organic. In mechanic forms of solidarity, social cohesion is given more importance than the individual and is “only possible to the extent that the individual personality merges into the collective personality” (Durkheim 2012, 183; my translation). This means that solidarity in its mechanic sense is not a relationship amongst individuals. Instead, it is a relation with a focus on the (re)production of sociality. Here, social bonds are secured through a strong and shared frame of reference (e.g., religion or identity), division of labour is relatively undifferentiated, and there is little sense of individuality but a high degree of mutual identification. In contrast, in organic solidarity the function of the individual is put above the group and solidarity “is only possible if everyone has their very own field of activity, if they have their own personality” (Durkheim 2012, 183; my translation). Despite this increased individuality, social bonds are even stronger than in mechanic solidarity because mutual interdependence grows exponentially with a higher level of division of labour. Here, social bonds are created through necessity rather than through mutual identification (Delitz 2013, 96–127).

Whilst Durkheim makes sense of the level of social solidarity through the division of labour, Mauss suggests focusing on gift exchange as a central human activity that configures social formations. According to him, gift exchange in so-called archaic societies is a “total social fact” (Mauss 2013, 176; my translation), which allows to understand all possible areas of human existence, from religion to law. By looking at how gifts are exchanged, we are able to understand how social and political hierarchies are established, the ruling moral imperatives of a particular society, and how social relations amongst or between groups are consolidated. Interestingly, Mauss carefully ascribes a particular morality to those social relationships in which gift exchange (re)produces horizontal, reciprocal, and ultimately peaceful social relationships beyond mere individual interest (Mauss 2013, 157–83). In that perspective, gifts become a “form of social exchange” and bear a “relation-making force” (Tsing 2015, 122–23).

In this way, social solidarity becomes moral insofar as it (re)produces long-term, reciprocal, horizontal, peaceful, and interdependent social relationships. Furthermore, looking at (gift) exchange thus enables to understand what kind of social, affective relationships are formed beyond market-based exchange (Brites 2014; Langenohl 2021), how social hierarchies have been formed through different debt systems (Graeber 2011; Schraten 2020), to analytically differentiate between reciprocity and complementarity⁶ (Gouldner 1960, 169) and to think of nonauthoritarian, alternative forms of sociality (Frank 2016). In short, the sociocentric perspective on solidarity enables to empirically research the social, political, affective, *and* moral outcomes of social encounters, group cohesion, interdependence, (gift) exchange, or division of labour. Chapter seven in particular will show what kind of gifts are being exchanged within encounters of (political) solidarity between Mapuche and non-Mapuche and to what extent this produces a social surplus amongst the actors involved.

The third conceptual distinction describes a type of solidarity that binds the citizens of a state, members of a society, or members of a nation (Bayertz 1998a, 34) as “civic solidarity” (Laitinen and Pessi 2015b, 9–14; Scholz 2008, 27–33). Civic solidarity can refer to the particular relationship between citizens mediated through governmental institutions as the outcome of an implicit or explicit contractual agreement. The main difference with social solidarity is that the moral obligations in this case exist between a particular collectivity and a—mostly central—political institution as a guarantor of rights. Expressions for this type of solidarity are the welfare state, (universal) health care within a particular nation-state, or the EU charter, which explicitly summarises a “set of social rights protected under solidarity” (Scholz 2008, 28).

Since civic solidarity is an institutionalised and legally manifested form of solidarity, rather impersonal, bureaucratically mediated and legally enforced, it can be dismissed as proper solidarity. This is why the present investigation will engage only indirectly with such questions regarding civic or contractual solidarity.

According to the proposed conceptual differentiation, the fourth and last type of solidarity is coined “militant,” “project-related,” “political,” or “fighting” solidarity (Bayertz 1998a; Laitinen and Pessi 2015b; Rippe 1998; Scholz 2008).

6 “In short, complementarity connotes that one’s rights are another’s obligations, and *vice versa*. Reciprocity, however, connotes that *each* party has rights *and* duties” (Gouldner 1960, 169; emphasis in original).

According to Bayertz, this type of solidarity has both a positive frame of reference (in the sense that it aims to achieve a particular political goal) and a negative frame of reference (in the sense that it opposes some thing or some group). Through political solidarity, common interests in reference to shared normative goals and to (social and political) justice are forged.

Political solidarity “arises in response to a situation of injustice or oppression” (Scholz 2008, 34) through individual but shared commitments within a relatively small short-term group, the members of which may or may not be subjected to the particular injustice. Common causes or goals might be justice or liberation as generic or more concrete aims that are fought for in opposition, and as a response to, human suffering. As a positive duty, political solidarity is a form of a collective responsibility which includes different strategies, such as cooperation, social activism, or criticism. The range and extent can be local, national, or international and strong or weak in its moral commitment for the individual. Political solidarity can also have different scopes of intervention (revolution, rebellion, contention, etc.) and morph into formalised political organisations and structures (Scholz 2008, 33–69).

Rooted in socialist and anarchist thinking, historical expressions of political solidarity range from worker and union solidarity in the nineteenth century to anticolonial, tricontinental, and feminist solidarity, as well as international solidarity with the so-called Third World or Global South in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Connected to these experiences, some authors argue that today political solidarity is stronger than other forms of (social or civic) solidarity (Brunkhorst 2002, 20; Hondrich and Koch-Arzberger 1994, 21–29).⁷

Diagnosing the existence of a strong political solidarity in the present day contradicts with the “reluctance to study ‘solidarity’ per se [and] an even greater reluctance to study the resistant or revolutionary version in political solidarity” (Scholz 2008, 11). The present research uses this contradiction as a starting point and agrees that whilst there are clear contemporary expressions of political solidarity throughout the globe, those issues have rarely been touched upon with the notion of solidarity.⁸ This investigation thus accepts

7 This argument is pushed even further by Rippe, who suggests that the only proper usage of solidarity is “project-related” (Rippe 1998, 364) or political solidarity. In that way, he dismisses the moral, social, or civic concepts of solidarity proposed so far.

8 Rather, these have been addressed through (new) social movement studies, which will be introduced briefly in the second part of this chapter. What is most striking though,

the challenge of this research gap in order to understand what is “unique about the form of solidarity that emerges in opposition to oppression and injustice” (Scholz 2008, 38).

For the purpose and context of the present investigation, the political solidarity model by the authors mentioned so far seems way too generic and broad. Thus, a narrower and more concrete understanding of political solidarity is needed. Studying historical examples of international solidarity, Featherstone provides a productive, critical, and fruitful conceptualisation of solidarity that narrows down what has been called political solidarity until now. Although Featherstone starts from a similar notion of political solidarity as Scholz, understanding it as a “relation forged through political struggle which seeks to challenge forms of oppression” (Featherstone 2012, 5), he adds important elements. To him, solidarity is created from below and by subaltern actors instead of elites or privileged groups, has the potential to transform existing human relationships, and connects diverse geographical locations beyond existing political boundaries and across uneven power relations with a high degree of spontaneity and inventiveness (Ibid., 5–8). Understood that way, solidarity has the potential to reveal the “hidden geographies” and “sub-altern political activity in shaping practices of internationalism” (Ibid., 8–9).

This political notion of solidarity speaks most directly to expressions of solidarity that the present research aims to address, but does not yet tackle other important political and social dynamics that are worth considering.

Whilst the historical and conceptual approaches to solidarity accentuate different aspects, it is possible to identify a series of shared controversies and debates. The rest of this section is not so much interested in solving these controversies or in favouring one approach over another, but rather in arguing that these debates are useful in and of themselves, as they facilitate a productive tension that helps to continuously explore, critique, and enhance the notion of solidarity.

The first controversy takes place around the question of the universality and particularity of solidarity. Although debates in moral philosophy aim at establishing a universal normative basis for acting in solidarity, they seem to agree that solidarity is the product of a “constitutive relation to a particular community” (Bayertz 1998a, 13; my translation). In that way, the addressees

is that discussions about solidarity and social movements rarely intersect either theoretically or empirically.

of solidarities are “limited and always refer to less than the entirety of people” (Löschke 2015, 59; my translation). The controversy of universality and particularity thus obliges one to think about the scope and outreach of solidarity. Should we think about solidarity in terms of all of humankind, as suggested in some debates in moral philosophy? Or is solidarity limited to a particular group of people who are bound together by a shared legal framework (as in civic solidarity) or a division of labour (as in social solidarity)?

Perhaps the most prominent critique of a universal notion of solidarity comes from critical feminist theory. Especially Black feminists⁹ and feminists from the Global South, such as bell hooks, Angela Davis, Audre Lorde, or Chandra Talpade Mohanty, have questioned the universality of womanhood and gendered experience in different contexts (Davis 1983; hooks 1986; 2015a; Lorde 2019; Mohanty 1988). In this tradition, so-called universal notions are deconstructed as particular positionalities and interests. In contrast, the universal is rather a site for struggle and contestation, one that needs to be challenged by asking what is commonly shared without demanding a particular ownership in order to create “a new, nonabstract common and new spaces of sharing” (Hark et al. 2015, 100; my translation). Not falling into the trap of an abstract and false universalisation, according to Mohanty, implies a double movement regarding feminist solidarity: “understanding the historical and experiential specificities and differences of women’s lives as well as the historical and experiential connections between women from different national, racial, and cultural communities” (Mohanty 2003, 242). In that way it is possible to think of solidarity not as a given universal, but as a potentially universalising principle (Featherstone 2012, 38–39). This approach to solidarity is thus sensitive to difference and positionality created through political struggles and concretely shared experiences as sites on which competing or complementing meanings of universality can be negotiated (Butler 2000).

Another crucial debate around the idea of solidarity is the question of identification: does one share an (interpersonal or collective) identity or does solidarity work without a common identity? And is a shared identity a condition for solidarity or rather the product of relations of solidarity? The different conceptual approaches to solidarity from above argue that solidarity can exist because and despite of a common identification. For example, the moral, social, and civic concepts of solidarity highlight a shared identification of peo-

9 A thorough collection of writings from critical Black feminist perspectives is provided in Kelly (2019).

ple, whether on the basis of a shared humanity, nationality, or other forms of constructing similarities. Again, what counts as identification can shift according to the scope that is taken into consideration (Laitinen and Pessi 2015b; Löschke 2015).

The political notion of solidarity is generally understood as the product of a shared conviction rather than a common identification. This applies especially in cases of international solidarity. Here, those groups who come together in solidarity are in a fundamental way socially, culturally, and geographically separated from each other before an action or relationship of solidarity takes place (Bayertz 1998b; Gould 2007; Rippe 1998; Scholz 2008). At the same time, there are other forms of political solidarity, like labour and union solidarity, which are based on a shared condition and subjectivation as workers. If political solidarity is a relation that mediates between the individual and the collective (Scholz 2008), a shared identification seems more than possible.

In summation, there is no consensus about the question of a shared identification within the political notion of solidarity. At the same time, there is a sharp difference between the question of identification of moral, social, and civic solidarity on the one side and political solidarity on the other. In that way, moral, social, and civic solidarity appear again as rather particularistic. In the worst case, these kinds of solidarities could be translated into exclusionary, nationalist, and racist positions by, for example, defending the welfare state only for nationals. In a similarly problematic way, political solidarity seems to take different identities for granted without providing a sense of what might be a common source for identification between these collectives.

Following this controversy, some scholars have begun to critically address or even to reject identification as a necessary condition for solidarity across its different conceptual usages (Featherstone 2012; Günter 2015; Hark et al. 2015; Laitinen 2015; Rorty 1992). Such perspectives enable to understand solidarity in its plurality and difference, grounded in relationships instead of identities, and as an effect of social relations. This nonidentitarian notion further facilitates the need for empirical and critical social research on solidarity that “re-thinks [these relations] as empirical case studies and with a focus on the community-building force in different social formations and constellations” (Hark et al. 2015, 102; my translation). Mutual identification might still facilitate expressions of solidarity but is not its *sine qua non* condition. Thus, identification might be understood as one possible product of relations of solidarity in which different identities are negotiated. An identification-based un-

derstanding of solidarity is problematic since it “doesn’t enable ‘movements’ or political activity any agency or role in shaping how solidarities are constructed” (Featherstone 2012, 19). Accordingly, debates and research on solidarity should rather focus on “the many contested ways in which solidarities come to be practised and enacted” as well as “the ways that solidarities are located and forged through particular contexts” (Ibid.).

The next controversy concerns the question of whether solidarity is obligatory or voluntary. Here again, different conceptual notions give different answers. Starting from an individualistic moral understanding, solidarity is understood as “supererogatory,” meaning “commendable but not binding” (Bayertz 1998a, 14; my translation). The consequence would be a “weak understanding of solidarity” (Ibid.), including the possibility to choose whether or not to act in solidarity. This poses a major challenge for moral and normative arguments about solidarity and leaves the question of the obligatory character of solidarity unsolved. Whilst some argue that solidarity can be voluntary, one-sided, and nonreciprocal (Bayertz 1998a, 14; Löschke 2015, 53), at the same time solidarity is described as a positive moral obligation (Löschke 2015; Scholz 2008), implying a duty to aid (May 2007). Political notions of solidarity particularly struggle with its suggested supererogatory character by defending moral and normative grounds for the binding nature of solidarity.¹⁰

Social and civic notions of solidarity are conceptual reactions to the problem of how to establish stable social relations amongst human collectives beyond repressive structures. Whilst social solidarity is described as a binding force due to the mutual dependency regarding the division of labour (Durkheim 2012), civic solidarity is mediated through institutional arrangements, which are legitimised to claim solidarity or to sanction the absence of solidarity amongst group members. Thus, both forms of solidarity do appear obligatory. In this controversy it is especially insightful to return to Mauss’s (2013) notion of the gift. Whilst gift-giving is analysed as a mandatory institution in so-called archaic societies, it serves to establish relations of mutuality and reciprocity amongst the groups who participate in the exchange system. The gift creates dependencies and, through its “relation-making force” (Tsing 2015, 123), becomes something supererogatory, which binds social groups together. This is important because in this way

10 For example, Scholz suggests that beyond the voluntary choice there is a particular commitment in solidarity actions, which makes them more binding and committed, though still not as binding as social solidarities (Ibid., 21).

solidarity can be understood as a form of gift exchange amongst and across collectives. Accordingly, actions of solidarity need to be considered as much more mandatory than debates from moral philosophy suggest. Understood as an exchange, solidarity would produce a social surplus in the form of mutual, durable, and reciprocal social relations.

The last controversy moves the debate from an abstract level to more concrete, hegemonic, and contemporary discussions about the state and development of solidarity relations in the globalised world of the twenty-first century. With a focus on societies of the Global North but with the horizon of a globalised world in mind, academic debates revolve around the question of whether relations of solidarity today are diminishing or increasing. Whilst it is difficult to identify a shared diagnosis here, these debates seem to agree on the importance—but also on the crisis of—solidarity (Brunkhorst 2002; Hondrich and Koch-Arzberger 1994; Laitinen and Pessi 2015b; Rippe 1998).

As their point of departure, these contemporary debates follow the research direction pointed out by Durkheim, who outlined a teleological model for the development of solidarity relations. According to Durkheim, social bonds grow stronger and thicker as mechanical solidarity transforms into organic solidarity and communities evolve into societies, despite the latter's increasing individualism (Delitz 2013, 96–127; Durkheim 2012). Based on this model, these contemporary analyses seem to point to a similar direction about the question of solidarity in the contemporary world, starting with the experiences of the Global North: On the one hand, social and civic solidarity within the nation states are challenged by globalisation and internationalisation and thus seem to diminish. On the other, political notions of solidarity seem to become more relevant and increase according to a growing consciousness that many contemporary problems, like the ecological crisis, economic inequality, or migration flows, are essentially shared across the globe but also across very unequal conditions. In that way, it seems that these debates try to console the lament about the diminishing civic and social solidarity domestically with passionate claims for political solidarity internationally.

What these discussions fail to ask is if and how international and translocal expressions of solidarity are not only political relations but also produce social solidarity and communal bonds beyond the nation state. In most of these discussions, (international) political solidarity is disconnected from social solidarity. In contrast, I want to argue that international solidarity has hitherto only been perceived as political solidarity, which impeded looking

for the various ways in which people construct social ties across differences and beyond the nation-state.

Critical Approaches to Solidarity across and beyond Differences

The historical and conceptual approaches to solidarity, as well as the contemporary debates about the state of solidarity, underlyingly universalise the subject of solidarity as Westernised, white, and male. At the same time, they favour experiences of solidarity in the Global North over other expressions of solidarity. That means that these perspectives do not engage explicitly with questions about the limitations and possibilities of solidarity across colonial, racialised, and gendered hierarchies and differences.

In order to discuss these questions, theoretical perspectives that focus on social encounters and political collaboration with a special emphasis on racialised, colonial, and gendered differences and hierarchies are especially essential. Authors like Sara Ahmed, Linda Alcoff, George Yancy, Gada Mahrouse, and Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor in critical race studies; Encarnación Gutiérrez Rodríguez, Ulrike Hamann, Serhat Karakayali, Daniel Bendix, Kwesi Aikins, and Rosine Kelz in critical migration studies; as well as Encarnación Gutiérrez Rodríguez, Clare Land, bell hooks, Nira Yuval-Davis, Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Enrique Dussel, and Glen Sean Coulthard in decolonial and feminist studies—explicitly or not—contribute to finding moral, social, and political grounds for relations of solidarity across and beyond differences. These perspectives challenge contemporary Eurocentred diagnoses about the diminishing or increasing aspect of solidarity, highlight ways in which solidarity in a globalised world is possible (or limited) across differences, and de-universalise the Western, white, and male-centred experiences of solidarity. These critical insights might further illuminate the gap within contemporary discussions about solidarity. Such critical approaches to solidarity thus engage more productively in the quest for possibilities and limitations of solidarity within human relations that are stratified as a consequence of a modern/colonial racialised and gendered classification (Quijano 2014b; Lugones 2007).

To begin with, instead of assuming solidarity as a point of departure or condition for political, social, moral, or civic relations, solidarity should rather be considered as a moment of encounter that creates a horizon for future relationships. In that way, solidarity needs to be considered as a transforma-

tive, productive, creative, open-ended relationship without guarantees. This allows to thoroughly consider both the limitations and possibilities of solidarity across or beyond differences without assuming them.

Theoretically it is widely accepted that solidarity relations can produce change and that different forms of solidarity can morph into one another. The transformation from mechanic to organic forms of solidarity is an essential part of Durkheim's theory on solidarity and the shift from so-called traditional to modern societies—from community to society (Delitz 2013, 96–127; Durkheim 2012). The main focus lies on the social change that is observable through changing forms of solidarity (Bayertz 1998a, 27). Durkheim thus proposes a teleological model for the social dynamics in which forms of solidarity and social bonds evolve. Whilst not excluded, no sociological attention is being given to the possibility that both types of solidarity, mechanic and organic, can co-exist at the same time and in the same social setting.

In a similar way, there is a theoretical gap about the connection, relation, and interdependency of the four types of solidarity outlined above.¹¹ To grasp this possible multiplicity of connections and transformations it is important to go beyond the teleological model of Durkheim and other theories that preclude any outcome of solidarity relations. I argue for a perspective on solidarity that respects the “historical-structural heterogeneity” (Quijano 2014b, 291–295; my translation) of different forms of solidarity. This means accepting the fact that different forms of solidarity can co-exist, connect, or even conflict at the same time and in the same social setting, without precluding a linear development or progression of forms of solidarity. This poses the sociological challenge of making sense of all the possible results of the co-existence of forms of solidarity. We would then have an interlocking and transformation between forms of solidarity without a guaranteed outcome. The historical-structural heterogeneity of forms of solidarity thus provides a great opportunity to understand the varied and creative effects of human relations of solidarity. Thus, instead of understanding solidarity as something fixed and stable within human relations, it is sociologically more fruitful to

11 Only Scholz (2008, 39–40) briefly notes that different forms of solidarity can morph into one another or that different forms of solidarity operate as a continuum from weaker to stronger social relations. But this brief assessment does not elaborate the possibility of multiple and heterogenous connections and transformations between forms of solidarity further.

see solidarity in its communal aspect (Derpmann 2015) or as a force that creates social bonds in the first place (Gouldner 1960, 176). Essentially, solidarity ceases to be a moral, civic, social, or political condition of human relations but instead becomes the starting point to understand how human relations are transformed into something else—and this something else is always open and without guarantees.

This theoretical approach is elaborated by Featherstone (2012), who describes solidarity as “world making practices” (245). Relations of solidarity, according to him, are never given (Ibid., 18–22), but are always contingent (Ibid., 22), relational, and unfinished (Ibid., 245). Relations of solidarity between or amongst groups are described as expansive, generative, and constitutive for the involved actors (Ibid., 22–28). In summation, solidarity in this perspective is a transformative, creative, and productive relation that is forged through political struggle by and across subalternised actors, who become connected across unequal power relations and geographies without presuming a particular outcome (Featherstone 2012).

This approach is particularly conducive to investigating the social outcomes of solidarity without being limited to a linear model of the progression from one form of solidarity to another. At the same time, it enables to study the historical-structural heterogeneity of solidarity—that is, the co-existence of different understandings and logics of solidarity which are connected through political encounters leading to social and political results that are impossible to define *ex ante*.

Critical migration research has increasingly identified its object of study in terms of modern/colonial/gendered classifications and focused on the racialised aspect of practices and discourses around migration (Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2018). At the same time, and due to the urgency since the long summer of migration in 2015 in Germany, critical migration scholars have paid growing attention to relations of solidarity between members of the host society and migrants. So, how have these investigations tackled expressions of solidarity across the racial/colonial divide between noncitizens and citizens?

Hamann and Karakayali's (2016) empirical research about solidarity within the *Willkommenskultur*¹² in Germany since 2015 concludes that mostly white, German “volunteers not only practice solidarity with refugees, but also

12 See footnote 2 in chapter 1.

develop a sense of a society of migration” (84). This study is insightful, as it not only presents empirical grounds for political solidarity across differences expressed through non/citizenship, but further argues that these collaborations have “created a network of social relations and bonds (and even new kinds of communities)” (Ibid., 80), and thus forms of social solidarity.

From a critical post- and decolonial perspective, Aikins and Bendix also discuss recent expressions of Germany’s *Willkommenskultur* after the long summer of migration in 2015. They challenge the apparent political innocence of the idea of a German welcome culture by arguing that it has updated a colonial gaze in which “refugees are welcome as silent objects in need of German competence and care – not as diverse subjects with rights that cannot be subjected to political expediency” (Aikins and Bendix 2015). In that way, solidarity in the form of a welcome culture serves to reaffirm and recentre white agency, subjectivity, and morality. Instead of reducing solidarity to acts of help and charity, the authors rather demand a reflection on one’s own complicity and history of coloniality and racism that causes processes of migration globally and enables racist violence domestically. Finally, by centring and respecting the agency of refugees in their struggle, according to Aikins and Bendix (2015), “the status quo of self-congratulatory, paternalistic help can be transcended towards a dialogical, political solidarity.”

Another interesting argument from critical migration studies about the question of solidarity between noncitizens and citizens is made by Kelz. Kelz proposes a convincing moral argument based on the ethical notion of the nonsovereign self, through which we can think of human relationships as mutually dependent, relational, and with a high level of responsibility. On that basis, Kelz develops a moral notion of solidarity that “allows to think relationality and difference together” and to “understand the relationship to others as one of ethical and political obligation” that leads to “a normative argument for unconditional welcoming and freedom of migration” (Kelz 2015, 15). This insight allows to think of moral solidarity as “beyond organic concepts of established commonality” by considering “otherness as constitutive of subjectivity [which] creates a bond between diverse people.” (Ibid., 16) In that way, solidarity is argued to transform and extend social relations on the moral basis of mutual dependency and relationality.

Critical race and whiteness¹³ studies have been rather suspicious towards the possibility and the overall notion of solidarity across racialised differences. Here, solidarity is mostly understood as a conflictive contact zone “where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination” producing a “co-presence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices” of “how subjects are constituted in and by their relations to each other” (Pratt 1992, 4–7). This understanding resonates heavily with the conceptualisation of solidarity as productive and transformative by Featherstone. Nevertheless, the main focus here is put on the racialised and colonial difference within that encounter.

In her discussion about the possibilities and limitations of antiracist solidarity by white people, Linda Martin Alcoff (1998) argues that “antiracist struggles require whites’ acknowledgement that they are *white*; that is their experience, perceptions, and economic position have been profoundly affected by being constituted as white” (8; emphasis in original). As a possible horizon for a white solidarity with antiracism she makes the case for a “white double consciousness,” which

requires an everpresent acknowledgment of the historical legacy of white identity constructions in the persistent structures of inequality and exploitation, as well as a newly awakened memory of the many white traitors to white privilege who have struggled to contribute to the building of an inclusive human community. (Alcoff 1998, 24–25)

White double consciousness is thus both reflexive and introspective towards whiteness itself and, at the same time, seeks the transformation of the society as a whole. In a similar way, Ahmed complicates the mere declarative and nonperformative character of white antiracism and thus critiques the “presumption that to be against racism is to transcend racism” (Ahmed 2004, para. 48). “Instead,” she continues, “anti-racism requires [...] working with racism as an ongoing reality in the present [...], interventions in the political economy of race, and how racism distributes resources and capacities unequally amongst others” (Ibid., para. 55). Ahmed criticises alleged antiracist

13 I will use the term whiteness according to the definition of Ruth Frankenberg (quoted in DiAngelo 2011), who defines it as “a location of structural advantage, of race privilege. Second, it is a ‘standpoint,’ a place from which White people look at ourselves, at others, and at society. Third, ‘Whiteness’ refers to a set of cultural practices that are usually unmarked and unnamed” (56).

acts and discourses by white people as they “re-center white agency” and “*block hearing*” (Ibid., para. 56; emphasis in original). Rather, “the work of exposure [through critical whiteness] requires that white subjects inhabit the critique, *with its lengthy duration*” (Ibid., para. 57; emphasis in original). Similar to the idea of a white double consciousness, she pleads for a double move as the task for a white, antiracist solidarity: “the task for white subjects would be to stay implicated in what they critique, but in turning towards their role and responsibility in these histories of racism, as histories of this present, to turn away from themselves, and towards others” (Ibid., para. 59). Nevertheless, whilst both authors provide convincing grounds to think of solidarity from a critical race and whiteness perspective, they mostly remain on an abstract and theoretical level.

From critical race and decolonial perspectives, the works of Gada Mahrouse, Clare Land, and Lynne Davis have empirically investigated the limitations and possibilities for an antiracist (and decolonial) solidarity in recent years.¹⁴ For example, the volume edited by Davis (2012) collects various experiences of such activist solidarity from the Canadian context. Its aim is to

understand in minute detail how non-Indigenous people, who define their work in the social and environmental justice fields, can work in solidarity with Indigenous peoples without replicating the continuing colonial relations that characterize the broader frame of Indigenous/non-Indigenous relationships in Canada today. (Davis 2010, 2)

This collection not only includes reflections about experiences of collaboration between Indigenous and non-Indigenous actors in different contexts, but also seeks to bridge decolonial theory and the practice of alliance-building and collaboration across colonial differences.

From a critical race studies perspective, Mahrouse (2014) has brought forward an empirical study about how race, privilege, and power relations are at work within transnational solidarity activism between the Global North and South. Her empirical material shows not only how transnational solidarity

14 Whilst there is a strong debate in the US-American (Taylor 2017; Yancy 2018) and to a smaller extent also in the German context (Hasters 2021; Ogette 2020) about the possibilities and limitations for interracial solidarity, I put more emphasis on research that has dealt with questions of solidarity between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people.

activism produces “racialised First World citizens” (Ibid., 13) in the first place, but also complicates the very idea of transnational solidarity, which “needs to be conceived as both a central element for effective political movements *and* a set of practices that rely on racialised and gendered structures of colonialism and imperialism” (Ibid., 152; emphasis in original). By drawing on empirical cases from different contexts, Mahrouse shows how transnational solidarity activism reproduces “hierarchies of grief” (Ibid., 30–31) within racialised logics of emotional responses when white activists become the targets of repression. This dynamic, she further analyses, contributes to silence other experiences and thus demands a constant interrogation of the representational practices and their consequences.

In a similar way, Land (2015) puts the focus on the non-Indigenous activists within solidarity networks with Aboriginal struggles in Australia. Her research tells “the stories of privilege-cognizant white and non-Indigenous people” and “highlights the importance of non-Indigenous people examining our complicity in colonialism, including by interrogating who we are in terms of identity, culture and history, and the shape of our lives” and is, overall, offered up in support of Indigenous agendas (Land 2015, 28–29). She considers her work to be a non-Indigenous contribution to decolonial struggles by Aboriginal people in Australia and the decolonisation of relations of solidarity. What is particularly interesting is that Land is in constant dialogue with the Indigenous activists she has been supporting. In that way, she makes their critique useful not only to reflect and deconstruct her own privileges but provides experiences of her own struggle in decolonising her solidarity activism.

Given the lack of empirical research on solidarity from a critical race and whiteness perspective, these investigations offer important insights about the limitations and possibilities of antiracist and decolonial forms of solidarity, to which the present research owes a lot. Unfortunately, their ideas of solidarity remain mostly within a political notion of solidarity and thus do not further inquire about the possibilities and limitations of antiracist, decolonial forms of social solidarity.

Besides critical race and whiteness studies, critical feminist debates are particularly valuable contributions to discussions around the limitations and possibilities for solidarity beyond and across differences. This is due to the constant efforts by Black and decolonial feminists to question the universalised experience and oppression of women by considering the heterogeneous and multiple ways of being a woman in the world (Davis 1983; hooks 1986; 2015a; Mohanty 2003; Vaz and Lemons 2012). So, what are the possibili-

ties and limitations for a feminist solidarity if “sexism, racism, and classism divide women from one another” (hooks 1986, 137)? Without being able to reconstruct neither the critique, nor the arguments in favour of a feminist solidarity, I can only briefly propose some insights on this question from Black and decolonial feminism. One major argument is that the quest for solidarity between women must start by recognising differences within the encounter of a political struggle that aims to undermine sexist and patriarchal oppression. According to bell hooks, there is thus no “need to eradicate difference to feel solidarity” or “to share common oppression to fight equally to end oppression.” (hooks 1986, 138) Rather, the possibility for a political solidarity resides in being “united by shared interest and beliefs, united in our appreciation for diversity, united in our struggle to end sexist oppression” (Ibid.).

Mohanty’s argument goes in a similar direction by resisting assimilationist, integrationist, universalist, and relativist approaches to women’s diversity. A “solidarity perspective” on the difference between women in the Global North and South “requires understanding the historical and experiential specificities and differences of women’s lives as well as the historical experiential connections between women from different national, racial, and cultural communities” (Mohanty 2003, 242). A feminist solidarity thus demands that we tackle both separateness and commonality at the same time.

So, whilst feminist solidarity critically focuses on the different experiences of being a woman, it can also illuminate the struggle for “a new, nonabstract common” and “new spaces of what is being shared” (Hark et al. 2015, 99–100; my translation). In that way, feminist solidarity shows how an acknowledgment of difference informs the struggle for what is being shared on a material and social basis (Hark et al. 2015). Therefore, solidarity is both an effect of that acknowledgment and a point of departure for further encounters within a political struggle. These encounters of political solidarity finally have the potential to produce and transform the relationship into an “us, that initiates, what solidarity could mean” (Günter 2015, 111; my translation).

This critical feminist perspective, inspired by the work of Black and decolonial feminist scholars, opens the horizon to forms of solidarity across and beyond differences. The type of solidarity along these lines becomes, in a way, transversal, as it recognises different standpoints and positionalities, allows for difference through equality, and finally conceptually and politically differentiates between positioning, identity, and values (Yuval-Davis 1999).

Whilst not explicitly employing the notion of solidarity, other discussions from critical race, decolonial, and feminist studies challenge the ways in

which we comprehend solidarity by considering its multiple conceptual approaches and its complexity through the question of colonial/racialised difference. Liberal Western political theory has invested itself in providing moral foundations for domestic or international solidarity through the idea of recognition. This notion has been particularly put forward in the social philosophy of Axel Honneth, according to whom solidarity is a form of social and normative recognition of a person in their individual particularity as well as a member of society (Honneth 2012b; Löschke 2015, 45–59). Nonetheless, this approach barely tackles the question of difference in societies hierarchised by racialised, gendered, and colonial inequalities. Attentive to this complexity, Coulthard (2014) has critically analysed the Canadian state politics of recognition of Indigenous people in North America since the late 1960s and responses to it by Indigenous mobilisation. Coulthard then invites us to become critical towards state politics of recognition and

instead of ushering in an era of peaceful coexistence grounded on the ideal of *reciprocity* or *mutual* recognition, the politics of recognition in its contemporary liberal form promises to reproduce the very configurations of colonialist, racist, patriarchal state power that Indigenous people's demands for recognition have historically sought to transcend. (Coulthard 2014, 3; emphasis in original)

This critical approach to solidarity thus raises reasonable suspicion towards moral and social forms of solidarity through politics of recognition in contexts where colonial and racialised relations of power persist.

In another line of debates, the question of solidarity across (post)colonial differences and hierarchies is taken up through the concept of friendship. By drawing on the work of Jacques Derrida (2005; Zembylas 2015) about friendship as a philosophical concept, Leela Gandhi (2006) argues for the notion of friendship as a way of describing (post)colonial solidarities across differences in the nineteenth century. The strength of the notion of friendship, according to Gandhi, lies in the possibility for the “appreciation of individuals and groups that have renounced the privileges of imperialism and elected affinity with victims of their own expansionist cultures” (Gandhi 2006, 1). The politics of friendship aim to stay attentive to the creation of “all those invisible affective gestures” beyond the “ambivalent mantle of citizenship” or “the secure axes of filiation [and] possessive communities of belonging” (Ibid., 10). An attentiveness towards politics of friendship thus sheds light on how affective social bonds—that is, social solidarity—are created beyond the constraints of

the colonial (the nation state) or patriarchal institutions (family structures). The politics of friendship also leave space for Indigenous agency in creating relationalities, where a “stranger sociality [is] made intimate” (Povinelli quoted in Land 2015, 107).

The notion of friendship indicating relations of solidarity is complicated from a decolonial and liberational philosophy perspective by Enrique Dussel (2006). According to Dussel, Western philosophy has conceptualised solidarity merely as a totalised friendship in the form of fraternity that excludes the Other as racialised, oppressed, exploited, and gendered populations. Due to the incapacity of this tradition to go beyond the realms of totality, Dussel’s alternative conceptualisation for solidarity is based on the Hebrew notion of a neighbour. Through a relation of proximity with the neighbour, the “empirical immediacy of two human faces [...] appeals to the *political responsibility with the Other* and requires the overcoming of the horizon of Totality” (Ibid., 81; emphasis in original). This alternative notion of solidarity thus “surpasses the *fraternity* of friendship in the system and endangers him/herself in opening him/herself to the wide field of Alterity” (Ibid., 84; emphasis in original). Finally, it transforms former friends within the totality into enemies and former enemies outside of it into friends. This alternative friendship for Dussel finally expresses “solidarity with the Other, with the exploited and the excluded” in contrast to the fact that “the one who has not transformed former friends in the system into enemies, shows that he/she continues considering as enemies the poor, the Other, and in this it is manifest that he/she is a dominator” (Ibid., 85). This argument is a radical philosophical expression of the claim of renouncing one’s privileges (one’s friendships within the system) and becoming a traitor (an enemy) to the system through the quest for solidarity (becoming a friend with the Other). Putting the theoretical approaches of (decolonised) friendship to work would not only mean analysing the ways in which non-Mapuche supporters become friends with Mapuche and thus assemble new relationships with them. According to Dussel, it would also include understanding the ways in which solidarity activism with the Mapuche challenges non-Mapuche supporters to detach themselves from and leave those relationships that do not choose to stand in solidarity but rather remain complicit in the colonial, racialised, and patriarchal order. This question will be taken up in chapter seven by discussing the transformation of interpersonal relationships through and within solidarity activism.

Finally, if we consider solidarity as a transformative and performative relationship without guarantees, in which way is it possible to articulate these

newly created social bonds without assuming them? This question is particularly relevant since the critical approaches to solidarity presented above invite one to think of solidarity as a recomposition of social and political relationships in which relations are produced but also abandoned.

Inspired by the work of Deleuze and Guattari (2005), Conway, Osterweil, and Thorburn (2018) propose the notion of assemblage as a way of grasping the creative openness, productivity, and the question of difference in contemporary political mobilisations. Assemblages can be described, in short, as “open-ended gatherings,” which “allow us to ask about communal effects without assuming them” (Tsing 2015, 23). For social and political movement activity, an assemblage is defined as

the coming together of heterogenous social, biological, technological and other elements that co-function in provisional wholes in which the behavior of the constituent parts is conditioned but not determined by the whole and whereby the parts never lose their own integrity, their own difference. The assemblage acts through the emergent and distributed agency of its parts, human and non-human, through the composition of forces and the relationality they enact. (Conway, Osterweil, and Thorburn 2018, 1–2)

The authors suggest understanding contemporary political mobilisations through assemblage thinking, since it enables considering “non-human elements” within political struggles as “more fluid and contingent concatenations of people and things,” and “provokes us to think differently about agency, power and possibility [...] through the relationality of its elements” (Ibid., 12). This openness and the focus on agency would allow to consider human (and nonhuman) encounters within solidarity as a transformation and creation of alternative social bonds beyond the political encounter.

Thinking of social forms of solidarity as assemblages would further enable shifting the focus from state- and nation-centred perspectives of social transformation. The creation of social bonds through encounters of solidarity also allows a bottom-up perspective for social change that departs from the affective and social ties between people who are engaged in a political struggle. This is relevant for transnational expressions of solidarity whose “goal is not to create a new power around a hegemonic centre, but to challenge, disrupt and disorient the processes of global hegemony” (Day 2004, 730). They rather focus “on relations between these subjects [who participate in the struggle], in the name of inventing new forms of community” (Ibid., 740). In other words, this perspective on the politics of affinity and assemblages empowers us to

connect political practices of solidarity with the creation of alternative social forms of solidarity.

The focus on the openness and inventiveness of political and social forms of solidarity additionally encourages a different moral argument for solidarity than presented above. Instead of a moral abstract, morality within solidarity would be the result of the political practices of solidarity and the subsequent assemblages of social bonds. As a consequence of political struggle and the coming together of different actors, solidarity could be understood as a “universalizing principle” (Featherstone 2012) whose normativity is not an abstract demand but is created through political struggles and is a site on which competing meanings of universality can be negotiated (Butler 2000).

In addition, another way of thinking of these social bonds as assembled through solidarity is through the idea of a “creolized conviviality” (Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2015) as a way to envisage the unforeseeable, relational, and transversal connections forged through social encounters across colonial/racial differences. If “creolization represents the basic foundation of all societies” (Ibid., 96), we fundamentally need to reconsider the ways in which we have (mis-)understood solidarity as a general principle for social cohesion in Western societies. Creolised conviviality allows to appreciate those social bonds that are created on an everyday basis and from a subaltern and marginal perspective as expressions of “the principle of interconnectedness and interdependence,” which “proposes an ethics of ‘living together’ driven by the unexpected and resulting from the multiple encounters and connections in our lives” (Ibid., 97).

These critical approaches thus invite one to think of solidarity as a transformative relationship without guarantees that connects historically and structurally heterogeneous experiences of solidarity. Regarding political practices of solidarity, they critically ask how agency amongst differently positioned actors and groups is distributed and how it challenges uncritical assumptions about solidarity and recognition that silence or even reproduce colonial/racialised structures. Critical research on solidarity thus would conceptualise its object as a conflictive relationship and investigate how and if powerful actors actually perform, and not only declare, solidarity. This includes the need to, first, recognise the involved differences and, second, reconsider what is being shared and created in that relation of solidarity. As a possible outcome of such relations, the involved actors would create critical friendships that include political responsibilities and social consequences for those who stand in solidarity. As one possible consequence, critical relations

of solidarity then would have the potential to (re)assemble and to (re)universalise truly ethical relationships that eventually lead to new and decolonised ways of conviviality.

These critical approaches will foremost inform chapters six and seven of the present study. Nevertheless, even these critical perspectives have not yet engaged in interepistemic dialogues with perspectives on solidarity beyond Eurocentrism. Even though the insights of solidarity from critical race and decolonial theory are potent interventions in the Eurocentric canon of knowledge, they rarely include ideas from outside of that epistemological framework. That means that Indigenous or Native knowledges have rarely been taken into consideration to provide moral, social, or political grounds for what Eurocentric traditions conceive of as solidarity. This is why chapter seven, in particular, aims to provide conceptualisations about solidarity from critical Mapuche perspectives.

Critical approaches to solidarity help to understand the relationships produced between Mapuche and non-Mapuche actors within the more general context of the transnationalisation of their political mobilisation and resistance. The next two sections critically address the theoretical debates in this area of research.

New Social Movements and the Transnationalisation of Indigenous Resistance

Political expressions of solidarity and the transnationalisation of Indigenous resistances of the last decades have been mostly studied as part of new, international, and transnational social movement studies. Their theoretical and empirical insights are especially helpful because they shed light on the networked aspect of actors and groups coming together in solidarity, as well as their protest strategies and tactics.

In the academic literature, the organisational and networked dimension of international solidarity is generally approached in discussions about (new) social movements. In the second half of the twentieth century, agents for social change, transformation, and emancipation were addressed and understood within this newly developing line of investigation, especially in contrast

to labour movements and organisations.¹⁵ This line of research has argued that these movement were new, as they focused on “a wide range of antagonisms that cannot be reduced to class struggle, such as those generated by racism, patriarchy, the domination of nature, heterosexism, [and] colonialism” (Day 2004, 722).

These types of political protests and mobilisations have gained scholarly attention due to their international and transnationally networked character. That means that new social movement research is largely research on international and transnational mobilisations. This international and transnational character became the subject of academic discussions, in which these movements and mobilisations were conceptualised as “transnational advocacy networks” (Keck and Sikkink 1998; Martin 2003), “coalitions across borders” (Bandy and Smith 2005), “transnational contention” (Tarrow 2005; 2011), “transnational activist and protest networks” (Della Porta et al. 2006), or “networks of outrage and hope” (Castells 2015). Since the 1990s, political protests against neoliberal globalisation across the globe have further been understood as expressions of a “new internationalism” (Waterman 2001), in which actors come together in “insurgent encounters” (Juris and Khasnabish 2013c) and through a “logic of affinity” (Day 2004). This new political subject does not only exist in opposition to neoliberal globalisation but as a “multitude,” has a productive and creative force, is open and expansive, and allows for internal differences and heterogeneity (Hardt and Negri 2004).

The expressions of solidarity between Europe and Wallmapu have characteristics of a transnational advocacy network and a transnational social and protest movement alike because, on the one hand, they are constituted by a series of nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) in the Global North with “sustained mobilizing actions” (Martin 2003, 116) and, on the other, have characteristics of political bottom-up mobilisation on a transnational scale. This solidarity network is transnational in a descriptive sense, as it connects different actors and organisations across various nation-states and geographies. At the same time, it is international(ist) in a political sense, as it relates to the long history of leftist internationalism and solidarity amongst the poor, marginalised, and colonised beyond or within the nation-state (Featherstone

15 Generally speaking, these movements began to be analysed within new social movement theory (Melucci 1989; 1996; Touraine 1976; 1981), as well as collective and social action theory (Tilly 1977).

2012; Waterman 2001). Accordingly, I will use the term transnational to highlight the descriptive aspect and the term international to focus on the political aspect of solidarity.

The insights from these new social movement studies are helpful for analysing the networked and organisational aspect of this particular expression of transnational solidarity between Europe and Wallmapu in chapter four. They also provide a conceptual language to describe the networked and structured aspect of advocacy and support structures for the Mapuche on an international scale (Keck and Sikkink 1998). In particular, chapter five will discuss how the international solidarity efforts with the Mapuche aim to circumvent the limited access of Mapuche organisations and communities to the political system within the Chilean nation-state, in which way and where the international mobilisation in solidarity with the Mapuche has an impact, and what issues are being addressed. Similarly, I will show which strategies of “contentious politics” (Tarrow 2011) constitute the particularly transnational character of the solidarity efforts with the Mapuche beyond the frame of the domestic, Chilean context.

Especially since the uprising of the *Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional* (EZLN)¹⁶ in 1994 in southern Mexico, Indigenous movements, through their opposition to continued coloniality within neoliberal globalisation, have become more and more visible as agents for social change and historical alternatives. Accordingly, a series of investigations proposed analytical frameworks to understand the transnational proliferation of locally bound conflicts against and resistance by Indigenous peoples (Bob 2005; Hayden 2002; Khasnabish 2008; 2013; Olesen 2005; Wolfson 2012). Surprisingly, these forms of transnationalisation have rarely been framed in terms of international solidarity. Whilst Indigenous movements managed to raise more awareness globally since the 1990s, international solidarity with Indigenous struggle is not new. For example, Amnesty International, *Medico International*, *Terre des Hommes*, and the *Gesellschaft für bedrohte Völker* (GfbV)¹⁷ were founded in the aftermath of 1968 internationalism in Germany (Slobodian 2012, 207–8). What is more, these organisations, in solidarity with the “Third” or the “Fourth World” (Kemner 2014), have rarely been addressed as part of the history of the new social movements in the twentieth century. In the context of the present research, the GfbV is a crucial actor of transnational advocacy

16 Zapatista National Liberation Army.

17 Society for Threatened People.

with the Mapuche and thus has a considerably long history of engagement with Indigenous struggles, nevertheless with a “low profile with regard to political affiliations” (Ibid., 267).

In recent years, a series of investigations on transnational and translocal movements have begun to focus on the hidden and subaltern histories of revolutionary encounters (Linebaugh and Rediker 2013), solidarity (Featherstone 2012), and protests (Seibert 2008; Slobodian 2012). Other accounts of transnational social movements are increasingly brought forward from engaged, activist, and committed perspectives. Here, authors in solidarity (and through their own engagement) describe the histories and activism of particular political struggles (Escobar 2010; Foitzik and Marvakis 1997; *groupe de montage* 1999; Juris and Khasnabish 2013c; Kerkeling 2012; Ryan 2007; Schön 2008; Sitrin and Colectivo Sembrar 2020).

The present investigation on the contemporary expressions of international and transnational solidarity with the Mapuche between Europe and Wallmapu engages with analytical tools and models of new social movement research. Particularly, the mobilisation strategies and networked forms of protests that have been analysed as a part of the contemporary new internationalism will inform the strategies and tactics employed in this case of international solidarity. This research will further draw on the experiences of Third and Fourth World activism in Europe, particularly Germany, and the growing transnational alliances with Indigenous struggles in the Global South since 1994. At the same time, it is also inspired by accounts on transnational social movements, which are written in solidarity and based on the author’s engagement.

Challenging Eurocentrism in New Transnational Social Movement Research

Whilst these lines of research provide an analytical language to understand the networked aspect of international solidarity as well as its protest strategies, they fall short in understanding how racialised, colonial, and gendered differences and hierarchies complicate the encounters within transnational advocacy and movements. This is why an account of international solidarity that is sensitive to these questions needs to take up the challenges posed by the Eurocentrism within new transnational social movement research. This means that, for the purpose of the present study, the analytical language from

new transnational social movement studies needs to be reframed through a critique of its underlying Eurocentric assumptions. This includes a critique of the methodological nationalism prevailing in new social movement research, of the distribution of agency, of the homogeneity and linearity of social movements and protests, and finally of the lack of non-Eurocentric approaches.

Eurocentrism, according to Aníbal Quijano (2014, 287), can be described as the hegemonic cognitive perspective of those educated under colonial/modern capitalism by naturalising lived experience under that power structure. Eurocentrism had and still has an impact on the ways we understand the world through Western sciences and especially the social sciences (Gutiérrez Rodríguez, Boatcă, and Costa 2016; Lander 2005; Wallerstein et al. 1996; Ziai 2016), of which new transnational social movement studies are a part of. This critical perspective on Eurocentrism makes visible how non-Western knowledges have been constantly excluded on a racial and colonial basis, as well as how sociopolitical expressions of and in the Global South have been made to appear as lacking or differing compared to a Western, Eurocentric, standard. Only recently have social movement studies started being scrutinised under this critical lens. However, they still “struggle to deal productively with difference of any kind, whether gender, racial, colonial, or as some would argue, ontological” and thus the idea of social movement in “itself is a problematic concept and is modernist in its origins and underpinnings” (Conway, Osterweil, and Thorburn 2018, 3).

One critical aspect is the “nation state container” (Day 2004, 723) of social movement studies perpetuating the “methodological nationalism” (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002) prevailing in social, political, and cultural sciences. This shifts the research of protest and social mobilisation towards the agency of nonstate actors and the transgression of the public sphere by private or nonstate actors (Martin 2003, 7). At the same time, it turns the focus away from seeking change or exerting pressure on a particular nation-state and focuses on more autonomous forms of organising political and social alternatives (Day 2004). Contrary to the state-centredness of social movement studies, the attention should be aimed at forms of oppression, domination, and exclusion beyond the nation-state, like those produced through racism, coloniality, patriarchy, and capitalist accumulation. Also, the decentrality of such contemporary struggles is one of “the clearest possible terms [of] the nature and direction of the postmodern transition of organisational forms” (Hardt and Negri 2004, 85).

Similarly, other approaches to studying social protests, mobilisations, and movements have argued to include “the agency of non-human elements, such as those in/of the built environment, landscapes, ecologies, animal or earth beings, technologies, machines, etc.” (Conway, Osterweil, and Thorburn 2018, 12). In summation, I propose understanding political contestations like the ones articulated through international solidarity with the Mapuche as a relational field that concerns much more than the arena of modern political systems. In that way, political expressions can be understood as a source for and as a consequence of “cultural politics” (Alvarez, Dagnino, and Escobar 1998a) through the relationality between multiple areas of human experience and in interaction with a territory or the nonhuman (Escobar 2010; Tinta Limón 2017).

Another problematic aspect of Eurocentrism in studying new transnational social movements is the focus on Western actors and organisations, which essentially contributes to “re-center[ing] on white agency” (Ahmed 2004, 56). This results in a sort of Eurocentric loop, in which white agency is the source of political mobilisation and Western institutions are the target of pressure or transformation. Instead, critical race and decolonial approaches to studying human rights and solidarity activism invite us to shed a critical light on white agency and its reproduction through political activism (Land 2015; Mahrouse 2014; Spivak 2004).

Decolonial critiques, like those of Coulthard (2014) and Nelson Maldonado-Torres (2017), have argued that an uncritical application of Eurocentric ethical principles like human rights and their implementation through state politics of recognition rather reproduce colonial dependencies instead of decolonising them. This is largely because of the general colonial and racial bias of the approach to human rights within Westernised political institutions. The political struggle of Mapuche organisations and communities in Wallmapu aims at the decolonisation of their territory and its social relations. Decolonising practices of solidarity thus would need to support that very political aim, which is set up by Mapuche actors. This means that a decolonising perspective on international solidarity would not only need to acknowledge nonwhite—in this case, Mapuche—agency, but to evaluate international solidarity according to if and how it contributes to decolonising Wallmapu. In that way, the success of transnational advocacy and the Mapuche protest should not be measured only by Eurocentric standards, but according to whether it strengthens or weakens the Mapuche’s rights to autonomy, self-determination, and their struggle for decolonisation. These

decolonial interventions thus demand a critical stance towards attempts that exclusively refer to Eurocentric ethical principles like human rights, as well as their practical application, implementation, and recognition by the state. New and transnational social movement research usually evaluates the success of political mobilisations according to if they 'win' recognition in legal terms within the state or by international governmental bodies. This scope is not applied in the present research. Instead, international solidarity and advocacy is measured according to its potential to (support to) decolonise Wallmapu.

(New) social movement studies have been criticised because they tend to coin issues that have been on the agenda long before they have been acknowledged by those studies as new. In this way, these studies reproduce the historicist and teleological idea that certain issues become relevant only if a certain stage in history is achieved. The underlying notion of "first in Europe and then elsewhere" (Chakrabarty 2000, 8) thus contributes to freezing particular political issues in time and isolating them from each other spatially and socially.

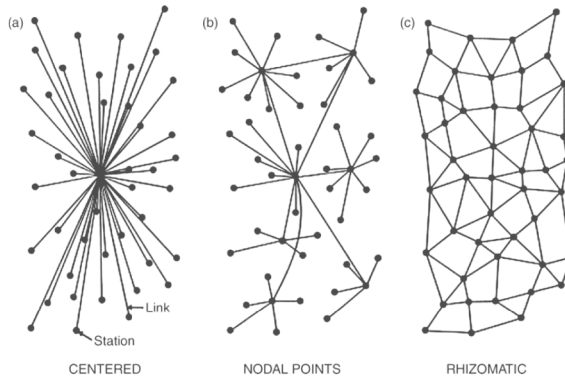
Only recently have more open, polycentric, spontaneous, nonlinear, and open-ended models for understanding social movements and political protests been introduced (Conway, Osterweil, and Thorburn 2018; Day 2004; Khasnabish 2013; Purcell 2009). These works are inspired by the writings of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari (2005), particularly their notions of 'rhizome' and 'assemblage.' For social movement and international solidarity studies, the concept of the rhizome is particularly interesting since it

encourages an explicit consideration of the way everything from institutions to social change movements to subjectivities are brought into being through a process that is intrinsically relational and has no meaning or direction outside of that relationally. In this regard, the rhizome as a conceptual and analytic tool is a metaphor through which to explore different dynamics and consequences of contemporary social movement activity. (Khasnabish 2013, 83)

Whilst the idea of the rhizome highlights relationality, the notion of assemblage aims to describe how different parts are assembled through political activity. The assemblage is thus a "generative interaction, which can be neither reduced to its parts nor expanded to an infinite totality" (Conway, Osterweil, and Thorburn 2018, 6). Mark Purcell (2009) argues to understand the connectivities and relationalities produced through contemporary social move-

ment activity neither as a centralised network structure nor as completely rhizomatic but through “nodal points [as] political privileged points whose privilege is always temporary and never necessary” (306).

Figure 1. Diagrams of different network structures



(Purcell, Mark. 2009. “Hegemony and Difference in Political Movements: Articulating Networks of Equivalence.” *New Political Science* 31 (3): 291–317)

For the purpose of this study, and in analogy to the productivity and transformativity identified in encounters of solidarity, assemblage thinking invites us to consider how the social and political relations produced within political activity “can be more generative in creative, agentic responses, and permanently open-ended in their political horizons” (Conway, Osterweil, and Thorburn 2018, 9). Assemblage and rhizomatic thinking thus embraces much more than just the political arena, but includes social, cultural, and material aspects produced and transformed through political agency. Nevertheless, it is foremost rooted in (critical) European and Western traditions of thinking, although some of its features (like de- or polycentrality) can be easily traced back to non-Eurocentric traditions, cosmologies, and epistemologies. Whilst these conceptual tools help to make sense of the political and social expressions of transnational advocacy, there is still a need to understand social and protest movements from non-Eurocentric categories. Amongst others, this would mean considering decolonial and Indigenous notions of thinking of political activity as autonomy (Marimán 2012), relationality (Tinta Limón 2017),

and the Indigenous women's communal (re)production of the political and social fabric (Cabnal 2010; Tzul Tzul 2018).

Finally, a critical account of Eurocentrism within new transnational social movement studies needs to take up the challenge of establishing a dialogue with, and thinking from, non-Eurocentric knowledges. This requires an awareness of “the paradoxical situation of inclusion of knowledge production on the one side and exclusion of the local translators and originators of these debates on the other” (Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2016, 59). A possible approach to deal with this paradox is to engage in a critical and decolonial process of translation with non-Eurocentric categories of thought. The goal of this kind of translation “is not to recreate the language from which it departs, but to understand the processes of translation as a moment of encounter with differences. The creativity that emerges in this encounter is what enables communication and encompasses the process of translation” (Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2010a, 21). My research thus engages in a theoretical translation between Eurocentric perspectives, critiques of Eurocentrism, as well as non-Eurocentric categories and cosmologies in order to understand the political and social expressions of international solidarity and transnational advocacy of/with the Mapuche. This interepistemic dialogue is inspired by studies that have embarked on a similar journey by dialoguing with migrant cosmologies (Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2010a), Indigenous women's forms of (re)producing the sociopolitical fabric (Cabnal 2010; Tzul Tzul 2018), or by discussing non-Eurocentric categories of gender and motherhood (Oyèwùmí 2016), as well as of community and territoriality (De la Cadena 2015).¹⁸

These interepistemic dialogues develop original non-Eurocentric notions and concepts by thinking together with their subalternised, racialised interlocutors through the latter's cosmologies. In this way, they produce what Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2009) calls a “sociology of the absences” (98–159): a form of knowing the world that tries to recognise what hasn't been recognised and that allows to investigate the limits of representation of the conventional social sciences. A sociology of the absences transforms epistemic mono-

18 For the case of studying social movements and political protest from a non-Eurocentric perspective, the work of Gutiérrez Aguilar (2008) on the Indigenous mobilisations and uprisings between 2000 and 2005 in Bolivia stands out. Instead of using Eurocentric concepts like social revolution or (new) social movements for this historical period, she refers to it with the Aymaran notion of *Pachakuti* and centres her sociopolitical analysis around that term.

cultures into “ecologies of knowledges” (Ibid., 113–19) by “revealing the diversity and multiplicity of social practices and making them intelligible by counterpoising them to the exclusive credibility of hegemonic practices” (Ibid., 125; my translation). Instead of appropriating these knowledges or considering them as “pre-theoretical raw material” (Haritaworn 2012, 16), this approach demands “interdisciplinarity and dialogue between institutionalized and non-institutionalized knowledge practices” (Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2016, 62).

This is why the study of the expressions of international solidarity and transnational advocacy with the Mapuche from a decolonial perspective demands an engagement with non-Eurocentric—in this case, Mapuche—thinking. The present research seeks to bring theoretical approaches to solidarity and new transnational social movements in a critical and interepistemic dialogue with Mapuche cosmology and its theoretical notions. There has been a growing body of mostly Spanish but also bilingual (Spanish and Mapuzugun) literature on Mapuche knowledges, as well as, more importantly, research that uses Mapuche knowledges as a point of departure (López Vergara and Lucero 2018), especially by the *Comunidad de Historia Mapuche* (CHM) (Antileo Baeza et al. 2015; Nahuelpan Moreno et al. 2013). In the humanities, there are investigations in the field of law on the human and Indigenous rights situation of the Mapuche (Cayuqueo 2012; 2013; 2014; 2015; Gómez Leytón 2009; Habersang and Ydígoras 2015; Haughney 2006; Jaimovich et al. 2018; Lepe-Garrion 2016; Richards 2013; Skjævestad 2008); in history, investigations are engaging with Mapuche organisations and communities in the recovering of their particular history, territory, and their sociopolitical institutions or expressions (Barrientos 2014; Bengoa 1999; 2000; Contreras Painemal 2003; 2010; Espinoza Araya and Mella Abalos 2013; Pairican 2014); in sociology and anthropology, investigations are working on issues of contemporary social and cultural expressions and organisations (Díaz Fernandez 2012; Duval 2002; COTAM 2003; Garrido, Martínez Sánchez, and Solano-Fernández 2011; Kaltmeier 2004; Leiva Salamanca 2015; López-Vicent, Sánchez-Vera, and Solano-Fernández 2014; Ramos Gutiérrez 2014; Salas Astrain and Le Bonniec 2015; Silva Tapia 2016; Slavsky 2007; Stuchlik 1999); migration studies have investigated the historical and contemporary Mapuche migration to urban centres in Chile and to other countries (Antileo 2014; Chihuailaf 2002; Imilan Ojeda 2010; Rebolledo 2010; Sanhueza and Pinedo 2010); in literature studies, scholars have worked on literary and poetic expressions of the Mapuche (Stanič 2014); and in philosophy and political sciences, there are numerous accounts on the (political) thought

and cosmology of the Mapuche (Levanchy 1999; 2005; Llaitul and Arrate 2012; Marimán 2012; Marimán et al. 2006; Millamán 2014; Nahuelpan 2016; Tricot 2013; 2014).

These critical Mapuche studies reveal important insights into past and contemporary Mapuche cosmology and epistemology, which the present research seeks to put into dialogue with other critical academic knowledges. Finally, I will argue that not only do Mapuche categories and thinking shape the social and political expressions of international solidarity and transnational advocacy in the present study, but they make them intelligible in the first place. These notions will be developed throughout this work in conversation with critical Mapuche studies and my empirical material stemming from conversations with my Mapuche interview partners as well as from my ethnographic experiences.

This chapter suggested a critical theoretical approach to solidarity and contemporary international and transnational social movements. This is because the solidarity and advocacy activism of and with the Mapuche in Europe consists of, on the one hand, the (dis)encounters of solidarity between Mapuche and non-Mapuche actors and the different relationships these encounters produce; on the other, this empirical field needs to be understood by taking into consideration the wide array of networked formations and solidarity strategies of all the involved actors that contribute to transnationalising the struggle of the Mapuche.

In order to theorise solidarity and new transnational social movements critically, I first introduced their hegemonic and traditional perspectives. Then, I engaged with more critical approaches from critical race, critical migration, decolonial, and feminist studies. This is because whilst the dominant perspectives on both theoretical areas are helpful to grasp the phenomena of transnationalisation and solidarity, they fall short in understanding the racialised, colonial, and gendered differences and hierarchies within these encounters and mobilisations.

I first suggested a critical approach to solidarity as a transformative relationship without guarantees that connects historically and structurally heterogeneous social and political experiences. On the one hand, a critical political practice of solidarity needs to question how agency amongst differently positioned actors and groups is distributed. At the same time, it demands to challenge uncritical assumptions about solidarity and recognition that silence or even reproduce colonial/racialised structures. In that way, solidarity is understood as a conflictive relationship that does take place within and not

outside of political and sociocultural hierarchies. A critical perspective on solidarity also looks at how and if powerful actors actually perform and practice, instead of only declaring, solidarity. This demands, first, a recognition of the involved differences and, second, a reconsideration of what is being shared and produced in that relation of solidarity. Eventually, these relations of solidarity have the potential to become critical friendships, which involve political responsibilities and social consequences for those who are in solidarity. As another possible outcome, critical relations of solidarity then would be able to (re)assemble and to (re)universalise truly ethical relationships that eventually lead to new and decolonised ways of conviviality.

The second part of the chapter developed a critical approach to understanding the networked and transnational aspect of political mobilisations to which the different actors involved in this research contribute. This aspect engages with theoretical discussions within new, international, and transnational social movement studies, which have largely focused on international and transnational political mobilisations beyond class politics, as well as their networked aspects and encounters since the second half of the twentieth century. Contemporary Mapuche mobilisation in Wallmapu and beyond is part of a new visibility of the transnational proliferation of locally bound repression against, and the decolonial struggle led by, Indigenous peoples. To understand and analyse this case of transnationalisation, the following research proposes a theoretical approach that takes up some decolonial challenges of the Eurocentric assumptions within new transnational social movement research. I hereby argued for a theoretical approach to the transnationalisation of the Mapuche struggle that recognises the heterogeneity and differences of the involved actors, goes beyond the nation-state container, and considers its networked structure as a decentralised rhizomatic field that produces connectivities and relationalities, understood as assemblages. This theoretical perspective aims to be attentive to the agency of nonwhite actors and to a non-Eurocentric temporality. Finally, this critical approach aims to evaluate the success of advocacy according to the parameters set out by Mapuche actors and organisations, and asks whether transnationalisation contributes to their struggle for decolonisation. For that purpose, this approach demands a critical and transcultural dialogue with non-Eurocentric knowledges, particularly critical Mapuche studies and thinking.

Chapters four and five will take up this theoretical approach and suggest a conceptualisation of the networked aspect, as well as of the mobilisation strategies of the transnationalisation of the Mapuche resistance. I hereby con-

ceptualise the transnationalisation of the Mapuche struggle as a decentral, rhizomatic, and relational field, which is foremost formed by the agency and ideas of the involved Indigenous actors. Chapters six and seven will discuss the critical theoretical approaches to solidarity across and beyond differences by looking at whiteness, colonial/racialised representations, and the practices and assemblages of solidarity. Before approaching the discussion of the empirical field, the following chapter introduces my research methodology.

3. An Ethnography of and in Solidarity

The following chapter introduces my methodological approach to studying the expressions of international solidarity and transnational advocacy with and of the Mapuche. After briefly laying down the epistemological and methodological foundations of my approach, I will detail the development of my research between 2014 and 2017 as a networked, activist ethnography of and in solidarity between Europe and Chile. Towards the end of this chapter, I will discuss some methodological challenges that I encountered during my research. These challenges include the questions of how to balance research between academic and political spaces, how to deal with the involved actors' (including my own) vulnerabilities, and, finally, how to do research in solidarity by giving back and redistributing the products of the investigation.

This chapter follows the aim of presenting a research agenda on the expressions and experiences of international solidarity that is being conducted in solidarity with the involved actors. This is why this research agenda is presented as an ethnography of and in solidarity. Based on my position as a researcher in solidarity, I am able to compose my own position in (possible or limited) solidarity as an object of study within the ethnographic process.

Epistemological and Methodological Foundations

The first section of this chapter presents the epistemological and methodological foundations as well as the research methods that I have chosen to discuss my research questions and to make sense of international solidarity and transnational advocacy with the Mapuche.¹

1 This approach follows a differentiation between an epistemology as an “adequate theory of knowledge or justificatory strategy”, a methodology as “a theory and analysis of how research does or should proceed [including] accounts of how ‘the general structure

The justificatory strategy for my research methodology is based on the argument that solidarity can be investigated more adequately from a standpoint of solidarity. Marxist (Fals-Borda 2009; 2010; Lukács 2012), feminist (Haraway 1988; Harding 1987a; 1987b; 1991; 1994; Hinton 2014), and Black feminist scholars (Hill Collins 2002) have argued that a particular standpoint has an epistemological advantage compared to supposed objectivity and that this epistemological advantage is achieved by theorising the positionality of the subject who conducts the research. By theorising a particular positionality, it is possible to generate more general statements about the wider social experience. For example, capitalism can be better understood by looking at and departing from the experience of the working class (Lukács 2012) as well as racism can be studied more thoroughly through its impact on and analysis by People of Colour (Hill Collins 2002). The argument here is that these structures basically determine the total social experience of these groups and they have a practical interest in overcoming them. This is why their positionality not only holds the key to understand these social conditions, but also to change them (Lukács 2012, 173–74).

I want to transfer this epistemological argument to the present research approach in the following way: by committing to a political activism in solidarity with the Mapuche, I will be able to understand the complex experiences of international solidarity better. At the same time, a committed activist perspective—through its disposition to change reality—is able to make qualitatively better statements than so-called neutral inquiries. Finally, I want to adopt the insight that only an active engagement with the social reality leads to the particular arguments that I develop in this thesis. Any abstract argument for possibilities of solidarity with the Mapuche thus has to be cross-checked with the actual practices of solidarity in social life.

In recent decades, critical (Black) feminists like Sandra Harding, Patricia Hill Collins, and Donna Haraway have made important interventions in the field of research epistemologies and methodologies in the social sciences. These debates set out with the reasonable suspicion of the appropriation of male- and white-centred, bourgeois sciences for emancipatory, primarily feminist purposes (Harding 1991, 7). Rather, in order to support emancipatory politics and research, the epistemological foundations (and not just research

of theory finds its application in particular scientific disciplines”, and finally a research method as a particular “technique for (or a way of proceeding in) gathering evidence” (Harding 1987b, 2–3).

methods or methodologies) of the modern sciences need to be scrutinised (Harding 1987b, 28).

For these theorists, the positionality and standpoint of “women’s lives make available a particular and privileged vantage point on male supremacy” (Hartsock 1987, 159), providing a strategic epistemological and scientific benefit (Harding 1991, 158–59). Feminist standpoint theory thus argues that the social, cultural, and gendered identity of the researcher does not define, but does strongly influence, his or her results. It further challenges the idea of scientific objectivity by stating that a neutral positionality cannot contribute to analyse, alleviate, or overcome socioeconomic hierarchies. In summation, it paves the way for an argument of “situated knowledges” (Haraway 1988).

This results in a claim for a “strong objectivity” (Harding 1994, 165–68; my translation) that integrates the sociocultural, economic, racial, and gender background conditions of the process of knowledge production, which have remained unquestioned in traditional research. This claim demands me to critically reflect and make my sociocultural positionality as a white, middle-class man visible, as well as to scrutinise how this positionality determines my research process and results. It follows that my perspective is not only a privileged one, but is also limited and partial. Thus, it cannot produce universal truths or objective statements. At the same time, strong objectivity urges to think and evaluate our research based on the sociocultural locations that are oppressed and dominated. This means recognising the perspective of those Others and relocating our thinking to their social positionality in order to be able to look back at ourselves from this distanced, critical, and objectifying location (Harding 1994, 194). This is why one of the central epistemological premises of this research is to understand solidarity by discussing it with and departing from Mapuche positionalities.

The argument against universal objectivity and in favour of a strong objectivity as situated knowledge demands an epistemological standpoint of the researcher that is constantly and critically reflected upon (Juris and Khasnabish 2013c, 373). This means recognising and highlighting my own location and positionality, as well as my knowledge, its formative contexts, constraints, and products, as well as my social background and bodily inscribed meanings (Haraway 1988, 589). In that way, the insights produced through this research are results of the “objectivation of the objectifying subject,” that is, the complex ways I enter into a relationship with the sociocultural space of my research (Bourdieu and Wacquant 2013, 238–49; my translation). A critical standpoint is not the result of a capacity that comes along naturally with a

certain sociopolitical positionality, but is rather created and struggled for. It is hence the result of taking responsibility and making an autonomous decision (Harding 1994, 306).

My research methodology is thus guided by the epistemological guiding principle of critically observing and understanding solidarity from a committed, activist perspective that contributes to the quest for possibilities of solidarity. From that position, I can not only reflect on my sociocultural positionality and its limitations and privileges, but also on that of other fellow non-Indigenous solidarity actors. Finally, it follows to research solidarity by engaging with the parameters that are articulated from the perspective of the different experiences of Mapuche community and diaspora members.

Whilst standpoint theory can count as an epistemological basis for research, it has not been translated into a thorough methodology—understood as a theory and analysis of how research does or should proceed concretely—and thus has not found an application in particular scientific disciplines. Nevertheless, the research programme of Participatory Action Research (PAR), primarily developed by the Colombian sociologist Orlando Fals-Borda in the 1960s and '70s, can serve as an inspiration of how the claim that research can and should contribute to social change is adopted in social science investigations (Fals-Borda 2009; 2010; Fals-Borda and Rahman 1991; Moser and Ornauer 1978; Robles Lomeli and Rappaport 2018). PAR claims that social research and political action can productively work together to make political action more efficient and social reality more comprehensible (Fals-Borda 2009, 273). It is a research design for engaged and politically committed researchers, who “may play a catalytic and supportive role but will not dominate” (Fals-Borda and Rahman 1991, 13). PAR is thus

not merely [...] a methodology of research with the subject/subject relationship evolving in symmetrical, horizontal or non-exploitative patterns in social, economic and political life. [It is] also a part of social activism with an ideological and spiritual commitment to promote people's (collective) praxis. (ibid., 25)

The peculiarity of PAR lies in the fact that in every step of the research process, all research participants are supposed to work on a horizontal basis. More precisely, the researcher should equip the social group affected by a certain problem with the faculties to define, determine, and change the relations of knowledge production (Murcia Florian 1990, 23–28).

The methodological guidelines of PAR can be summed up by the following elements (Fals-Borda 2009, 184–91): 1) The researcher's commitment or engagement with the social and political change that the marginalised group seeks;² 2) PAR is an essentially pragmatic research methodology, where those methods are valid that contribute to the political purposes of the marginalised group;³ 3) The systematic devolution of material to the people involved in the research process, which is sensitive to the type of knowledges of the involved people, their current needs and preoccupations, communicational standards, abilities, and privileges; 4) A constant and dynamic rhythm between reflection and social action, which leads to cycles of knowledge production and political engagement; and 5) Epistemological equality amongst the research participants, meaning that every participant is a legitimate agent of knowledge production.

For the purpose of my research, PAR constitutes an ideal and inspiration. The main difference is that my research project is designed and carried out by myself and not as part of a collective effort. The aforementioned elements of PAR thus serve only as important methodological guidelines for my research design.

My methodological approach to understanding the possibilities and limitations of international solidarity with the Mapuche is an ethnographic one. The different critiques towards traditional research methodologies of the social sciences, amongst them ethnography, (Clifford and Marcus 1986; Deloria 1988; Gutiérrez Rodríguez, Boatcă, and Costa 2016; Lander 2005; Smith 2008; Wallerstein et al. 1996) do allow for a flexible but critical use of research methods and practices deriving from sociological and anthropological traditions (Fals-Borda and Rahman 1991, 10; Harding 1987).

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- 2 This is further described as a *compromiso*, which can be translated as a responsibility towards the social, political, and cultural processes that are pushed forward by a certain group and as an identification with the proposed historical alternatives and political ways of achieving these ends. This doesn't mean an uncritical accordance with those alternatives, but rather taking an accompanying and supportive role. According to Fals-Borda (2009, 243), a *compromiso* is an action or an attitude of the intellectual who achieves consciousness about his positionality in society, renounces his role as a mere spectator, and starts to put her or his thinking or production at the service of a particular cause.
 - 3 For an extensive argument in favour of a methodological pragmatism, see Paul Feyerabend (1986).

Contrary to its traditional application, the object of my ethnographic approach is a particular sociopolitical and cultural problem, rather than a particular group of people (Casa-Cortés, Osterweil, and Powell 2013, 217). That is, the focus of my ethnography comprises the complex and contradictory forms, encounters, and practices of international solidarity between unequally positioned groups of people. Ethnography describes both a product and a research process generated during a certain time frame, generally called fieldwork, as a sensitive, understanding, interpretative endeavour from within the social situation that is the object of study. Ethnographic knowledge is created through constant participation and observation in a microsocial setting. Its distinctive feature is that it does not seek to make general claims on societies or cultures, but rather to explain those cultural and social situations by how they are lived, experienced, practiced, and transformed (Geertz 1987, 42).

Ethnography is not bound to, but rather is influenced by, the spatial field in which it takes place and the relationships that people have with that surrounding (Ibid., 32). In recent decades, ethnographic research has moved “from its conventional single-site location [...] to multiple sites of observation and participation that cross-cut dichotomies such as the ‘local’ and the ‘global’ [...]”. Resulting ethnographies are therefore both in and out of the world system” (Marcus 1995, 95). My ethnography is thus multisited, as it includes accounts of practices and encounters of solidarity in Europe and Chile but avoids a “methodological nationalism” (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002). At the same time, it is transnational, as it “transcends, yet also incorporates, other levels of analysis, including the local, regional, and national” (Juris and Khasnabish 2013c, 8) and refers “to a political space constituted beyond the national and the international” (Khasnabish 2013, 71). Instead of focusing on similarities and/or differences between these multiple sites, the present investigation suggests to highlight “the specific features of shared political cultural forms” (Pleyers 2013, 111) expressed through solidarity. These are translocal expressions of solidarity, as they connect and establish relationships “between different place-based (but not place-restricted)” (Routledge 2013, 253) actors, groups, and communities. My ethnographic approach is thus transnational as well as translocal, as the different sites of research are connected to many different spaces and, at the same time, are locally bound by political and sociocultural restrictions:

Grasping such [transnational and translocal] dynamics requires not so much an ethnographic strategy that is multisited (although that can be a critical

component) as one that is networked: attuned to the complex place-based meanings, flows, and sensibilities that interact within momentary spaces of encounter. The political significance of such transnationally networked ethnographies lies in their capacity to generate strategic insights related to the tensions, obstacles, and opportunities that emerge within networked spaces of transnational encounter. (Juris and Khasnabish 2013c, 5)

This networked ethnographic strategy allows me to, first, follow the transnational ramifications (expressed in solidarity actions) of the local conflict from Wallmapu to Europe and back. Second, this ethnographic strategy focuses on certain people and organisations who organise solidarity campaigns across Europe—primarily Mapuche representatives, who visit Europe as part of solidarity and advocacy campaigns. Third, this research approach tracks those moments and events in which non-Indigenous people and organisations in Europe address the conflict in Wallmapu and the Mapuche people (Marcus 1995, 106–10). With this follow-up strategy, a networked ethnography makes the networked expressions of solidarity between/in Europe and Chile visible.

One central claim in ethnographic research is the adequacy of research methodology and theory (Bourdieu and Wacquant 2013; Crang and Cook 2007; Flick 2005). The prominent role of this required reflexivity within ethnographic research thus does justice to the claims of reflexivity in standpoint theory and PAR; since the researcher holds a central position in the research process, he or she is required to develop a deep and insightful understanding of his or her research object. He or she is, in short, her/himself a tool for gathering knowledge and therefore must be reflected upon, because the only possible way for the researcher to access the social field is through social and cultural relationships of which he or she is part of. To see myself, the researcher, as a representative of certain sociocultural categories and turn that representation into a category of analysis is the task of an “objectification of the objectifying self” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 2013, 238–49; my translation) in ethnography. In light of my position as a researcher in solidarity, I am thus no longer only the subject analysing the solidarity of others but compose my own position in (possible or limited) solidarity as an object of study that equally might undergo processes of transformation within the ethnographic encounter (Juris and Khasnabish 2013c, 9).

As detailed in the epistemological argument, my research design aims to combine knowledge production and political activism. How is an ethnographic strategy that combines both possible? I hereby want to relate to what

has been called “militant” (Juris and Khasnabish 2013c, 26), “engaged” (Casa-Cortés, Osterweil, and Powell 2013), or “activist” (Routledge 2013) ethnography for researching and becoming active within different expressions of contemporary transnational solidarity and advocacy activism. An ethnographic account of activist spaces like that of this study “allows us to capture the subjective mood, feeling, and tone of such events” and “provide a vivid sense of actually ‘being there’ during transnational social movement actions and gatherings” (Juris and Khasnabish 2013b, 3). Essentially, this brings the thick description of ethnography to transnational activism.

As proposed within standpoint theory and PAR, a militant ethnography is “able to uncover important empirical issues and generate critical theoretical insights that are simply not accessible through traditional objectivist methods” (Juris and Khasnabish 2013b, 4). This ultimately leads to “a deeper cognitive understanding” of a political movement (Ibid., 26). A contribution of such a committed ethnography for activism is that these insights might help to face or even solve a movement’s problem, mediate between different understandings within academia and activism (Ibid., 4), and contribute to the self-reflection of the movement’s aims, goals, practices, or imaginations (Juris 2013, 77; Pleyers 2013, 112). This approach can also have practical political outcomes, such as supporting a court case, generating concepts, establishing contacts, recording conversations, etc. (Casa-Cortés, Osterweil, and Powell 2013, 224–25). Thus, the result of such a politically engaged ethnography is not only an academic product, but also the practical and political contributions for the movement that are created within the ethnographic process itself. This ultimately leads to the fact that the researcher’s positionality oscillates between spaces within and outside of academia. However, this neither creates horizontality with the research participants nor does it erase the researcher’s privileges. Rather, “the ethnographer is [still] woven into the relational web that constitutes his or her own research topic intermeshed with her or his life trajectory” (Casa-Cortés, Osterweil, and Powell 2013, 224).

My research project seeks to engage productively with the decolonisation efforts that Mapuche communities and organisations in Wallmapu and the diaspora in Europe pursue. Producing knowledge beyond the constraints of Eurocentrism and in autonomy has been and still is an essential part of the struggle for decolonisation of Indigenous people, who not only appropriate and challenge research methodologies from the social sciences but also strengthen their own ways of knowing the world (Nahuelpan Moreno et al. 2013; Smith 2008). One aim of my activist ethnography is to contribute to

such decolonising strategies and methodologies of the Mapuche, which are expressed in solidarity action in Chile and Europe.⁴

But how is it possible for a white male, positioned as a PhD researcher at a Western university, to engage in these decolonisation efforts? The methodological approaches through PAR and militant ethnography already point towards some strategies for a researcher to productively engage in political emancipatory projects. A critical stance towards the epistemic violence perpetrated by Eurocentric and colonial modes of representations and investigations further demands to push the research practice towards an ideal of a horizontal and reciprocal dialogue with the Other (the research participants), whose conditions need to be negotiated constantly (Berkin and Kaltmeier 2012, 7). This negotiation refers to the fact that “ethnographic research needs to be contextualized within a framework of social and geopolitical inequalities and ‘colonial difference’” (Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2010a, 19). In addition to the already outlined research methodologies, this requires a self-reflexivity on the part of the researcher, as well as conducting the investigation as a communal process and a political act (Kaltmeier 2012, 39–42).

This decolonial reflection challenges the Eurocentric assumption that the researcher’s task is to uncover so-called hidden truths within social life or to help the research participants to understand them.⁵ Rather, I argue for an understanding of the ethnographer, who “is one voice or participant in a *crowded field* of knowledge producers” (Casa-Cortés, Osterweil, and Powell 2013, 199; emphasis in original). Thus, an ethnography with decolonial political projects needs to consider its participants and interlocutors as knowledge producers, even though these knowledges might engage in epistemological traditions and expressions that are different to the Western and Eurocentric academic standard. This is why it is even more “crucial to take the movements we work with seriously *on their own terms*” (Juris and Khasnabish 2013a, 379; my emphasis).

4 According to Smith (2008, 142–63), these strategies consist of claiming, giving testimonies, storytelling, celebrating survival, remembering, Indigenising, intervening, re-vitalising, connecting, reading, writing, representing, gendering, envisioning, reframing, restoring, returning, democratising, networking, naming, protecting, creating, negotiating, discovering, and sharing.

5 Unfortunately, this seems to be a problematic underlying assumption of some proposals for a politically committed ethnography, for example in Pleyers (2013).

But how is an ethnographic praxis conducted in a way that takes the terms of the research collaborators seriously? I hereby want to follow the proposal of ethnographic translation (Casa-Cortés, Osterweil, and Powell 2013; Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2010a). Ethnographic translation connects different situated knowledges instead of reaffirming authority over other knowledges through practices of representation that silence subaltern voices (Spivak 1988). This effort is thus “a critical step of putting distinct spheres of knowledges into conversation” by “spreading, sharing, and building connections amongst transnational nodes of engaged knowledge producers” (Casa-Cortés, Osterweil, and Powell 2013, 222–23). This type of ethnographic translation is best described as a process of transculturalisation that “reflects our positionalities, in which commonalities but also differences are made known,” thus creating a “simultaneity of creative exchanges and social conflict” embedded in the ethnographic encounter (Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2010a, 24). From this it follows that “translation in research requires the openness to learning to unlearn our own privileges, recognizing the ‘pluriversality’ and ‘un-translatability’ of our encounters” (Ibid., 29).

A Networked Activist Ethnography of and in Solidarity (2014–2017)

This networked, activist ethnography of and in solidarity between 2014 and 2017 can be broken down into a contact phase, participation and observation in a series of solidarity events in Europe, interviews with non-Mapuche supporters, and finally, the ethnographisation of solidarity by following the expressions of solidarity from Europe to Chile.

In the preparation phase for the networked activist ethnography in 2014, I began creating an overview of solidarity activism in Europe via a series of tracing strategies from the multisited ethnography approach (Marcus 1995, 106–10). I thus started to follow up on solidarity events in Europe through social media sites like Facebook and Twitter, newsletters, online research, and nonacademic journals with a focus on Latin American culture and politics. In that way, I was able to identify key actors (local groups and NGOs) of the solidarity scene in Europe, as well as cultural and political Mapuche actors who (regularly) travel to Europe for solidarity activism. From 2014 to 2017, I developed a mapping system, creating an overview of solidarity events and their topics across Europe. Slowly, particular nodal points (Purcell 2009, 303) of solidarity that were more active than others appeared and particular cities

started to stand out, wherein solidarity events were hosted; connections between these hubs became visible if, for example, they were visited by the same Mapuche delegation.

In Northwestern Europe, two decentral, networked structures of solidarity efforts with the Mapuche became visible: On the one hand, the *Coordinación Mapuche de Europa* (CME),⁶ with a more active presence in the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, and Switzerland. On the other, the International Defence Network of the Mapuche People (IDNMP) connects the cities of Oslo in Norway, Hamburg in Germany, and Milan in Italy. Amongst the more visible solidarity groups across Europe there are *FOLIL* in the Netherlands; *Tierra y Libertad para Arauco* in France; the *Comité de Solidarité avec le Peuple Mapuche* (Comabe) and *FEWLA* in Belgium; a regional group of the Society for Threatened People (GfbV, according to the German acronym) in Cologne, Germany; the 3. *Welt Forum* in Hannover, Germany; the *Forschungs- und Dokumentationsszentrum Chile-Lateinamerika* (FDCL) in Berlin, Germany; and finally the *Asociación KIMUN* and *Red Mapuche Suiza* in Switzerland. Amongst the NGOs operating across Europe in solidarity action with the Mapuche are the GfbV, the Unrepresented Peoples Organisation (UNPO) in the Netherlands and Belgium, the Heinrich Böll Foundation of the German Green Party, and the Episcopal Action *Adveniat* as an institution of the German Bishops' Conference.

By coincidence, at a conference in early 2014 in Cologne, I met a representative of the Mapuche diaspora in Europe and of the regional group of the GfbV, Alina Rodenkirchen. In a long conversation, I laid out my research interest, including my aim to support the solidarity action beyond my PhD project. Cautiously, she gave me the consent to pursue my committed ethnography amongst her activist circles and put me in contact with other solidarity activists in Germany and the Netherlands, included me in e-mail newsletters, forwarded news, and invited me to solidarity events. Until meeting her, I was convinced that solidarity action in Europe was done mostly by non-Indigenous people living in Europe. The encounter with Alina Rodenkirchen proved me wrong and troubled my initial research design (as well as my Eurocentric ignorance about an Indigenous presence in Europe). This is because during the initial phase of my ethnography, I found out that international solidarity with the Mapuche was essentially solidarity carried out by Mapuche people themselves, only supported by non-Mapuche actors and organisations. This made me redesign my research questions by focusing, on the one hand,

6 Mapuche Coordination in Europe.

on the experiences and (dis)encounters between Mapuche and non-Mapuche people coming together in solidarity and, on the other, on the networked structure and strategies of transnational advocacy of the involved actors and organisations. Chapters four and five will discuss the latter questions, and chapters six and seven, the former.

Experiencing international solidarity in Europe as something carried out by Mapuche themselves was intensified in my first participation in a solidarity event, where I learnt that the Mapuche diaspora was much larger and more active than I had assumed. This event was the 2nd *Academia Mapuche*, which took place on October 23–26, 2014 in Cologne, organised by members of the Mapuche diaspora with the institutional support of the GfbV. The *Academia* was a sociopolitical and cultural gathering and workshop, where the Mapuche diaspora from across Europe, Mapuche visiting Europe, and non-Indigenous, mostly white German supporters came together. The *Academia* consisted of talks, mainly given by Mapuche, about their history, culture, language, and political struggle, and provided a space for art presentations through drawings and performances by Mapuche artists. Some aspects of the Mapuche culture were put into practice by cooking together, having a Mapuche-style exchange (*trafkintu*) between the participants, and language courses. The *Academia* had roughly three to four dozen participants, half of which were Mapuche. The rest were non-Indigenous (mostly white Germans).

My experience at the *Academia* allows to make a particular feature of my ethnographic encounters visible. Gatherings and spaces of international solidarity with and of the Mapuche in Europe were filled with cultural meanings, symbols, and proceedings of Mapuche culture. That means that many encounters of international solidarity were transcultural and ‘Mapuchised’ spaces, in which Mapuche ceremonies, rituals, sounds, and smells were present. Also, many practices and proceedings, unfamiliar to my Eurocentric expectations about solidarity events, were important elements of these encounters. These practices included, for example, long and apparently informal conversations amongst the participants in between the official programme, cooking and eating together, or the already mentioned exchanges. Sharing and participating in such practices became a crucial element in my ethnography, which hereby became methodologically ‘Mapuchised.’

My role in the *Academia* was that of a regular participant, but I introduced myself as a researcher who was pursuing an engaged ethnography in that space. I got to know almost all of the Mapuche and non-Mapuche participants, had long informal conversations, and exchanged contact details and

Facebook friendships. Towards the end of the event, I managed to gather the non-Indigenous participants and presented my research project (again) in more detail. I concluded by asking if they were willing to participate in my research project in the form of an interview. A dozen agreed to do so and gave me their contact information.

At the same time, I got in contact with different people from the Mapuche diaspora across Europe. Some of them challenged me by asking what I was doing here by pushing me to describe my *compromiso* of how I think to commit myself to their efforts. So, before I had a chance to pose these questions to non-Indigenous solidarity actors, I had to answer them not only for myself but for the Mapuche living in Europe. These critical questions included inquiries about my political positionality and sociocultural background (Fals-Borda 2009, 246) as well about the ownership, benefits, and interest of my research (Smith 2008, 10). All these conversations count as informal, open-ended interviews in order to understand “other realities through the way they are explained by those who inhabit them” and how “people narrate their own experiences and understandings of their own social realities” (Khasnabish 2013, 69) within activist ethnography. At the same time, some actors of the Mapuche diaspora became key informants for my research project. Those are people “who you can talk to easily, who understand the information you need, and who are glad to give it to you or get it for you” (Bernard 2006, 196). Becoming Facebook friends with most of the participants also helped me to keep track not only of the different solidarity activities across Europe but also of the political and sociocultural developments in Wallmapu.

But most importantly, my participation at the *Academia* changed my positionality within the research context—something that was initiated in the encounter with Alina Rodenkirchen. I understood that the Mapuche diaspora are the gatekeepers for solidarity activism within Europe, which is supported by non-Indigenous actors and organisations. Thus, I needed to bring the orientation of my research in tune with that reality. For my research, this demanded an increasing attention to not falling in the colonialist trap of replicating the Mapuche diaspora as research objects. For my planned engagement in solidarity action, this situation required an even more careful reflexivity towards power relations and privileges in the solidarity work within Europe and not only in Wallmapu (as initially assumed). It called for a positionality as an activist researcher, who listens instead of talks and who lowers his impulse towards action and protagonism in favour of other people's agency. This role is reflected in the following picture taken during the *Academia*.

Figure 2. *Academia attendee, 2014. “Academia Mapuche 2.”*



Facebook, December 11, 2014. Screenshot by the author, taken December 11, 2014; other people's faces are anonymised.

At the centre of that picture, I am one non-Indigenous actor amongst many, whose disposition for political action might become activated by the activities of the Mapuche diaspora. At the same time, I am one of many non-Indigenous actors who was listening to a Mapuche person talking at that moment. The picture thus represents the gaze of my research agenda: a critical reflection about my own and the engagement of other non-Indigenous actors in solidarity action whilst the Mapuche diaspora are the protagonists.⁷

Between 2014 and 2017, I participated or was actively involved in a total of nine events related to solidarity with the Mapuche. From May 9–11, 2014, I participated in a congress about decolonisation in Latin America, which is where I met Alina Rodenkirchen. She digitally introduced me to the solidarity group in Frankfurt, who I got to know at a solidarity event on June 18, 2014 in a community centre. The contact with that group unfortunately tapered off and—at least to my knowledge—they have not been active since. Then, as already mentioned, in October 2014 I participated in the 2nd *Academia Mapuche*.

In May 2015, I was invited to a demonstration and conference organised by the Mapuche diaspora in The Hague. Based on my participation in and support of this event, I was then invited to the Mapuche celebration, *wetripantu*, between June 20–21, 2015. The *wetripantu* has been regularly organised (with some interruptions) by the Mapuche diaspora in the Netherlands. Both events were organised by the European Mapuche diaspora, although not always with

7 I would like to thank my dear colleague Andrea Sempertegui for inspiring me to analyse the researcher's gaze in that way.

the same participants. At the same time, I got to meet their families as well as other non-Indigenous supporters from across Europe.

In September 2015, together with Alina Rodenkirchen, I visited a public cultural festival in the German city of Bad Ems, where Chilean public defence lawyer Barbara Katz held a presentation about the general situation of the Mapuche in Chile and her human rights work as—according to the festival's programme—the “defender of the Mapuche Indians.” After my first research stay in Chile in early 2016, in April of the same year I participated in a rally in Cologne against the violent raid of a Mapuche community and the incarceration of Mapuche community members, amongst them *machi*⁸ Francisca Linconao. In November 2016, I organised a solidarity event together with Alina Rodenkirchen at the *Internationales Zentrum* in Frankfurt, where she gave a presentation about the linguistic decolonisation struggles in Chile. Towards the end of my ethnography in November 2017, I had the chance to invite the Mapuche poet Rayen Kyeh to my undergraduate seminar at Justus-Liebig University in Giessen, where she introduced the students to Mapuche cosmology, history, and culture.

I understand these events as “networked spaces of encounter” (Escárcega 2013, 133) of the transnational and translocal solidarity efforts with the Mapuche. In these spaces, people, resources, information, and meanings come into contact, subjectivities co-inhabit and might even clash, relationships and even communities are created, and activism and knowledges are articulated and put into practice. These encounters further constitute “a critical node in a network or plateau in a rhizome that is particular in space and time” (Conway 2013, 272). This means that these encounters are the moments in which a rhizomatic network constitutes and reproduces (but also transforms) itself.

In order to document these events, I referred to ethnographic methods such as the field diary as a preliminary step in the construction of the experienced reality as a written product (Flick 2005, 248), participation, observation, and open-ended, dialogic conversations of sharing experiences and knowledge (Berkin and Kaltmeier 2012, 7; Fals-Borda 2009, 263–64). I summed up these dialogues and conversations in my field diary but preferred not to interrupt the flow of events in these encounters for the purpose of a structured interview situation. I further used the diary to condense what has happened, how I experienced the situations, to collect contact information, and pin down

8 Healer or spiritual leader.

further research ideas as well as reflections, feelings, and contradictions about my role as a committed researcher.

Due to online coverage, mostly on social media, I was also able to closely follow a series of solidarity events in Europe without being present. These events include rallies at the visits of former Chilean president Michelle Bachelet in Cologne and Leuven, Belgium, solidarity campaigns in support of a Mapuche community threatened by the construction of a hydroelectric power dam in the cities of Hamburg and Oslo, protests in various European cities against the visit of the Chilean military ship *La Esmeralda*, and visits by Mapuche representatives such as Jaime Huenchullán from the autonomous community of Temuicui and Aucán Huilcamán from the *Consejo de Todas las Tierras* (CTT).⁹

Between November 2015 and July 2017, I conducted a total of 17 semi-structured interviews with Indigenous and non-Indigenous actors from the European solidarity network. These included three interviews with people from the Mapuche diaspora, which were conducted as a mixed-method interview with problem-centred, expert, biographical, and narrative elements (Bernard 2006, 298; Flick 2005, 117–67).

More importantly though, and according to other decolonial and critical race approaches to solidarity (Land 2015; Mahrouse 2014), most of these interviews aimed to critically discuss the role and vision of non-Mapuche supporters involved in international solidarity and advocacy. This element of my ethnography was designed in collaboration with Alina Rodenkirchen.

These interviews were with non-Indigenous individuals who were, are, or wanted to become involved in a solidarity project with the Mapuche.¹⁰ In the solidarity events, I met several non-Indigenous people who agreed to do an interview with me. Amina had supported the organisation of the *Academia* in Cologne and had visited Mapuche communities in resistance in Wallmapu. Sybille is a German photographer, whom I also met at the *Academia* and had just realised a photography project about Wallmapu in order to raise awareness in Germany. At the *Academia*, I got in contact with two other young white German women, Verena and Rike, whom I later interviewed. Rike became a very active supporter of the regional group of the GfbV and travelled to Chile as a human rights observer. At the event in The Hague in 2015, I met Amanda, who is a non-Indigenous US citizen living and working in the Netherlands

9 Council of All Territories.

10 All of their names have been changed, and the contexts, if possible, anonymised.

and supporting the work of the diasporic Mapuche organisation *FOLIL*. One year later, I conducted an interview with her.

I was put in contact with another group of future interview partners by Alina Rodenkirchen. As one of the most prominent and visible figures of the European solidarity efforts, as she told me once, many non-Indigenous people, especially from Germany, contact her because of their interest in the Mapuche. Most of the time, these people are already engaged in a project related to the Mapuche or want to become involved. Answering these e-mails and engaging with everyone became very time consuming, stressful, and even disappointing to her. This is because, she felt, some engage with that issue only as some kind of hobby or even want her to support their project. She thus suggested that, in accordance with my research design, I could contact these people on her behalf and critically engage with them in a conversation about their motivation, commitment, and project design. I would thus relieve her from some of her workload and, as she ironically remarked, become an anthropologist working for the Mapuche diaspora instead of researching them. This suggestion further supports the agenda of (critical) whiteness studies investigating “how white people experience their whiteness” (Ahmed 2004, 2) applied to the context of (international) solidarity activism, which only a few studies have done (Land 2015; Mahrouse 2014).

All of the following seven interviewees are non-Indigenous people living in Germany who had contacted Alina regarding support for their projects related to the Mapuche or to get information about the Mapuche. Peter and Greta had already completed two different visual arts projects in which they made some aspect of Mapuche culture and their political struggle internationally visible. At the time of the interview, Eva was organising a microcredit development project targeted at Mapuche communities in Wallmapu with the support of an NGO from Europe. Clarissa had already stayed in Wallmapu for a longer period and was thus interested in collaborating with the Mapuche regional group of the GfbV. Madelaine was preparing for a several-months-long stay in Wallmapu as part of a research collaboration between Chilean and German universities to investigate capitalist land seizures in Southern Chile. Karin and Sabrina had a general interest in Mapuche culture and society, the conflict in Chile, and international solidarity efforts. Following my semi-structured questionnaire (designed with the support of Alina), I asked them about their reasons for contacting Alina in the first place, their projects, their knowledge and imaginations about the Mapuche and Indigenous societies in general, and finally their positionality and motivations. With the last part, we aimed to

engage them in a critical reflection about agency, the benefit of their projects, their reaction towards possible demands by the Mapuche, and finally their political beliefs.

In June 2016, I conducted another set of three semi-structured, problem-centred interviews with employees of the GfbV headquarters in Göttingen.¹¹ At that moment, the GfbV was the most engaged and visible NGO involved in Mapuche advocacy and collaborating with the Mapuche diaspora. The GfbV is a NGO born out the (internationalist) student mobilisations in Western Germany after 1968 (Slobodian 2012, 207–8), becoming one of the major players of the “Fourth World Activism” (Kemner 2014) in solidarity with oppressed, persecuted, and marginalised Indigenous people and minorities across the world. Especially through the efforts of the Mapuche diaspora in Cologne, Germany, the GfbV became involved with the support of the Mapuche. As I became more and more committed to solidarity activism during my ethnography, I was already regularly talking to people at the GfbV headquarters, so interviews could be arranged easily. I conducted interviews with Isidora (June 9, 2016), a non-Indigenous Chilean woman in charge of the GfbV archive; Maike, responsible for online editing and external communication; and finally Isabell, a long-term staff member of the GfbV and head of the human rights division for Indigenous people—thus, the person mostly involved with issues concerning the Mapuche. The interview basically covered three topics: their role in and opinions about the GfbV in general, the working and operating structure in their field, and finally their involvement with the Mapuche and Indigenous people in general. In the last section, I aimed at discussing their motivations, knowledges, and perceived contradictions about working in that area.

At the *Academia* in Cologne I met, amongst others, Alex Mora, a Mapuche artist who has been based in Germany for almost two decades and is a very active member of the regional group of the GfbV. He quickly became interested in supporting my endeavour of researching solidarity by becoming an active supporter of solidarity efforts. At the *Academia* we talked at length about my possible contribution to the solidarity activities and on another occasion he decided that he wanted to introduce me to Jaime Huenchullán, *werken*¹² of the autonomous community of Temucuicui. I met them briefly at Alex’s apartment in Cologne, together with two women from the Mapuche diaspora, also

11 Their names have been changed and anonymised as well.

12 Community spokesperson.

in order to ask for his permission to visit his community. Before my first visit to Chile, I had two more preparation meetings with members of the regional group of the GfbV. Finally, they agreed to support my application at the GfbV headquarters to receive the status of a human rights observer.

In these preparation meetings, I increasingly became aware of some challenges of my project. First of all, it was important to pursue my project with the approval of the involved people, especially from the Mapuche diaspora and representatives. They challenged me to critically reflect about my privileges and positionality as a white European male and how this might cause problems in Wallmapu for me and for the Mapuche people I encounter.¹³ They also made me aware to which extent I am putting myself at risk and of how to protect myself, my findings, and my interlocutors. In these meetings, they contributed from their sociocultural positionality to a process of reflecting on my own situatedness in the context of international solidarity. Epistemologically speaking, they contributed with a “strong objectivity” (Harding 1994, 165–68) to my research, based on their standpoints.

This part of the preparation had practical (making contacts), ethical (permission), political (critical reflection about privileges and danger in fieldwork), and epistemological dimensions. But besides the preparation for my role as a human rights observer, I still needed to design my research agenda.

With the aim to ethnographically investigate solidarity, I planned a two-months-long research stay, from February to April 2016, in the Araucanía region in Southern Chile, its capital Temuco, and the country’s capital, Santiago de Chile. The research aims were threefold: First, I planned to conduct semi-structured interviews with Mapuche and non-Mapuche people, groups, and activists who have experienced, participated in, or benefitted from international solidarity and advocacy efforts. The second aim involved ongoing ethnographic fieldwork with participant observation and interviews in Wallmapu and amongst sectors of the Mapuche movement. The third aim concerned archive and literature research in public, university, and activist libraries in Temuco and Chile.

The idea of ethnographing solidarity here means, on the one hand, following the solidarity activism in Europe back to Chile (Marcus 1995, 106–10). The aim thus was to meet those people, communities, and organisations in Chile, who are at the ‘receiving end’ of solidarity. As part of my ethnography in Europe, I was able to get the contacts in Chile through the regional

13 I introduced some of these issues in the questionnaires for the interviews in Europe.

group of the GfbV, Adveniat, and the microcredit development project coordinated by Eva. On the other hand, ethnographing solidarity means collecting testimonies about international solidarity from the Mapuche themselves. A critical discussion about the limitations and possibilities of international solidarity thus needs to include their perspective. My aim was to collect these notions ethnographically, make them available through transcultural and interepistemic translation (Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2010a), and support their strong sense of objectivity (Harding 1994, 165–68). In short, ethnographing solidarity means making solidarity the object of an empirical study through ethnographic research with Mapuche informants.

For that purpose, I applied a mix of informal, unstructured, and semi-structured interview techniques during my ethnographic fieldwork, due to the need of adapting spontaneously to a potential interview partner, the surroundings, context, and time (Bernard 2006, 211–12). Within these interviews, I aimed to discuss the informant's experiences with international solidarity, the expectations towards international solidarity, and its relevance to their particular organisation or community. Finally, I raised the issue of how colonial representations and stereotypes still seem to inform non-Indigenous people's perspectives within solidarity and advocacy activism. Towards the end of the interviews, I left room for other issues my interlocutor might want to raise.

Preparing and organising interviews before my actual departure to Chile was discouraging, especially since for the funding of my research trip, I needed to provide the details of my prospective interview partners. During my ethnography, I came across a huge number of names of government, embassy, or NGO officials in Chile, as well as Mapuche artists, spokespersons, intellectuals, and researchers whom I wanted to consider for interviews. I selected some people and started sending infinite e-mails, Facebook messages, and friend requests, introducing myself as a researcher and human rights activist. This was a disappointing experience, since I only received one (positive) answer and I had to travel to Chile with only a few confirmed contacts and interview partners.¹⁴

I was really anxious whilst travelling to Chile and feared that my research plan might not work out. It was not that hard to figure out the reason why I was welcomed by some future interlocutors whilst others did not even reply.

14 These were, as mentioned above, established with the help of the regional group of the GfbV, Adveniat, and the project coordinated by Eva.

What the people who already agreed to meet me had in common was that I already met them or I knew someone they knew very well. Especially the experience of meeting Jaime Huenchullán in Cologne kept spinning in my head. Alex had invited me to meet them in Cologne but, due to schedule problems, we knew beforehand that I would not be able to spend much time with them. Still, Alex insisted on my visit. I thus travelled to Cologne during the day, met Jaime and sat down with him and the others for only a little more than an hour. Then, Jaime had to continue his trip. I felt that I just went there to shake his hand. But whilst travelling to Chile I wondered whether the only reason he was welcoming me was because we had met in person. If I would not have gone to Cologne that day, would he still receive me?

With this reflection in my head, I convinced myself that I had to trust meeting the right people in person and see where it went. I arrived in Santiago de Chile and, since I did not have any scheduled interview, I chose to engage in some tourism. I remembered that I had read about a newly opened restaurant in the capital, whose chef was Mapuche and prepared Mapuche dishes. I did some background research about the chef, José Luis Calfucura, and found out that he is a quite prominent, public Mapuche figure. I decided that I might as well try to interview him. I called the restaurant, asked if he was around and willing to do an interview, and he accepted. As always whilst travelling, I was carrying some small gifts from Germany, because you never know whom you might need to thank. I was happy that José agreed to have a conversation and I gave him a small jar of German fruit marmalade. At the end of the interview, he became very serious and highlighted the importance of that token as a symbol for a reciprocal gift exchange in Mapuche culture. I felt that he was putting me on guard about respecting this reciprocity and not instrumentalising people for my research without giving something back (José Luis Calfucura, interview with the author, February 16, 2016a).

These two experiences with Jaime and José were path-breaking for how to approach and engage with future interview partners. Not only was it insightful to learn that I needed to rely on coincidence or on other people to be introduced to informants; what is more, these experiences showed me that eventual interviews are almost only possible as the result of a personal encounter or even an intimate relationship with someone. For example, the Mapuche poet Rayen Kvyeh only agreed to an interview with me after two weeks of getting to know each other (during which it is fair to say that we began cultivating a friendship). On the other side, the question of reciprocity was crucial, and thus I needed to be able to articulate how I aim to reciprocate

the information granted in an interview.¹⁵ For example, before agreeing to an interview, Isabel Cañet from the autonomist Mapuche party *Wallmapuwen* challenged me to articulate how I aim to redistribute information and possible benefits for the Mapuche from this interview.¹⁶ After meeting José Calfucura, when requesting an interview I anticipated the demand of reciprocity by explaining my double role as researcher and human rights observer: whilst I would receive information and knowledge, I would reciprocate in the form of solidarity and human rights activism to the extent my interlocutors see a benefit in doing so.

Besides the interviews with José Calfucura, Rayen Kvyeh, and Isabel Cañet, I conducted individual interviews with Gloria Marivil and Vicente Paniel from the Mapuche cooperative *Kvme Mogen*, as well as another in-depth, expert interview with Vicente Paniel later on; an interview with Mauricio Vergaras, executive secretary of the *Asociación de Municipalidades con Alcalde Mapuche* (AMCAM); Federico Aguirre, head of the regional office of the *Instituto Nacional de Derechos Humanos* (INDH);¹⁷ Victor Carilaf from the Mapuche pedagogical collective *Kimeltuwe*; Rubén Sánchez from the *Observatorio Ciudadano* (OC)¹⁸ (all in Temuco) and Jaime Huenchullán in Temucucui; Cristián and Matías, two Mapuche actors involved in the microcredit development programme organised by Eva; two individual and two group interviews with the Mapuche tourist project in Llaguepulli; two individual and one group interview with the people contacted through Adveniat in Santiago de Chile, Tirúa, and Padre de las Casas; and an interview with the Mapuche weaver María Teresa Loncón in Villarica. Another group interview was conducted with the non-Indigenous researchers Rodrigo Garrido and Manuel Morales from the *Centro de Investigaciones de la Inclusión digital y la Sociedad de Conocimiento* (CIISOC)¹⁹ of the *Universidad de la Frontera* in Temuco. The informal interviews were with other non-Indigenous solidarity activists from the Global North, non-Indigenous Chilean supporters of the Mapuche, and Mapuche community members and activists.

15 This question of a “systematic devolution” (Fals-Borda and Rahman 1991, 9) is also a central aspect in PAR.

16 In the following interview, Isabel Cañet used the term redistribution (*retribución*) to describe this aspect (interview with the author, February 24, 2016).

17 National Human Rights Institute.

18 Citizens’ Observatory.

19 Research Centre for Digital Inclusion and Social Knowledge.

Mainly as part of human rights observation, I visited two Mapuche communities in resistance and two political prisoners on several occasions. As part of an activist ethnography, these experiences gave me a lot of insights about the limitations, possibilities, and dangers of international solidarity activism in the form of human rights observation through direct immersion, participation, and critical and systematised self-reflection.

All data I obtained during the period of my ethnography, mostly in the form of interviews, was analysed according to qualitative research methods in social science research (Flick 2005, 243–359), ethnographic analysis of field materials (Crang and Cook 2007, 131–59), and qualitative text analysis (Kuckartz 2014).

Reflection and Redistribution

As outlined above, feminist, decolonial, and committed methodologies call for the researcher's reflexivity and demand a political benefit for the people who participate in the research. Reflections about my positionality and standpoint within—as well as my possible contribution to—solidarity activism with the Mapuche will be addressed in the rest of this chapter and inform discussions in the chapters to come.

The contradictions between activism and research are one of the main difficulties of an engaged and committed ethnographic approach (Juris and Khasnabish 2013b, 27–28). Contrary to the epistemological and methodological framework, my research agenda does not fulfil the demand of a horizontal and equal participation between researcher and research participants. I clearly dominated and controlled the research process in each step, from the initial research questions until the final writing process. The main reason for this is the institutional constraint of pursuing a PhD investigation at a Western university, which foremost rewards individual achievements and excellency. So, if only I am going to be rewarded, why should others put in the same effort in this process? I think it is important to reflect on the institutional constraints and backgrounds of each research project regarding questions of horizontality and participation because they might just be code-words under which the labour of research participants might get exploited. Consequently, I opted for a contingent approach to horizontality and participation, depending on the explicit interest of and possible benefit for my research partners. These moments of horizontality and democratisation took

place, for example, whilst designing the questionnaire for the non-Mapuche solidarity actors with Alina Rodenkirchen or whilst planning my engagement as a human rights observer in Wallmapu with Alex Mora.

Whilst I remained in control of the research process itself, I was still depending on others to be able to access or to participate in the field of international solidarity. This dependency counters the modern/colonial ideal of the independent, self-confident, and determined researcher. Engaging in a different positionality as a researcher thus implies a process of “unlearning one’s privilege” (Spivak 1990, 10) by starting to need to rely on others. For example, I needed the approval of people from the Mapuche diaspora in Europe and of Mapuche organisations and communities in Wallmapu in order to pursue an ethnography on solidarity. Whilst my presence as a researcher and activist was accepted, my agency should not become a dominating and paternalising force in this field. In that way, I opted for a very cautious and even passive approach to solidarity activism by accompanying and supporting solidarity actions only on demand by the Mapuche diaspora. The guideline, as noted earlier, was that my positionality “may play a catalytic and supportive role but will not dominate” (Fals-Borda and Rahman 1991, 13). For example, I always had reservations of holding the Mapuche flag *wenufoye* at rallies by myself, which could be a form of paternalistic representation or appropriation. On one occasion though, I was handed the *wenufoye* by a Mapuche with an explicitly approving gesture. This experience symbolises nicely how my role became more active following the demands or invitations of Mapuche actors rather than on my own initiative.²⁰

At the same time, this reactive positionality sometimes slowed down my research process. For example, on several occasions I had to wait until a solidarity event was organised that served my research interests. Also, several of these events were planned on very short notice and sometimes I found out about them only a few days before. This made it difficult for me to attend, because those events took place in Belgium, the Netherlands, or other cities in Germany. Especially during my first research stay in Wallmapu, I immediately got sucked into the contingency of the political struggles. Within the first days, I was invited to meet several important people, visit the court trials and the political Mapuche prisoners, etc. and barely had time to write down any notes or press pause. My commitment as a human rights observer was

20 As a “symbol of ideological decolonisation” (Pairican 2019; my translation), sharing the *wenufoye* with me is therefore very meaningful.

warmly welcomed and demanded by local Mapuche activists. This activism thus created its own flow of events and my research agenda could barely keep up. At the same time, I needed these experiences as an international solidarity activist to answer my research question from a committed perspective.

In many situations, I thought of myself as standing at a crossroads between research and activism. Taking out my voice recorder and asking for an interview sometimes interrupted an important conversation, was not appropriate, or reinstated a distance between me and my interlocutor. This is why I began to prioritise the openness and spontaneity of an encounter or conversation within solidarity activism. Most of the time, I still ended up discussing topics that are relevant to my research. These situations were created spontaneously without my incentive and without foregrounding my research, but rather my activist positionality.

This demands another moment of reflecting on the ambiguity between research and activism, because in these situations I was given information as a fellow activist and not necessarily as a researcher. So, how should I treat information that is given off the record? One option is that information obtained through activism can be treated as “deep background,” that is, “information that can be used to inform general analyses but not in a way that provides a description of a specific event or person” (Hess 2013, 162). Information that could compromise or endanger my interlocutors or their political projects is excluded from my ethnographic material. Thus, I mostly rely on anonymous material, public statements, and interviews given with consent, as required by ethical research standards (Crang and Cook 2007, 26–33).

Whilst opting for a dialogic exchange with my interlocutors from an activist perspective, some valuable empirical material did not find its way into a recorded interview or field notes. This does not make these encounters worthless. Instead, “[t]he connections and affinities forged with resisting others form a key part of activist ethnographic research” and are even able to “nurture a politics of affinity with others” (Routledge 2013, 255). This approach highlights activism in solidarity as a transformative relationship (Featherstone 2012) by creating social and affective ties based on a political commitment. Solidarity thus does not only aim at political change, but towards a transformation of the social relationships forged in activism.

Engaged ethnographies take place within politically disputed arenas characterised by different degrees of vulnerability for the involved actors. Nevertheless, not all actors are equally vulnerable in their contexts. The vulnerability

itself and its heterogeneity is another major challenge for an engaged ethnography.

Decolonial and critical race scholars like Encarnación Gutiérrez Rodríguez and Gada Mahrouse have brought forward an important critique of how the grievability of lives is shaped along racialised, colonial, and gendered axes (Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2019; Mahrouse 2014). Connected to this research, Mahrouse (2014) analyses further how the different vulnerabilities of actors involved in transnational solidarity activism are situated within an international—and, I would add, interpersonal—“hierarchy of grief” (30–31). She hereby criticises how the stories of white activists in danger receive considerably more attention than the everyday vulnerability of those who actually live in conflict zones like Palestine or Wallmapu. This creates a situation in which the vulnerability of white, well-meaning, and individualised activists who visit these places is put in the spotlight whilst the suffering of others is rendered invisible (Ibid., 43). This racialised logic of emotional responses turns the focus away from the structural violence against a particular group and favours the “compelling story of the white, First World activist in the war zone” (Ibid., 71). Following this critique, I do not aim to put the vulnerability I experienced during my ethnography at the forefront, but rather reflect on its methodological consequences.

In the preparation meetings before my engagement as a human rights observer, my contacts amongst the Mapuche diaspora started to prepare me for how the conflict in Wallmapu might constitute a risk to my research, liberty, and physical integrity. Mapuche communities and organisations in the Araucanía region in Southern Chile are under constant surveillance and militarised police and private security actors have an enormous presence in those territories. This is one of the reasons for solidarity activism in the first place. The human rights observer status, granted by a recognised German NGO, might offer some protection but maybe not enough, my contacts warned me. I still might be arrested for a short period of time, my belongings (including my research material) scanned or even taken away from me, or, in the worst case, I might be deported from Chile. There are several well-documented cases of European solidarity activists who have been expelled from Chile and are not allowed to visit the country again. This is based on a highly dubious argumentation that the international activists were supporting terrorist activity of the Mapuche movement. One prominent example is the one of Basque activist Iban Gartzía (Bajo Malleko Mapu 2016). Even the most committed and

engaged research designs do not prepare for these kind of situations, neither logistically nor mentally.

I talked at length with Alex Mora about how to avoid situations in Wallmapu that might put me in danger and how to protect myself. I always travelled with my identification documents as a human rights observer and as a researcher from my home institution to signal my institutional support in possible police controls. It was paramount that someone I trusted and could reach easily would always know for how long and where I was staying in Wallmapu. Alex Mora also advised me about not delivering sensitive information during phone calls and about the importance of being surrounded by people, especially at night. Besides these general precautions, I opted for a series of measures to protect my research material, especially the interview recordings and photographs, as well as my communications, through secure file storage and encryption software.

I particularly felt vulnerable and threatened after I left a Mapuche community resistance just before it was raided by the military police and several community members were arrested. If I had stayed there, I might have gotten arrested and accused of supporting terrorist activity. I was shocked and relieved at the same, only feeling a small proportion of the vulnerability that is experienced on an everyday basis in Wallmapu. Shortly after coming back to Germany, there was a rally in Cologne to denounce this raid and the imprisonment of those Mapuche community members. For me, there was something different about this protest compared to the others. Suddenly, I realised that I was protesting as someone who was almost affected himself by this event. It was a much more intense solidarity that I experienced at that moment, as a result of my own vulnerability whilst staying in Wallmapu. This type of solidarity and my commitment to it felt much more real, because “to be committed is to be in danger” (Baldwin quoted in Yancy 2018, 116). Experiencing a small proportion of vulnerability thus transformed my view on the calls and actions for solidarity from a safe distance that I was experiencing during my research in Europe.

But what is an adequate way of dealing with this feeling of vulnerability from a privileged position, compared to many Mapuche community members, political leaders, or activists? How can feeling this danger be addressed without reproducing a hierarchy of grief? After a few weeks during my first research stay in Wallmapu, I was overwhelmed by the conflict that I had chosen to do research in. After visiting political prisoners and observing cases in court, I felt deeply affected by the violence, injustices, and dehumanisa-

tions I witnessed in such a brief time. In that period, I was staying in the house of Rayen Kvyeh, a Mapuche poet living in Temuco, with whom I built a trustful relationship. In her company, I felt comfortable enough to address that I did not know how to deal with these feelings without falling into the trap of the hierarchy of grief. I told her that I do not think that it is fair if my feelings of despair and frustration occupy too much space, especially in the interpersonal encounters with people, including her, who experienced the colonial, racialised, and gendered violence in Wallmapu almost throughout their whole lives. Whilst she agreed that this hierarchy of grief needs to be treated critically, she also added an important element to our discussion: she said straightforwardly that it is good that I feel that way because it means that I care. And if I care, she went on, I am able to tell a better, more committed, and more empathic story in my research. In that way, she urged me to engage in a “labour of mourning”—and, I would add, a labour of empathy and solidarity—that “transcends representable justice by converting it into a matter of justice in the sense of the ethics of care” (Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2019, 356). Therefore, feeling vulnerable and recognising the hierarchy of grief can become methodologically productive by urging the research(er) to contribute to an ethics of care and justice.

Another central element of decolonial and participatory action research agendas is the question of how the participants benefit from their involvement in the investigation. Instead of joining the calls for a devolution of research material or final results, I want to argue for the need of a redistribution within the research context itself. This idea was proposed by two Mapuche interlocutors, Isabel Cañet (interview with the author, February 24, 2016), who insists on a “redistribution in terms of knowledge and experiences,” and Nadia Paineñil (interview with the author, March 10, 2016), who criticises researchers who do not leave “a redistribution of what they investigated.”

I prefer this idea over the concept of devolution because the latter is limited to a voluntary understanding of the researcher individually choosing to give back material whose rightful owners are the informants anyway.²¹ This is why I want to conceptualise this final step as a redistribution—a result of a

21 This refers to the difference between complementary action and reciprocity in theoretical debates on solidarity. The idea of redistribution hereby connects with reciprocity, which “connotes that *each* party has rights *and* duties” (Gouldner 1960, 169; emphasis in original) .

negotiation between the researcher and research participants about the mutual benefits of their collaboration on a horizontal and reciprocal basis. This redistribution has been demanded by Mapuche interlocutors before agreeing on (but also before rejecting) an interview. Others told me about their negative experiences with non-Indigenous researchers not giving back anything, which I understood as a call to do things differently.

Highlighting my redistribution and the ways of how I gave back can be read as a self-congratulatory praxis displaying commitment, authority, and even morality (Land 2015, 244–46). Instead, the aim is to make my actions transparent. This display is not meant to be decisive about my authority in the field, the level of my commitment, or the morality of my actions. Making these decisions transparent should rather contribute to the critical evaluation of such practices of redistribution in the context of engaged and committed research practices in general.

To begin with, I am critical towards the devolution of research materials or results in written form because they might only be partially interesting or useful for the research partners. There is some sense of intellectual and academic arrogance in the assumption that my final results have the same value to them as their narrations and experiences had to me, or as this text might have to other academics. The devolution of written material is also limited because it sometimes can only be given back after a considerable amount of time. In the present case of a PhD study, there might be years between an interview and the publication of the dissertation. This is why I choose to begin with the redistribution of texts and materials, as well as through praxis during the research process.

After my first fieldtrip to Chile, I was invited to publish an article of my historical understanding of the conflict in Wallmapu in a Mapuche-run magazine, *Ñuke Mapu*. Around the same time, my reports as human rights observer in Wallmapu were quoted in a letter of the GfbV to the former German Federal President, Joachim Gauck, demanding to critically address the situation of the Mapuche during his visit in Chile. I further published two articles in German-speaking newspapers about the situation of the Mapuche and was interviewed in one of them regarding my experiences as a human rights observer. One of these articles was specifically demanded by Guido Carihuentru, a Mapuche political prisoner that I had visited in jail in Temuco. Furthermore, I edited one part of the interview with the Mapuche chef José Luis Calfucura and sent it to the Netherlands-based solidarity group *FOLIL*, who published the interview on their online radio. With these efforts, I aimed to contribute

to the international solidarity efforts with the Mapuche and comply with the ethnographic duty of developing rapport with interlocutors.

As agreed beforehand, after my first fieldtrip to Chile I shared my research materials (interviews and photographs) with actors from the Mapuche diaspora. During my second fieldtrip to Chile, I began to systematically redistribute the already published material, as well as the interviews with my respective interlocutors. These situations of redistribution were important because they also created moments of shared reflection about my role, possible contributions, and preliminary results. I was able to meet most, but unfortunately not all, of my interlocutors from the first fieldtrip.

As part of my engagement with the solidarity efforts in Europe, I created verbal or written reports about the interviews with non-Indigenous supporters, evaluating if they could make a possible contribution to the already ongoing solidarity action. For example, one German student was particularly interested in doing human rights observation in Chile, since she was planning an academic exchange year in Santiago de Chile. On the basis of my interview with her, the activists from the Mapuche regional group of the GfbV finally agreed on sending her to Wallmapu in that function and provided her with their contacts. During that year, she collected important information and sent detailed reports about cases of human rights violations in Wallmapu to Germany.

As already argued, redistribution includes more than giving back research material or results. Redistribution also takes place in the researcher's commitment put to political praxis and at the service of the involved groups. In that way, I also aimed to give back through my activism in support of the activities of the Mapuche diaspora by translating texts or supporting the organisation of an event. If needed, they thus knew that they could count on my support when inviting me to a solidarity activity. Similarly, I felt that my engagement as a human rights observer was appreciated by most of the Mapuche interlocutors in Wallmapu and made my parallel role as a researcher acceptable. On several occasions, for example in a Mapuche community in a resistance, I was asked to clarify what I was doing there. After explaining my double role and engagement as a human rights observer, my presence was generally nodded off with approval. It seemed that my mere presence in that role was considered a small contribution, and thus an accepted redistribution, for my presence in the role of a researcher.

This chapter outlined my methodological approach of doing ethnography on and in solidarity inspired by (Black) feminist and Marxist standpoint theory. I hereby related to critical research programmes like PAR or decolonising methodologies, as well as to traditional empirical, qualitative, ethnographic methods. I outlined a multisited, networked, and committed ethnographic approach on and in solidarity that demands a high and critical degree of reflexivity and that combines activism and research. As a key element of this methodological approach, I introduced the idea of an ethnographic translation that puts different knowledges within a crowded field of thoughts and ideas into conversation.

This chapter further detailed my research process between 2014 and 2017 and its different stages, from the initial contact phase, through the participation and observation in a series of solidarity events in Europe, and the interviews with non-Mapuche supporters, to the ethnographisation of solidarity by following the expressions of solidarity from Europe to Chile. My research underwent a major change at the beginning, when I realised that solidarity with the Mapuche is essentially solidarity by the Mapuche. This demanded to reconsider my positionality within the research context and to become aware of and critically reflect about my own engagement (and the engagement of other non-Indigenous actors) in solidarity action, with the Mapuche actors as the protagonists.

I also critically discussed three of the methodological challenges that I encountered during my research process. Those include the questions about how to balance my academic agenda and political engagement; how to deal with my own vulnerability across racialised, colonial, and gendered differences; and finally how to make my research material useful and beneficial for my research partners.

Having laid down the theoretical and methodological groundwork, the following chapters will discuss the empirical material from my ethnographic encounters of, and in solidarity with, Mapuche and non-Mapuche actors.

4. Solidarity and the Transnational Cultural Politics of Autonomy

The aim of this chapter is to understand international solidarity with and of the Mapuche as a form of transnational cultural politics of autonomy. Mapuche representatives from Wallmapu and from the European diaspora have transnationalised their cultural politics of autonomy since the 1970s and have woven a decentral, rhizomatic network of support and solidarity with other actors.

This chapter will develop its argument in three steps. First, it will outline a conceptual notion of autonomy as Mapuche cultural politics based on the historical experiences of autonomy of the Mapuche society, the shared horizon of autonomy amongst Mapuche organisations and communities today, and finally the conceptual approaches to autonomy within critical Mapuche studies. In the second step, the chapter will show how Wallmapu, understood as a site of conflict, resistance, and hope, became transnationalised through the agency of Mapuche representatives and a growing Mapuche diaspora since the 1970s. Finally, I will analyse contemporary international solidarity with and of the Mapuche as a decentral and rhizomatic network that is being woven by the agency of Mapuche representatives from Wallmapu and the European Mapuche diaspora. The central argument is that the cultural politics of autonomy of the Mapuche are being transnationalised and inform and ultimately shape the solidarity network. Whilst relations of solidarity with non-Mapuche actors and organisations are being forged as a form of international and bilateral relations, internal dynamics of this network are rarely divulged to non-Mapuche outsiders and are thus kept hidden. The last feature of this network is that solidarity efforts are not limited to political action but include cultural and social dimensions.

Particularly, one experience early on in my ethnography pushed me towards considering how international solidarity is an expression of the cul-

tural politics of autonomy of the Mapuche. In late 2014, I participated in a solidarity event in Cologne, the 2nd *Academia Mapuche*, which brought together Indigenous Mapuche community members from Wallmapu, members of the Mapuche diaspora, and non-Indigenous, European supporters for a political and sociocultural exchange. On the last day of the gathering, the Mapuche community leaders from Wallmapu and the people from the Mapuche diaspora gathered in a room to organise a protest a few days after the event and to prepare a public statement. Non-Mapuche people, including me, were not invited to attend this meeting. As the evening went on, I became increasingly impatient, as I did not know how much longer the gathering might go on. I decided to leave, but not without informing two Mapuche women who I promised to take to their accommodation in my car. After some hesitation, I decided to interrupt the meeting and ask how much longer it might take. When I stuck my head into the room, it felt like everyone was immediately silent. I perceived a tense atmosphere in the room and that something important was going on. Now that everyone was staring at me, I realised that I was disrespectfully intruding on the meeting. Before I could say anything, one of the Mapuche leaders from Wallmapu, apparently at the centre of the discussion, raised his voice and asked without looking at me, “Is he with anyone?” Before anyone could reply, I quickly tried to explain the reason for my intrusion. I apologised and left the room as soon as I finished talking.

Besides the obvious awkwardness of the moment, I felt ashamed of claiming that I did not want to interrupt the meeting but nevertheless did. I ignored my own intuition about the importance of the Indigenous activists having a unique opportunity to meet amongst themselves and privileged my individual needs. I was also made aware of my discomfort of having only limited access to the solidarity network as a non-Indigenous supporter.

This anecdote is illuminating regarding how international solidarity with the Mapuche transnationalises their autonomy. Solidarity action with the Mapuche here is essentially solidarity work headed by the Mapuche and not dominated by non-Indigenous actors. The gathering I interrupted was a space created by Mapuche living in the European diaspora in order to discuss with community leaders from Wallmapu how solidarity action with their own people should be carried out under specific circumstances. European nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) and individual solidarity activists like me would only be invited to support these efforts. Solidarity action with the Mapuche, as this anecdote reveals, is centred around the efforts of the Mapuche community to maintain their autonomy within solidarity. In that moment, I ex-

perienced in practice how Mapuche actors struggle to maintain their autonomy without necessarily negating the support of non-Indigenous actors or organisations. Finally, they managed to create an autonomous space within the context of international solidarity, thus transforming it.

This experience was significant for understanding the transnationalisation process of solidarity by reconstructing it based on Mapuche cosmology and political thought. The aim of this chapter is to translate Mapuche concepts into the study of the transnationalisation of their struggle by highlighting the ways in which Mapuche actors and concepts transform and transculturalise the networked structure of international solidarity.

Autonomy as Mapuche Cultural Politics

The first section of this chapter will develop a conceptual notion of autonomy as Mapuche cultural politics. First, it highlights the importance of autonomy in the historical experiences of the Mapuche society since the attempted conquests by the Spanish Crown until the twentieth century. Second, autonomy will be presented as the central concept and claim shared amongst many Mapuche organisations and communities today. Finally, this section engages with conceptual approaches and discussions around the idea of autonomy within contemporary critical Mapuche thought.

This is because the aforementioned ethnographic experience made me curious about the importance and the success of maintaining an autonomous space. I thus started to look for historical, as well as conceptual, clues about the importance of autonomist practices and thinking within Mapuche society. The struggle for autonomy is a cornerstone of historical experiences of the anticolonial resistance of the Mapuche, as well as of their contemporary political demands and intellectual elaborations. Due to the enactment of autonomy at the *Academia*, I wondered whether this prominence of practices and ideas of autonomy might also be the key to understanding the international solidarity efforts with the struggle of the Mapuche.

Struggles for autonomy by the Mapuche society date back to the first colonisation attempts of Wallmapu by the Spanish Crown from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards. The violent colonisation attempts were answered with heavy military resistance by the Mapuche. Because of that, the Mapuche society managed to maintain a certain degree of political autonomy and independence, impeding the Spaniards from advancing further south

into their territory. This was possible because the Mapuche society of that period—contrary to that of the Incas or Aztecs—had a nonhierarchised social structure and each territorial social unit maintained its autonomy even though another one was defeated. The Spanish Crown thus needed to defeat “each one of the thousands of independent families” (Bengoa 2000, 39; my translation) in order to conquer the whole territory.

During the military resistance, the Mapuche society managed to maintain a de- or polycentral sociopolitical organisation without a unified political or military body. The core of this logic is the sociopolitical organisation of the Mapuche society as assemblages of—in ascending order—the family unit/*rewe*, the community/*lof*, and finally assemblages of communities/*ayll-larewe* (Kaltmeier 2004, 69–74). The military resistance against the Spanish permeated the whole Mapuche society as a “total social fact, that comprises all social institutions and representations,” becoming “‘the motor of the Indigenous, social machine’ and serv[ing] the material and symbolic production of society” (Kaltmeier 2004, 35; my translation). If the main purpose of the anticolonial resistance was to maintain the autonomy of their society, other sociopolitical, cultural, and cosmological practices of that time were thus aligned to that aim.

After the Spaniards realised that they could not defeat the Mapuche militarily, the Mapuche and representatives of the Spanish Kingdom agreed to regularly hold so-called *parlamentos*, which became “a central *dispositif*¹ to shape the relations between the Mapuche and the Spanish Crown” (Ibid., 56). Most of these resulted in bilateral treaties that determined conditions for peace, as well as more general political-administrative and economic agreements between the territories controlled by each side (Contreras Painemal 2010). Between 1592 and 1816, a total of 140 parliaments and treaties between the Mapuche society and other governments, mostly the Spanish Crown (and, in the nineteenth century, with Chile and Argentina), took place (Ibid., 208). These parliaments were the result of the military success of the Mapuche, forcing the Spanish Crown to enter in a political dialogue based on the principles of the customary law of the Mapuche, especially the *az mapu* (Ibid., 208). They were institutionally enduring spaces of bilateral negotiations, articulating ideas and struggles for autonomy through political instruments like the *koyang*—meetings or gatherings with long-lasting discussions and speech

1 For this term see Foucault (1978).

acts (Ibid., 41). Ultimately, they were expressions of “their constant and permanent struggle to uphold their singularity” in order to “avoid the emergence of one group representing them” (Ibid., 43–44; my translation).

In the nineteenth century, the independent nation-states of Chile and Argentina entered in negotiations with Mapuche representatives and—at first—respected their autonomy in bilateral treaties. The most important negotiation of that period between Chile and the Mapuche took place in 1835, with the parliament and Treaty of Taphue, which established a frontier at the Bío-Bío river between the Mapuche nation and the Chilean nation-state, as well as the independence of the former (Ibid., 178–82). The most important aspect amongst a total of thirty-three agreements was that Chile recognised the “territorial and political independence of the Mapuche Nation, just as the Spanish did decades before” (Marimán et al. 2006, 83; my translation). In the decades to come, the Chilean nation-state entered in a process of gradual expansion in the southern and northern directions, which resulted not only in the violation of the Treaty of Taphue but ultimately in the colonisation of Wallmapu and the military defeat of the Mapuche in 1883 (Bengoa 2000; Kaltmeier 2004, 78–96; Marimán et al. 2006, 83–113). Up to the present day, this military defeat has been determining for the relationship between the Mapuche and the Chilean society, since a once-recognised independent nation was conquered through the violation of a bilateral agreement between two parties. In that way, the Mapuche became a colonised society within the independent nation-state. Many contemporary claims for autonomy amongst the Mapuche society specifically relate to the historical experience of autonomy guaranteed in the Treaty of Taphue, protesting its continuous violation by the Chilean state (Contreras Painemal 2010, 214) and the reproduction of the coloniality of power (Quijano 2014a). The latter describes the historical situation after 1883, in which colonial social structures have outlasted the formal independence of a nation-state. Accordingly, contemporary Mapuche historiography characterises the societies of Wallmapu (under the Chilean and Argentinean nation-states) as a colonial situation (Antileo Baeza et al. 2015; Marimán et al. 2006; Nahuelpan Moreno et al. 2013).

Though the struggle for autonomy did not cease in the colonial situation under the Chilean state after 1883, the circumstances for the Mapuche society changed drastically. Until the third decade of the twentieth century, the Mapuche society suffered a displacement from and colonisation of their territories. From approximately ten million hectares of independent Mapuche territory south of the Bío-Bío river, in 1930 only 500,000 hectares remained

(Marimán et al. 2006, 116). In that period, the Mapuche society was violently pushed into Indigenous reservations, whilst receiving a communal ownership of the land, the so-called *títulos de merced*.² Once this second colonisation was finished, “after 1927 there was a turning point in the political-legislative relations between Chileans and Mapuche, that can be described as a transition from segregation to assimilation” (Kaltmeier 2004, 109; my translation). The Mapuche society adopted their political strategies to fight for autonomy within this new historical situation and under the political, legal, and administrative structure of the state (Bengoa 2000, 361–96; Kaltmeier 2004, 116–245; Marimán et al. 2006, 129–218). Therefore, political actors of the Mapuche society started to develop different “intraethnic and interethnic mechanisms” and to look “for solutions in an organised way, leading to the development of diverse strategies ranging from strategic alliances with different political sectors to thinking about endogenous development guaranteed by the state” (Marimán et al. 2006, 212; my translation). Although these political strategies were heterogeneous, the claim for autonomy remained steadfast.

For example, in 1931, the *Federación Araucana*, one of the newly founded Mapuche organisations within Chilean institutionality,³ and its chairmen Manuel Aburto Panguilef aimed for an Indigenous Republic on the basis of the political and cultural autonomy of the Mapuche (Marimán et al. 2006, 168–71). This goal, however, was abandoned quickly (Levanchy 1999).

The socialist government under Salvador Allende and the *Unidad Popular* was a “glimmer of hope” (Kaltmeier 2004, 129; my translation) for the Mapuche society, with several material, legal-administrative, and symbolic achievements in their benefit. But the dictatorship under Augusto Pinochet after 1973 changed the political circumstances again. Mapuche organisations, leaders, and communities suffered repression, were forcefully disappeared, or went into exile. Nevertheless, under the dictatorship and “in a climate of enormous repression, the Mapuche society⁴ was able to reorganise itself [...],

2 An English translation could be ‘titles of mercy.’

3 Besides the *Federación Araucana*, worth mentioning are the *Sociedad Caupolicán*, and the *Unión Araucana*.

4 Amongst these organisations are the *Consejos Regionales Mapuche*, the *Sociedad Araucana*, the *Centros Culturales Mapuche*, *Ad Mapu*, *Nehuén Mapu*, *Calfulicán*, *Lautaro Ñi Ayllarehue*, and the Independent Movement for Mapuche (MUMI). Although politically and ideologically diverse, these organisations shared the goals of resisting a new the law that aimed to divide the Mapuche communities (Law 2.568), resisting the repres-

positioning itself against the division of their land and, what is more, constructing an autonomous demand, which is still evident today” (Espinoza Araya and Mella Abalos 2013; my translation). Demands for autonomy were not only made public and addressed within the wider Chilean society (Ibid.), but also discussed internally amongst the organised Mapuche society⁵ (Levanchy 1999; Marimán et al. 2006, 239). Nevertheless, in that period a growing divide between urban Mapuche organisations with a leadership educated under Western standards and the rural, mostly subalternised Mapuche communities started to become a feature of the Mapuche society and its various sociopolitical expressions, which is still the case today (Haughney 2006, 59–62; Kaltmeier 2004, 163).

This historical context informs the present claims for autonomy and self-determination by the Mapuche movement in Wallmapu, as well as in the international solidarity efforts. The contemporary processes of political subjectivation amongst the Mapuche society thus constitute themselves “as an element and result of a history of conflicts, as a memory structure associated to that history and which is perceived as an identity, producing a wish and a decision to weave the heterogeneous and discontinuous particular experiences into a collective, subjective articulation” (Quijano 2014b, 314; my translation). Nevertheless, “only with the coming of democracy [in 1990], did concrete proposals for autonomy began to appear” on a more general scale amongst Mapuche communities and organisations (Levanchy 1999; my translation). This is why in the following I am going to conceptually outline the diversity of contemporary claims for autonomy within the Mapuche society by focusing on their common features. In doing so, I will focus on some of the politically most visible organisations of the Mapuche movement and intellectual discussions of Mapuche and non-Mapuche scholars from 1990 until the present.

In the second half of the twentieth century, the right to self-determination, and hence autonomy, became a fundamental pillar of the international (human and public) rights frame. It has been generally recognised as a right

sion, revitalize their culture, alleviate poverty and, finally, the need of a democratic government (Espinoza Araya and Mella Abalos 2013).

- 5 For example in 1987, a gathering of Mapuche organisations under the name *Futa Trawun Kiñewan pu Mapuche* took place, where they announced to have assumed the right to autonomy in all its dimensions and demanded a constitutional reform to recognize the Indigenous people in Chile and an Indigenous participation in legislation.

of all people in the Charter of the United Nations in 1945, in the Charter of the Organisation of American States in 1948, and with some limitations by the American Convention on Human Rights of 1969. More specifically, the right to self-determination and autonomy for Indigenous people has been recognised on an international level in 1989 by Convention 169 of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and in 2007 by the United Nations Declaration on the rights of Indigenous people (Habersang and Ydígoras 2015: 102–10). Some authors argue that (Latin American) Indigenous movements adopted the ideas of self-determination and autonomy under the influence of, or even as a result of, pressure from those international institutions. In that way, they would not be endogenous concepts or ideas (López 2015). As a matter of fact, sectors of the Mapuche movement of the 1970s and '80s were influenced by debates with and within international organisations, as well as with other Indigenous people, on ideas of autonomy and self-determination (Haughney 2006, 62).

In any case, ideas on autonomy have been and still are a central element of sectors of the Mapuche movement in Wallmapu, considering that “in Chile, the Mapuche organisations with the highest level of mobilisation are [...] principally autonomist, taking into account the mentioned variations and plurality” (Saavedra Peláez 2002, 167; my translation). Mapuche organisations and communities have been developing demands for autonomy since the 1990s on an organisational and theoretical level. The most prominent conceptual elaborations of ideas on autonomy have been made within the organisational structures of the *Coordinadora de Comunidades en Conflicto Arauko-Malleko* (CAM), the *Concejo de Todas las Tierras* (CTT), and the *Identidad Mapuche Lafkenche*. The organisations themselves and their political strategies varied greatly, as did their ideas on autonomy (Levanchy 1999). By the end of the 1990s, the struggle for autonomy had become a central pillar of the most prominent Mapuche organisations and communities. One important characteristic of this “Autonomist Mapuche Movement” is that it managed to connect “cultural, territorial, identitarian, mnemonic, and political elements by aiming towards a qualitative change in its relationship with the Chilean state, sustained by the claim for autonomy” (Tricot 2013, 22; my translation).

Other important actors of the Autonomist Mapuche Movement, besides the already mentioned CTT, CAM, and *Identidad Lafkenche*, are the autonomist party *Wallmapuwen*, the *Alianza Territorial Mapuche* (ATM),⁶ the autonomous

6 Territorial Mapuche Alliance.

community of *Temucuicui*, the *Coordinadora de Organizaciones Mapuche*, the *Parlamento Koz-Koz*, and the *Parlamento Autónomo de Malleko* (Ibid., 318-27). The nonprofit Mapuche cooperative *Kvme Mogen* and the *Asociación de Municipalidades con Alcaldes Mapuches* (AMCAM)⁷ can also be considered part of that list. During my activist ethnography, I had the chance to talk to representatives of some of these organisations and communities.⁸ Their ideas on autonomy thus also inform their perspectives and opinions about the international solidarity efforts with their struggle.

In recent years, Mapuche and non-Mapuche scholars alike have paid more and more attention to the notion of autonomy within Mapuche society and political thought. Some of these efforts engage in conceptual and theoretical discussions about autonomy based on a Mapuche cosmology with the aim of contributing to the epistemological autonomy of Mapuche thinking (Nahuelpan Moreno et al. 2013, 17–18).

Looking at some of the more exhaustive discussions on Mapuche autonomy (Levanchy 1999; Marimán 2012; Tricot 2013), it becomes clear that there is no single and homogenous category within the movement. Contemporary organisations and communities all have the demand for autonomy as their central pillar but elaborate and approach it in different ways. The heterogeneity of the approaches to autonomy is, in that sense, itself an expression of the autonomy of those organisations and communities.

Another important conceptual feature is the identitarian and (ethno)national foundation and legitimization of autonomy through a different national belonging. Nevertheless, this foundation is not the result of an identitarian, ethnic, national, or racialised essentialisation, but rather should be understood as a dynamic and politicised positionality within the colonial Chilean society.⁹ Those who consider themselves part of the Mapuche nation today

7 Association of Municipalities with Mapuche Mayors.

8 Amongst them, Aucán Huilcamán of the CTT, Mapuche leaders associated with the CAM, community members and leaders associated with the *Identidad Lafkenche*, Jaime Huenchullán as *werken* of the autonomous community of Temucuicui, members of the board of *Kvme Mogen*, and the executive secretary of the AMCAM, Mauricio Vergaras.

9 Mapuche actors themselves critique this essentialisation on biological terms and claim that the shared Mapuche identity is rather the result of a collective experience of colonisation. For example, Llanquira Painemal (interview with the author, June 16, 2017) argues that being Mapuche has much more to do with a political anticolonial

consider themselves to be a colonised people (Marimán 2012, 121) and often reject the Chilean nationality (Levanchy 2005, 8). Assuming a different nationality, I argue, is an important feature of autonomy, since “the demand for recognition as ‘a people’ cut[s] across ideological and tactical differences amongst organisations and institutions” (Haughney 2006, 73–74). In the words of two Mapuche leaders, “autonomy and self-determination are not political stances of some sector in particular; they are rights that emanate from our collective condition as a nation” (Caquilpán quoted in and Naguil in Haughney 2006, 74). Based on this shared nationality, sociopolitical Mapuche organisations make the claim for representing themselves politically, critiquing or even rejecting the legitimacy of Chilean political institutions. This leads to a generalised suspicion towards or even rejection of an engagement and participation within Chilean polity. Accordingly, this idea of autonomy is conceptualised in contrast or even in opposition to non-Mapuche sociopolitical institutions and organisations.

The idea of autonomy is also closely linked to a notion of territory and territoriality. Territory does not merely refer to the physical surroundings, but rather to an “existential space of self-reference” (Escobar 2010, 83; my translation). Also, for the Mapuche, territory is not only a geographical category but something much broader, which includes natural resources, religiosity, spirituality, and the organisational structures of society. Autonomy as a political concept is developed on the ground and in relation to a place-based politics based on a specific cosmology. The idea of autonomy is thus encapsulated within the multidimensional and holistic relationality of the Mapuche with their territory; the autonomy over a certain territoriality is what ultimately creates a Mapuche territory (Tricot 2013, 299–300).

Connected to that, autonomy for the Mapuche is the expression of a collective effort for sociopolitical organisation. The dissident subjectivities that are articulated are essentially produced in the community and its relation to the territory.¹⁰ For Hector Llaitul (Llaitul and Arrate 2012, 297), leader of the CAM, autonomy is part of reconstructing the social fabric, based on the basic territorial units—for example, families—towards higher levels of socio-cultural and political organisations and ultimately in articulation with other

and decolonial positionality that can be assumed or rejected independently from ancestry.

10 See also the political philosophy of Central American Maya communities discussed by Tzul Tzul (2018).

territorial units. In that way, autonomy for the Mapuche has to be understood as a multidimensional concept that concerns more areas of existence than the sociopolitical and organisational one. Furthermore, it has to be understood as a concept that emanates from the interaction with a territoriality, where people recreate the social fabric as an insurgent collectivity in a communal process.

Autonomy for the Mapuche also works to mediate difference, similar to a hinge, towards Chilean society (Marimán 2012, 278). On the one hand, autonomy works to mediate the maintenance of difference from Chilean society as well as to consolidate and reconstruct communal ties and, on the other, to organise contact with and translations into the Chilean society, aiming at its transformation. In that way, autonomy is both a centripetal and centrifugal force (Kaltmeier 2004, 348–49). Special attention must be paid to the centrifugal dynamic of autonomy in the discourse of Mapuche organisations and communities because of the unequal power relations in Chilean society. Transcultural relations between Mapuche and non-Mapuche take place within a hierarchical structure in which the centrifugal dynamics insist on its transformative and emancipatory potential, directed towards the non-Mapuche society (Ibid., 348–55).

Ultimately, these discussions are limited to certain conceptions of Mapuche autonomy by (Mapuche) intellectuals (Huinca Piutrin 2013) and thus exclude knowledges outside the intellectual, academic, and literary arenas of dispute mediated by the coloniality of knowledge (Lander 2005). This critique does not only demand an engagement with non-Eurocentric formalised ways of knowing the world, but is attentive to the pitfalls of incorporating these knowledges (Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2016). The challenge then is to centralise the knowledge production from and within Mapuche communities and their everyday practices and experiences without treating them as “pre-theoretical raw material” (Haritaworn 2012, 16). Such a conceptualisation of autonomy is different to that of Mapuche organisations, who define it as a political goal and achievement. In contrast, autonomy can be understood as a result of the experiences and practices of political and communal struggles. These micropolitical experiences emanate from the omnipresent and everyday struggles for territory, expressed in the Mapuche notion of *kisugvnewvn*. This idea refers to the right and to the capacity of each individual or collective to a form of self-government, based on territorial control and within wider networks of alliances, aimed at territorial or self-defence (Nahuelpan 2016, 117–18).

The continuous presence of autonomy in not only the historical experiences but also in contemporary political mobilisations, intellectual elaborations, and micropolitical practices of the Mapuche indicates its significance within Mapuche society. Hence, it may well be argued that the concept and idea of autonomy plays a central role in the general collective memory¹¹ of the contemporary Mapuche mobilisation (Habersang and Ydígoras 2015, 102; Kaltmeier 2004, 323–27; Nahuelpan Moreno et al. 2013, 11–21; Tricot 2013, 43–48). Historical memory is a crucial resource for Indigenous resistances and decolonialisation efforts, competing with, but not neglecting, Eurocentric perspectives (Quijano 2014c, 845). This memory is conceptualised as a form of resistance and counter-memory, transmitted orally within the communities and sometimes crystallised in demands by intellectuals and organisations. These historical experiences speak to the present, reorganising and rearticulating memories of autonomy in the contemporary context and challenging Eurocentric, linear concepts of storytelling and writing history.

This memory aims to (re)create a Mapuche identity, community, society, and culture through the ritualised practice of evoking an autonomous past, whose “point of reference [...] is the autonomous Mapuche society before the military conquest [by the Chilean state]” (Kaltmeier 2004, 327; my translation). Furthermore, it “manifests itself in the social praxis and in direct correlation with the political power” (Tricot 2013, 44; my translation). These arguments invite one to locate autonomy at the centre of what can be described as Mapuche cultural politics by assuming that

meanings and practices – particularly those theorized as marginal, oppositional, minority, residual, emergent, alternative, dissident, and the like, all of them conceived in relation to a given dominant cultural order – can be the source of processes that must be accepted as political. (Alvarez, Dagnino, and Escobar 1998b, 7)

It is particularly the historical memory of autonomy (in opposition to the historical and contemporary coloniality of power in Wallmapu) that informs the cultural politics of contemporary Mapuche mobilisation in Wallmapu and beyond. These ideas are conceptualised in a multidimensional way and as an integral part of the Mapuche culture, territory, and micropolitical practices, whilst recovering and reconstructing endogenous categories of knowledge.

11 For the notion of “collective memory,” see Halbwachs (1991). For the interrelation of memory and culture, see Erll (2011).

The notion of cultural politics helps to understand the struggle for autonomy beyond political ideas or intellectual efforts and reconnects them with the everyday practices of communal resistance. It connects the historically diverse but ongoing struggles for autonomy with the present and locates autonomy within a broader network from which Mapuche culture, identity, territory, cosmology, community, and society can be understood.

Yet the cultural politics of autonomy of the Mapuche does not only challenge the (Eurocentric) Chilean political culture. It is also at the centre of contemporary solidarity efforts with the Mapuche on an international scale, where Mapuche actors struggle to maintain their autonomy in the face of non-Indigenous organisations and actors. In summation, these cultural politics of autonomy defy the conventional ways of thinking and materialising international solidarity and advocacy efforts between the Global North and South. This is because, in this case, the Indigenous actors reaffirm their agency by maintaining their autonomy and challenge the potential paternalism of non-Indigenous actors.

What I experienced at the *Academia Mapuche* in Cologne was an expression of exercising autonomy within spaces and encounters of international solidarity. In what follows, I will focus in more detail on how these cultural politics of autonomy mould the rhizomatic solidarity network as a whole, particularly through the actions and mobilisation of the Mapuche diaspora since the 1970s.

Transnationalising Wallmapu: Solidarity and the Mapuche Diaspora since the 1970s

This section discusses how the conflict and resistance of the Mapuche in Wallmapu became increasingly transnationalised by the advocacy and solidarity activism of Mapuche representatives and a growing Mapuche diaspora since the 1970s. Transnationalising Wallmapu hereby refers to the transnationalisation of the Mapuche territoriality, understood as an “existential space of self-reference” (Escobar 2010, 83; my translation) within a capitalist and colonial conflict dynamic as well as a site of resistance and hope (Zibechi 2007).

Not much scholarly attention has been paid to the efforts of Mapuche organisations and communities in transnationalising their demands connected to the conflict in Wallmapu or of non-Mapuche actors and organisations

in mobilising international solidarity. Some contemporary investigations address the transnationalisation efforts as one facet of historical or contemporary Mapuche resistance in Chile (Haughney 2006; Kaltmeier 2004; Marimán et al. 2006; Richards 2005) but only a few have made the transnationalisation their exclusive object of study by focusing on how Mapuche organisations and communities spread and frame their struggle and culture beyond Chile (Habersang and Ydígoras 2015; Salas Astrain and Le Bonniec 2015).

Based on these approaches, I am proposing to understand contemporary international solidarity with the Mapuche in connection to the transnationalisation efforts by Mapuche organisations and communities from the 1980s onwards.¹² However, I will put more emphasis on those practices of international solidarity that are the results of the broader sociocultural dynamics of the Mapuche society since the 1970s, particularly its diasporic experience. This is a more holistic approach to solidarity that includes both its political and sociocultural dimensions. Put differently, it is not possible to understand contemporary expressions of political solidarity with the struggle of the Mapuche without understanding the transnationalisation of their society since the 1970s.

The historical precursors of how the situation of the Mapuche has been transnationalised since the late 1980s are fundamental to understanding any contemporary expression of international solidarity by or with the Mapuche. Despite the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet, in the 1980s many new Mapuche organisations were founded, especially in urban contexts. They organised political and sociocultural resistance to the dictatorship and often renounced their previous party affiliations. With the struggle for autonomy at their centre, these organisations began to forge alliances with other actors and organisations on an international level.

For example, already in 1975, a Mapuche representative, Melillan Paineimal, was elected Vice President of the *Consejo Mundial de Pueblos Indígenas* (CMPI), headquartered in Canada. Mapuche organisations from Chile also participated in the creation of the *Consejo Indio Sudamericano* (CISA) in Cuzco, Peru in 1980, contributing to the elaboration of common positions around anticapitalist and ethnonational demands (Marimán et al. 2006, 236). In the

12 One noteworthy exception is the participation of Venancio Coñoepan, a Mapuche member of the Chilean parliament, as a delegate to the foundational congress of the Inter-American Indigenist Institute in Patzcuaro/Mexico already in 1940.

1980s, “some Mapuche activists had travelled abroad to international meetings of Indigenous organizations, to forums of the Working Group on Indigenous Peoples of the United Nations, or to sessions to revise the International Labor Organization’s convention on Indigenous peoples” (Haughney 2006, 62). At those meetings, they came into contact with other Indigenous peoples and politicians, as well as intellectuals sympathetic to their cause.

One of the most active Mapuche organisations in these early transnationalisation efforts was *Ad Mapu*¹³ and its leader Aucán Huilcamán. They increasingly shifted their political strategy from organising Mapuche communities in Wallmapu towards the national and international scale, with Aucán Huilcamán assuming responsibilities at the UN (Kaltmeier 2004, 190). By the early 1990s, the CTT was the main protagonist of Mapuche organisations transnationalising their demands. This happened at the cost of the CTT distancing itself from its community and territorial basis in the following years and up to present day (Marimán et al. 2006, 241). The CTT increased the alliance-building with other Indigenous movements in the Americas and participated actively in the continental commemoration of 500 years of Indigenous resistance in 1992. These developments correspond to an ideological shift of the organisation, by replacing their Marxist-Leninist political traditions with a pan- or neo-Indigenist ideology that had gained momentum across Latin America (Salinas Cañas 2005, 315).

Some elements of these early experiences of transnationalisation continue within contemporary international solidarity efforts. These include alliance-building with other Indigenous movements in the Americas; participation in international forums under the umbrella of the UN or ILO; and an examination of the regional autonomies in Spain, from which the Mapuche took and still take inspiration.

At the same time as these early transnationalisation efforts began to take form, the repression and persecution under the military dictatorship forced many Mapuche to leave the country. The Mapuche diaspora is defined as “the population forced to leave Wallmapu, its national territory, generally because of political and economic reasons” (Marimán et al. 2006, 261; my translation), but remains a controversially debated category amongst Mapuche intellectuals (Antileo 2014). Most importantly, the diaspora is defined as the Mapuche population living outside of their historical territory south of the Bío-Bío river, especially in other parts Chile, its urban areas, as well as in other countries.

13 *Ad Mapu* became the CTT in the early 1990s.

For the purpose of the present argument, I refer to the Mapuche diaspora exclusively as those who define themselves as Mapuche and live permanently in “external exile” (Rebolledo 2010; my translation) or “second exile” (Chihuailaf 2002, 169; my translation), meaning outside the nation-states of Chile and Argentina.

The external diasporic experience of the Mapuche is part of the forced exile many Chileans had to go through as a consequence of the military coup in 1973.¹⁴ The data on the specific Mapuche exile is very scarce, but a total of 50 Mapuche, who had to leave to Western European countries between 1973 and 1978, can be counted, arriving in the UK, France, Germany, Belgium, Sweden, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. According to Chihuailaf (Ibid.), 36 percent were peasants, 31 percent students, 13 percent working class, and 20 percent skilled workers and professionals. Other investigations speak of “hundreds of Mapuche” who ended up imprisoned and then in exile, but do not provide exact numbers (Rebolledo 2010, 181; my translation). Most of the exiled Mapuche were political leaders or at least were politically active in Mapuche peasant or student organisations or workers’ or teachers’ unions (Chihuailaf 2002, 169).

It is important to include a still unknown number of Mapuche children, who were forcefully taken from their families in Chile through illegal adoptions by foreigners in the 1970s and ‘80s. A recent investigation revealed 488 children whose family and ethnic background remain unclear (López 2018). But it is safe to assume that a considerable number of these illegally adopted children were taken from Mapuche mothers. This is because most of the children were taken from mothers who lived in situations of high economic vulnerability and suffered repression by the military.

Some members of the first-generation Mapuche diaspora were imprisoned under the dictatorship and received support from international organisations like Amnesty International or the International Red Cross (Rebolledo 2010, 181). For example, Rayen Kvyeh was imprisoned in the city of Concepción, where she had studied at the time. She was held in solitary confinement, was tortured, and was very sick by the time she was visited by German Amnesty International activists in 1979. Writing letters to these activists became for her “the door for communicating with the outside world” (interview

14 In total, 260,000 men, women, and children from diverse socioeconomic, cultural, and ethnic backgrounds had to leave Chile and resettle themselves in approximately 60 different countries in all five continents (Rebolledo 2010, 165).

with the author, March 1, 2016). These letters were published in the *iz3w* magazine by the solidarity group *Chile Comité* in Freiburg, Germany, making Rayen's case renowned in Germany and Chile. Finally, an employee of the German embassy in Chile helped Rayen get out of prison and took her on a flight to Europe. During a stopover in Montevideo, she and her young son were hidden by the airline staff in the pilot's cabin. She landed in Brussels and was received by the solidarity activist from the *Chile Comité*, who took her to Freiburg by car. She would then live in Freiburg for most of the 1980s. Rayen Kvyeh's story is a detailed, intimate, but also very powerful example of international solidarity. It also shows how the diasporic experience of the Mapuche in the 1970s was already framed by contingent and almost coincidental networks of solidarity between local groups in Europe and international organisations. Her story also makes visible some strategies and tactics of international solidarity that are still being used today.

The diasporic experience of the Mapuche in Europe changed the perception about their sociocultural situation in Chile. During his exile in Belgium in the 1980s, Godofredo Cotrena felt that the Mapuche and non-Mapuche exiles from Chile were put on the same level as simple foreigners. There he came to understand what racism was and how it has been naturalised in Chile, and was disappointed about the fact that political parties (of the Left) in Chile had historically ignored the Indigenous or ethnic question. Ultimately, however, the diasporic experience transformed the feeling of discrimination into pride of being Mapuche and created a sense of community amongst the exiled Mapuche (Rebolledo 2010, 181–85). In this way, the Mapuche diaspora made a similar ideological turn towards neo- or pan-Indigenist ideology, like the Mapuche organisations in Chile around the same time. In this case, however, the reason for this turn was the shared diasporic experience.

One organisational milestone of the Mapuche diaspora in Europe was the first meeting of approximately twenty-five Mapuche exiles in London between February 25–28, 1978 (Chihuailaf 2002, 170; Rebolledo 2010, 182).¹⁵ This encounter was important because it was where the Mapuche diaspora articulated themselves as autonomous political agents (Rebolledo 2010, 183), it created a space to collect and share experiences regarding the repressive realities under the Chilean dictatorship as well as the discrimination and racist structure of Chilean society, and finally because it was the foundational moment of

15 They foremost discussed problems like the history of the struggle and life of the Mapuche, the Indigenous 'problem' in Chile, and the consequences of the military coup.

the *Comité Exterior Mapuche* (CEM)¹⁶ as a forerunner of contemporary organisational expressions of the Mapuche diaspora (Chihuailaf 2002, 170–71). They published information in European newspapers and journals, but also in outlets of the Chilean (non-Mapuche) diaspora, as well as on radio and television programmes. More interestingly however, they founded their own means of communication and began distributing information in several bulletins they published themselves¹⁷ (Ibid., 171–74).

The first-generation diasporic experience of the Mapuche in Europe constitutes a major precedent for transnationalising their demands beyond Chile. They developed a community spirit and sense of belonging amongst themselves whilst developing more and more critical notions of their condition as a colonised and discriminated collective within Chile. Based on that, they organised themselves autonomously from political parties, Chilean exiles, and European organisations, forming a solid organisational structure in the diaspora.

Similar to contemporary solidarity efforts, they managed to transculturalise the European solidarity scene by importing and rearticulating their experiences of sociopolitical organisation from Wallmapu (Rebolledo 2010, 183). At the basis of these experiences from Wallmapu and the diasporic efforts were the ideas of and the struggle for autonomy (Chihuailaf 2002, 174–75). During an informal conversation during my second fieldtrip to Wallmapu, one co-founder of the CEM also highlighted the importance of developing autonomous Mapuche organisations and strategies in the diaspora under the constant threat of being subsumed under party politics by non-Mapuche exiles. The struggle of the first-generation Mapuche diaspora in the 1970s and

16 The CEM was based in the UK, France, Germany, Belgium, and Switzerland and, between 1978 and 1984, organised further meetings in the cities of Paris, Liège, The Hague, Bern, and Frankfurt. Their efforts were directed at organising solidarity actions with (Mapuche) organisations and communities in Chile, informing the international public about their political and economic reality, and organising tours of Europe for leaders of the *Centros Culturales Mapuche*.

17 For example, the *Buletín Informativo Mapuche* was published from 1978 until 1982 in London with the support of the Indigenous Minorities Research Council, which also began to publish the bulletin *Aukiñ* in collaboration with the CEM in London from 1982 onwards. Between 1979 and 1981, the bulletin *Amuleayñ* was published in France. Those two publications then became the bulletin *Huerarquén*, which between 1982 and 1984 became the official medium of communication of the CEM.

'80s transferred and translated the cultural politics of autonomy of the Mapuche to the European context. As the CEM ceased to exist by the middle of the 1980s, the Mapuche diaspora further came apart and organised itself increasingly on a national scale in their respective new home countries by the beginning of the 1990s (Ibid., 176).

Contemporary discussions consider the Mapuche diaspora, including the external Mapuche diaspora outside of Chile and Argentina, as a part of the Mapuche society and, in a way, its extension in other territorialities. The idea of a Mapuche diaspora challenges culturally essentialising notions of identity and highlights its heterogeneous, dynamic, and diverse character. The diasporic situation of the Mapuche is particularly understood within a colonial power structure, their displacement from the ancient territory of the Wallmapu, and its connection to sociopolitical and cultural demands for an (ethno)national autonomy (Antileo 2014; Chihuailaf 2002; Rebolledo 2010; Salinas Cañas 2005). There is only one other exhaustive research available about the Mapuche diaspora in Europe: an ethno-biography about the Railaf Zúñiga family, who left Chile during the dictatorship in the 1970s and settled in the Netherlands (Casagrande 2015).

During my committed ethnography in the European solidarity scene with the Mapuche, most of my interaction was with activists of the Mapuche diaspora, whom I met with either on several occasions or on a more regular basis. At the beginning of my research, I was not aware of the existence of the Mapuche diaspora in Europe and even less so of their central role in the solidarity efforts.

The first solidarity event I visited in Europe was the so-called 2nd *Academia Mapuche* from October 23–26, 2014 in Cologne, which was organised by Alex Mora and Alina Rodenkirchen. Both identify as Mapuche and, at that moment, both were living in Cologne and were active in the German and European solidarity efforts. Roughly half of the approximately forty participants were first- or second-generation Mapuche living in Europe and engaged in solidarity action in their respective local contexts.¹⁸ On a second occasion, I came together with members of the Mapuche diaspora at a demonstration and conference in The Hague in May 2015, which was organised by the

18 They were based in Geneva and Lausanne, Paris, Copenhagen, and smaller cities in the Netherlands and Belgium.

Mapuche foundation *FOLIL*, a mostly diasporic group based in the Netherlands, in collaboration with other members of the Mapuche diaspora from the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, and Switzerland. The event was supported by the UNPO, Chilean exiles, and European solidarity activists. Based on my participation at this event, I was invited to the *wetripantu* in June 2015. Instead of being a publicly announced event or political rally, the *wetripantu* is a moment of coming together for the Mapuche diaspora and their families and friends, and has an intrinsic sociocultural and religious importance. The lingua franca of these events was mostly Spanish, spoken in many different accents, and, partially, Mapuzugun.

Through my participation at these events I became aware that the members of the Mapuche diaspora in Europe are the organisational core of the contemporary sociopolitical and cultural solidarity efforts in Europe. Their presence and agency are fundamental to understanding how contemporary solidarity activities with the Mapuche are organised.

It is notable that the Mapuche diaspora in Europe is keen to organise solidarity events autonomously and on their own terms, though they are supported by other non-Mapuche organisations, groups, and activists. For example, they receive logistical or financial support from organisations like the GfbV or the UNPO and individual non-Indigenous activists are invited to join. This means that the Mapuche (diaspora or guests from Wallmapu) are the protagonists of these events. They decide whom to invite, who shall give presentations, and what the schedule should look like. Other solidarity actors, like myself, are invited to these events and asked to engage in specific supportive tasks, like translating press releases, helping with the groceries, or assisting in the kitchen.

The organisation and political strategies of the second-generation Mapuche diaspora today are a direct result of the experiences of the first generation, who came to Europe after 1973 (Rebolledo 2010, 185). The political strategies and cultural politics of autonomy adopted by the first-generation diaspora were passed on directly to the second generation, sometimes within the same families. On several occasions, I was given testimonies by the Mapuche diaspora,¹⁹ engaged in solidarity efforts today, about their parents—mostly their fathers—teaching and instructing them how to organise solidarity activism with their people in Europe. They insisted that one of the most im-

19 Amongst them are the interviews with Andrea Cotrena, daughter of Godofredo Cotrena, and Llanquiraý Painemal.

portant lessons was how to organise solidarity in Europe autonomously from non-Mapuche organisations and people.

However, despite their crucial role in contemporary solidarity efforts in Europe, there is a struggle to recognise their efforts as Mapuche. For example, in a public interview by TeleSur with Andrea Cotrena during the event in The Hague, the interviewer identifies her as part of the “Chilean delegation” (TeleSur 2015). Andrea Cotrena refuses this classification and presents herself as a Mapuche woman living in Belgium. This situation was significant, as she claimed agency as a Mapuche woman and refused to be subsumed under Chilean nationality. With her intervention, Andrea Cotrena also challenged essentialising notions about Mapuche identity being fixed to one territoriality. Instead, she insists on the continuity of the struggle of the Mapuche within the diasporic experience by connecting her efforts with those of her father: “the struggle continues,” she claims (TeleSur 2015). At the same time, she speaks as a member of the collective by talking in first person plural. She hereby establishes a translocal connection between the Mapuche in Wallmapu and in the diaspora, but also a generational continuity between her parents’ and her own generation of Mapuche and their struggle.

An important element of the diasporic experience of the Mapuche is their access to higher education and their professionalisation in Europe (Salinas Cañas 2005, 311). Many found opportunities for academically engaging with the reality of their people in Wallmapu at a time when Mapuche face(d) institutional limitations and discrimination in Chilean universities. But the diaspora today is not only the first or second generation of Mapuche exiled during the dictatorship. Many have also arrived and stayed in Europe in the recent decades and after the return of democracy. A major motive for the migration after 1990s was education. Alex Mora, who left Chile in 1995, describes himself as an “educational refugee” (interview with the author, November 28, 2015) and began studying at the Academy of Fine Arts Münster in 1997. Also, Rayen Kvyeh, who lived as a political refugee in Germany in the 1980s, explains that the diasporic experience in Europe meant access to education and knowledge. She describes Germany as a “source of knowledge” and notes that working for the magazine *iz3w* “opened a world of political, social, historical, cultural knowledge about Africa, Europe, Arab countries, India, [and] the Americas” (interview with the author, March 1, 2016). These opportunities are further mobilised within solidarity efforts with the Mapuche.

Like in the 1970s and ‘80s (Kaltmeier 2004, 365), the Mapuche diaspora today serves as a contact point for Mapuche representatives and delegates

who travel to Europe to inform about the situation of the Mapuche in Chile at conferences, international organisations, smaller workshops, or single solidarity events. Jaime Huenchullán, *werken* of the autonomous community of Temucucui, recognises the important role of the Mapuche diaspora in the transnationalisation of their struggle. He particularly appreciates the enthusiasm and the logistic support of the “*peñi*”²⁰ during his visit to Europe (Radio Mapuche 2015). The Mapuche diaspora is in close contact with Mapuche organisations and communities from Wallmapu and thus supports the organisations and coordination of their visits to Europe. Activists from the Mapuche diaspora invite the delegations from Wallmapu to stay at their houses, translate their speeches, and organise the overall logistics. Of strategic importance are those solidarity groups of the Mapuche diaspora who live in cities close to the headquarters of international or supranational organisations, like Geneva or Brussels (the UN and the European Parliament). The presence and the support of the Mapuche diaspora provide the representatives from Wallmapu with spaces autonomous from non-Mapuche organisations and actors. The Mapuche diaspora thus guarantees that the delegations maintain their cultural politics of autonomy.

Similar to the first generation, the Mapuche diaspora today has a strong sense of community. Their joint efforts in solidarity with their people thus exceed the mere political sphere. The political work of solidarity with the struggle of the Mapuche in Wallmapu is intrinsically connected to a sense of becoming part of, and belonging to, the Mapuche. Alex Mora describes how political work and interpersonal bonding went hand-in-hand as he started to see other Mapuche living in Europe as his family and feeling accepted (Alex Mora, interview with the author, November 28, 2015). The solidarity work thus contributes to reconstructing the social fabric and cultural traditions of the Mapuche.

This is because many of the solidarity events organised by the Mapuche diaspora do not only have a political dimension but serve to celebrate the survival of, revitalise, remember, or restore Mapuche culture (Smith 2008, 142–63). Activists from the Mapuche diaspora wear their traditional clothes and jewellery; they use Mapuche instruments, like the *trutruka* or *kultrun*²¹ in their traditional roles; and display the Mapuche flag, *wenufoye*. Especially

20 Brother(s).

21 Traditional Mapuche horn and drum, which are used to announce speeches or call for attention.

the celebration of the *wetripantu* is a crucial example of how Mapuche culture and traditions are celebrated and translated within the diaspora. Solidarity events are also organised according to certain Mapuche rules and start, for example, with a brief welcome prayer *jejipun*. For example, Aucán Huilcamán, who participated via Skype at the event in The Hague, could not hide his joy and surprise when hearing a Mapuche woman's jewellery rattling through the microphone. Whilst these examples correspond to the centripetal logic of revitalising Mapuche culture amongst themselves, presenting cultural symbols to the non-Indigenous world has a more strategic use and is disconnected from everyday life.²² The celebration and display of Mapuche cultural symbols is rather a part of the community-building process in the context of solidarity efforts by the diaspora. This is a clear sign of the cultural embeddedness of the politics of autonomy within solidarity efforts. Thus, the cultural politics of autonomy not only relocate political strategies of solidarity to the European context but also revitalise the social fabric and cultural traditions.

Whilst the first-generation Mapuche diaspora was widely dominated by a Mapuche men (Rebolledo 2010), today the diaspora is characterised by a strong female presence, and many Mapuche women are protagonists of the solidarity efforts. This is interesting, as the thesis that “women had a substantial role in the development of a reconstruction process of the Mapuche society” (Leiva Salamanca 2015, 168; my translation) also becomes true for the Mapuche diaspora in Europe and their political efforts. Similarly, “the multifaceted ways by which Mapuche women recreate cultural practices [...] in culturally modified post-migration urban spaces” (Becerra et. al. 2017, 14) in Santiago de Chile, can be diagnosed for the external diasporic context in Europe, particularly in solidarity encounters. This is because Mapuche women in Europe today do not only have a prominent role during public solidarity events, but also recreate cultural practices like food preparation (*zeuma iyael*) or communal conversations while drinking *mate* tea²³ (*matetun*) in those encounters. In that way, mostly Mapuche women are in charge of those “meanings, images, memories, wisdom, customs, and practices that constitute the basic inputs to recreate cultural practices” and which “help [to] maintain social configurations and ways of inhabiting public and private spaces that empha-

22 I will discuss this aspect in more detail in chapter five.

23 *Mate* is a popular, caffeinated tea from South America, particularly consumed in Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and Southern Brazil.

size community solidarity, indigenous knowledges, and reciprocity” (Becerra et. al. 2017, 14-15).

The prominent role of Mapuche women in public solidarity events organised by the diaspora further challenges the European political arena as a historically male-dominated space, in which Indigenous women intervene by denouncing human rights violations or claiming Indigenous, and particularly Indigenous women rights (Richards 2005). At the same time, their visibility confronts Eurocentric and colonial imaginaries of Indigenous cultures and societies as male-dominated and patriarchal,²⁴ whose women need to be saved by white men (Spivak 1988).

Weaving International Solidarity

With the transnationalisation of their cultural politics of autonomy, Mapuche representatives and the Mapuche diaspora weave an international network of solidarity. By maintaining and transnationalising their cultural politics of autonomy, international solidarity with the Mapuche is essentially solidarity by the Mapuche themselves. The last section sheds light on some elements of this transnationally woven network, which becomes visible by focusing on the autonomous cultural politics. These characteristics are the decentral and rhizomatic network structure, solidarity as international and bilateral relations, and the hidden transcript of solidarity. The last feature of this network is that solidarity efforts are not limited to political action but include cultural and social dimensions as well. These characteristics are the results of the transnationalisation of the cultural politics of autonomy by the Mapuche diaspora and Mapuche representatives from Wallmapu. The organisational structure of the Mapuche movement, organisations, and communities is not limited to the national sphere but becomes entangled with international and transnational struggles (Kaltmeier 2004, 364).

The first characteristic is that international solidarity with the Mapuche is organised as a decentral and rhizomatic network. The de- and polycentral sociopolitical organisation is a major characteristic of the Mapuche society and has been a crucial factor in maintaining independence against the Spanish Crown. Also, contemporary Mapuche mobilisations, and particularly the more

24 This stereotype is foremost a result of Indigenous men being the interlocutors for whites and/or Europeans, for example in Bolivia (Rivera Cuscanqui 2018, 100–136).

autonomist expressions in Wallmapu, are essentially decentral and composed of a multiplicity of organisations, communities, and their demands. A similar characteristic applies to the organisations and groups organising solidarity with the Mapuche.

In Europe, two decentral networks are a structuring force and nodal points (Purcell 2009) of the solidarity efforts: the CME²⁵ and the IDNMP. The CME was founded at a *trawvn*²⁶ in February 2012 in Amsterdam. A total of twelve organisations from all over Europe, amongst them local groups of the Mapuche diaspora, participated in the meeting.²⁷ Those organisations agreed on the need to improve and consolidate the coordination of solidarity organisations in Europe and pressure European and international institutions to support the Mapuche. They met at a second *trawvn* in 2013 in Brussels (Mapuche NL 2012),²⁸ committing themselves to:

- 1) Centralize the documentation, information and planning of activities of member organisations.
- 2) Strengthen joint work to denounce and raise awareness about the situation facing the Mapuche People.
- 3) Continue advocacy work at the international institutions for the rights of the Mapuche People. (European Coordination to Support the Mapuche People 2013)

The *Academia Mapuche* in Cologne in 2014 can also be understood as a meeting of the CME, now almost exclusively composed of diasporic Mapuche groups from different European countries.

The second decentral solidarity network in Europe is the IDNMP, connecting local groups in the cities of Oslo, Hamburg, and Milan. It primarily organises solidarity events and protests in those cities, trips by Mapuche

25 This network was also known as European Coordination to Support the Mapuche People or European Mapuche Coordination (Mapuche NL 2015a).

26 Meeting or gathering.

27 Amongst them were the FOLIL foundation, the *Ethical Commission Against Torture, Critical Students Utrecht* (both from the Netherlands), the UNPO (the Netherlands and Belgium), *Tierra y Libertad para Arauco, Nuevo Concepto Latino*, and *France Libertes* (France), *Comabe* and *FEWLA* (Belgium), the GfbV (Germany and Italy), and the *Colectivo Mapuche de Girona* (Spain).

28 This second meeting from May 10–12, 2013 was joined by the organisations *Comabe* and *FEWLA* (Belgium), *FOLIL* (the Netherlands), the GfbV (Germany), *Tierra y Libertad para Arauco* (France), and UNPO (the Netherlands and Belgium).

delegations from Wallmapu to Europe, and engages in informational politics on social media. Other organisations that have contributed to solidarity efforts with the Mapuche in recent years are the 3. *Welt Forum Hannover*, the *Forschungs- und Dokumentationszentrum Chile-Lateinamerika* in Berlin, *Ñuke Mapu* in Frankfurt, and the *Asociación KIMUN* and *Red Mapuche Suiza* in Switzerland.

Together they compose an open and decentral network of small-scale, low-budget, and mostly locally bound organisations all over (Western) Europe. Their most active members are part of the first and second generation of the Mapuche and Chilean diaspora in Europe. In that way, they mobilise their close personal, political, and family connections to Latin America, Chile, or Wallmapu for solidarity action. The sum of these organisations does not have a clear centralisation, hierarchy, or permanent structure. Instead, the network is decentralised, connecting different European countries and cities and aiming to work on equal terms and on a horizontal basis with each other.

An expression of the de- and polycentral sociopolitical organisation of the Mapuche in Chile is the lack of one single, prominent spokesperson. The same happens within the solidarity network, since no particular individual or group of activists are made prominent. The network does not put forward a leading figure; rather, it is the situation of the Mapuche in Wallmapu that is in the spotlight. Their prominence is rather a result of being connected and committed to the same issue: denouncing human rights violations in Chile and supporting the Mapuche resistance. In that way, the particular situations and events (the different *trawvn*, the *Academia*, etc.) in which these organisations come together are what composes the networked structure. In short, the connections are more important than each individual hub.

The lack of a central organisation of this network prevents the emergence of a single group claiming to represent the Mapuche in Wallmapu. In contrast, most of the solidarity events are organised together with representatives from Wallmapu. As guests visiting Europe or connected digitally, they speak for themselves and maintain their autonomy whilst doing so. The decentrally connected groups rather provide a platform in Europe, from where Mapuche representatives can address their problems, struggles, and demands. For Alex Mora (interview with the author, November 28, 2015), the help here in Europe is only used as a support. He further explains that he does not aim to become the spokesperson of Mapuche communities because everyone has their different way of thinking. For him, this is an important aspect of the freedom of the Mapuche. His explanation is similar to the analysis of the political delib-

eration system amongst contemporary Mapuche organisations in Wallmapu (Kaltmeier 2004, 306–22). In a dynamic of “leading by obeying,” a political leader must first consult the opinion of the community; second, the leader must find a normative consensus from these differing positions; and third, the leader must put this articulated consensus in (public) circulation.²⁹

For international solidarity efforts, leading by obeying means being an extension and support of the struggle of the Mapuche in Europe. Jaime Huenchullán recognises that more and more international groups and individuals “began to adhere themselves” to the political positions of Temucuicui, contributing to their struggle and the proliferation of the solidarity network (Jaime Huenchullán, interview with the author, March 20, 2016). In that way, international solidarity is part of their struggle and not vice versa. This is a clear challenge to colonial and paternalistic forms of international solidarity, which support struggles in Global South as long as they fit in their political parameters.

Nevertheless, there is also the critique that international solidarity efforts with the Mapuche do not manage to portray the diversity of political and sociocultural positions from Wallmapu. Isabel Cañet, from the autonomist party *Wallmapuwen*, laments that the international solidarity efforts focus too much on the political prisoners and land rights. Whilst she considers these issues to be crucial, “it needs to expand a bit more and to open up a bit more to all the topics that are really present here” (Isabel Cañet, interview with the author, February 24, 2016).

A major advantage of the decentral networked structure is its spontaneity in organising protests against symbols of the colonial and capitalist oppression and domination in Chile. These symbols, similar to a many-headed hydra, are deterritorialised, transnational, and have a global reach (Linebaugh and Rediker 2013). They are followed and challenged by the decentral solidarity network and become the targets of political protest in support of the Mapuche. Two experiences highlight the contingent protests against symbols of the many-headed hydra.

One central symbol for human rights violations by the Chilean state has been the former Chilean President Michelle Bachelet, whose visits to Europe

29 A similar political dynamic is at the core of the political philosophy of the *Zapatistas*, which “is aimed at inverting the traditional relationships of hierarchy within the organisation. Leadership positions are rotated, and there seems to be a vacuum of the authority at the center” (Hardt and Negri 2004, 85).

have been continually protested by the Chilean and Mapuche diaspora. On one occasion, the CME, together with Mapuche representatives from two communities in resistance, organised a public demonstration after the *Academia Mapuche* in Cologne in front of the venue where Bachelet was meeting with representatives of the private sector and German politicians (Cárdenas 2014). On a second occasion, Bachelet visited the CELAC Business Summit with the EU on June 4, 2015 in Belgium, where she was also rewarded the *Doctor honoris causa* at the University of Leuven. Three Mapuche women from the Mapuche diaspora (in traditional dress) protested the reward and Bachelet's speech silently whilst holding up posters denouncing the persecution and criminalisation of the Mapuche protest in Wallmapu (Mapuche NL 2015b).

Another example of the contingent and decentral solidarity efforts against the multi-headed hydra of the Chilean state was the tour of the Chilean military ship *La Esmeralda* in summer 2015 to Europe. The ship is known for having served as a site for detaining and torturing political prisoners, amongst them Mapuche, during the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet in the 1970s. The ship made a tour to Europe and Australia, and was heavily and publicly protested by the Chilean and Mapuche diaspora in the cities of Amsterdam (Pieters 2015) and London (Doward 2015). A local radio in Bremen also reported on the protests in the city of Bremerhaven (Radio Bremen 2015).

These examples show how the network manages to follow signs and signifiers (the many-headed hydra) of the conflict in Wallmapu to Europe and protest against them. It thus can react spontaneously to events that are covered by Chilean media and put the protest and demands of the Mapuche on the public agenda. Nevertheless, this contingent decentrality is an organisational, logistical, and financial challenge for activists and groups in Europe, as Andrea Cotrena points out (The Hague, group discussion, May 5, 2015). It is also a reactive effort, protesting the many-headed hydra whenever it sticks out one of its heads in Europe. The network (re)produces itself according to the contingency and takes up a temporal shape in the form of, for example, e-mail groups that are set up only for a particular protest.

The metaphor of the hydra can also be turned on its head in order to understand a particular aspect of the Mapuche resistance. The hydra can help to explain the difficulty in breaking the resistance of the Mapuche: if one head of the hydra is chopped off, two other heads will grow. This also refers to the most famous resistance shout, *marichiweu*, which means that for each Mapuche who falls, ten more will rise.

Such de- and polycentric and contingent network structures of contemporary social movements and political protests can be described as rhizomatic (Day 2004; Khasnabish 2013; Purcell 2009). Characteristics of a rhizome are that it “has no beginning or end; it is always in the middle, between things, inter-being, intermezzo. [It] is alliance, uniquely alliance” (Deleuze and Guattari 2005, 25). Furthermore, it “connects any point to any other point, and its traits are not necessarily linked to traits of the same nature” (Ibid., 21). The idea of the rhizome is thus particularly helpful to understand contemporary political mobilisations and protests because it

encourages an explicit consideration of the way everything from institutions to social change movements to subjectivities are brought into being through a process that is intrinsically relational and has no meaning or direction outside of that relationally. In this regard, the rhizome as a conceptual and analytic tool is a metaphor through which to explore different dynamics and consequences of contemporary social movement activity. (Khasnabish 2013, 83)

With the metaphor of the rhizome it is possible to identify the central characteristics of the solidarity network. Instead of having a fixed network structure, the solidarity rhizome consists only of connections of its autonomous parts. Also, the network becomes visible in particular moments of protesting against the many-headed hydra until it disappears again or comes to surface in a different shape. In that way, the map of the rhizome is never fixed but “must be produced, constructed” (Deleuze and Guattari 2005, 21). Thus, the solidarity network has no fixed structure or organisational form but creates “a space defined only by the connections, encounters, and relations that occur within it” (Khasnabish 2013, 83).

Instead of considering the rhizomatic aspect an expression of “the post-modern transition of organisational forms” (Hardt and Negri 2004, 85), I see it rather as an outcome of the experiences, historical memories, micropolitics, and sociopolitical organisations around the cultural politics of autonomy by the Mapuche. Conceiving these organisational features as a product of post-modernity would silence the alternative cosmologies and political thought of the Mapuche that inspire this rhizomatic network. Without considering the cultural politics of autonomy behind the international solidarity network, the sociopolitical and cultural dimension of these efforts would not be tangible. At the same time, Western thought provides a helpful category through which the international solidarity efforts can be grasped. The challenge is to pro-

ductively combine both epistemological perspectives without silencing (and, instead, multiplying) their heuristic strength.

Finally, if a “rhizome has neither a beginning nor an end” (Deleuze and Guattari 2005, 41), the de- and polycentral struggle of the Mapuche can be considered intrinsically transnational and translocal. The concept of a rhizome allows to focus on the encounters of solidarity across different places and geographies without reducing them to a Chilean issue. Rather than reproducing hierarchies between the centre and the periphery or between the global and the local, the rhizome highlights the continuation of a far-away struggle in Europe under the principle of the cultural politics of autonomy.

During a visit to Europe in 2016, Jaime Huenchullán explains another important feature of the transnationalisation of their struggle:

And on the [...] positive side or on the good side (pause), which is why [...] the decision was made, right, that people come from the outside [...], so that (pause) the [Chilean] state cannot say that the Mapuche people are (pause), I don't know, that they are alone! Because if all the nations, states, countries have the possibility to, I don't know, sign treaties, agreements, arrangements, alliances—the Mapuche people have the same right of interacting, looking for allies, looking with whom to have a conversation, with whom to establish—even if they are small—agreements, and that is part of the right of [...] the Mapuche people for self-determination. (Jaime Huenchullán, interview with the author, March 20, 2016)

He argues that the Mapuche have the same right as every other nation or state to engage freely in international relations with other political entities. Essentially, he suggests to consider the transnationalisation of their struggle and hence the international solidarity efforts as emanating from their right to self-determination and autonomy. Building alliances in solidarity with other actors beyond the Chilean nation-state is thus a result and expression of the cultural politics of autonomy. In that way, Mapuche representatives transform international relations of solidarity into forms of bilateral international relations and foreign policy with other actors. They hereby exercise the right to autonomy not only in relation to the Chilean nation-state, but also to supranational and international actors and organisations. The cultural politics of autonomy are in this way transnationalised and frame the international solidarity network. Accordingly, this network appears as a web of international relations between the Mapuche and representatives of other nationalities. Instead of acting as a minority within a particular nation-state demanding

recognition, delegations from Wallmapu and actors of the diaspora act as representatives of an autonomous nation.

One important pillar of this international (solidarity) policy is the interaction with other Indigenous nationalities from Latin America and across the globe as a continuation of the experiences of the 1970s and '80s. Such encounters and relations are fundamental for establishing a pan-Indigenous solidarity based on mutuality and horizontality that counters paternalistic ideas (Kaltmeier 2004, 364). In several conversations with my Mapuche interview partners in Wallmapu and in Europe, these bilateral relations appear as possibilities for exchanging experiences about different colonial relations of power and decolonisation efforts. These relations exist, amongst others, with Amazonian Indigenous peoples in Ecuador, sectors of the *Movimento Sem Terra*³⁰ in Brazil, the EZLN in Mexico, and delegations of Aboriginal Australians. In Europe, the IDNMP has also forged relations of solidarity between the struggle of the Mapuche and the Indigenous population of the Sami in Norway and Sweden (OPAL Prensa 2016).

Besides these pan-Indigenous relations, Mapuche representatives have had direct encounters with Mapuche and European politicians. In 2014, two representatives of Mapuche communities in resistance visited German politicians and informed them about the human rights violations and their struggle in Chile. In 2015, Swedish members of the European parliament visited the Rankilko community, interviewing political prisoners and receiving information about their criminalisation. These experiences are interesting because in contrast to this transnational sphere, in the domestic context there is little dialogue between politicians and Mapuche representatives. Amina, a German solidarity activist who supported the tour of the two representatives in 2014, finds it ironic that these dialogues are possible, for example, with German politicians and not with Chileans (Amina, interview with the author, November 27, 2015). I suggest explaining this by the different treatment of the Mapuche representatives by their interlocutors. Whilst in Chile the two community representatives are considered to be Chilean nationals and members of an ethnic minority, the foreign politicians recognise them in their function as representatives of an autonomous nation. At the same time, having a conversation, or *koyang*, with foreign representative is a fundamental aspect of exercising the right to autonomy in the tradition of the *parlamentos*.

30 Movement of the Landless.

Their autonomy is thus affirmed by the fact of having met with foreign politicians, which further serves to put pressure on the Chilean state regarding their equal status. Because, following the statement of Jaime Huenchullán, if foreign politicians are open to a dialogue with the Mapuche, why isn't the Chilean state?

Other experiences of international relations are part of the efforts of the autonomist party *Wallmapuwen* and the AMCAM. For example, *Wallmapuwen* has received visits from (and its members have visited) Catalonia and the Basque country, exchanging ideas and adjusting strategies with other autonomist political parties and organisations (Isabel Cañet, interview with the author, February 24, 2016). Isabel Cañet describes these experiences explicitly as the formation of international relations. The AMCAM has been taking an approach of establishing transnational relations, for example, by organising encounters between their member municipalities and the embassies of other nations with more advanced intercultural and plurinational jurisdiction, like New Zealand, Bolivia, or Ecuador (Mauricio Vergaras, interview with the author, February 25, 2016a). Another idea is the development of town twinnings between municipalities with Mapuche mayors in Chile and Argentina as a way of forging exchange and dialogue between Mapuche communities on both sides of the Andes and thus reconnecting the historic connections between Gulumapu and Puelmapu. These examples show how Mapuche organisations, communities, and representatives form and forge a multilayered, decentralised web of international relations beyond the political institutions of Chile by reaffirming their cultural politics of autonomy.

At the same time, this network of international relations is formed by engaging with transnational political institutions. Some investigations have already shown how international legal instruments are put to use by the Mapuche and evaluated the success of these efforts (Habersang and Ydígoras 2015; Pantel 2015). Instead of discussing the limitations and opportunities of this legal framework, a more ethnographic approach is able to reveal how these efforts are also an expression and result of the cultural politics of autonomy by the Mapuche.

In May 2015, activists of the Mapuche diaspora from the Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland, and Germany, with the support of the UNPO and in exchange with the CTT in Wallmapu, organised a demonstration and conference in The Hague. The context was the ongoing negotiation between the Chilean and Bolivian states at the International Court of Justice regarding Bolivia's claim to have access to the Pacific. Since the Chilean state's position was

that it “respects and obeys the integrity of the treaties agreed upon by both parties,” Mapuche organisations “demand[ed] with the same degree of emphasis the compliance of the treaties or parliaments agreed upon between the Chilean State and the Mapuche People” (Mapuche Coordination Europe 2015). On the first day, a media-effective demonstration was organised in front of the Peace Palace in The Hague; the second day saw a conference with the CME, the UNPO, supporters, and invited journalists from TeleSur. The spokesman of the CTT, Aucán Huilcamán, also took part in the conference on the second day via Skype. In Wallmapu, a parallel event took place. In his presentation, Huilcamán lays down the historical grounds on which the contemporary demands are made. He specifically refers to the treaties between the Mapuche and the Spanish Crown and, later, the Chilean state, as historical precursors of the recognition of the right to self-determination by the Mapuche. A central aspect of his argument is that these treaties still have judicial value today.³¹ By referring to the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People, Huilcamán concludes that the Mapuche are thus affirming “a right that has been already recognised within international jurisdiction,” which is why the present struggle of the Mapuche for autonomy “is not a demand, this is not a proposal – it is an already constituted right” (The Hague, group discussion, May 5, 2015).

This ethnographic account shows how Mapuche representatives strategically use the international legal framework to affirm their autonomy and independence from the Chilean nation-state. Most importantly, interventions like these are organised and exercised by Mapuche representatives (from the CTT or the diaspora) themselves and are merely supported by non-Indigenous activists and organisations. In that way, they use the international legal framework (like the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People) within supranational institutions (like the International Court of Justice) autonomously in order to achieve autonomy. In other words, autonomy is

31 For the purpose of this argument, Huilcamán cited the study by the former Special Rapporteur of the UN, Miguel Alfonso Martínez, on the treaties between Indigenous peoples and (post)colonial states. Huilcamán cites three conclusions of this study, which determine for the case of the Mapuche and Chile that the treaties in question are still valid, because no party renounced the agreement, no court annulated the treaty afterwards, and no party put an expiration date on the treaty (The Hague, group discussion, May 5, 2015).

both the means and the goal of the transnationalisation of the struggle of the Mapuche.

The ethnographic experiences outlined at the beginning of this chapter point to another important aspect within the transnationalisation of the struggle of the Mapuche. In that particular situation, Mapuche representatives and the diaspora created an autonomous and protected space within encounters of solidarity. Non-Mapuche actors (like myself) and organisations were denied access to that space, in which decisions were made.

The cultural politics of autonomy hereby produce a “hidden transcript,” where solidarity “takes place ‘offstage’, beyond direct observation by power-holders [and] consists of those offstage speeches, gestures, and practices that confirm, contradict, or inflect what appears in the public transcript” (Scott 1990, 4–5). This hidden transcript is the result of the cultural politics of autonomy. The Mapuche diaspora and representatives from Wallmapu hereby establish clear boundaries to others, produce an inside and outside sphere of solidarity, make their network partially unintelligible, keep information safe, and reaffirm their own agency and autonomy. The mechanisms of that hidden transcript are the results of the historical experiences of colonial domination and the continuation of their struggle for autonomy and decolonisation and against paternalism. But these mechanisms do not only set up boundaries, but rather—as the concept of autonomy shows—have both centrifugal and centripetal dynamics, working as a hinge between the inside and the outside. During my militant ethnography, I experienced the role of the Mapuche diaspora as those of gatekeepers,³² who grant or deny access to that solidarity network.

The de- and polycentrality of the solidarity network already produces an unintelligibility for outsiders, and especially non-Indigenous actors and organisations. Several statements by non-Mapuche supporters reflect their lack of knowledge about the organisation amongst different diasporic Mapuche groups. For example, a staff member of the UNPO during the event in The

32 In transnational social movements, usually those organisations are described as gatekeepers “whose decisions to back a movement activate other organisations and individuals across the world. In part, this stems from gatekeepers’ reputation for credibility and clout [...]. Typically, they enjoy access to other NGOs, journalists, and government officials. Even if gatekeepers do not communicate concerns directly to other network members, their choices have powerful demonstration effects, signalling that certain movements are important and certifying for support” (Bob 2005, 18).

Hague in 2015 was not able to answer “what is the cooperation between the Mapuche groups” (The Hague, group discussion, May 5, 2015) or between them and the UNPO. Eva, who sought support for her microfinance project amongst the Mapuche diaspora, also wanted to know more about the networked structure of solidarity with the Mapuche in Europe. Although she had found some information about the network, according to her it is “totally fragmented and isolated and I am sometimes not able to find a connection and, well, I think it is totally difficult to account for a real structure and network” (Eva, interview with the author, December 1, 2015a). Sabrina (interview with the author, February 4, 2016), a non-Indigenous German woman living in Berlin, who had approached the Mapuche diaspora for information, also notes that it has been difficult for her to make sense of the networked structure of solidarity within Europe.

Peter got a similar impression of the sociopolitical organisation of Mapuche communities in Argentina during his visit to the communities in which he was shooting a short documentary about their struggle. For example, he notes that he found it difficult to “look through” or “look into” (Peter, interview with the author, December 1, 2015) the social structure of the community whilst staying there for a couple of days. This resembles not only the desire of the Western gaze to make the Indigenous intelligible, but also how this desire is countered by a hidden transcript within the sociopolitical organisation of the Mapuche. Fernando Díaz, a non-Indigenous Chilean supporter of the Mapuche in Wallmapu, explains that (Chilean) state interventions within Mapuche society attempt to “civilise these [the Mapuche] people” and “establish order,” because “the Chilean cannot stand the natural internal tensions of the [Mapuche] communities” (Fernando Díaz, interview with the author, March 26, 2016). These interventions mostly fail because of the state’s “incomprehension that it [the Mapuche] is a different nation and it has a different dynamic.” (Ibid.) The statements from Peter and Eva thus demonstrate a similar anxiety.

Thus, it seems that attempts of solidarity projects by non-Mapuche actors or organisations struggle to understand these internal tensions (their de- and polycentrality) of Mapuche communities in Wallmapu, as well as of the diasporic groups in Europe. This is why the de- and polycentrality of the sociopolitical organisation works as a hidden transcript, which is transposed to the European context of international solidarity. This creates a situation, as Alex Mora explains, in which “one cannot speak of a total transparency of knowing who-is-who a hundred percent” (interview with the author, November 28, 2015) within the solidarity network.

The hidden transcript thus transforms encounters of international solidarity into autonomous spaces where non-Mapuche people can participate as guests. But the main purpose is for Mapuche delegates to come together and be able to have a conversation amongst themselves, as Mauricio Vergaras (interview with the author, February 25, 2016b) explains. The hidden transcript serves to protect these spaces in their political as well as their cultural dimension. As Cecilia Necul from the autonomous Mapuche touristic project in Lago Budi highlights, some cultural elements need to stay protected from non-Mapuche outsiders “because this [a particular ceremony] is something unique of us [and] we cannot show everything and let them know everything” (Cecilia Necul, interview with the author, March 10, 2016). In our conversation, she establishes clear boundaries between what can be shared with non-Mapuche and what has to remain amongst them. Certain cultural performances, as she explains, can be presented to outsiders, but their whole meaning and depth must stay within the community.

However, the unintelligibility of the solidarity structure and efforts in Europe was also criticised by some Mapuche actors. For example, Alex Mora is aware that there is need for a “greater control” (interview with the author, November 28, 2015) within the solidarity network of people and groups who only aim to economically benefit from activism. From the perspective of Wallmapu, Isabel Cañet critically addresses the fact that organisations and communities in Wallmapu sometimes do not know what is being done within the solidarity network. For example, there is a lack of knowledge about “actions that are being done in the name of the Mapuche people” and “the political direction of these actions is not always visualised well” (Isabel Cañet, interview with the author, February 24, 2016).³³

Within the decentral and rhizomatic network, relations between solidarity organisations and groups in Europe are in a constant process of making and unmaking. During my ethnography, I developed a mapping system, creating an overview of solidarity events, actors, and topics across Europe. As I added more and more content, this map took the shape of a networked fabric that is being woven through the agency of the Mapuche delegations and diaspora. I borrow this metaphor from the solidarity campaign tour from 2014 by María Teresa Curaqueo Loncón, a Mapuche weaver—a rather prestigious and important activity for the Mapuche.

33 These critiques will be further elaborated on in the discussions of chapter six.

I wanted to follow up on her experiences in Europe and interviewed her in 2016 (María Teresa Loncón, interview with the author, March 3, 2016). She presented weaving as an activity within Mapuche society that comprises sociopolitical, cultural, cosmological, and symbolic aspects. According to her, weaving has always been present in Mapuche society and has mostly been done by Mapuche women, (re)producing communal bonds and symbolic elements of the Mapuche culture. For her, weaving is an ancestral mandate for the Mapuche women, where cultural, cosmological, and political symbols are transmitted through the fabrics whilst the knowledge about the weaving itself is part of an oral tradition. Of her experience in Europe, she notes that she made connections and discovered commonalities with other people through the activity of weaving. In her words, “the fabrics surrounded us” (Ibid.). Indeed, the shared practice of weaving has been noted to contribute to strengthening a decolonial and feminist identity, as well as the communal ties surrounding it (Rivera Cuscanqui 2018, 94–95; Sempertegui 2020, 126–128).

Consequently, I adopt the metaphor of weaving to describe the processes through which the transnationalisation of the struggle of the Mapuche and its international solidarity relations forge communal ties amongst the Mapuche (in diaspora and Wallmapu), as well as relations with non-Mapuche actors and organisations. As a historically feminised task, the weaving metaphor further accentuates the role of diasporic Mapuche women building communal ties amongst the diaspora and with Mapuche delegations from Wallmapu within transnational advocacy and solidarity. In summation, Mapuche actors themselves weave the decentral, rhizomatic solidarity network in an open-ended and contingent process, with multiple endings and extensions.

This weaving process is both targeted towards the Mapuche community and towards the non-Mapuche world. It is thus both centripetal and centrifugal. On the one hand, it composes transnational (between Chile and Europe) and translocal (between particular groups in Europe and Wallmapu) sociocultural relations amongst the Mapuche. On the other, these Mapuche groups and organisations weave relations of solidarity with non-Mapuche actors and organisations. The centrifugal force has its gravitational centre both in Wallmapu, from where organisations and communities seek alliances beyond Chile, as well as in Europe, from where the Mapuche diaspora is constantly mobilising support with the non-Mapuche world. Building alliances with non-Mapuche actors and organisations is part of the “external self-disposition” of the Mapuche society, which demands “the creation of networks with other countries and the international political community” (Marimán

et al. 2006, 255–56). But these alliances always have to meet the conditions of “recognising our *autonomy* and respecting our internal resolutions, recognising our sovereignty in our territorial limits” (Marimán et al. 2006, 255–56; my translation). Nevertheless, this external self-disposition (or centrifugal dynamic) is only secondary to the “internal integration” of the geographically dispersed Mapuche society (Ibid., 247).

Mapuche organisations and communities from Wallmapu have managed to weave alliances with a series of actors and organisations on an international and transnational level. Between 2014 and 2017, several representatives of Mapuche communities and organisations, as well as individuals, have travelled to Europe, weaving the international solidarity network. They have formed relations and alliances with non-Mapuche actors, which include a) other Indigenous or government representatives, b) local solidarity groups, including those of the Mapuche and Chilean diaspora, c) a series of nongovernmental organisations that contribute to transnational Mapuche advocacy, d) efforts within international and transnational governmental institutions like the UN or the European Parliament, and finally e) contacts with individual non-Indigenous supporters.

Several Mapuche interlocutors in Wallmapu and Europe point out that the struggle of the Mapuche goes beyond the political sphere and includes cultural, social, cosmological, epistemological, and other aspects. For José Luis Calfucura (interview with the author, February 16, 2016a), the struggle of the Mapuche takes place within different *trincheras* (trenches). To him, cooking is an opportunity to revitalise the culinary traditions of his people and to make them available to non-Mapuche. His *trinchera*, the cooking, opens up a space from which transcultural relations with the non-Mapuche world in Chile and beyond can be established.

The idea of different *trincheras* of international solidarity echoes the multidimensionality of the cultural politics of autonomy, including cultural, social, cosmological, and other elements. Denouncing human rights violations, organising protests in support of the political prisoners, or Mapuche delegations intervening in supranational organisations must be read as only one aspect of international solidarity. As Isabel Cañet claims, the international solidarity efforts must “make visible many more issues, above all everything that aims to make a political project behind it visible” (interview with the author, February 24, 2016). Accordingly, this last section addresses how and why transnational and translocal relations of solidarity take place across multidimensional spheres of social, political, and cultural life.

Some aspects of the solidarity network in Europe (for example, the celebration of the *wetripantu*) were already presented as having an essentially sociocultural, cosmological, and religious dimension. Also, understanding the political expressions of solidarity is only possible by starting from the sociocultural connections the Mapuche diaspora has been weaving since the late 1970s. Today, efforts to support Mapuche communities and organisations are also taking place in the areas of (endogenous and exogenous) development projects³⁴ as well as (autonomous) tourism projects. In these *trincheras*, tourism, for example, is a means to become economically self-sufficient and politically autonomous (Cecilia Necul, interview with the author, March 10, 2016).

The most important *trinchera* is the one to revitalise the Mapuche culture, particularly Mapuzugun. For example, the educational collective *Kimeltuwe* promotes Mapuzugun by creating digital (on social media) and analogue educational material. Victor Carilaf, co-founder and teacher of *Kimeltuwe*, explains that their aim is to focus on something different than the political struggle, because there are already enough media sites for that. Instead, they intend to “revitalise Mapuzugun” (interview with the author, February 23, 2016). Similar to the comments of José Luis Calfucura, they want to display and represent Mapuche culture in a more positive and easily accessible way beyond (but without ignoring) the violence of the conflict in Wallmapu.

Mapuche artists travelling to Europe also contribute to weaving the solidarity network. In recent years, the Mapuche poet Rayen Kvyeh, the weaver Maria Teresa Loncón, and the rapper Waikil have made one or several trips to Europe to represent, transform, or transculturalise Mapuche culture through their artistic work. These cultural expressions are not detached from the repression or persecution of the Mapuche in Wallmapu but contribute with a different perspective and positionality to offer a better understanding of their situation. Rayen Kvyeh explains that her poetry “speaks of the incarcerated rivers, [...] as well of the rivers, lakes, and seas that are being contaminated and taken hostage by the power dams” (interview with the author, March 1, 2016). She is convinced that she raises more consciousness in Europe with her poetry than with political discourse, “because anyone can engage in a political discourse” (Ibid.). Rather, and in order to be able to speak “of the voices of the incarcerated rivers, speaking [...] about how the life of a tree has been cut for

34 See chapter five for a more detailed discussion.

the sake of the international timber market, speaking of the draught that destroys our communities today” (Ibid.), she does not need a political discourse other than her poetry. Rayen Kvyeh shows not only how poetry can become a more effective tool for raising consciousness for international solidarity; what is more, her poetry gives a voice to the nonhuman and thus challenges the anthropocentrism of Western thought.

Interventions of Mapuche artists in transnational spheres of solidarity go well beyond the political dimension. Like the recreation of cultural practices in urban spaces in Chile (Becerra et. al. 2017), they contribute to revitalising Mapuche culture abroad, but also to building transcultural bridges towards the non-Mapuche world. Being active in different *trincheras*, they are not only able to reach a wider non-Mapuche audience, but open the conversation for other sociocultural, cosmological, or epistemological perspectives as transcultural translators.

This chapter suggested understanding international solidarity with and of the Mapuche as a transnational expression of their cultural politics of autonomy. This is because Mapuche representatives from Wallmapu and from the European diaspora have transnationalised their struggle since the 1970s and have woven a decentral, contingent, and rhizomatic network by establishing relations of support and solidarity with other actors whilst remaining the protagonists and maintaining their autonomy.

Based on the historical experiences of autonomy of the Mapuche society, the shared horizon of autonomy amongst Mapuche organisations and communities today, and discussions about autonomy within critical Mapuche studies, I suggested a conceptual approach to autonomy as Mapuche cultural politics. This notion of autonomy is conceptually heterogeneous, based on the shared colonial experience of the Mapuche population, linked to the territory, formed in a collective process, and mediates difference towards the non-Mapuche world. It is furthermore, as expressed in the notion of *kisug-vnewvn*, a form of individual micropolitical self-government within a wider sociopolitical network.

The second part traced the transnationalisation of Wallmapu, which has been understood as a site of resistance and hope since the 1970s by Mapuche representatives and a growing Mapuche diaspora. The first generation of the Mapuche diaspora in Europe hereby constitutes the major precedent of contemporary solidarity efforts. The Mapuche diaspora today organises solidarity alongside interpersonal and kinship networks, transculturalises spaces and

sites of political activism, and is characterised by the strong agency of Mapuche women.

These actors (Mapuche representatives from Wallmapu and the diaspora in Europe) weave international solidarity as a decentral, contingent, and rhizomatic fabric whilst maintaining their autonomy. In that way, the cultural politics of autonomy of the Mapuche are being transnationalised, inform, and ultimately shape the solidarity and advocacy network. The chapter went on to describe relations of solidarity with non-Mapuche actors and organisations as international and bilateral relations, whilst the internal dynamics of this network are rarely divulged to non-Mapuche outsiders and are thus kept hidden. As a last feature of this network, I suggested considering solidarity efforts of/with the Mapuche beyond the political sphere and to include the cultural and social dynamics at play.

In this woven network of international solidarity, non-Mapuche actors and organisations, together with Mapuche representatives from Wallmapu and diasporic Mapuche living in Europe, participate in transnational Mapuche advocacy (TMA) and have developed a series of advocacy strategies, which will be the topic of the following chapter.

5. Transnational Mapuche Advocacy

Mapuche representatives travelling abroad, the Mapuche diaspora in Europe, and multiple non-Mapuche supporters and organisations take part in transnational Mapuche advocacy (TMA). This chapter will present and critically discuss the political strategies and tactics that are involved in TMA and employed by these different actors. The first section argues that the main reason for making particular and structural injustices internationally visible is the domestic blockage of political articulation of Mapuche organisations and communities in Chile. I will hereby suggest a master frame and three injustice frames as the key reference points for TMA and critically discuss their colonial limitations. The subsequent sections will present the main strategies and particular tactics within TMA. These include the informational politics—particularly digital Mapuche media and activism; the creation of transnational pressure against powerful actors through symbolic, leverage, and accountability politics; and the fortifying of Wallmapu as a strategy that aims to support the Mapuche society directly. Finally, I will suggest how transnational advocacy of and with the Mapuche becomes ‘Mapuchised’ through a series of (trans)cultural techniques and dialogues.

Political strategies and tactics within TMA respond to “two extreme and contradictory temporalities” between urgency and civilisational change (Sousa Santos 2018, 49–53; my translation). Political strategies are efforts that are performed in the long run, over years or decades, and address mostly structural sociopolitical, legal, economic, and cultural issues. In contrast, political tactics are efforts or sets of action that aim to change a particularly urgent issue or case of injustice. Hence, they are employed for a certain amount of time until the hazard or injustice is no longer a threat. In the case of the Mapuche, political strategies are directed at their sociopolitical, economic, and cultural marginalisation in Chile, their struggle for decolonising their territory, and the racialised criminalisation and persecution by

the Chilean executive and judicial branches. Political tactics are activated contingently when these structural issues express themselves in a particular moment, for example the unjustified incarceration of a Mapuche leader. The present chapter focuses on those political strategies and tactics that are at work on an international level, transnationalising the struggle of the Mapuche and their advocacy.

The Domestic Blockage and Transnational Framing of Mapuche Advocacy

The main reason for the need for transnational advocacy is the domestic blockage of contemporary Mapuche mobilisation in Chile.¹ This domestic blockage channels particular and structural issues to the international sphere and articulates them within wider master or injustice frames. The relationship between the contemporary Mapuche movement and the Chilean government is highly conflictive. The Mapuche movement responds with acts of nonviolent resistance against the militarisation of Wallmapu and their persecution and criminalisation. In that situation, the Chilean state lacks the will for a political dialogue and creates a domestic blockage for Mapuche organisations and communities who are not able to influence policy changes within the constraints of the political institutions of Chile. In order to bypass this domestic blockage, contemporary Mapuche mobilisations have been seeking the support of international allies. In theory, the political claims and information of a domestic movement are passed on to these international actors, who then advocate for the domestic movement in the transnational sphere or put pressure on the particular state that is responsible for the blockage. In that way, transnational advocacy works like a boomerang (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 12–14).

In the case of Chile, various elements contribute to the particular colonial dynamic where the demands of the Mapuche are being structurally blocked from articulating and materialising their claims within the domestic political system. To begin with, in its constitution the Chilean state is defined as “unitary” and sovereignty lies essentially within “the Nation” (Ministerio del

1 By contemporary Mapuche mobilisation in Chile, I mostly refer to the actors, organisations, and communities of the autonomist Mapuche movement identified in the previous chapter.

Interior 1980, 5; my translation). No other individual or group can claim that right. The claim of autonomy and self-determination by the Mapuche is thus structurally limited by the constitution, because it counters the unitary and mononational self-understanding of the Chilean nation-state. For example, although ILO Convention 169, as one of the most advanced legal frameworks to secure Indigenous rights, has been ratified by the Chilean state in 2008, none of its most central aspects, amongst them constitutional recognition, has been put into practice by the Chilean government (Habersang and Ydígoras 2015, 261–73). The current conflict dynamic in Wallmapu needs to be understood as a consequence of the historical negation of the Mapuche as a distinct nationality. This situation demands a political answer on the basis of accepting Chile's plurinationality, as Federico Aguirre (interview with the author, March 2, 2016) from the INDH claims. Plurinationality and interculturality are thus the core demands of Mapuche mobilization within the current context of the elaboration of a new constitution (Pairican 2021).

A particular Chilean phenomenon of the blockage or—more accurately—repression of the Mapuche movement is that political expressions of the Mapuche have been constantly criminalised by the Anti-Terrorist Law 18.314 since the late 1990s until the present day (Emmerson 2014). By 2010, more than 50 Mapuche were arrested under the Anti-Terrorist Law (Human Rights Watch 2011). Also, the National Security Law legitimises the incarceration of a large number of Mapuche community members. In that context, police operations lead to the torture and abuse of the Mapuche population, amongst the women and children (Millaleo Hernández 2011). At the same time, the Mapuche population has been increasingly framed as terrorists by biased media campaigns (Kaufmann 2010). Also, the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association are severely limited in Chile (Kiai 2016, 19).²

Within the Chilean legal system, the high costs of legal services, language barriers, and “fear and distrust towards, and their past experience with the Chilean judicial apparatus” (Skjævestad 2008, 8) are all obstacles for the Mapuche population. During my activist ethnography in 2016, I was able to compare two particular court cases where sentencing was radically different: in one case, a Mapuche was declared guilty of an arson attack; in the other, a Chilean individual was declared guilty of having murdered a Mapuche protester. In the former case, Guido Carihuentru was sentenced to eight

2 Particularly because of the excessive use of force by the Chilean police, the *Carabineros*.

years in prison and the compensation payment of 1,000 USD that he offered was denied; in the latter, José Cañete was sentenced to five years in prison and his compensation payment of 870 USD to the family of the victim, José Quintriqueo Huaiquimil, was accepted by the court. This case shows that there exists a racial bias within the Chilean legal system that disproportionately disadvantages the Mapuche population. Guido Carihuentru's lawyer, Sebastián Saavedra, put it in more drastic words by claiming that apparently in the Araucanía region it is cheaper to kill a Mapuche than to burn down a truck (Garbe 2016a).

As a consequence of the colonisation of Wallmapu from the end of the nineteenth century, the Mapuche society has been spatially marginalised and segregated into small lots of land across the Araucanía region and within impoverished urban neighbourhoods. The spatial marginalisation and segregation further accentuate the lack of access to the labour market, housing, social services, health, or education and jeopardises their equal participation as political citizens. At the beginning of the century, 35.6 percent of the Indigenous population in Chile lived under the poverty line, compared with 22.7 percent of the non-Indigenous population. Furthermore, the absolute and relative poverty rates of the Mapuche population are considerably higher than those of other Indigenous populations in Chile. These factors are expressions of the structural discrimination against the Mapuche population regarding access to education and health infrastructure (Kaltmeier 2004, 211–16).

Despite the return to democracy in Chile, the Mapuche society lacks proper representation within the Chilean political system. Whilst the overall Indigenous population in Chile has been successful in their struggle to achieve some degree of political representation, foremost through the CONADI³ or seats in the two legislative chambers, there is a lack of Mapuche organisation and representation on the level of civil society, which would articulate demands by the Mapuche on a national scale or pressure institutions and officials to act in their favour. Here, especially the biased and racially loaded stereotypes of the Mapuche as terrorists, criminals, and lazy people in the national media contribute to the systematic exclusion of the Mapuche from public debates and discussions.

As a consequence, the Chilean state has failed to adequately respond to demands of the Mapuche society for intercultural education. Rather than decolonising the national educational system and incorporating Mapuche

3 The National Cooperation for Indigenous Development.

knowledge, language, and cosmology into the educational canon on equal terms, racist and colonial imaginaries towards Indigenous people in Chile are reproduced, mobilised for a neoliberal agenda, and efficiently used to control “the complex panorama of ethnic conflict in southern Chile” (Lepe-Carrion 2016, 62).

These structural limitations and impediments to participate equally in the political arena have led to a frustration and distrust amongst the Mapuche society of representatives and institutions of the (white) Chilean state. These exclusions create the need to look for political answers within the Mapuche society itself by referring to its cultural politics of autonomy. The national belonging of the Mapuche is thus a consequence of their structural limitation and discrimination within Chilean society, as well as their own self-understanding as an autonomous but colonised nation. This leads to a situation of general suspicion towards or even incompatibility with engagement and participation within and with the Chilean political institutions, parties, or ideologies. In that way, the Chilean political system becomes further blocked off to the Mapuche.

Consequently, the central actors of the Mapuche society who are blocked from participating in Chilean political institutions are its more autonomist sectors. These communities and organisations reach out internationally to the Mapuche diaspora and non-Mapuche organisations and actors to bypass that blockage, hereby weaving the solidarity networks. However, instead of targeting particular nation-states, the main addressees of their advocacy are a transnational civil society within mostly Western European countries and supranational organisations. But the advocacy is not delegated completely to the diaspora or non-Mapuche actors. Instead, Mapuche organisations and communities from Wallmapu weave their own web of alliances in which advocacy work takes place. Therefore, instead of delegating tasks to a non-Mapuche advocacy network, they maintain their autonomy in advocacy.

In theory, a transnational advocacy network foremost seeks to pressure a particular nation-state to change its policy, laws, constitution, etc. (Keck and Sikkink 1998). The final success of such advocacies would lie in the legal recognition of a (particular or structural) injustice or constitutional recognition as a distinct nationality, as many Mapuche organisations and communities claim. However, Coulthard's (2014) decolonial analysis of the Canadian context warns that legal or political recognition within the nation-state (and, I would add, within transnational organisations) can reproduce or even reinforce colonial

relationships that continue to marginalise Indigenous people and their political articulations.

This argument helps to see why, in the present case, advocacy strategies go beyond the struggle for recognition within (inter)national political and legal structures. Instead, they are more diverse and include efforts to strengthen Mapuche communities and organisations directly or to establish a dialogue with them. This means that not only the blockage of the Chilean state but also its institutions, as a limited motor for change, are bypassed by the transnationalisation efforts. The reason is that the contemporary Mapuche mobilisation does not necessarily seek change within the Chilean nation-state, but aims instead at its transformation and decolonisation. The most central claims of the autonomist Mapuche movement, like autonomy, self-determination, and territory, are hardly possible under the current sociopolitical and legal structure of the state. These demands would transform and challenge its constitutionally inscribed mononationality and neoliberal, capitalist order. Thus, the transnational advocacy of the Mapuche movement and its international allies is a decolonial boomerang, which does not only aim at dissolving the blockage within the Chilean state, but rather points towards a radical reorganisation and transformation of the sociopolitical, economic, territorial, and constitutional order itself—that is, its decolonisation. What is more, these transnationalisation efforts contribute to rebuilding the sociocultural fabric and political institutions of the Mapuche society as an autonomous nation. In other words, the aim of political solidarity with Wallmapu is to reconstruct and decolonise social solidarity in Wallmapu.

Transnational advocacy networks usually address particular, as well as structural, issues. Particular issues mostly refer to “problems whose causes can be assigned to the deliberate (intentional) actions of identifiable individuals,” whilst structural problems address “issues involving legal equality of opportunity” (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 27). In transnational advocacy with the Mapuche, both particular and structural issues are addressed.

During my ethnography from 2014 to 2017, several cases of human rights violations against the Mapuche were brought to international attention as particular cases. For example, from April 2016 to 2018, *machi* Francisca Linconao was accused under the Anti-Terrorist Law and held responsible for the murder of two Chilean landowners, who died as a consequence of an arson attack on their home. The court ultimately ruled that she was not responsible, but she was held in pretrial custody for one and a half years, suffering

psychological and physical abuse. Another internationally known case is the murder of Macarena Valdés. On August 22, 2016, the Mapuche woman and mother of four was found dead, hanging from a tree in front of her home. Macarena Valdés and her husband Rubén Collío have been organising the resistance against a hydroelectric powerplant in their community and received several death threats prior to the incident. Whilst the official forensic examination declared her death a suicide, in 2018 an independent forensic doctor, financed through solidarity campaigns, ruled her death a homicide. The following chart sums up other high-profile individual cases between 2014 and 2017 that have been made prominent internationally, consistent with the definition of a “serious violation of international human rights law” by the Geneva Academy of International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights’ (2014, 5).⁴

4 I would like to thank Sebastian Kratzer from the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue in Geneva for suggesting a thorough and consistent terminology.

Table 1. High-profile (individual) cases involving serious violations of international human rights against the Mapuche, 2014–2017

Individual Case	Violations
Guido Carihuentru	Arbitrary or prolonged detention Denial of the right to freedom of conscience/persecution of a religious group Excessive use of force by security forces/disproportionate violence Failure to fulfil procedural obligations (failure to investigate) Obstruction of humanitarian and medical aid Violation of right to a fair trial Violation of the right to humane treatment in custody, detention in degrading conditions
Lorenza Cayuhán	Arbitrary or prolonged detention Excessive use of force by police forces Gender-based violence Negligence leading to serious risk to life or health Torture or inhuman or degrading treatment by security forces, prison officers or other public officials Violation of the right to humane treatment in custody, detention in degrading conditions
<i>Machi</i> Celestino Córdoba	Arbitrary or prolonged detention Denial of the right to freedom of conscience/persecution of a religious group Excessive use of force by security forces/disproportionate violence Failure to fulfil procedural obligations (failure to investigate) Violation of right to a fair trial Violation of the right to humane treatment in custody, detention in degrading conditions
Felipe Durán	Arbitrary or prolonged detention Attack on human rights defenders and journalists Failure to fulfil procedural obligations (failure to investigate) Violation of right to a fair trial Violation of the right to humane treatment in custody, detention in degrading conditions

Brandon Hernández Huentecol	Excessive use of force by security forces/disproportionate violence Violation of children's rights/ violence against children
<i>Machi</i> Francisca Linconao	Arbitrary or prolonged detention Excessive use of force by security forces/disproportionate violence Violation of right to a fair trial Gender-based violence Denial of the right to freedom of conscience/persecution of a religious group Failure to fulfil procedural obligations (failure to investigate)
Victor Queipul	Abduction/kidnapping Acts of intimidation, harassment and extortion Detention in undisclosed locations Excessive use of force by security forces/disproportionate violence Failure to fulfil procedural obligations (failure to investigate)
Macarena Valdés	Extrajudicial killing or execution Failure to fulfil procedural obligations (failure to investigate) Violation of right to a fair trial
Children from a primary school in Temucicui	Attacks on schools and education facilities Deliberate/direct targeting of and indiscriminate attacks on civilians/civilian objects and infrastructure Excessive use of force by security forces/disproportionate violence Violation of children's rights
Pilmaiquen river	Discrimination on racial, national, ethnic, linguistic, or religious grounds Denial of the right to freedom of conscience/persecution of a religious group

Structural issues that are being addressed within transnational advocacy usually relate to paradigmatic court cases⁵ against Mapuche individuals—mostly spiritual and political leaders. Other structural issues include the demand for autonomy and self-determination, most prominently put forward in the “International Conference on the Mapuche Treaties or Parliaments” in The Hague in May 2015. Another example is August 2017, when several Mapuche leaders from various communities and organisations were arrested during the so-called ‘Operation Hurricane,’ which was knowingly based on false evidence produced by the Chilean secret police. Some of the internationally addressed structural issues between 2014 and 2017 as well as the condemnations are presented below.

5 For example, the so-called Luchsinger-Mackay case or the Church case, in which Mapuche community members remained in preventive detention based on dubious evidence and were denied their rights as Indigenous people guaranteed by ILO Convention 169.

Table 2. High-profile (structural) cases involving serious violations of international human rights against the Mapuche, 2014–2017

Structural Issues	Violations
Luchsinger-Mackay Case	Arbitrary or prolonged detention Denial of the right to freedom of conscience/persecution of a religious group Excessive use of force by security forces/disproportionate violence Failure to fulfil procedural obligations (failure to investigate) Violation of right to a fair trial
Church case	Arbitrary or prolonged detention Denial of the right to freedom of conscience/persecution of a religious group Excessive use of force by security forces/disproportionate violence Failure to fulfil procedural obligations (failure to investigate) Violation of right to a fair trial
International Conference on the Mapuche Treaties or Parliaments	Denial of the right to freedom of conscience/persecution of a religious group Discrimination/segregation Forced displacement/massive population displacement/internal displacement Violation of right to a fair trial
Hurricane Operation	Denial of access to any legal process/violation of right to a fair trial Excessive use of force by security forces/disproportionate violence Failure to fulfil procedural obligations (failure to investigate) Violation of the right to property/destruction of property and houses/large scale demolition of houses and infrastructure

March and April 2016 in Tirúa	Acts of intimidation, harassment and extortion Excessive use of force by security forces/disproportionate violence Failure to fulfil procedural obligations (failure to investigate)
Most recurrent serious violations of human rights against the Mapuche	Arbitrary or prolonged detention Denial of the right to freedom of conscience/persecution of a religious group Discrimination on racial, national, ethnic, linguistic, or religious grounds Excessive use of force by security forces/disproportionate violence Failure to fulfil procedural obligations (failure to investigate) Gender-based violence Violation of right to a fair trial Violation of the right to humane treatment in custody, detention in degrading conditions

Condemnations of individual human and Indigenous rights violations also point to structural issues that are being raised within transnational advocacy. This is because it might seem easier to raise awareness about structural issues by relating to a particular case of injustice. At the same time, there is a cyclical dynamic within the mobilisation for a particular case: if, for example, one political prisoner is discharged, the energies of that support are immediately mobilised for a different case.

Scholars of (new) social movements have proposed the conceptual tool of “frame alignment” through which movements establish connections with possible international supporters by rendering their motivations and claims meaningful. In that context, frames are “‘schemata of interpretation’ that enable individuals ‘to locate, perceive, identify, and label’ occurrences within their life space and the world at large” (Snow et al. 2008, 255). Processes of frame alignment are considered crucial for a movement to attract international supporters and solidarity by contributing to “the construction of an interpretive scheme that simplifies and condenses the ‘world out there’” (Tarrow 2011, 142). One particular approach is to develop an “injustice frame” by “inscribing grievances in frames that identify an injustice, attribute the re-

sponsibility for it to others, and proposing solutions” (Ibid., 145). In this case, it is possible to identify one master frame and three overlapping injustice frames within transnational solidarity and advocacy with the Mapuche.

First, transnational solidarity and advocacy with the Mapuche is situated within “the complex of democratic and human rights ideas that have taken hold since the 1980s on a more or less global scale provid[ing] a master frame in international framing processes” (Olesen 2005, 44). This process is also described as global framing, that is “the framing of domestic issues in broader terms than their original claims would seem to dictate” (Tarrow 2011, 235). Regarding the rights of Indigenous people, since the 1980s there have been significant advances within the international legal architecture (Habersang and Ydígoras 2015, 11–14). The most important elements of this Indigenous and human rights frame are ILO Convention 169 in 1989, the UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2007, and the Organisation of American States, especially its negotiation of the American Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2016. Although ILO Convention 169 was ratified by Chile in 2008, a thorough analysis of its application shows that none of its articles have been respected in Chile ever since (Habersang and Ydígoras 2015, 266–73). What is more, the tables from above indicate a systematic violation not only of human rights, but particularly Indigenous people’s rights. This master frame is continuously activated by defending (Indigenous) human rights and denouncing their violations. There have also been some positive results from bringing cases to institutions of the international legal structure in reference to this framework.⁶

Nevertheless, the present research seeks to recognise the limitations of such a political approach based on the Eurocentrism and underlying racism within the idea of human rights. This is because, as postcolonial and decolonial scholars like Nelson Maldonado-Torres, Gayatri Spivak, and Sylvia Winter have shown, the Western and Eurocentric notions of human rights are organised along a “modern/colonial-line,” which imposes “a radical separation

6 For example, in July 2014 the Inter-American Court of Human Rights condemned the Chilean state for the application of the anti-terrorist jurisdiction in eight cases since 2002 (the *longko* Pichún case, International Federation for Human Rights 2014). Another successful and prominent example was a complaint sent to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) accusing the Chilean state of environmental racism. The complaint was taken up in 2007 by the CERD, who demanded a report from Chile, which was finally submitted two years later (Pantel 2015; Richards 2013, 222–23).

between some humans and others” (Maldonado-Torres 2017, 123–24). Historically, this separation has legitimised the contradiction of denying rights for all humanity within colonisation or transatlantic enslavement, whilst affirming and theorising a universal claim of human rights. Against this contradiction, in critical decolonial interventions, human rights and ‘humanity’ are analysed as expressions of colonial, racialised, and gendered power structures, which results in the “performative contradiction of denying humanity in the very process of seeking to affirm human rights” (Maldonado-Torres 2017, 132). This refers particularly to transnational human rights advocacy, in which Western actors advocate for the human rights of marginalised and subalternised groups and silence them at the same time (Mahrouse 2014; Spivak 2004). In that sense, a critical perspective on TMA needs to recognise this colonial limitation of the human rights approach.

Regarding the injustice frames, the criminalisation, persecution, and violence against the Mapuche in Wallmapu is framed within more general and broader critiques of the military dictatorship in Chile from 1973 to 1990. The structural violation of human rights during the dictatorship has been widely acknowledged domestically and internationally—as well as historically revised by the Chilean state, for example through the national commission for truth and reconciliation (Federico Aguirre, interview with the author, March 2, 2016).

Nevertheless, from the point of view of the Mapuche and their solidarity actors, this “dictatorship never ended” (Alex Mora, interview with the author, November 28, 2015). Alex Mora has been engaging in solidarity action with the Mapuche in the last decade as a diasporic Mapuche. For him, a major motivation to join in solidarity efforts with the Mapuche was what happened to his brother, who was tortured during the dictatorship, resulting in his death. He also personally experienced the violence of police raids on his home, as the police searched for his brother and then beat him before his eyes. The story of Alex Mora exemplifies how an already acknowledged injustice frame regarding the dictatorship serves as a motivation to engage in solidarity action with the Mapuche. He experienced “in his own flesh” what is happening on an everyday basis in Mapuche communities like Temucucui (Ibid.)

This particular injustice frame serves as a powerful tool for transnational advocacy, holding today’s Chilean state accountable in light of the past human rights violations during the dictatorship. This strategy aims to counter the self-representation of Chile as a defender and guarantor of human rights, who has processed its dark past. Jaime Huenchullán explains that international

solidarity has a subversive potential because “they [the Chilean political elite] do not want their external image getting stained” (interview with the author, March 20, 2016). This particular framing strategy can be interpreted as “frame amplification” (Snow et al. 2008, 257–58), wherein an interpretative frame regarding a particular situation (e.g., the dictatorship and its crimes) and its storytelling is updated (e.g., that the dictatorship never ended) and its memory invigorated (e.g., that similar crimes are still happening). This allows, on the one hand, to reach out to a possibly larger demographic within the Chilean or international civil society. On the other hand, it challenges the positive postdictatorial image of the Chilean state and demands compliance with human and Indigenous rights.

Transnational solidarity with the Mapuche has also been challenging the racialised stereotype of the Mapuche as terrorists. Since the late 1990s, biased right-wing media, like the national newspaper *El Mercurio*, have associated activities of Mapuche communities and organisations openly and directly with criminal, terrorist, violent, and aggressive actions. These discourses have developed a now widely accepted wording in Chilean society, in which the causes of the conflict are attributed solely to the Mapuche. They introduced the term ‘Mapuche conflict’ and successfully framed the conflictive situation in Wallmapu from a colonising perspective.

One expression of this negative frame is to associate and equate Mapuche mobilisation with armed insurgent organisations like the FARC in Colombia, ETA in Spain, or even Al Qaeda (Cayunqueo 2012, 74–76; 110–12; Kizugünewtun Independencia 2017). Moreover, the Catholic Church has also been responsible for spreading the image of the Mapuche as violent perpetrators through several media reports in Catholic online newspapers internationally.⁷ This negative frame is so powerful that, in its country-specific safety information, the German Federal Foreign Office warns about attacks on vehicles and roadblocks on highways in the eighth and ninth region, the surroundings of Temuco, and encourages tourists not to use highways in those regions (Auswärtiges Amt 2018). These examples not only discursively criminalise the political expressions of the Mapuche society, but also contribute to the legitimisation of factual repression and persecution.

7 For example, the conservative Bishop of Villarica, Javier Stegmeier, was interviewed in a German-speaking online newspaper and presented his partial and biased view on the conflict, claiming that Mapuche organisations are “part of the problem” (Kirche in Not 2016; my translation).

One central aim of the Mapuche is to challenge this negative framing domestically and internationally. One task for the solidarity efforts by non-Mapuche organisations and actors would be “that our [of the Mapuche] German friends over there [in Europe] say that it is not like that.” In opposition to the violent stereotype, international solidarity should portray “the social proposal [of the Mapuche] as generally peaceful” (Vicente Paniel, interview with the author, February 20, 2016). Countering the negative frame can be described as oppositional framing or “frame transformation,” wherein “new values may have to be planted and nurtured, old meanings or understandings jettisoned, and erroneous beliefs or ‘misframings’ reframed” (Snow et al. 2008, 259).

Increasingly in recent years, domestic and international Mapuche mobilisation has framed their struggle in ecological terms. Examples include their opposition to land-grabbing by the monocultural agroindustry since the 1970s (Miranda et al. 2017) or to the construction of hydroelectric power dams and wind farms (Cárdenas 2017; Martínez 2016) as forms of “green colonialism” (Heuwieser 2015; my translation). The ecological depavation of the Araucanía region⁸ since the 1970s is one of the key topics within Mapuche media that has been taken up by a larger audience domestically and internationally. Thus, the sympathy for the protection of the environment and the critique of its capitalist exploitation can create solidarity amongst domestic and international non-Mapuche actors.⁹

In that way, they “extend the boundaries of its [the Mapuche movement’s] primary framework so as to encompass interests or points of view that are incidental to its primary objectives but of considerable salience to potential adherents” (Snow et al. 2008, 258). Mapuche communities, organisations, and media have successfully extended the frame of their ecological struggle by articulating it within Western, and hence more hegemonic, concepts for envi-

8 The neoliberal land reform under the dictatorship made a dense concentration of landownership in Southern Chile through the privatisation of extensive territories possible, which heavily disadvantaged Mapuche communities and organisations and deprived them of their territory. Their struggle for an autonomous territory today is the consequence of this historical development and challenges the neoliberal order of private landownership in the Araucanía region. A struggle against the capitalist usage of natural resources in the form of plantations or power dams is thus a struggle for the right to land and territory.

9 See chapter six.

ronmental justice¹⁰ but without renouncing their cosmological understanding of nature.

The rest of the chapter will outline four basic strategies of TMA that bypass the domestic blockage in Chile and support the decolonial struggle of the Mapuche in Wallmapu. A central aspect of TMA is to create and pluralise information in order to raise awareness about the situation of the Mapuche in Wallmapu. Amongst these informational politics, I will foremost highlight contemporary digital Mapuche media and activism. The informational politics are fundamental to creating and setting an agenda internationally by creating awareness about the situation and the demands of the Mapuche as an Indigenous society in Latin America. One aim of these politics is to create an influence and change discursive positions by non-Mapuche institutions, organisations, and actors (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 25).

TMA takes place within the decentral and rhizomatic solidarity network in Europe and is part of the struggle of Mapuche communities and organisations from Chile. One central characteristic of TMA is that, following the cultural politics of autonomy, primarily it is the Mapuche advocating for themselves, instead of non-Mapuche advocating for them. Advocacy is hereby just one expression of the international solidarity with the Mapuche, in which Mapuche from Wallmapu, the diaspora, and non-Mapuche organisations and actors take part.

The central actors of TMA weave the decentral solidarity network described in chapter four. Those are the Mapuche diaspora and its local groups and translocal connections across Europe, particularly the two more consolidated translocal networks IDNMP and the CME. They are supported by a series of non-Mapuche local groups and activists, as well as national and international NGOs, who also have direct ties to communities and organisations in Wallmapu. All these actors are engaged in transnational advocacy by linking the domestic with the transnational sphere, creating connections between civil societies, governments, and international organisations, and providing material and logistic support (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 1–2).

TMA defends or advocates for Indigenous rights by addressing a mostly non-Indigenous demographic and a series of “target actors” (Ibid., 3–4). The former includes NGOs, social and traditional media, different kinds of political actors, and the political public sphere. The latter includes national and

10 For this term, see Eckersly (2016), Linkenbach (2016), and Martinez-Allier (2002).

international governmental bodies and representatives, international organisations, and private corporations, who are specifically addressed by the network's strategies and who might assume responsibility for a particular situation of injustice (Keck and Sikkink 1998; Tarrow 2011).

TMA uses different tactics to exert pressure on target actors in order to make them accountable and create leverage. The advocacy's influence and pressure hereby seek to challenge and transform institutional procedures whilst aiming for concrete changes in policies. They therefore target actors on an international level, as well as governmental behaviour on a national, regional, or local level (Ibid., 26). Especially because aiming at policy and institutional change domestically since the 1990s has been rather unsuccessful, Mapuche mobilisation has increasingly transnationalised itself. Through "transnational diffusion," Mapuche communities and organisations have "spread [...] similar forms of action and similar claims across borders" (Tarrow 2011, 235).

The strategies of informational politics and pressure can both be described as processes of "externalisation," where "domestic actors, frustrated by their inability to gain redress from their governments, mobilize against foreign or international targets" (Tarrow 2011, 254). Externalisation or internationalisation describe all those efforts by Mapuche organisations and communities in Wallmapu aimed at bypassing the blockage imposed by the Chilean state mentioned above.

A third strategy of TMA or international solidarity is not necessarily aimed at changing legal procedures or influencing the political decisions of the Chilean state, but at fortifying and strengthening Mapuche communities and organisations through concrete and material supportive acts. In that context, non-Mapuche actors and organisations contribute to the decolonising boomerang effect described above. Ultimately, TMA creates spaces of transcultural dialogue between Mapuche and non-Mapuche actors within the international solidarity network. These two strategies are rarely theorised in transnational social movement research, but are nevertheless part of the "transnational coalition formation" because they support "the creation of transnational networks to support cooperation across borders" (Tarrow 2011, 235).

In the present case, this transnational coalition formation is characterised by its decentral and rhizomatic network structure. Whilst this research differentiates between Mapuche and non-Mapuche, it is worth asking who forms a coalition with whom? Put differently, who is in solidarity with whom? For ex-

ample, diasporic Mapuche are both outsiders and insiders to the dynamics in Wallmapu. To the Mapuche in Wallmapu, they might be outsiders since they live in Europe; for non-Mapuche actors, they might be considered insiders because of their ethnic identity. And doesn't the relationship between non-Mapuche and diasporic Mapuche also produce solidarity? Consequently, it is necessary to focus on the heterogeneous, contingent, and multiple coalitions that are formed in the context of TMA. These are the coalitions between Mapuche organisations and communities with international non-Mapuche organisations and actors, as well as with the Mapuche diaspora. Furthermore, the Mapuche diaspora and non-Mapuche activists and organisations form coalitions transnationally and translocally. All these coalitions contribute to the following advocacy strategies.

Informational Politics and Digital Mapuche Media/Activism

A key strategy for social and/or Indigenous movements with little resources is to create, support, and spread alternative information about their situation, both autonomously or aided by international actors. The efforts of the *Zapatistas*, in particular, in creating and proliferating alternative sources for information by focusing on their capacity to build informational (especially digital) networks have been analysed thoroughly (Bob 2005; Hayden 2002; Khasnabish 2008; 2013; Olesen 2005; Rovira 2009; Wolfson 2012). Yet whilst the informational politics of the *Zapatistas* succeeded in gaining international attention, the informational strategies of the resistance of Mapuche communities and organisations are still largely overlooked in that context.

Nevertheless, Mapuche organisations and communities from Wallmapu, with the support of their diasporic network and other actors, have been launching a series of (especially online) communication and informational platforms since the late 1990s. This section will focus first on how information is created and put into circulation and, second, how this information aims to raise awareness and sensitivity about the situation in Wallmapu. As an expression of contemporary Mapuche informational politics, I will discuss the example of digital Mapuche media and digital Mapuche activism and their new developments, problems, and contradictions.

Within my activist ethnography, I was able to closely experience and take part in how information within TMA is created from the source to the final report. The processes of how information is produced can be differentiated

analytically without hierarchising its value or legitimisation in a series of steps (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 18–22).

One step is the distribution of informal information through close and personal relationships between different actors. Stories are told on a face-to-face basis, when someone who just visited Chile and Wallmapu brings back some insights of how he or she experienced the current situation in his or her immediate surroundings. Mapuche representatives who travel to Europe also share their stories not only in official talks but in informal conversations. Especially the meetings and demonstrations in solidarity with the Mapuche are used for this type of information sharing.

Today, informal information is distributed largely on social media sites like Facebook or Twitter, where people across the globe can access the personal stories of people they follow and upload pictures of a police raid or give testimonies about an incident. Central social media sites are those of representatives of Mapuche organisations or of *werken* of a community. Their sites often become alternative sources of information within TMA.

National media and the governmental perspective in Chile not only contribute to creating a distorted picture of the conflict in Wallmapu but also leave out important incidents and problems. Another type of information is targeted at uncovering and reporting on the issues that are left out. Domestically, two non-Mapuche organisations are crucial actors in this regard. These are the INDH,¹¹ particularly the regional office in the Araucanía region, and the *Observatorio Ciudadano* (OC)¹² in Temuco, who uncover and report viola-

11 The National Human Rights Institute has a mandate to promote and protect human rights in Chile in an independent and autonomous manner with a type A accreditation for human rights institutions bestowed by the UN. The INDH has three lines of action for the protection of human rights: condemnation of violations, imposing judicial sanctions, and observation and detailed reports. Since 2015, the INDH has had a regional office in Temuco for the Araucanía region, from where it has produced a series of documents, such as annual mission and thematic reports regarding the human rights situation of the Mapuche in the region (Federico Aguirre, interview with the author, March 2, 2016).

12 The *Observatorio Ciudadano* (Citizens' Observatory) investigates, promotes, and defends human rights. Though the OC once focused on the violation of human rights regarding the persecution and criminalisation of the Mapuche, today its main focus consists of counselling and supporting Mapuche communities and organisations, in particular in territorial conflicts with private companies or landowners. The work of the OC is thus guided by a holistic vision on territoriality, including not only land, but also water, wind, and natural resources, and supports cases where the territory of the Mapuche is

tions of human rights against the Mapuche. Two important networks, composed of a large number of independent non-Mapuche and Mapuche journalists and activists, uncover and report information from Wallmapu, mostly relating to human rights violations and ecological justice. These are the media platforms *Mapuexpress* and the *Red por la Defensa de los Territorios* (RDT).¹³

Important international contributions to the TMA also include reports from rapporteurs who are prepared, funded, or supported by international organisations in collaboration with Mapuche organisations and/or intellectuals. These reports¹⁴ are another key instrument for denouncing violations of human rights and pressuring the Chilean government to respect the Indigenous rights based on ILO Convention 169 or the UN 2007 Declaration. Another international contribution to uncovering and reporting incidents are missions of human rights observations, like the ones organised by the regional branch of the GfbV in Germany. The observations are usually distributed amongst (Mapuche and non-Mapuche) activists of the NGO's network and eventually to other NGOs or groups. During their trips to Wallmapu, human rights observers (like Alex Mora, Rike, or myself) usually closely accompany one or more specific case wherein human rights have been violated and visit political Mapuche prisoners or communities in resistance.

Another type of information that is activated for TMA includes academic investigations produced within a considerable network of non-Mapuche and Mapuche scholars. These investigations contribute to the purposes and claims

being defended against tree monocultures, wind farms, or hydroelectric powerplants (Rubén Sanchez, interview with the author, March 1, 2016).

13 Network for the Defence of Territories.

14 The most important and widely cited reports are those of the Special Rapporteurs on Chile on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms of Indigenous people (Stavenhagen 2003), on the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms whilst countering terrorism (Emmerson 2014), and on the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association (Kiai 2016). Other reports that denounce human and Indigenous rights violations in Chile include an alternative report to the CERD by UNPO and organisations of the Mapuche diaspora (UNPO, FOLIL, and Asociación Tierra y Liberad para Arauco 2013), the reports on advances and challenges in Indigenous rights matters in Latin America (CEPAL 2014), reports on the impacts of environmental damage on Indigenous people (UNPO 2015), the human rights report by the US State Department (United States Department of State, Bureau of Democracy 2015), a yearly report by Amnesty International (Amnesty International 2016), and a report on police violence against Mapuche children and adolescents sent to the CIDH (Alianza Territorial Mapuche, Fundación Anide, and CEJIL 2016).

of Mapuche organisations and communities by reinforcing discursive or political positions of the injustice frame. The scholars come from multiple disciplines and are based in Chilean or other universities. For example, natural science investigations, together with Mapuche communities and organisations, have collected scientific data about ecological destruction such as water scarcity, deforestation, or the impact of power plants powered by natural resources.

Finally, TMA counts on strategic partnerships with international media like newspapers, magazines, or online journals (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 22). Strategic media partners in Germany include, for example, the monthly magazine *Informationsstelle Lateinamerika*,¹⁵ the online journal *amerika21*, the press pool *Nachrichtenpool Lateinamerika* (NPLA), and the monthly journal *Lateinamerika Nachrichten*.¹⁶ Other strategic media partnerships encompass a much larger number of newspapers and magazines in different countries and languages.

In our first conversation, Vicente Painel, then-president of the *Kvme Mogen* cooperative, pins down the contribution of non-Mapuche actors in transnational advocacy: “Now I tell you, generally, it is pluralising information! Like, having different versions getting out there. There is more than one version” (Vicente Painel, interview with the author, February 20, 2016).

I adopt the notion of pluralising information to describe the need for circulating alternative information about the situation of the Mapuche transnationally by transforming their domestic colonial framing. It would also mean enforcing the circulation of heterogeneous information from a multiplicity of sources beyond the Chilean nation-state and its domestic civil society. Pluralising information would contribute to challenging “the danger of the single story” (Adichie 2009) about the Mapuche by the Chilean government and domestic media.

A multiplicity of stories would have a decolonising effect on how the Mapuche are represented and ultimately treated. Following the logic of the cultural politics of autonomy, the idea of the pluralisation of information demands a heterogeneity of versions and information about a certain incident and implies a centrifugal logic, where news, reports, or testimonies are made accessible beyond the local realities of Wallmapu and Chile.

15 The Latin American Information Site, with the support of diasporic Mapuche and their network, edited a special issue about the Mapuche in 2016.

16 Latin America News.

Pluralising information was also described as a main goal of the visit of a Mapuche delegation from communities in resistance in 2014 to Europe. Amina, who supported the tour, said that “foremost it was about doing public relations work, to somehow spread the topic also here in Germany, Europe” (interview with the author, November 27, 2015). Another effort in pluralising information is the translation of reports or incidents from the Spanish-speaking Mapuche media. Here, diasporic Mapuche and non-Mapuche actors can make an important contribution. Amanda, a supporter of the diasporic Mapuche foundation *FOLIL* in the Netherlands, explains that translating is crucial “because it is getting, you know, news out there, [...] making the people understand so they become aware.” She goes on that “this has a trickle-down effect [and] in any small way it is still pushing forward awareness” (interview with the author, July 5, 2016).

New technological resources and online media have boosted the possibility of pluralising information more quickly and on a larger scale. Alex Mora (interview with the author, November 28, 2015), active in advocacy and solidarity efforts since the early 2000s, experienced a decrease in the repression of Mapuche communities by the time it was possible to “open information to everyone” through the Internet.

Describing the aim of these informational politics, many Mapuche and non-Mapuche interview partners alike use similar nuances to what can be translated as consciousness-raising. A Spanish term that has been used in interviews for raising consciousness is *sensibilizar*: making someone sensitive towards something. Creating sensitivity towards something goes beyond the political approach of transnational advocacy, relating to an affective labour (Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2010a) and a cognitive-feeling process¹⁷ (Fals-Borda 2009) in interpersonal encounters.

Mauricio Paineñil, director of the Mapuche tourism project at Llaguepulli, describes at length the effort of raising sensitivity: many people who visit their community arrive with a “harmful and condescending perspective” of the Mapuche, considering them “violent,” “lazy [people], who do not like to work, [are] dirty, and, after that, they told us that the Mapuche were drunks.” As the struggle for territory became stronger and more articulated amongst the Mapuche society, today “they brand us as terrorists, in different and very

17 The Colombian sociologist Fals-Borda has coined the term *sentipensante* for that cognitive-feeling process.

condescending terms” (interview with the author, March 10, 2016). He intervenes in these frames by creating awareness amongst their guests that “it is not like that. We were never a violent nation, by origin we were never a lazy nation and people, we were never drunks, and anything but terrorists.” His claim to the tourists is that “we are not of that nature!” (Ibid.). Instead, he goes on:

[...] from our origin we have been a very respectful nation and the same way they [the ancestors] taught us that we need to respect biodiversity, nature, we need to respect mother earth, we need to respect the elderly, we need to respect even the least significant living being [...]. We come from that logic! We do not come from a logic that destroys, but from a logic that preserves, that protects, cares, and respects everything that lives together on the earth [...]. (Ibid.)

Raising sensitivity and consciousness about his people thus means deconstructing and decolonising the hegemonic stereotypes about the Mapuche in Chile. It includes the right and the autonomy of the Mapuche to claim by themselves who they are and what they want. Rather than reinforcing an essentialised positive identity, raising sensitivity includes the claim to the multiple and heterogenous ways of being Mapuche in the world.

According to Frantz Fanon (2008), a racial and colonial social structure produces an “inferiority-complex” amongst the colonised population. In that context, decolonising awareness and consciousness means to “be able to take cognizance of a possibility of existence” and “once his [the colonised subject’s] motivations have been brought into consciousness, [it] will be to put him in a position to choose action (or passivity) with respect to the real source of the conflict – that is, toward the social structures” (Fanon 2008, 74–75). This poses a major challenge for the possibilities and limitations of raising a decolonial consciousness and sensitivity within solidarity actions, because it would mean that non-Mapuche people would need to become aware of the social structures from which they inherently benefit. In that way, a decolonial consciousness within solidarity without acknowledging white privilege seems impossible.

The efforts in digital activism by Mapuche organisations, communities, and its diasporic network attracted little scholarly attention throughout recent decades, despite information and communication technologies (ICTs) having been part of their mobilisation repertoire since the late 1990s (Ramos Gutiér-

rez 2014). Today, digital Mapuche activism¹⁸ is a fundamental aspect of the informational politics within transnational advocacy and international solidarity. Several expressions of Mapuche online activism, especially in the last decade, have become internationally known. These include Mapuche websites and digital activism through social media. The Internet has thus become a central “tool, not a cause, for social change” (Hill 2013, 14) for social movements and grassroots activists with little resources in recent decades. At the same time, it has been used by more powerful and resourceful actors, like governments, policy makers, or corporate media, to discredit or repress social mobilisation. The Internet is thus an important tool for TMA, aiding to externalise their demands and condemnations, pluralise perspectives, and raise sensitivity, as well being a new site for conflict and repression.

The rest of this section briefly presents some of the most noteworthy digital Mapuche media sites. The following sites do not only have a huge impact and outreach but also the most credibility and the best reputation amongst the Mapuche society and within transnational advocacy.

To begin with, there are Mapuche media collectives who publish mostly online articles, reports, condemnations, announcements of activities or declarations, and videos, radio programmes, and streams.¹⁹ Probably the most well-known site is *Mapuexpress*, an online news site that updates almost daily. It spreads news about Mapuche culture and politics in Wallmapu, with a focus on the defence of the Mapuche territories, the situation of political prisoners, and the violations of human rights. It also includes news of international, artistic, or ecological character. To date,²⁰ *Mapuexpress* has more than 72,000 and *Werken Noticias* more than 175.000 likes on Facebook.

Second, some Mapuche communities in resistance have created their own online presence, mostly in the form of blogs.²¹ Typically, these blogs serve to spread information related to a particular community, aggressions by the military police, territorial recoveries, and the situation of the communities' political prisoners. For example, I witnessed that in the community of Temucuicui

18 Digital activism can be described as “activism campaigns with a goal of social or political change that use digital technology.” (Joyce 2010, 7).

19 Among them *Mapuexpress*, *Werken Noticias*, *Azkintuwe*, *Adkimvn – Cine y Comunicación Mapuche*, and *Radio Kvruruf*.

20 These numbers on digital Mapuche media sites are from November 2021.

21 For example, *Lof Rankilko* (<http://rankilko.blogspot.com>) and the autonomous community of Temucuicui (<http://comunidadtemucuicui.blogspot.com>)

everyone has the right to publish information through their own social media accounts. This is interesting because it challenges the traditionally monopolised task of a community's *werken* and pluralises the communicative labour.

Third, mostly urban and institutionalised Mapuche organisations have their own online or social media presence, where they publish information related to their organisation, activities, and members.²² Interestingly, these organisations have considerably less reach than the Mapuche media sites. One collective nevertheless has an outstanding online impact. *Kimeltuwe*²³ has more than 220,000 likes on Facebook and almost 17,000 followers in Twitter, which probably makes it the Facebook page with the greatest reach amongst Mapuche digital media and by far the largest online space in Mapuzugun.

The fourth category includes websites created by the Mapuche diaspora, mostly in Europe.²⁴ It is noteworthy that they distribute information related to the Mapuche in languages other than Spanish. Already in 1997, Jorge Calbucura, a sociologist at the University of Uppsala in Sweden, created the website *Ñuke Mapu – Centro de Documentación Mapuche*.²⁵ Other websites of the Mapuche diaspora contain information related to befriended communities and organisations in Wallmapu, their repression and persecution, trials against Mapuche representatives, the circumstances of political prisoners and, most importantly, about the sociocultural and political activities of the diaspora in Europe. Another important tool of the Mapuche diaspora is the open and mostly Spanish-language *werken*-Newsletter, based in the Netherlands.²⁶

It is also worth mentioning the lack of an online presence of other important organisations and communities, like the CTT, or printed Mapuche

22 For example, *Wallmapuwen*, *AMCAM*, *Kimeltuwe*, *Kvme Mogen*, and *Fütawillimapu*.

23 *Kimeltuwe* describes itself as a “visual educational project that seeks to contribute to the teaching and learning of the Mapuche language. The aim of the project is to share graphic and audio-visual material through different internet platforms” (*Kimeltuwe* 2018; my translation).

24 For example, *Ñuke Mapu*, Mapuche International Link, *FOLIL*, and the Women's Coordinating Committee for a Free Wallmapu.

25 *Ñuke Mapu* is mostly concerned with academic information and research related to Mapuche culture, politics, territory, and thinking. This space serves as an alternative platform, forum, and communication tool for the intellectual production amongst the Mapuche researchers, academics, and students who do not have access to academic journals or corporate media (Ramos Gutiérrez 2014, 12).

26 Interestingly, this newsletter has the same name (with a different spelling) as one of the bulletins of the CME from the 1980s (see footnote 17 in chapter 4).

newspapers and their online presence, such as *Azkintuwe*, founded in 2003, or the *Mapuche Times*, founded in 2011, both by the Mapuche journalist Pedro Cayuqueo. All of these have disappeared in recent years.

However, digital Mapuche activism also takes place beyond these websites. Information today mostly circulates in a de- and polycentral way according to the logic of social media like Facebook, Twitter, and e-mail newsletters. They contribute to pluralising links to particular reports and articles, demands, and condemnations, which are subsequently shared domestically and transnationally. The distribution of this information is highly pluralised, decentralised, and heterogenous, instead of being limited to a number of official sources.

The idea of a digital Mapuche activism was adopted in 2017 during a meeting in Santiago de Chile of Mapuche organisations. Participants discussed the diffusion of the usage of ICTs amongst the Mapuche population and argued for disseminating and revitalising the digital usage of Mapuzugun. Digital Mapuche activism thus might encompass those digital efforts of Mapuche activists disseminating information in online sites, social media, chatrooms, video, or photo platforms related to the sociocultural and political issues concerning the Mapuche society in Wallmapu and beyond.

Digital Mapuche media and digital Mapuche activism were born from the necessity of having their own alternative means of communication, seek the pluralisation of news that otherwise would not gain public attention, promote political demands amongst the Mapuche society, and advocate for Indigenous and human rights and the revitalisation of their culture (Ramos Gutiérrez 2014, 17). Digital Mapuche activism is particularly characterised by the speed of how information and news are spread, a relatively high reliability, thorough documentation and research, its impact amongst the Mapuche society domestically and transnationally, and the relatively low cost of the (re)production of information.

Other central aspects of digital Mapuche activism are: constant updates of information and news by digital media sites, Mapuche and non-Mapuche, as the prime source; analysis of political events; the desire to autonomously publish and spread information by the Mapuche themselves; the constant reference to and usage of debates and information about related topics; and finally, the presence and usage of Mapuche images, photographs, designs, cartoons, memes, and drawings (Foerster and Vergara quoted in Ramos Gutiérrez 2014, 6–7).

Several contemporary discussions and new developments concerning digital Mapuche media and activism deserve some attention. To begin with, I would like to challenge the critique that some Mapuche media sites reproduce a stereotypical, essentialised, and idealised image of the Mapuche society, particularly its communal and rural life (Ramos Gutiérrez 2014, 8). Instead, I would like to contend, referring to the cultural politics of autonomy as well as critical race and decolonial theory, that digital Mapuche media and activism manages to (re)gain intellectual authority over what counts as authentic.

What would prove more insightful would be a critical examination of (on-line) representations by non-Mapuche about the Mapuche. For example, at one point a new website, *mapuexpress.net*, not be confused with the media collective *Mapuexpress*, appeared. This other *Mapuexpress** is an English-language website run by a white, middle-aged women, possibly from an English-speaking country, who does not give any information about her identity, motivation, interest, and political stance on the website. The website professes to give information about the Mapuche history and “many aspects of Mapuche nation” (*Mapuexpress**, n.d.), does not engage with or refer to Mapuche-run websites, and is currently offline ever since. The “About Me” section reveals that this woman came to learn about the Mapuche during a journey to South America, but it is otherwise unclear what her relationship to them is.

The visual representations in the website are particularly interesting: whilst the host provides a profile picture of herself in an upper-class, bourgeois style (a clean haircut, calm smile, a white shirt, and gold jewellery), Mapuche people are represented only as an anonymous collective, in fighting poses, screaming, and even bleeding, wearing their traditional clothes. In that way, whilst the website positively references the Mapuche, it does not escape colonial representation politics and in fact reproduces a colonial stereotype: On the one side, the Western individual appears as a calm and neutral subject with authority to write about a very heterogeneous society based on one journey. On the other, there is a scattered and very emotional mass of Indigenous people, who do not speak for themselves. The website thus showcases a romanticised stereotype about the noble struggle of Indigenous people,²⁷ exteriorising its own revolutionary desire in order to maintain the privileged position of apparent neutrality and objectivity. Besides that, it is curious that this website appropriates the name of maybe the most impor-

27 For a deeper discussion of this romanticised stereotype, see chapter six.

tant Mapuche media site without referencing it. This might even sabotage people who search for *Mapuexpress* but end up on *Mapuexpress**.

Another new development of digital Mapuche activism today is that it is not limited to a number of particular Mapuche-run websites. Rather, digital Mapuche activism today is a highly pluralised, decentralised, and heterogeneous phenomenon, carried out by countless individuals with their smartphones and social media accounts.

In one way, this transfers the logic of the cultural politics of autonomy (rhizomatic de- and polycentrality) to the digital sphere and thereby transforms the traditional sociopolitical role of the Mapuche communicator, the *werken*. This position is highly prestigious and requires a close and trustful relationship with the *longko*²⁸ and a great amount of intercultural and communicative competence (Kaltmeier 2004, 316–19). For example, after her imprisonment in early 2016, *machi* Francisca Linconao appointed Ingrid Conejeros, a young Mapuche woman born in Santiago de Chile, as her *werken*. She became *werken* not as a consequence of her position within a Mapuche community, but as a community outsider and by appointment. During the imprisonment, the *werken*'s Facebook page became the prime source for information about the current situation of the *machi* and mobilisation efforts in Chile and beyond. Does this mean that the traditional role of the *werken* as a community-based position is jeopardised by the pluralisation and decentralisation through the utilisation of ICTs? Or does this development deepen the cultural politics of autonomy by democratising the position of the *werken*? Whatever direction this development takes, these questions might lead to challenging discussions within the Mapuche society.

Another interesting development is the comparatively small online presence of Mapuche communities and organisations compared to digital Mapuche media sites. Furthermore, older Mapuche organisations, like the CTT or the CAM, have either no or little presence in online media and platforms than more recently founded organisations, like *Wallmapuwen* or AMCAM. The communication strategy of the latter is clearly focused on the utilisation of ICTs, particularly social media (Mauricio Vergaras, interview with the author, February 25, 2016a).

Whilst the more senior Mapuche organisations like CTT and CAM have a small digital impact, some of the first Mapuche newspapers, like *Azkintuwe* and *Mapuche Times*, which were prominent in the early 2000s, have almost

28 Community leader or chief.

completely vanished and are not published anymore. This means that there is a clear shift from printed to digital Mapuche media.

Also, whilst previous investigations mentioned a relatively modest media output in Mapuzugun (Ramos Gutiérrez 2014, 6), the number of digital Mapuche activists and media sites publishing in Mapuzugun is increasing today. These manage to include both exclusively Mapuzugun and bilingual content. Especially the efforts of the *Kimeltuwe* collective stand out by maximising the content published in Mapuzugun and by shifting the focus on language education and cultural revitalisation. Compared to other Mapuche digital media, Victor Carilaf points out that “we only marginally engage with the struggle of the Mapuche, [...] because we believe that there are already enough web-sites” (interview with the author, February 23, 2016). Instead, their focus is on revitalising the language and making it more prominent as a spoken and active language within social media. They claim ICTs and social media as an absolutely legitimate and powerful tool, since “all trenches are valid to fortify our language and our culture” (Figure 3).

This is a transnationally visible and prominent effort in decolonising the monolingual dominance of the Spanish language and in transculturalising means of communication. Digital media and ICTs hereby contribute to (re)creating the Mapuche culture and social belonging through language (Slavsky 2007).

Ultimately, digital Mapuche media and digital Mapuche activism consolidate, deepen, and democratise the cultural politics of autonomy. This is because ICTs “allow to create a discourse, to create an image of how one wants to be seen by others, in this case the non-Mapuche, and in this way defining, based on one’s own knowledge, what the Mapuche culture is” (Ramos Gutiérrez 2014, 5; my translation). In that way, these expressions are a form of “mass self-communication” as one crucial element of the communicative and networking efforts of contemporary de- and polycentral social and political movements and protests (Castells 2015, 256–62).²⁹ These movements and the Internet now “share a specific culture, the culture of autonomy, the fundamental cultural matrix of contemporary societies” (Ibid., 258). This could mean that the usage of ICTs and digital media is not only an expression of the

29 These efforts involve a high level of connectivity and operate at a large scale due to their translocal and transnational connections. Castells discusses, for example, the Arab uprisings (the so-called Arab Spring), the *indignadas* movement in Spain, and Occupy Wall Street in the US.

Figure 3. Kimeltuwe. 2016. “Küme antü rulpayaymün, kom pu che!”



Facebook, January 25, 2016. <https://www.facebook.com/kimeltuwe>. Screenshot by the author, taken January 25, 2016.

Mapuche society adopting and incorporating non-Mapuche elements (Kaltmeier 2004, 37–42); I want to push this argument further and claim that such cultural politics of autonomy might even be better equipped (than centralised organisations) to grasp the full potential of ICTs and digital media.

Despite this subversive and decolonial potential of digital Mapuche media and activism, this development is constrained and limited by some contextual—mostly political and socioeconomic—factors. Material limitations include the general reach and speed of the digital infrastructure provided by the state and private companies, the access and usage of applications, online platforms and social media, and finally the access to and distribution of devices like computers or smartphones (Joyce 2010, 2–4). On the other hand, external elements like “economic, social, and political factors determine whether

and how people use this infrastructure" (Ibid., 4). Regarding the context of the access to and usage of the ICTs by the Mapuche society, researchers speak of a "digital gap," which mostly affects rural Mapuche communities (Garrido, Martínez Sánchez, and Solano-Fernández 2011; López-Vicent, Sánchez-Vera, and Solano-Fernández 2014). This digital gap is characterised by a lack of training and resources in the usage of ICTs. Another feature is the contrast between the generally wide distribution of computers and smartphones and restricted Internet access.³⁰

There are also contextual factors that negatively impact the effectiveness of digital Mapuche activism which need to be understood within the general political context. For one, the criminalisation and repression of Mapuche mobilisation is expanded to the digital and online sphere. As a result, digital Mapuche media and activism is often confronted with digital warfare by powerful and resourceful actors.

One episode of this digital warfare took place in 2017: on September 20, the Chilean *Carabineros* and *Policía de Investigaciones de Chile*³¹ carried out a high-scale operation under the name 'Hurricane Operation' against several leaders of Mapuche organisations and communities.³² The raids and detentions were justified with reference to the Anti-Terrorist Jurisdiction and were carried out with a high level of police brutality, leading to the destruction of property in the communities. That same evening, a "great strike against the terrorism of the Mapuche" (Seiwerth 2018) was announced in the national media and the names, photos, and personal data of those captured were presented.

As evidence, the police forces presented intercepted conversations on messaging services like WhatsApp and Telegram between some of the captured leaders. In those chats they were apparently talking about committing arson attacks and smuggling guns from Argentina to Chile (Seiwerth 2018). These conversations seemed pretty frivolous and were mocked in Mapuche online spaces as 'fake news.'

A month and a half later, the case finally blew up when the state's attorney of Temuco, Luis Arroyo, acknowledged the existence of the falsified evidence

30 For example, broadband in rural communities is almost nonexistent and Internet access is limited to mobile Internet.

31 Police Investigation Unit and the Civil Police of Chile.

32 Amongst them Jaime Huenchullán and several of his brothers from the community of Temucucui, as well as Hector Llaitul of the CAM.

that led to the operation and the incarceration of these Mapuche leaders. This declaration was reinforced when intelligence officer Alex Smith and four members of the criminal laboratory in Temuco acknowledged the mechanism by which the evidence was faked.³³ By 2018, there was enough evidence to prove that with the 'Hurricane Operation' the *Carabineros* illegally intercepted the mobile phones and e-mails of Mapuche activists and their supporters, willingly falsified evidence by inventing fake intercepted messages between Mapuche leaders, and fabricated evidence using nonworking software tools (Sepúlveda and González 2018).

Another example of the digital warfare against digital Mapuche activism was a lawsuit in 2017 against Alfredo Seguel, member of *Mapuexpress* and the RDT. Alfredo Seguel had called out the involvement of the Mapuche consultant Andrés Antivil³⁴ in several efforts of building hydroelectric power dams in the Araucanía region. He particularly criticised Antivil's role in the support of the construction of enterprises which threaten the territory and livelihood of several Mapuche communities. In a public statement of one community, published on *Mapuexpress*, Antivil was called a traitor to the Mapuche cause: *yanakona*. In July 2017, Antivil filed a lawsuit against Alfredo Seguel, accusing him of slander and injury in public statements, and demanded a compensation of approximately 11,000 USD (Parra 2017). Whilst Alfredo Seguel was declared not guilty, this case unleashed preoccupation amongst digital Mapuche media and activism about the intent to silence critical voices against such infrastructure projects.

During my activist ethnography in Europe and Chile, I was given several testimonies about intercepted, hacked, and maliciously reported social media sites of Mapuche communities and activists. For example, some actors of the Mapuche diaspora have been targeted on Facebook by conservative and right-wing accounts and have been accused of encouraging and fostering terrorism in the region.

Despite the digital gap and digital warfare, Mapuche media and activists are successfully contributing to the creation and pluralisation of informa-

33 These events finally led to the resignation of the general director of the *Carabineros*, Bruno Villalobos, and the institution's intelligence director, Gonzalo Blu, as well as to legal steps that the incarcerated Mapuche leaders have been taking against the state since.

34 Antivil works as a forestry engineer, a consultant of the Inter-American Development Bank, and is president of the civil society council of the Chilean Ministry of Energy.

tion domestically and transnationally. They thus challenge the very material constraints of a situation that threatens, sabotages, and structurally disadvantages them. The everyday usage of smartphones enables many (especially young) Mapuche community members to document and immediately denounce police raids or human rights violations. The smartphone became a tool of (personal and community) self-defence³⁵ against transgressions by the police or other armed actors. With these tools “you cannot hide the reality anymore!” as Alex Mora (interview with the author, November 28, 2015) sums up. As a form of mass self-communication, even Mapuche community members with low resources can use these technologies to document every possibly harmful and threatening situation at any moment.

In summation, digital Mapuche media and activism have become powerful tools against the everyday repression in Wallmapu and for transnational pluralisation and consciousness-raising. But at the same time, they opened another (digital) front on which their resistance and struggle is contested by powerful and resourceful actors.

Transnational Pressure: Symbolic, Leverage, and Accountability Politics

TMA and international solidarity activate different tactics to exert pressure on target actors in order to make them accountable and create leverage. The advocacy’s influence and pressure thus seek to challenge and transform institutional procedures whilst aiming at concrete changes in policies. They hereby target actors on an international level and governmental behaviour on a national, regional, or local level (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 26). And because of the rather unsuccessful attempts of Mapuche mobilisation to change Chilean policy and institutions in the 1990s, it has increasingly transnationalised itself. Through “transnational diffusion,” Mapuche communities and organisations have “spread [...] similar forms of action and similar claims across borders” (Tarrow 2011, 235). These efforts are directed towards powerful target actors and a transnational civil society, seeking to change their perspective on the

35 Specifically, the Internet “protects the movement against the repression of their liberated physical spaces by maintaining communication among the people within the movement and with society at large in the long march of social change that is required to overcome institutionalized domination” (Castells 2015, 257–58).

situation in Wallmapu, their discursive positions, as well as their political and economic decisions. The transnationally distributed information thus aims to create concrete changes in the form of “norm implementation, by pressuring target actors to adopt new policies, and by monitoring compliance with international standards” (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 3).

Within TMA, different forms of protest become transnationalised by the Mapuche and Chilean diaspora and transmitted to Europe. These protest forms are foremost characterised by disrupting the regular course of everyday life or routine of opponents through mostly symbolic actions (Tarrow 2011, 101). Most of these political strategies are contingent, limited to particular campaigns, and performed in a cyclical manner, for example in commemoration of a certain date. In those campaigns, particular groups and actors come together and form the networked structure of transnational advocacy and solidarity (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 6). The following section focuses on some episodes of such transnational and translocal campaigns that pressured target actors symbolically, created leverage, and held them accountable (Ibid., 16–25).

Political protests of TMA gain influence by invoking sets of symbols that are meaningful to the sociopolitical circumstances of a movement or to outside actors. Such symbolic politics have “the ability to call upon symbols, actions and stories that make sense of a situation for an audience that is frequently far away” (Ibid., 16). In the case of TMA, these kinds of symbolic politics are a powerful tool for addressing the injustice frame on a transnational and translocal scale.

A major symbol for the repression and structural discrimination of the Mapuche are Chilean institutions and governmental representatives. Thus, Chilean embassies and consulates are the prime target for demonstrations that are organised by the Mapuche diaspora and their solidarity network all over Europe. In 2016, I participated in a solemn vigil held at the Chilean consulate in Cologne, organised by the Mapuche regional group of the GfbV together with other solidarity activists. The occasion was the detention of several Mapuche leaders in April 2016 in the context of the Luchsinger-Mackay case. These solemn vigils, a typical protest tactic of the GfbV, are officially announced and take place on the street at the entrance of the consulate. Mapuche flags and banners are laid down on the street, held by activists, or fixed to trees or light posts. Activists from the Mapuche diaspora dress in traditional Mapuche clothes and generate attention by playing Mapuche instruments like the *trutruka* or *kultrun*. Banners and protest signs address the

human rights violations in Chile, call out the politicians responsible, and demand freedom for the imprisoned Mapuche. During such vigils, petitions by the imprisoned Mapuche and their solidarity network are read in Spanish, the local language, and Mapuzugun. These vigils have a disruptive element by disturbing the work of the Chilean consulate, getting the attention of bystanders, and interrupting the flow of pedestrians on the sidewalk.

Figure 4. Solemn vigil in Cologne in 2016



Photograph by the author.

Another type of disruptive political action is the so-called *funa*. The protest tactic *funa* (from the verb *funar*) has its origins in postdictatorial Chile. Human

rights organisations began calling out alleged or known human rights offenders, perpetrators, or complicit politicians at their houses and workplaces. The *funar*'s aim is to publicly denounce the responsible people for human rights violations and to interrupt their everyday lives. Consequences of these actions might be that the people who were called out stop showing up at their workplaces or move out of their homes (Oyander Clemens 2002).

Interestingly, the word *funar* stems from Mapuzugun and can be translated as 'to make or let something rot.' This protest tactic has been adopted by the Mapuche and Chilean diaspora in Europe not only to *funar* Chilean embassies and consulates but specifically to call out former Chilean President Michelle Bachelet in Europe for human and Indigenous rights violations by her government. Primarily during her last mandate from 2014–2018, Bachelet undertook several trips to Europe, where she was called out on several occasions, for example in Stockholm, Geneva, Cologne, and Leuven. The latter refers, as mentioned before, to Bachelet's visit to the CELAC Business Summit with the EU on 4 June 2015, whilst also being rewarded the *Doctor honoris causa* at the University of Leuven.³⁶

The significance of this protest can hardly be overestimated, since a protest of that kind during an official act by the Chilean President, including direct eye-contact with the protesters, would not be and has not been possible up until then in Chile. Furthermore, the Mapuche women were a visible Mapuche presence in the audience, calling out the government policy. In Chile, the presence of Mapuche people during government acts is usually only accepted as a sign of apparently peaceful multiculturalism. The protest sparked a lot of international attention in media spaces, as well as in Chile. This protest counts as a clear success of disruptive politics, especially because it took place in Europe and the Mapuche activists were able to officially register for the act. In Chile such a protest would have been answered with severe repression and criminalisation.

Nevertheless, Chilean police officials, as part of the President's delegation, approached the three Mapuche women as they entered the hall, started

36 This *funar* was organised by the CME, who in online statements criticised the situation of the political Mapuche prisoners in Chile, the militarisation of Wallmapu, the neoliberal model of exploitation of the region, the neglect of the ILO Convention 169, the insufficient territorial restitution towards the Mapuche, the neglect of the treaties of the Mapuche with the Chilean state, paternalistic politics, and the triple discrimination of Mapuche women (Mapuche NL 2015a; 2015b).

Figure 5. Funa in Leuven

Mapuche NL 2015a. "Leuven: Protesta Durante Visita de Bachelet a Bélgica." 2015. <https://mapuchenl.wordpress.com/2015/06/07/protesta-durante-visita-de-bachelet-a-belgica/>.

interrogating them, and threatened to call the Belgian police if they did not identify themselves. They further threatened the three women by suggesting that a police involvement would not be favourable to them. From the very beginning of the event, the policemen sat beside the activists and followed their movements closely. After the event, they escorted the three women to the exit, and they weren't allowed to take part in the reception afterwards (Bangert 2015).

Another example of symbolic protests within the solidarity and advocacy efforts in Europe was the tour of the Chilean military ship *La Esmeralda* in summer 2015, introduced in the previous chapter. In the protests against the ship's tour, they managed to amplify the injustice frame about the past human rights violations of the military dictatorship in Chile in order to address the human rights violations against the Mapuche in Chile today. They used an emblem which is a prestigious and allegedly innocent marker of the Chilean navy and is simultaneously a symbol for crimes against humanity committed

during the Chilean dictatorship and amplified its chain of symbolic associations with the situation of the Mapuche.

In another set of events in 2014, activists from the Mapuche diaspora in Europe initiated a symbolic hunger strike in the cities of Cologne and Amsterdam. The context was the already ongoing hunger strike of five political Mapuche prisoners in Chile.³⁷ Hunger strikes have become a last resort for many political Mapuche prisoners to demand a fair trial against the accusations by the Anti-Terrorist Jurisdiction, including the possibility of suspending detention until the trial or specific demands regarding the right to perform religious practices in detention. Usually, these demands are not met by the Chilean officials.

The symbolic adoption of this protest tactic by the Mapuche diaspora is not only an effective means to draw attention to the actual hunger strikes in Chile, but also translocalises specific protest tactics to the European arena, where political hunger strikes have become rather rare. This form of protest confronts local institutions and the public with a tactic that threatens the protesters' physical integrity and calls upon the urgency of their demands and the determination of their struggle. This hunger strike was symbolic since it only lasted a couple of days. Nevertheless, it had a disruptive character, as it irritated the local government and civil society, invoking and putting to action a protest tactic of *ultima ratio*.

Furthermore, public declarations of solidarity by celebrities symbolically pressure Chilean governmental institutions and the Chilean civil society. By signing petitions or making public statements in support of the Mapuche, they exert pressure to adopt a different kind of policy towards the Mapuche and to change their perspective in the conflict. These symbolic declarations of solidarity with Mapuche communities, organisations, and political prisoners come from different areas and include powerful, transnationally visible statements.³⁸

37 The general aim of the hunger strike was to "express our solidarity with Mapuche political prisoners in Chile and denounce the actions of the Chilean authorities, so that the State anti-terrorism law be finally abrogated" (Mapuche NL 2014). They further expressed a series of more particular demands in reference to the situation of the five imprisoned Mapuche and ended their statement by issuing a set of demands to Chilean President Michelle Bachelet, her cabinet, the two legislative chambers, as well as all Chilean citizens.

38 Some examples are the declarations of solidarity by antiracist and feminist activist and scholar Angela Davis during her visit to Chile in 2016; postcolonial and decolonial

All of these symbolic protests are directed against particular target actors within transnationally visible digital media spaces and are (mostly) carried out by activists of the Mapuche diaspora and their rhizomatic solidarity network in Europe. These protests amplify and extend the claims of the Mapuche by addressing them within already existing injustice frames or by making them heard through the voices of celebrities. Hereby, claims and demands of the Mapuche movement achieve a considerably larger audience and “attract otherwise uninterested individuals” (Snow et al. 2008, 258). Symbolic protests by the Mapuche diaspora like *funas*, solemn vigils, or hunger strikes appropriate public spaces in Europe and include Mapuche symbols, sounds, voices, clothing, and protest tactics.

These protests transculturalise such public spaces and transfer disruptive political action from Wallmapu to Europe. The occupation of space contributes to creating a sense of community and togetherness in the concrete political practice of the activists, reframing its symbolic meaning and power, and producing a political space in which freedom of expression and political deliberation are demanded and put into praxis (Castells 2015, 10–11).

Whilst these symbolic politics mostly pressure Chilean institutions and government representatives directly, other tactics are directed towards target actors beyond the constraints of the Chilean nation-state. These are, on the one hand, “leverage politics, or the ability to call upon powerful actors to affect a situation where weaker members of a network are unlikely to have influence” and, on the other, “accountability politics, or the effort to hold powerful actors to their previously stated policies or principles” (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 16). In the present case, leverage politics are efforts of Mapuche representatives from Wallmapu or in diaspora that address their situation and demands in supranational governmental bodies like the UN in Geneva, the European Union (EU), the International Court of Justice in The Hague, or particular encounters with or letters to actors of these institutions.

Several *werken* of the autonomous community of Temucucui have travelled to Europe on various occasions to inform the Human Rights Council in

scholar Boaventura de Sousa Santos; the Argentinian writer and activist Raúl Zibechi; the Argentinian Nobel Prize winner Adolfo Pérez Esquivel; the Mapuche football player Jean Beausejour; internationally known music artists like Manu Chau, Calle 13, and Ana Tijoux; and the Peruvian actress Qorianka Kilcher. These solidarity declarations are mostly published within spaces of digital Mapuche activism and are shared on social media.

Geneva about massive violations of human and Indigenous rights.³⁹ There have also been interventions by Mapuche representatives within the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Rights in 2013 and letters presented to the Special Rapporteurs on Human Rights, James Anaya and Ben Emmerson, by the ATM, Hector Llaitúl of the CAM, and other Mapuche communities (Habersang and Ydígoras 2015, 133–38). Since 2011, there has been a ‘Permanent Mapuche Mission’ at the UN in Geneva, represented by Flor Calfunao, currently in exile in Switzerland, and Reynaldo Mariqueo. Their strategy is to use the space of the UN for the purposes of the Mapuche, establish a permanent link with UN organs, and make the work of the UN and its activities transparent amongst Mapuche organisations and communities (Ibid., 138–40).

Furthermore, in 2012 activists of the ATM occupied the UNICEF headquarters in Santiago de Chile to call attention to the ongoing human rights abuses against Mapuche children. Consequently, the representative of UNICEF in Chile, Tom Olsen, travelled to the Araucanía region and later issued a statement denouncing the excessive violence in the region against children, demanding the police forces adjust their actions according to international protocols of human rights, and insisting on a peaceful solution to the conflict (Ibid., 140–41).

Other examples of influencing institutional procedures include the International Conference on the Mapuche Treaties or Parliaments in The Hague in May 2015, organised by the CME. In that context, Mapuche organisations from Wallmapu and in diaspora “demand[ed] [...] the compliance of the treaties or parliaments agreed upon between the Chilean State and the Mapuche People” (Mapuche Coordination Europe 2015). In other instances, the cases of human rights violations against the Mapuche were brought successfully to the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (International Federation for Human Rights 2014).

In these examples, the demands were mostly framed within the master frame of human and Indigenous rights in order to create leverage on the Chilean state, particularly to comply with ILO Convention 169. Despite its official adoption by the Chilean state in 2008, its implementation can be described as “highly deficient” (Habersang and Ydígoras 2015, 266; my translation). Also, a planned Indigenous participation and consultation (as demanded by ILO Convention 169), initiated by former President Michelle

39 For example, Jorge Huenchullán (in 2011 and 2013) and Jaime Huenchullán (in 2012) both had the opportunity to speak in that forum.

Bachelet, has attracted massive critique by sectors of the Mapuche movement and “due to the lack of representativity and participation, the consultation was declared as illegitimate and even illegal by Indigenous organisations” (Orellana 2016).

But even successful leverage politics can backfire on Wallmapu, Mapuche communities, and individuals. For example, Alina Rodenkirchen (2016) argues that the continued repression against *machi* Francisca Linconao after 2013 is the consequence of her winning a legal dispute against a Chilean company. In that dispute she successfully defended her rights as a religious authority guaranteed in the ILO Convention 169. Her legal success became “a precedent for whole of South America: a strong woman, who cannot be stopped by powerful institutions and fights for her rights” (Rodenkirchen 2016, 14; my translation). Nevertheless, her legal success (by referring to the master frame of human and Indigenous rights) made her a target. Whilst her case became internationally celebrated by Indigenous and human rights advocates, *machi* Francisca Linconao and her community continued to suffer from repression and persecution. This case thus contributes to other decolonial critiques of human and Indigenous rights approaches by making their colonial limitations and racialised biases visible. This is because for some actors, an international legal success can turn into a pyrrhic victory.

In other experiences, diasporic Mapuche activists have been the protagonists in creating leverage within supranational organisations. For example in 2016, Alina Rodenkirchen of the CME gave a speech at the European Parliament in Brussels about the structural (in that case, particularly the linguistic) discrimination of the Mapuche and their contemporary struggle to revitalise the usage of Mapuzugun. The event was organised by the UNPO in cooperation with the *Federación Mapuche de Estudiantes* (FEMAE)⁴⁰ and the *Wvñelfe* Foundation (UNPO 2016).

In the same year, representatives of the Mapuche foundation *FOLIL* in the Netherlands participated in the fifteenth session of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues at the UN in New York. The organisation received infrastructural and financial support by the GfBV from Germany and addressed topics like the human and Indigenous rights of the Mapuche, the revitalisation of Mapuche culture and language, and ecological justice in the region (Mapuche NL 2016).

40 Mapuche Students Federation.

Transnational advocacy by non-Mapuche actors and organisations is less common but is also a factor of leverage politics. For instance, in 2016 the former German Federal President Joachim Gauck was on his way to a diplomatic visit to Chile. Before he left, the GfbV had sent him a letter asking him to promote a fair and equal dialogue between the Chilean government and the Mapuche. The letter also mentioned the individual case of Guido Carihuentru, who was visited by several of the organisation's human rights observers (GfbV 2016).

Leverage politics have become an important strategy of TMA to address human and Indigenous rights violations transnationally, with the hope that international and supranational actors and institutions contribute to a policy change in Chile. On the other hand, calling out powerful actors other than the Chilean government who can be made directly responsible has been a less favoured strategy. Amongst these accountable (transnational) actors are private companies and their investment in ecologically damaging projects, private landowners, as well as governments of mostly European countries, whose citizens have migrated to the South of Chile in the last century and played a crucial part in the colonisation of Mapuche territory.

There have been only two cases of protesting against and directly pressuring private companies that were held responsible and accountable. One of them is the Italian fashion company Benetton. In 1991, Benetton acquired approximately one million hectares of land in Southern Argentina—a territory which was conquered by the Argentinian military in the nineteenth century, leading to a genocide of the Mapuche population of Puelmapu. Today, Benetton is a major antagonist for many Mapuche communities and organisations in Argentina in their struggle for reclaiming their ancestral territory (Cregan 2016). Although this case has gained considerable international attention, up to date the advocacy efforts to hold Benetton accountable are (besides some symbolic protests) scarce.

In contrast, the IDNMP—especially the local group in Oslo—have been very active in pressuring the Norwegian company Statkraft to abstain from the construction of a hydroelectric powerplant on the Pilmaiquen river in the Mapuche community of Cañete. Although the Norwegian company has opened its doors to protesters and received a protest letter during a demonstration in Oslo in 2016 (OPAL Prensa 2016b), the construction of the powerplant is still planned.

Other transnational protest and advocacy tactics to create leverage and hold actors accountable include petitions, protest and support letters, soli-

arity postcards, and signature lists. Such actions are mostly taken in the context of a particular case, for example, to support a political prisoner or in the case of ecologically hazardous infrastructure projects. However, these forms of protests are less common.

Pressuring international target actors has become a central strategy of TMA, especially since the 2000s. On the one hand, these efforts create symbolic pressure for Chilean institutions and representatives transnationally and, as a consequence, raise awareness and sensitivity within the domestic civil society. Similarly, they have already managed to create strong leverage within international and supranational institutions against the Chilean state. On the other hand, targeting and pressuring transnational private companies who are directly responsible for land-grabbing, ecological destruction, and the criminalisation of activists has not developed into a permanent and substantial tactic within transnational advocacy and solidarity.

Fortifying Wallmapu: Against Handouts and Towards Economic Solidarity

Whilst the first two strategies are basically directed from Wallmapu towards a transnational sphere, the following section addresses efforts of TMA in the opposite direction, focused at Mapuche communities and organisations. An important aspect of international solidarity has been the direct and material support of struggles in the Global South by actors in the Global North. These experiences include solidarity trips to the Global South and support via alphabetisation campaigns, community building, or other educational projects (so-called brigades, in the case of solidarity with Latin America), financial aid to ideologically affiliated groups, or selling products of peasant or Indigenous communities in the Global North.

Understanding solidarity exclusively in such terms is problematic, as it focuses on supportive acts carried out by mostly white and Western actors. Such a view would reproduce the stereotype about the active white saviour and the passive Other and recentre the former's agency. A perspective critical of race and colonial relations rather questions this distribution of roles and critically examines the concrete and material supportive acts from the Global North towards the Mapuche and their effects. At the same time, political transformation and success should not only be measured by institutional or legal change within the nation-state or supranational organisations, but

according to the parameters of the society that is supposed to benefit from international solidarity and advocacy.⁴¹ This strategy of international solidarity thus needs to be challenged according to who are its beneficiaries. Are they the Mapuche communities and organisations that receive solidarity in different forms? Or are they the non-Mapuche solidarity actors who appear as white saviours and validate their privileges?

Acts of solidarity and advocacy that actually benefit the Mapuche society would need to fortify particular actors, groups, and their collective efforts. Fortifying relates to the Spanish verb *fortalecer*, which is used by Fernando Díaz to describe his experience of supporting Mapuche communities as a non-Mapuche Chilean citizen in a way that contributes to empowering and solidifying the communities' sociopolitical and cultural institutions (interview with the author, March 26, 2016). According to this idea, the efforts of non-Mapuche actors and organisations are scrutinised according to whether they fortify the communal structure as a basis on which sociopolitical and cultural change can be pushed forward by the community itself. Against this backdrop, the following section engages critically with financial support of and donations to Mapuche communities as a form of TMA.

Financial donations and charity are the easiest form of helping others, since they do not require further commitment or direct involvement. During my ethnography, I witnessed only a few projects that provide financial aid for communities and organisations in Wallmapu.⁴² The following pages present two of these projects, as well as an alternative of economic solidarity by the Mapuche cooperative *Kyme Mogen*.

One case study involves the German Christian aid organisation Adveniat, which originated in Germany's postwar period. In that time, a health and

41 This argument is inspired by Spivak's (2004) call for an education in and for the Global South in which the affected population designs and affirms their rights, humanity, and parameters. Coulthard (2014) also analyses the limitations of an approach that seeks recognition according to Western and colonial parameters.

42 For example, there have been some international calls to fund the Mapuche language camps organised by the FEMAE and the *Wvñelfe* Foundation in the struggle for the revitalisation of Mapuzugun (UNPO 2016). These calls were spread transnationally on social media. On my second fieldtrip to Chile, I had a chance to meet Rubén Collío, the husband of the murdered activist Macarena Valdés. He told me that there have been collections organised by the IDNMP in Europe to fund a second and independent forensic examination to rule out the cause of death of his wife as suicide, which was determined in the first examination.

hunger crisis struck Germany, and the Catholic and Lutheran churches in Latin America started collecting money for the German population. As a form of reciprocity, some German bishops in the 1960s began to form an initiative to support the Catholic church in Latin America through financial and humanitarian aid. Adveniat was finally born as a consequence of the periodical collections for Latin America during Christmas. Today, Adveniat funds 2,442 projects in Latin America with a budget of approximately forty-one million euros. In Chile, Adveniat supports a total of fifty-six projects all over the country, with an average budget of 18,000 Euros per project in the period of 2015–2016 (Bischöfliche Aktion Adveniat e.V. 2017, 13). Three projects focused on Mapuche are funded by Adveniat in the cities of Santiago de Chile, Tirúa, and Temuco. I visited all of these during my fieldwork.

In Santiago de Chile, the *Pastoral Mapuche*⁴³ came to existence out of the lack of an intercultural religious space for Christian Mapuche who migrated to the city over the course of the twentieth century. In 2007, Adveniat offered their financial support to a small group of Christian pastors associated with the Society of the Divine Word (SVD), who were already engaged in providing Christian spaces for intercultural encounters. Adveniat's financial aid is used to rent a small office, including a library, pay the salary of a secretary, organise meetings of Mapuche Christians in Chile and Argentina, summer courses, fund trips to international meetings for the staff, and to organise talks and conferences.

In the coastal city and parish of Tirúa, a relatively poor region of the Arauco province in Southern Chile, Adveniat has been financially supporting the Jesuit Mapuche Mission (JMM) since 2000.⁴⁴ The work specifically funded by Adveniat comprises the mission's infrastructure, mobility, and the

43 On my first fieldtrip to Chile, I was able to have a group discussion with members of the *Pastoral Mapuche*, amongst them Germán Morales, Frida Erazo, Luís Rodríguez, and Martín (who did not introduce himself with his last name).

44 The JMM collaborates with and is integrated on a local level with other organisations, such as *Hogar de Cristo*, a nation-wide public Christian aid organisation with a focus on educational and health projects; the *Asociación Indígena Relmu Witral*, a weaving cooperative of more than one hundred Mapuche women in the region; the *Fundación Licán*, a platform by the JMM that provides scholarships for individuals, families, and low-resource communities; and finally the local office for the protection of children's and adolescents' rights, *OPD Pewma Lavkenche*. Since 2010, the JMM has also had a special focus on the reconstruction of community structures due to the seaquake that hit the region in the same year (Juan Fuenzálida, interview with the author, March 12, 2016).

financing of scholarships.⁴⁵ The JMM is in close contact with Christian and non-Christian sectors of the local Mapuche society and supports the sociopolitical, spiritual, and cultural efforts of a considerable number of communities. In recent years, the mission also began to concentrate its efforts on documenting and criticising the militarisation in the region, the violation of human rights, and the ecological injustices (Juan Fuenzálida, interview with the author, March 12, 2016). Instead of having concrete aims, Juan Fuenzálida prefers to highlight their work as “having a presence in the Mapuche world.” The work dynamic is described as one of an “insertion,” where the non-Mapuche priests intervene in a direct and everyday basis in the communities’ struggles and realities (Ibid.).

In the small town of Quepe at the outskirts of Temuco, Adveniat has been funding the NGO *Justicia, Paz, e Integridad de la creación en La Araucanía* (JUPIC)⁴⁶ since 2000, which is part of the SVD and dissociated from the Chilean Catholic church. Fernando Díaz, the organisation’s priest and director, notes that the financial support of Adveniat does not have an immediate material aim, but rather supports JUPIC in the “reconstruction of the social fabric, the fortifying of identity, of the culture, and of the interreligious dialogue between the Mapuche and the Christian world” (interview with the author, March 26, 2016). JUPIC consists of an intercultural team of three Mapuche and four non-Mapuche on a voluntary basis. Their line of work consists of “basically accompanying communities” (Fernando Díaz, interview with the author, March 26, 2016) in processes of cultural recovery, the strengthening of their spirituality, and of supporting cases of human rights violations. Adveniat particularly funds activities of JUPIC, such as visits to communities; the organisation of workshops, encounters, and seminars; domestic and international travel; and others (Ibid.).

The donations of Adveniat thus do not go directly to Mapuche communities and organisations, but rather provide the economic basis for the work of these three organisations. By describing their efforts as accompanying communities or inserting themselves in the Mapuche community, they point to a specific conception of solidarity work as the effort to establish intercultural and interpersonal relations of solidarity between the non-Mapuche and Mapuche world in the local context on an everyday basis.

45 The territory of the mission’s intervention is quite extensive and requires covering more than 4,000 kilometres per month.

46 Justice, Peace, and Integrity of Creation in the Araucanía.

In collaboration with an NGO from Europe and a former Mapuche mayor, Matías, as well as non-Mapuche researchers based in Chile, German activist Eva developed a microfinance project based on donations through crowdfunding with three other activists from Europe.⁴⁷ This project targeted a parish with a large Mapuche population with the aim of financing solar panel equipment for electricity, productivity-enhancing tools for the particular activities of the participating households, and training for the installation, use, and maintenance of the devices, as well as for micro-entrepreneurial activities. In 2015, the researchers, together with Matías, invited the local Mapuche communities to the first workshop, where both the possible participants and recipients of the project were present.

During my interview with Eva, she told me that there was a need for more information about the Mapuche beneficiaries' activities and socioeconomic situation to implement the next steps of the project. In the interview, I offered to visit the parish and to collect this information for her, as I could use this ethnographic experience for my own research. During my first fieldtrip to Wallmapu, I contacted Matías, who provided me with a list of the possible beneficiaries of the project and organised my visit to the parish. There, I was received by his brother Cristián, who was my guide for the next three days and took me to visit seventeen of the possible participants of the project.⁴⁸ I also asked questions related to my research interest, for example about their perception of this kind of support, the transparency of the project, possible critiques, as well as alternative ideas for international support.

After my visit, I shared the information with Eva, who then organised it and uploaded some of my pictures on the project blog. Since then, I have been

47 All names in the context of this project have been changed.

48 The questions I was instructed to ask included general information about the household and family, their entrepreneurial activities, and the access to infrastructural supply for water and electricity. I was also asked by Eva to take pictures of the participants and their households and workspaces in order to put them on the project blog. Before the interviews, I was introduced by Cristián not as a collaborator or partner of the project, but as an independent researcher and human rights observer, who was doing the project coordinators a favour. I was very well received in every household and everyone was expecting me at the agreed upon time. Generally, they made a highly motivated impression and had their products, such as woven goods, *merken* (smoked chili powder), or woodwork, neatly laid out for presentation and were happy to show us the workspace and their production process. Every visit took approximately an hour and the conversations were saved digitally.

visiting the project blog regularly, but the pictures and individual information about the beneficiaries, as well as the donation section, have disappeared. In our last conversation, Eva had mentioned that the project was on hold due to internal organisational impediments.

Shortly before my first fieldtrip to Wallmapu in 2016, Rayen Kvyeh had suffered an arson attack, in which her house almost completely burnt down to the ground. Fortunately, Rayen remained (physically) unharmed. During my visit, other solidarity activists proposed to collect money during her forthcoming trip to Europe. She vehemently refused because she “has a healthy mind and my hands to work, and with that I can make some money.” According to her, “the Mapuche are fairly dignified [and that] is part of human dignity.” From this it follows that “we do not ask for a handout” and “you are not going to see a Mapuche asking for a handout because for that we have our mind, our body, and our hands to work” (Rayen Kvyeh, interview with the author, March 1, 2016).

Jumping off from her sharp critique and rejection of (monetary) donations, the last part of this section critically discusses the issues regarding financial support through donations or funding towards the Mapuche by non-Mapuche actors and organisations. The high level of poverty and limited access to state and private supply systems for water or electricity put (especially rural) Mapuche communities in a vulnerable situation. Mapuche communities and organisations have been reaching out since the 1980s and ‘90s to state institutions⁴⁹ in order to gain access to their ancestral land or get funding for micro-entrepreneurial efforts. Both Matías and Cristián explain that the main reasons for reaching out to international funding campaigns are general mistrust, bureaucratic constraints, and the lack of success of Mapuche communities in applying to national funding agencies (Matías, interview with the author, March 28, 2016; Cristián, interview with the author, March 8, 2016).

But whether the funding is domestic or international does not change the fact that donations or funding might interfere with the local political structures. Matías, as a former mayor, put his symbolic and political capital at stake to support Eva’s project. Also, when I visited the project, he was about to run for another term. To organise and coordinate a microfinance project that might fail could become a risk for him and his reputation. On

49 For example, The Chilean National Fund for Scientific and Technological Development (FONDECYT) or the CONADI.

the other hand, the participation of the possible beneficiaries was exclusively mediated by Matías himself; these were mostly people socially or politically affiliated with him—some were even direct family members. Although Matías and Cristián emphasise the fact that only the “most advanced” were selected for the project, the question of whether or not local paternalistic structures are reinforced in this project remains open.

On another level, it seemed to me that the project was planned and organised exclusively from the outside and not by the Mapuche communities themselves. Eva explains that she “looked at the problems,” “thought about what could be done,” and “found [...] the solution” (interview with the author, December 1, 2015a). Eva’s agency is thus at the centre of analysing the communities’ problems as well as identifying possible solutions. Still, she puts emphasis on the need of including the local community in designing the project (Ibid.). There is thus a clear contradiction between her discourse and the organisation of the project. Do the non-Mapuche people really have the will to listen to the community’s problems, ideas, or solutions? Or does the claim to include the local community rather serve to legitimise the intervention and to disguise a paternalistic project as participatory and inclusive?

Another problematic aspect of both case studies is their lack of transparency. In the case of Eva’s project, the possible beneficiaries had little to no knowledge about the non-Mapuche actors, like Eva and the NGO in Europe, their motivations, or the role of the facilitators (Matías and Cristián). Also, the conditions of the microcredits, the amount, time period, credit rate, and repayment obligation were unknown. This was confirmed as a critical aspect of the project by Matías (interview with the author, March 28, 2016).

The three projects funded by Adveniat also lack transparency. Juan Fuenzálida was caught off guard with the questions regarding the transparency of the origin of their financial resources but was grateful for the intervention. In his answer, he reflects about the benefits of communicating the support of Adveniat more openly with the Mapuche communities they work with. He explains that on the one hand, it is a question of responsibility and accountability and, on the other, this could contribute to a feeling of being “accompanied” by international actors. On the contrary, he continues reasoning that holding back this information would patronise the Mapuche communities (Juan Fuenzálida, interview with the author, March 12, 2016).

The questions about the project’s transparency led to wider discussions with my interview partners about the benefits and risks of financial funding and donations to the Mapuche society. The experiences of one non-Mapuche

solidarity activist from Germany further inspired this conversation. Amina (interview with the author, November 27, 2015) had visited a Mapuche community in resistance in order to prepare a solidarity trip to Europe for some of its representatives. During her visit, a rumour inside the community spread that she was giving money to these representatives. The rumour then went on to say that they did not use the money the way the community had wanted. Finally, this led to internal division in the community and even a fight between these representatives and a political prisoner from the community. Amina assured me that she actually never gave them any money and suspects that her presence accelerated already existing divisions. For her, the rumour started just because “they saw us whilst we were walking through the community” (Amina, interview with the author, November 27, 2015).

Based on that and other experiences, whilst preparing my first fieldtrip to Chile, some activists of the Mapuche diaspora warned me about the possible effects of my presence in a Mapuche community. They told me that just being seen with a particular person could reinforce or introduce conflicts in the community. This was explained by the fact that a white, European-looking body represents access to financial support or certain benefits from the outside. The community would wonder why that person is accompanying the outsider, if not in exchange for something. It is thus not the funding in itself that represents a risk for the community, but the mere presence of a non-Mapuche outsider. According to the Mapuche logic of reciprocity, the Mapuche host must receive something in exchange from his or her guest(s). It follows that the Mapuche host has been corrupted by the outsider and must be sanctioned. In that way, whiteness and the presence of a white body become an immediate threat to a community’s social cohesion.

Other conversations also discussed the risk of introducing and reinforcing inequalities in the communities through financial support, eventually leading to immovable internal conflicts or divisions. For example, neo-extractivist companies have attempted to buy the communities’ support for their projects, introducing or reinforcing political and social frictions (Isabel Cañet, interview with the author, February 24, 2016; Cristián, interview with the author, March 8, 2016; Luis and Nadia Paineñil, interview with the author, March 10, 2016; Fernando Díaz, interview with the author, March 26, 2016).

But it is not only the direct economic interventions which may cause internal friction in communities; the symbolic closeness of non-Mapuche outsiders and Mapuche community members, leaders, or families alone can cause problems. For example, when the JMM started their work in Tirúa,

they were provided a space to build their house and a small chapel on a Mapuche family's territory. At the beginning, "there was a lot of distrust and envy" and other Mapuche families thought they were going to take their land soon, hiding their "real agenda." As a consequence, the Mapuche family who had offered their land was alienated by the rest of the community (Juan Fuenzálida, interview with the author, March 12, 2016). Thus, whilst the reasons for such internal friction might not always be transparent, it is clear that the intervention and presence of non-Mapuche outsiders can have a concrete effect on the community's social cohesion.

These experiences show that financial support, funding, or donations must be sensitive to and respect the cultural politics of autonomy of the Mapuche. Funding might reinforce paternalistic structures and hierarchies in the communities, further strengthened by the lack of transparency. As Luis Paineñil from the community of Llaguepulli explains, there is a need for "always communicating with the community, with the people" because "here in the community [...] there is an organisation" (interview with the author, March 10, 2016). He also highlights the importance of talking directly to the community through their assemblies. Support from the outside must thus respect and be sensitive to the community's internal mechanisms of deliberation and transparency-building (for example, through the roles of the *longko* and *werken*).

This demands to understand and to respect the relations of reciprocity within Mapuche society—because the same logic applies to how Mapuche communities and organisations relate to non-Mapuche organisations and actors. Fernando Díaz has experienced how the international—in contrast to the domestic—support does not aim to "co-opt the [internal] decisions." For him, the "networks of reciprocity are crucial for the international support to flow without destabilising the [sociopolitical] decisions" (Fernando Díaz, interview with the author, March 26, 2016). From that perspective, international solidarity and advocacy efforts are only effective and supportive as long as they do not destabilise the internal sociopolitical organisation of a Mapuche community and their internal relations of reciprocity. Following this idea, it is possible to understand what the idea of fortifying the Mapuche society through international solidarity and advocacy would mean.

In addition to the two case studies that aimed to support the Mapuche society through funding and donations, sectors of the Mapuche society are developing alternatives of economic solidarity which can be joined by non-Mapuche

actors. Economic solidarity describes a theoretical and practical alternative of economic reciprocity, redistribution, and commonality that counters existing relations of domination and exploitation within society and between society and nature (Marañón Pimentel 2012b). Examples of international economic solidarity between the Global South and North are, for example, commercial networks that challenge capitalist and neoliberal mechanisms within trade relations.⁵⁰ So what are the alternatives for economic solidarity within Mapuche society and are there similar experiences of economic solidarity between the Mapuche and the Global North?

I have come across only a few select experiences of Mapuche communities and organisations attempting to sell particular products within the transnational solidarity network. However, there is interest in creating these opportunities. For example, I was told that some *merken* producers in Temucuicui are interested in selling their semi-professionally designed products internationally. Also, Vicente Pánel from the *Kvme Mogen* cooperative told me about the possibility of selling goods, foremost handicraft made of woodwork by the Mapuche political prisoners in Temuco, through the transnational solidarity network.

In contrast, commercialising Mapuche products internationally occurs mostly on a small and interpersonal scale within solidarity networks. Here, international activists buy products (handicraft like Mapuche jewellery or woven goods; natural products like *merken* or herbs) from producers they have a personal, trusting relationship with and sell these products in the intermediate context of solidarity activities in Europe, for example during demonstrations or talks. However, there are no formalised networks of economic solidarity that are able to move a large quantity of products with a larger outreach.

Rather different to the logic of the two case studies, the Mapuche cooperative *Kvme Mogen* has developed another vision for economic solidarity to support their society. In my two fieldtrips to Wallmapu, I got to know the activists and work of *Kvme Mogen*, based in the city of Temuco, well. In 2016, the cooperative had approximately 200 associates, Mapuche and non-Mapuche alike.⁵¹

50 One famous example of this is the commercialisation of coffee, as well as other goods, produced in *Zapatista* farming cooperatives and communities in resistance on the basis of solidarity and nonprofit trade with the Global North.

51 Some details about the cooperative system: Each associate can invest a smaller or a larger amount of money in the cooperative, as long as it does not exceed 10% of the total capital of the cooperative. The saving and credit rates are 2 percent, amongst the lowest rates in Chile. *Kvme Mogen* is legally a cooperative and by law is not allowed to

The general aim of the cooperative is the “economic liberation” (Painel quoted in Pérez Guerra 2016; my translation) of the Mapuche society as a colonised, dominated, and exploited part of Chilean society.

For this purpose, they have updated Mapuche cosmology and philosophy into contemporary economic endeavours by translating traditional Mapuche notions like *keyuwvn* (to work amongst everyone/as a community), *mingako* (collective work in the rural community), and *trafkintu* (fair and equal exchange). The founders saw an opportunity in the legal format of a cooperative, which respects and gives room for these notions (Ibid.). Thus, the only condition to become a member is to adhere to the ethical principles of the Mapuche, the *az mapu* (Vicente Paine, interview with the author, February 20, 2016), so both Mapuche and non-Mapuche can become members.

The aim of the cooperative is to challenge the neoliberal dependency amongst the Mapuche society on the private credit system in Chile, to fund small-scale Mapuche and non-Mapuche entrepreneurs, and contribute to instilling an ethic of saving amongst the Mapuche society. They have also used their capital to, for example, support the legal defence of Guido Carihuentru in 2016 (Vicente Paine, interview with the author, February 20, 2016). More recently, the cooperative has begun to sell the woodwork and artwork of Mapuche political prisoners.

Besides these material aims, another purpose of *Kvme Mogen* is to challenge the neoliberal subjectivation of the Chilean and Mapuche society in order to reconstruct social relations of reciprocity amongst the Mapuche. Gloria Marivil, member of the board of directors, highlights the importance of (re)building community amongst the associates, not only in economic, but primarily in social terms: “those to whom you lend money are part of this community” (Gloria Marivil, interview with the author, February 23, 2016). In that way, the activities of *Kvme Mogen* aim to “recover the trust, recover our economies by recognising our informal economies” (Ibid.). Based on shared trust and communal linkage, the cooperative seeks to reconstruct the social fabric of its associates, similar to what has been described as mechanic solidarity.

Reconstructing that “culture of mutual support” engages with the historical memory of the Mapuche society in reference to community or family nar-

make a profit. The gains of the cooperative have to be distributed amongst all members and each member has one vote in the annual general assembly (Vicente Paine, interview with the author, February 20, 2016).

rations about the ancestral ways of working together (Gloria Marivil, interview with the author, February 23, 2016). *Kvme Mogen* transfers this historical memory to the arena of financial and monetary cooperation by expanding and translating the idea of the *mingako*. Thus, the work dynamic of the cooperative is sensitive to the need to not only eradicate relations of domination and exploitation in the sphere of production, but also within the sphere of circulation and its social effects.⁵² Thus, efforts like the ones of *Kvme Mogen* are based on and reconstruct the multidimensional cultural politics of autonomy by recreating social and communal networks, relations of reciprocity, and social relations of proximity through mutual financial aid.

Consequently, the role of international solidarity becomes rather marginal. There are a few international associates of the cooperative that are non-Mapuche and non-Chilean who regularly live abroad. In the same way as local associates, they have to adhere to the principles of the *az mapu* (Vicente Painei, interview with the author, February 20, 2016). Nonetheless, international associates have a high credibility within the cooperative because of a considerable strong tradition of cooperatives in Europe. Similarly, they contribute to the stronger visibility and credibility of the cooperative transnationally and domestically (Gloria Marivil, interview with the author, February 23, 2016). Transnational relations take place in the form of mutual visits by activists of cooperatives in Europe or members of the board of directors of *Kvme Mogen*. The main purpose of such encounters is to exchange experiences of economic solidarity and outline the possibilities of closer cooperation, for example through international agreements (Ibid.).

This means that relations of solidarity can be created only on horizontal and equal terms. At the same time, there is a need to get to know someone closely before he or she is accepted as a member of the cooperative. This is because becoming a member of *Kvme Mogen* is a “a conscious process” (Vicente

52 A critique of economic solidarity has been that the products of decolonised and fair economies ultimately end up in conventional profit-based markets. This critique further reveals the need for economic circuits of solidarity, “understood as the physical and financial flows that are established to produce goods and to satisfy basic needs under relations of reciprocity” (Marañón Pimentel 2012a, 147; my translation). An economic solidarity, understood in that way, thus aims to decolonise and dehierarchise a whole network of social relations and conditions and, in the context of Latin America, contributes to the struggle for food sovereignty, territoriality, space, agricultural ecology, reciprocity, ecological-economic efficiency, collective family property, and collective organisation (Ibid., 148).

Painel, interview with the author, February 20, 2016). Thus, there is no possibility to, for example, just buy the cooperative's products or donate money. Rather, to engage in solidarity with the cooperative means to take part in the networks of economic solidarity on a local level, including its social, ideological, and cosmological dimensions. This includes a much more profound commitment than donating money or buying products. Whilst the latter follows an individualised logic of (organic) solidarity that absolves itself of a social commitment through payment, the former seeks to leave a debt open—as part of a logic of (mechanic) solidarity—and thus reproduces the need for social interaction and relations.

Mapuchising Advocacy: Transcultural Dialogues and Translations

“Having a dialogue” or “a conversation” have been articulated as a central aspect of solidarity work, particularly by Mapuche interlocutors.⁵³ Such types of dialogues or conversations might serve to describe another crucial strategy of transnational advocacy and international solidarity, especially between Mapuche and non-Mapuche actors. Following these statements, I interpret the notion of having a dialogue/conversation as a cultural strategy of transcultural translation within TMA based on the cultural politics of autonomy.

Transnational advocacy and international solidarity bring Mapuche and non-Mapuche societies in contact with each other within and beyond Chile. They connect the Mapuche and non-Mapuche worlds and establish encounters for negotiating and transforming sociocultural meanings, symbols, identities, and concepts. Cuban intellectual Fernando Ortiz has developed the notion of transculturalisation in order to label “a process of cultural intercourse and exchange, a circulation of practices that creates a constant interweaving of symbolic forms and empirical activities amongst the different cultures that interact with one another” (Lionnet 1993, 103–4). Furthermore, “transculturalisation defines the transformation of culture through the impact of different historical legacies on cultural exchange” but “is not an outcome of harmoniously living together. Rather, it emerges from a myriad historical struggles

53 For example, in the following interviews: Radio Mapuche 2015; Alex Mora, interview with the author, November 28, 2015; The Hague, group discussion, May 5, 2015; Cristián, interview with the author, March 8, 2016; María Teresa Loncón, interview with the author, March 3, 2016.

and negotiations [...]” (Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2010b, 116). In this way, the idea of transculturalisation is helpful for understanding the reciprocal, processual, multidirectional, and open cultural exchanges and transformations between Mapuche and non-Mapuche within solidarity action. It allows to focus on (post)colonial, racialised power differences and privileges, the conflictive and contained representational politics, and the multilayered historical legacies that are activated in the present context.

In the present case, for example, Jaime Huenchullán emphasises that the Mapuche have always been a “people very open to dialogue” (interview with the author, March 20, 2016). To him, their willingness to have dialogues and conversations with non-Mapuche has been a historically constant characteristic of his society. In a similar vein, Mauricio Vergaras (interview with the author, February 25, 2016a) explains the disposition of the Mapuche society to dialogue as historically rooted in the Mapuche culture.

Consequently, the historically and cosmologically rooted notions of the dialogue as a central cultural technique of the Mapuche are updated for contemporary transcultural relations within encounters of advocacy and solidarity. To begin with, the importance of conversational practices within Mapuche culture is visible on a small-scale level through the practice of the *matetun*, the collective drinking of mate tea, which “is characterized by gregarious, relaxed, affectionate, and empathic gatherings that involve discursive practices” (Becerra et. al. 2017, 13-14). Further, the notion and function of the dialogue is described by the Mapuzugun term *ragiñelwe*, translated as ‘a space of the middle.’ *Ragiñelwe* is “a cultural agent, whose function is to mediate between the affected parts,” for example “between persons, where a certain type of disencounter⁵⁴ [leads] to a certain degree of unbalance” (COTAM 2003, 1166; my translation). The institution of the *ragiñelwe* initiates a dialogue between the affected parties in order to re-establish the balance. This disposition to have a dialogue is also present, for example, in the sociopolitical institution of the *trawvn*, a space and moment of self-organised encounters involving dialogues, open deliberation, and agreements (Nahuelpan 2016, 114). Also, within the institution of the *koyang*, which was later translated as the parliaments and encounters between the Mapuche and Spaniards, the dialogue between

54 ‘Disencounter’ is a very literal translation of the Spanish term ‘desencuentro,’ which refers to a failed encounter between two or more persons that could lead to a disagreement or fight.

distinguished representative of each society in order to diplomatically resolve a conflict is important (Contreras Painemal 2010, 52–55).

The disposition to dialogue is further activated to differentiate Mapuche organisations and communities from the Chilean state. Here, the government officials are described by their unwillingness to have an open dialogue between equals on a horizontal basis (Mauricio Vergaras, interview with the author, February 25, 2016a; Radio Mapuche 2015). In contrast, the need for dialogic mechanisms to resolve the conflict in Wallmapu has been further addressed within the reports of UN Rapporteurs (Stavenhagen 2003, 20).

By emphasising their openness to dialogue, transnational advocacy and international solidarity aims to shift the framing of the supposed violent and belligerent character of the Mapuche society and highlight their capacity for transcultural communication and translation. This capacity is articulated as a specific political strategy rooted in cosmological understandings about institutionalised spaces of deliberation, exchange, and ultimately transcultural interaction. This cultural strategy thus Mapuchises transnational advocacy.

Translations are a key feature of transnational social and advocacy movements (Keck and Sikkink 1998; Tarrow 2011) and include complex cultural processes of transculturalisation and transnationalisation (Bachmann-Medick 2016; Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2006; Langenohl 2015). In such a perspective, “the focus moves towards specific processes of translation as well as towards differences, ruptures and un-translatable moments in the global circulation of theories, concepts, categories and terminologies” (Bachmann-Medick 2016, 30). Translation within TMA is foremost a political operation, through which claims, ideas, and worldviews are translated and translocalised into different cultural and linguistic contexts. Certain structural and individual experiences of injustice are thus selected, translated, and finally popularised. Actors of TMA contribute to processes of translation as part of their particularly situated “political-manipulative strategy, as a specific practice of power or even violence, but also as an important strategy for narrative legitimisations of war and conflict” (Ibid., 33).

The political purpose of these translation strategies in the present case is to build up support and sympathy with the struggle of Mapuche organisations and communities, as well as indignation about the injustices they face. But these strategies do not produce a perfect, one-to-one translatability of the different sociohistorical, political, epistemological, cosmological, and cultural contexts between Wallmapu and transnational spaces. Rather, these translation strategies need to be understood as processes “in which ambivalent social

and cultural positions are negotiated. Thus translation procures understanding at the same time that it points to the potentiality of un-translatability” (Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2006). The following chapter will focus with more attention on these moments of (mis)translation, particularly through colonial stereotypes about the Mapuche. Ultimately, a focus on transcultural translation helps to determine if and how cross-cultural contacts are displaced, alienated, differentiated, mediated, stereotyped, transculturalised, or even decolonised (Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2006). Hereby, the translatability of cross-cultural contact between Mapuche and non-Mapuche can help to illuminate the possibility of solidarity between both.

Transcultural translations between non-Mapuche and Mapuche are directed towards both societies. One aspect of transcultural dialogue is the filtering of material and immaterial cultural elements of the Mapuche society into the dominant Chilean national culture through the hands of prominent Mapuche individuals with some degree of public visibility. Mapuche chef José Luis Calfucura (interview with the author, February 16, 2016b) suggests the term “to filter” to describe transcultural translations and interventions by prominent Mapuche figures into the non-Mapuche society. These actors perform the task of “cultural brokers,” who have an “enhanced critical competence for managing complex processes of cultural translation with regard to their political and ethical dimensions, as well as to their deeper power-related structures” (Bachmann-Medick 2016, 44). José Luis Calfucura describes them as publicly visible members of the Mapuche society, who have a deep knowledge about both the Mapuche and Chilean societies and cultures, seeking to filter the former into the latter (interview with the author, February 16, 2016b). However, only a few Mapuche⁵⁵ have achieved a level of public visibility within the Chilean civil society that enables them to claim to be such filters and brokers.

The problematic aspect of this notion is that becoming a filter for one’s minority is considerably male-centred and depends on hegemonic cultural codes like economic success, respectability, and the level of integration, amongst others. There is the danger that these Mapuche filters become absorbed by

55 Being a considerably famous chef, José Luis Calfucura has achieved some level of public visibility within the Chilean civil society through his participation in television shows or through reports on his work in newspapers. Other persons who could be considered Mapuche celebrities are the journalist Pedro Cayuqueo, the football player Jean Beausejour, or the politician Francisco Huenchumilla.

a dominant anti-Mapuche, Chilean national culture and that their realm for transcultural filtering becomes restricted. On the other side, persons of this Mapuche elite are viewed critically within the more politicised sectors of the Mapuche society as sellouts or traitors who have lost contact with their territory and people.

As a non-Mapuche Chilean citizen, Juan Fuenzálida describes transcultural translations as building bridges between the Mapuche and non-Mapuche societies. To build bridges thus can serve to make sense of the efforts by non-Mapuche, who provide the ground on which a transcultural dialogue can take place on the basis of mutual respect and equality. Tirúa, where the work of the JMM is located, means ‘place of encounter’ in Mapuzugun. Their mission is “to build bridges [...], so that there are not two divided worlds” and “to build bridges of communication, commitment, trust” (Juan Fuenzálida, interview with the author, March 12, 2016). For Juan Fuenzálida, building bridges means providing possible transcultural encounters between two divided worlds, the Mapuche and the national-Chilean, as well as alternative channels of communication to the right-wing media in Chile. He closes his statement by noting that his own involvement managed to transform his family’s perspective on the Mapuche and the conflict. In his metaphor, he considers himself a bridge on which his own family is walking towards a transcultural dialogue and encounter that serves to deconstruct their stereotypes.

One everyday aspect of the work of the JMM in Tirúa and the JUPIC in Temuco is to provide spaces for a political dialogue between Mapuche representatives and those of the Chilean state. Such spaces have been criticised by some Mapuche communities and organisations, rejecting their lack of horizontality. Instead, the efforts of the JMM and JUPIC strive that “the voice of the *peñis* instead of ours is heard” (Juan Fuenzálida, interview with the author, March 12, 2016) so that “the people empower themselves a bit more in the decision-making” (Fernando Díaz, interview with the author, March 26, 2016). They do not aim to represent the Mapuche society, but rather to provide spaces of transcultural dialogues on horizontal and equal terms. With these conditions, they demand that the Chilean state respects and engages with the cultural politics of autonomy of the Mapuche.

Transcultural translations and dialogues not only try to communicate or visualise Mapuche culture to a non-Mapuche world but also transform the latter. In that way, Mapuche organisations, communities, and individuals transform and transculturalise the Eurocentric and Western-centred national cul-

ture in Chile and beyond through immaterial and material elements of their culture and cosmology. I understand this to be the meaning of the term “Mapuchising,” which has been articulated by José Luis Calfucura (interview with the author, February 16, 2016b), as well as by Victor Carilaf (interview with the author, February 23, 2016).

I understand the notion of Mapuchising as a transcultural practice of dialogue and exchange with non-Mapuche, which introduces Mapuche cultural elements into the hegemonic culture, but is sensitive towards the power imbalances between both. Mapuchising seeks to popularise and revitalise Mapuche culture in a way that ultimately transforms the cultural hegemony. This transculturalisation further destabilises the colonial dominance within the hegemonic culture and instead introduces Mapuche elements. As a consequence, the hegemonic culture becomes incomprehensive without taking into consideration its Mapuche impact.

Two autonomist Mapuche organisations, *Wallmapuwen* and AMCAM, have managed to become actors in the Chilean political system and thus contribute to its transformation. *Wallmapuwen* introduced itself successfully as an autonomist political party and in that way shifted the political landscape. Instead of considering *Wallmapuwen* as an expression of the acculturation and assimilation of political expressions of the Mapuche, this party rather transculturalises the political situation in Chile. By speaking Mapuzugun in public and aiming to establish an autonomist government in Wallmapu, *Wallmapuwen* has visibly defied the monocultural politics in Chile.

Similarly, AMCAM has become a mediator within the Chilean political system between the Mapuche-led municipalities and the national government. AMCAM thus disrupts the traditionally centralist nexuses between municipalities in Wallmapu and the central government and reconnects these relations through its mediation. It further makes connections between Mapuche-run municipalities and strengthens their position in negotiations with the central government. In summation, it introduces and strengthens Mapuche threads of influence within the national political culture of Chile.

The pedagogical collective *Kimeltuwe* aims to Mapuchise the social media spheres via transculturalising and decolonising strategies; they do not only intend to introduce terms in Mapuzugun in social media but in fact aim to use Facebook or Twitter exclusively in Mapuzugun.⁵⁶ The challenge of Ma-

56 A similar successful campaign took place with the Andean languages Aymara and Quechua.

purchasing social media is that it requires changing the very way it is used, not only introducing different content (Victor Carilaf, interview with the author, February 23, 2016). Digital Mapuche activism therefore seeks to transform and transculturalise the ways in which online communication is carried out.

Furthermore, the arena of tourism has been taken up by transculturalisation efforts by the Mapuche in Wallmapu. The Mapuche touristic project in Llaguepulli aims “to do tourism from our logic, from our culture, from what we know” (Mauricio Paineñil, interview with the author, March 10, 2016). In that way, Mauricio Paineñil goes on, it is possible to “create bonds, connections with different people who come from different parts of the world” (Ibid.). Tourism is thus transformed by these efforts, not only by introducing certain elements of the Mapuche culture into the dominant arena, but by transforming the very way such an enterprise is carried out.

Finally, the transnational advocacy and international solidarity of the Mapuche diaspora contribute to such processes of transculturalisation. For example, religious ceremonies like the *wetripantu* are transferred to Europe and carried out according to the traditional procedures. Such activities provide a space for transcultural encounters and translation for the diasporic Mapuche from different European countries, as well as for their invited non-Mapuche friends and families. This stands in sharp contrast to the experiences in Chile, where important celebrations of the Mapuche like the *wetripantu* or the *nguillatun*⁵⁷ are still carried out as exclusively Indigenous celebrations without the participation of non-Mapuche.⁵⁸

Ultimately, transnational advocacy and international solidarity become activities and encounters that are transculturalised by the agency of Mapuche representatives. Non-Mapuche actors and organisations are thus confronted with these transculturalisation efforts. In that way, the presence, agency, and the cultural politics of autonomy of the Mapuche in Europe disrupt and challenge monocultural, Eurocentric understandings and social practices of advocacy by non-Mapuche.

57 The *nguillatun* is maybe one of the most important and highly complex ritualised celebrations in Mapuche communities. It is usually celebrated once a year.

58 For example, the Mapuche journalist Pedro Cayuqueo (2012, 177–79) expresses his desire for transcultural religious experiences in Chile inspired by his trip to North America, where celebrations of the First Nations like the *Pow-Wow* are visited in a respectful manner by many non-Indigenous people.

This chapter discussed the heterogeneous field of transnational Mapuche advocacy (TMA) as well as its different strategies and tactics. TMA is essentially led by Mapuche representatives travelling abroad, the Mapuche diaspora in Europe, and multiple non-Mapuche supporters and organisations. Since political articulations of Mapuche communities and organisations in Chile are largely impeded, together with their international allies they increasingly make particular and structural injustices internationally visible. TMA hereby engages within the master frame of Indigenous and human rights, which nevertheless has some colonial contradictions and limitations. TMA further amplifies the injustice frame of the dictatorship under Augusto Pinochet in Chile, seeks to transform the racialising frame that puts the Mapuche resistance on the same level as terrorism, and, finally, extends the frame of ecological justice to include the political aims of Mapuche organisations and communities.

The rest of the chapter outlined four central strategies of TMA. The most important strategy involves the informational politics that produce different forms of alternative information about the situation in Wallmapu, with the goal of pluralising information and raising awareness and sensitivity. I particularly focused on the usage of information and communication technologies (ICTs) amongst Mapuche organisations, collectives, and communities by giving an overview of its central actors, discussing new developments and contradictions concerning digital Mapuche media and activism, and by situating it within the constraints and limitations by contextual, mostly political and socioeconomic factors. In summation, digital Mapuche media and activism have become powerful instruments against the everyday repression in Wallmapu and for transnational pluralisation and consciousness-raising. At the same time, it opened another (digital) front, on which their resistance and struggle is contested by powerful and resourceful actors.

As a second strategy, TMA creates transnational pressure through a heterogeneous set of symbolic, leverage, and accountability politics. In particular, actors of the Mapuche diaspora hereby transnationalise, translocalise, and transculturalise protest tactics from Wallmapu, like the *funu*, to the European context. Most of these political strategies are contingent, limited to particular, campaigns and performed in a cyclical manner, for example by commemorating a certain date or being organised alongside the visit of the Chilean president. In those campaigns, particular groups and actors come together and form the networked structure of transnational advocacy and solidarity. TMA also seeks to create leverage and to hold powerful actors accountable. Those are institutions like the UN in Geneva, the EU, the International Court

of Justice in The Hague, other national governments or state representatives, as well as private companies. However, these strategies have rarely been successful and need to be considered under the colonial limitations and contradictions within the international human and Indigenous rights structure.

Considering these limitations, I outlined a strategy of TMA that seeks to fortify Mapuche organisations and communities directly. I discussed the possibilities and limitations of supporting Mapuche communities and organisations by drawing on two case studies that include financial donations. In conversation with Mapuche interlocutors, I outlined the limitations of such approaches and how financial donations contribute to reproducing colonial relations, dependencies, and stereotypes. In contrast, and by presenting the efforts of the Mapuche cooperative *Kvme Mogen*, I discussed what a decolonial economic solidarity with Wallmapu could look like.

Finally, this chapter detailed how different actors of TMA engage in transcultural dialogues and translations. I first presented the importance of having a dialogue within Mapuche culture and political spaces, expressed through notions like *matetun*, *ragiñelwe*, *trawvn*, and *koyang*. Within this strategy, some Mapuche actors take up the role of transculturalising filters towards the non-Mapuche world, whilst non-Mapuche describe themselves as bridges between the non-Mapuche and Mapuche societies. Finally, I showed how political and sociocultural spaces of articulation and intervention become Mapuchised, disrupting and challenging monocultural and Eurocentric social, cultural, and political practices. This includes the Mapuchisation of TMA and international solidarity.

Within TMA, an infinite number of encounters and disencounters between Mapuche and (Chilean and European) non-Mapuche actors take place. They all bring their different motivations, expectations, positionalities, and privileges into this crowded field of solidarity and advocacy activism. The following chapter will critically discuss how the whiteness, understood as a position of privilege, of non-Mapuche influences these encounters and how colonial and racialised stereotypes complicate the terrain of international solidarity.

6. A Critique of Whiteness and Maputhusiasm in Solidarity

The following chapter will engage in the ongoing debates in critical race, decolonial, and feminist studies that critically examine the role of privileged positionalities within interethnic and interracial relations. The idea of a critique in solidarity here has two meanings: on the one hand, it aims to critique whiteness and Maputhusiasm as phenomena taking place within the practices, actions, and encounters of solidarity. On the other, it means a critique articulated in solidarity that does not necessarily delegitimise the involved actions or the engagement of certain people but rather seeks to show how both these actions and actors are entangled within and are accomplices to colonial imaginaries and racialised social hierarchies.

I will first discuss how non-Mapuche actors come into contact with and relate to Mapuche solidarity activism as a result of their privileges and whiteness. I hereby will be able to outline three particular expressions of privilege of non-Mapuche actors engaging in solidarity activism.

The second section presents a discussion about the personal motivations and political convictions of non-Mapuche actors in relation to engaging in transnational Mapuche advocacy (TMA) and solidarity activism. The absence of references to leftist ideas amongst the non-Mapuche actors will be explained through the complicated relationship between the Mapuche (and other Indigenous people) and Left parties/movements. This 'left-wing melancholia' leads, in the present case, to a depoliticisation of solidarity, but also opens up the possibility of an ecological cosmopolitanism from below, creating commonalities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people.

Finally, the last section introduces the notion of Maputhusiasm as a representational framework activated by non-Mapuche, particularly German, actors which racialises and stereotypes the Mapuche culture and society through mostly positively connoted, romanticised, and antimodern imaginaries. An

awareness of their own stereotyping creates a desire amongst non-Mapuche actors to have an authentic encounter with the Mapuche, foremost within solidarity action. After discussing some critiques of Maputhusiasm in conversation with Mapuche interlocutors, the chapter concludes by looking at the ways in which Maputhusiasm is strategically and critically utilised by Mapuche actors and finally creates a mimetic excess.

I want to begin this chapter with an experience from my fieldwork in Europe that I briefly mentioned earlier. This experience condenses the topics that will be addressed in the following pages. In September 2015, I visited a public cultural festival in the German city of Bad Ems, where the non-Indigenous Chilean public defence lawyer Barbara Katz held a presentation as the “defender of the Mapuche Indians.” Katz gave an overview about the general situation of the Mapuche in Chile and her human rights work to a mostly white and middle-class audience. The overall festival's programme was unconnected to the Mapuche or other political issues related to Latin America. Instead, it had a focus on literature, music, and theatre under the motto “heroes and myths,” engaging with a variety of topics. In that context, Katz had been invited due to a coincidence, being related to one of the festival's organisers. On the evening of her presentation, he introduced her by displaying his fascination with the Mapuche as an ancient Indigenous population in Latin America.

I visited this event with Alina Rodenkirchen, a diasporic Mapuche woman living in Germany. At the end of the presentation, there was room for a discussion and Alina Rodenkirchen took the opportunity to ask Katz some questions about current legal reforms in Chile. The moment Alina Rodenkirchen introduced herself as a Mapuche woman there was commotion in the venue, and people started whispering and turning their heads towards us. However, the most interesting thing happened after the discussion: instead of approaching Barbara Katz, people from the audience got up and wanted to talk to Alina Rodenkirchen, until she was surrounded by a crowd.

There are several interesting elements in that experience that inspire this chapter's discussions. To begin with, the event framed the Mapuche within the realm of “heroes and legends,” even though their experience is one of a very concrete sociopolitical reality of a heterogeneous society subjected to persecution and discrimination. There is thus a difference between the ways the Mapuche and non-Mapuche relate to the Mapuche struggle. This experience made me more curious about the ideological and political motivations of non-Mapuche people who become interested in the Mapuche and who eventually engage in solidarity efforts. This is because the event clearly did not

have a political framing but provided different grounds for translating the situation of the Mapuche to the German context. Finally, the intervention by Alina Rodenkirchen made a deep impact on the audience, confronting them with what they considered to be a ‘real and authentic’ Mapuche. At the same time, her intervention is an example how the presence and agency of the Mapuche critically engages within the non-Mapuche spaces in which sympathy for Indigenous people is being addressed.

Researching Whiteness in Solidarity

This section starts by introducing the non-Mapuche actors whom I encountered during my ethnography and who were willing to collaborate in this research project through (formal and informal) interviews. Whilst chapters four and five focused on the agency of the Mapuche within the solidarity network and transnational advocacy based on their cultural politics of autonomy, the present chapter takes a closer look at the non-Mapuche actors and their privileges, motivations, and stereotypes.

Encounters of solidarity constitute a hierarchised and racialised field in which unequal and different positionalities come together. A critical and decolonial approach to solidarity demands a critical consideration of these encounters by focusing on how whiteness and privileges are mobilised and activated (Ahmed 2004; Alcoff 1998; Land 2015; Mahrouse 2014; Pratt 1992). In that way, this chapter aims to take whiteness out of its privileged comfort zone of the apparently unmarked and unseen and put it in a critical spotlight.

Such perspectives demand a particular “self-understanding” from non-Indigenous supporters in order to gain “a clearer view of the workings of race and of white privilege, and of complicity at a personal level and at a structural level” (Land 2015, 163). The non-Mapuche actors are not unmarked or neutral but “bring their own multifaced identities and knowledge of a range of struggles to bear on their political relationships” (Ibid., 263). Such a positionality can be approached by looking at how non-Mapuche actors connect and relate to the Mapuche as a form of their “self-making practices” (Mahrouse 2014, 95). Their engagement in solidarity action thus becomes constitutive for their identity and positionality.

Researching whiteness in transnational solidarity thus means questioning who the non-Mapuche actors are, who they did projects with, what they planned to do, and who has actually been to these communities (Ibid., 93–95).

It may further include questions about their biographical and cultural background, their material and immaterial privileges, and ethical considerations towards racism and coloniality, amongst others (Land 2015, 163). Critical questions might also tackle the issues of ownership, benefit, agency, and interest of solidarity action (Smith 2008, 10).

These are the questions I discussed with fifteen non-Mapuche interview partners between November 2015 and June 2016 in coordination with activists from the Mapuche diaspora. What these people have in common is that their positionality can be understood as white, hence non-Mapuche, that they have a biographical background in the Global North, mostly Germany, and that they were engaged or were about to engage in solidarity work or awareness-raising regarding the Mapuche. These interviews and discussions with other non-Mapuche solidarity actors were delegated to me and reflect a motivation by the Mapuche diaspora to critically get to know the people who want to join the solidarity efforts (Andrea Cotrena, interview with the author, June 6, 2017).

A decolonial perspective challenges us to consider knowledges and ways of knowing the world beyond Eurocentric ideas. Hence, a critical, decolonial perspective towards (potential) allies might also include a series of questions from a different, in this case Mapuche, cosmology, such as questions about the (potential) ally's spirit, good-heartedness, emotional baggage, etc. At the same time, critical questions might tackle more practical issues, such as the person's technical abilities (e.g., to fix the electricity supply in the community) (Smith 2008, 10).

Such questions were directed at me during my ethnography. The different ways I answered these questions opened but also closed opportunities in my research and activism. I also experienced critical questions about others' or my own spiritual state of mind and good heartedness. In fact, in one case, a visit to a Mapuche community by a German person was denied on this basis.

The first question towards the non-Mapuche supporters was how they became aware of the Mapuche and their struggle in first place. This question assumes conceptualisations of international solidarity as a political solidarity between different groups of people, where agents in the Global North declare and/or act in solidarity with social groups or a political collective in the Global South. These groups can be ethnic minorities, displaced people, women, racialised groups, and refugees, amongst others. The important factor here is that these kinds of political solidarities share the presupposition that the groups who come together in solidarity are in, a fundamental way, so-

cially, culturally, and/or geographically separated from each other before the act or relationship of solidarity takes place. If this is true, how do Mapuche and non-Mapuche come into contact with each other?

Solidarity activists in Europe (Mapuche and non-Mapuche alike) basically presented five different answers regarding how they became aware of the Mapuche and the conflict in Wallmapu. These include biographical factors, personal or private factors, coincidence, academic interest, and finally political interest. In sharp contrast to the Mapuche, the non-Mapuche actors rarely named biographical factors as reasons for engaging in solidarity action. Whilst the Mapuche explained their motivations through their ethnic belonging, non-Mapuche Chileans mostly frame their engagement in solidarity action by amplifying the injustice frame of human rights violations that have affected their families in times of dictatorship. Contrary to that, non-Mapuche Europeans did not name explicit biographical reasons through which they might explain or legitimise their activism.

Two interviewees said that they came into contact with the Mapuche through interpersonal relationships and became interested in their culture and society. One interviewee notes that her best friend is a non-Mapuche Chilean, who “gave her a rough idea” (Eva, interview with the author, December 1, 2015b) before she engaged in solidarity work. Another lived with two Mapuche in a shared apartment in La Plata/Argentina and thus came into contact with their “worldview” (Verena, interview with the author, December 6, 2015).

Four other interviewees highlighted that it was mere coincidence that they learnt of the Mapuche and their struggle (Peter, interview with the author, December 1, 2015; Clarissa, interview with the author, January 22, 2016; Sabrina, interview with the author, February 4, 2016). For example, Amanda, who started working with the Netherlands-based Mapuche organisation *FOLIL*, notes that “it was really just by chance that I stumbled upon them online” (interview with the author, July 1, 2016) whilst she was looking to volunteer for an NGO.

A majority of the non-Mapuche interview partners mentioned an academic interest or a specific academic project as the main factor through which they came across the Mapuche culture and society. They are located in different disciplines, such as Latin American Studies, Film Studies, Romance and Linguistic Studies, Development Studies, Social and Cultural Anthropology, and International Law. My own engagement with the Mapuche solidarity network is also related to an academic project. One major commonality of the

white Mapuche supporters is their positionality as researchers and/or young academics. This fact not only reflects the relatively privileged position of these actors, but also echoes the Eurocentric tradition of Indigenous people as a popular object of study (Krotz 2004). Finally, political and ideological motivations were also made explicit in the interviews and will be analysed in more detail below.

Investigations on political expressions of solidarity or transnational advocacy rarely critically examine the reasons and motivations of the nonaffected group for engaging in such activism. On the contrary, insights from decolonial perspectives and critical race studies shed some light on a series of critical aspects regarding how non-Indigenous supporters connect with Indigenous struggles.

How Mapuche and non-Mapuche activists relate differently to solidarity was addressed critically by actors from the Mapuche diaspora. Particularly in one informal conversation, one young Mapuche woman notes with criticism that she has no choice but to engage in a struggle for her people, whilst white people can choose to go to a different rally for a different minority each week-end. In a similar statement, Llanquiray Painemal says—based on her own experience—that the personal engagement by white Germans in a particular cause has particular cycles and works “like a thing to consume, [...] it is consuming [as if the issue is a commodity] whatever is current” (interview with the author, June 16, 2017). Land (2015, 208–11) describes this difference in how people get involved with Indigenous struggles as one between inheritance and choice.

A decolonial account of interethnic solidarity thus requires a sensitivity towards the different relationalities and motivations the involved actors present as reasons for engaging in that cause. Here, the possibility of being able to choose to engage in a certain struggle is highlighted as a privilege, whilst the reasons for Indigenous people to fight for their cause is presented as an inherited burden.

Whilst the non-Mapuche interview partners did not seem to be explicitly aware of that privilege, some addressed the different vulnerabilities and the very abstract nature of their relationality. For example, Eva notes that she had read a lot about “ethnic conflicts” and, knowing that she, her family, or her friends would probably never suffer their consequences, these conflicts exist for her only as “black letters on white paper” (interview with the author, December 1, 2015b). But it is the coincidental nature of how non-Mapuche actors came in contact with solidarity and advocacy with the Mapuche that

particularly reflects their privilege of choice. Without any prior relation or engagement, they became involved in solidarity action.

Another privilege became manifest in narrations about non-Mapuche actors generally having easier access to the Mapuche in Wallmapu or Europe. In those accounts, non-Mapuche European supporters are especially presented as more trustworthy in comparison to non-Mapuche Chileans. This privilege is a result of the long history of discrimination and domination of the Mapuche by the white Chilean state and society. For example, Madelaine (interview with the author, December 6, 2015) reveals that through the participation of international, non-Chilean collaborators, she and her research collaborators had a much easier time accessing Mapuche communities.

This ease of access for non-Chileans is further intensified by a series of positive stereotypes about white people from the Global North, which were reproduced and activated in some statements by Mapuche interlocutors. For example, they presented white Europeans as more experienced in questions of solidarity cooperatives and thus more trustworthy (Gloria Marivil, interview with the author, February 23, 2016), more appreciative of Indigenous cultures (Victor Carilaf, interview with the author, February 23, 2016), or more respectful in their everyday, interpersonal behaviour (Cecilia Necul, interview with the author, March 10, 2016) compared to Chileans. These statements contribute to essentialising stereotypes about non-Mapuche Europeans as more trustworthy and granting them more access to Mapuche society and communities than to non-Mapuche Chileans. In summation, they grant non-Chilean solidarity actors a privilege of trust. However, this trust represents a risk for Mapuche organisations and communities if it ignores the possibility of paternalism by non-Chilean actors or organisations.

Another privilege concerns the fact that non-Mapuche activists always have the opportunity to abandon their commitment and engagement in international solidarity and transnational advocacy. I was challenged in that matter myself after I finished an interview with a Mapuche leader during a public rally. After the interview, I was approached by a Mapuche who observed the situation and asked in a challenging tone if I was leaving already. I did not feel that he actually wanted to know if or when I was leaving (the rally or Wallmapu) but rather if I was abandoning the situation now that I had done my interview.

His intervention confronted the privilege that for me there is always the option to leave if things get uncomfortable. The option of leaving makes the choice to engage in solidarity much easier. This privilege of leaving was ar-

tlicated by non-Mapuche and Mapuche alike as a factor that most clearly reflects the different and unequal positionalities involved in this kind of solidarity work.

However, there is another angle to the ways the privilege of leaving is challenged. For example, one non-Mapuche supporter shared a story of wanting to take pictures of a Mapuche political prisoner inside the prison. She describes the anxiety that this situation caused for her and she was scared of being detained or that her photographic material might be taken. Addressing this feeling to the political prisoner she took pictures of, he answered that the question is not if she will be able to leave, but rather if she will be able to come back¹ (Sybille, interview with the author, June 26, 2016).

Another interesting question in that regard is what happens after the non-Chilean, non-Mapuche supporters have left. Llanquiray Painemal, for example, highlights this fact: “[...] for them it means that they are kicked out of the country and they can move on with their lives” (interview with the author, June 16, 2017). Moving on in this case includes abandoning one’s engagement with the cause of the Mapuche and—to continue the line of thought from above—moving to the next weekend’s rally for some other oppressed minority.

From Left-Wing Melancholia Towards an Ecological Cosmopolitanism from Below

The question of on what ideological grounds and based on what political motivations or convictions do non-Mapuche legitimise (their interest in) engaging in solidarity action deserves particular attention. In this section, I will make the argument that a critical research on whiteness within advocacy and solidarity action cannot only focus on the white actor’s motivations and ideologies, but has to examine how these connect with, interlink, or contradict the political beliefs of the group they aim to support.

The engagement of white people in transnational advocacy or international solidarity towards People of Colour or in the Global South has been critically addressed with the idea of the “White Saviour Complex” (Cole

1 This refers to those cases of European solidarity activists who have been expelled from Chile and are not allowed to visit the country again.

2012). Within this complex, structural injustices are ignored whilst individual agency and enthusiasm is emphasised and suffering and oppression is sentimentalised. Finally, it is about “having a big emotional experience that validates privilege” (Ibid.).

Based on my conversations with non-Mapuche actors, it is possible to develop a critical account of this White Saviour Complex by turning “the critical analysis toward the West” (Frey 2016, 188) and examining the “white double consciousness” (Alcoff 1998). This can be achieved here by turning the critical analysis towards the motivations and ideological justifications of the non-Mapuche solidarity actors.

The interviews with non-Mapuche actors thus became critical interventions into their motivations and justifications by “asking non-Indigenous people to see their own interests reflected in a struggle that is much broader than seeking justice for Indigenous People” (Land 2015, 208). These interests might include the quest for happiness in general, personal ethical growth and enforcement of general ethical principles, ecological justice, or fighting against intersectional oppression (Ibid., 215).

Historically, international solidarity in the Global North with revolutionary or Indigenous movements in the Global South has been a domain of the Left. Nevertheless, the political beliefs of the non-Mapuche interviewees show an ambivalent relation to leftist values and convictions. On the one hand, some describe themselves as a “rather left-thinking person” (Peter, interview with the author, December 1, 2015) or even “definitely rather on the left spectrum” (Sybille, interview with the author, June 26, 2016), and critical of capitalism and “big corporations” (Peter, interview with the author, December 1, 2015). Others have been engaged in political rallies “against the Right” (Verena, interview with the author, December 6, 2015) or in antiracist or refugee solidarity contexts (Madelaine, interview with the author, December 6, 2015; Sabrina, interview with the author, February 4, 2016). For Peter (interview with the author, December 1, 2015), it is rather obvious that people from the Left support the Mapuche. However, only two interviewees addressed anti-capitalistic convictions as their linkage to the struggle of the Mapuche (Kira, interview with the author, February 29, 2016; Sabrina, interview with the author, February 4, 2016). One woman highlighted her feminism as a reason to engage in minority and Indigenous rights (Maike, interview with the author, June 9, 2016).

On the other hand, some, though considerably fewer, interviewees define themselves as apolitical (Karin, interview with the author, January 22,

2016), “politically neutral,” or politically nonactive (Clarissa, interview with the author, January 22, 2016). Rather, they referred to abstract or seemingly universal values: they explained their motivations through “lots of idealism,” positive references towards projects of global justice (Verena, interview with the author, December 6, 2015; Amanda, interview with the author, July 1, 2016; Sybille, interview with the author, June 26, 2016), or in terms of “dignity” and “mutual respect” (Amanda, interview with the author, July 5, 2016).

These statements clearly show that Leftism is not the main motivation and ideological linkage between Mapuche and non-Mapuche. This is a consequence of the historically ambivalent and contradictory relationship between the political Left (in Chile) and the struggle of the Mapuche. Whilst the earliest political expressions of the Mapuche within the Chilean state were ideologically heterogenous (Kaltmeier 2004, 116–28; Marimán et al. 2006), the Chilean Left traditionally conceived of the Mapuche people as their natural allies. This conviction led to paternalistic attitudes towards the Mapuche by classifying their particular colonial experience under the umbrella of class struggle (Andrea Cotrena, interview with the author, June 6, 2017).²

Regardless, leftist governments (social democratic and socialist) in the 1960s and ‘70s did pursue progressive agrarian reforms and pushed forward considerable improvements in the living conditions of some parts of Mapuche society. However, they were still considered to be a part of the peasantry and not as a colonised nation. Also, besides the two terms of Sebastián Piñera (2010–2014, since 2018–present), since the return of democracy in 1990 Chile had only centre-Left governments, who share a major responsibility for the current conflict and human rights violations in Wallmapu (Garbe 2016b).

Besides the general suspicion towards Chilean political institutions, these experiences explain why many Mapuche do not want to collaborate with people, organisations, or parties from the Left within Chile or beyond (Andrea Cotrena, interview with the author, June 6, 2017). The historical experience of paternalism by the Left led to a critical stance towards exclusively leftist

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- 2 In other Latin American countries, the political Left, inspired by a Marxist analysis of social classes and capitalism, developed a sensitivity towards their societies’ historical-structural heterogeneity. Examples include the works of the Peruvian sociologists José María Mariátegui and Aníbal Quijano, in Bolivia the works of René Zavaleta and Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, and some actors of the Mexican revolution from 1910 onwards. Such reflections were mostly absent in a country like Chile, whose political and intellectual class perceived the nation as rather exclusively white and monocultural (see also Pairican 2021, 180).

organisations or actors by the Mapuche today, particularly within solidarity action. This sometimes even leads to statements by Mapuche activists claiming to be neither from the Left nor from the Right but foremost Mapuche. Llanquira Painemal, nevertheless, criticises this as a tendency towards a depoliticisation of their claims (interview with the author, June 16, 2017).

This creates a scenario in which not only the paternalism from the Left is criticised, but also the critical potential of leftist traditions of thought are rejected as Eurocentric. Indeed, there are harsh critiques from Indigenous movements, amongst them the Mapuche,³ of Marxist-inspired analysis as Eurocentric and irreconcilable with Indigenous cosmologies and cultures (Means 2011). In contrast, other Mapuche interlocutors highlight that there is a complementarity between Western anticapitalistic thought and Mapuche thinking. In their view, “the Mapuche struggle is an anticapitalistic struggle” (Andrea Cotrena, interview with the author, June 6, 2017), “because it is a philosophy of life, where the issue of private property did not exist and human relations were completely different” (Llanquira Painemal, interview with the author, June 16, 2017). They put more emphasis on arguing for an epistemological horizontality by putting anticapitalistic ideas within Mapuche thinking and within leftist traditions on equal terms.

This contradictory relationship with the Left complicates the entire setting of transnational advocacy and international solidarity with the Mapuche. It foremost produces a friction between leftist Mapuche in diaspora and between Mapuche who engage with more politically uncompromising, ideologically liberal, and centre-leaning NGOs like the UNPO or the GfbV. In that way, for example, Llanquira Painemal feels excluded by some organisations and actors, “because when you have an antineoliberal, anticapitalistic discourse they are not going to invite you” (interview with the author, June 16, 2017). She sees her experience as an expression of those NGOs’ paternalism by inviting only those Indigenous actors who “comply” (Ibid.).

At the same time, this complicated relationship produces a friction between non-Mapuche actors from the Left and diasporic Mapuche. Because of their historical memory of paternalistic experiences with the Left, many Mapuche do not see non-Mapuche leftists as their natural allies, though the latter might think of themselves as such. Moreover, the autonomist Mapuche

3 For example, one Mapuche scholar once mentioned sarcastically that his grandfather did not need to read Marx.

movement is very eager to prevent acts of ideological appropriation of their cause by non-Mapuche leftists.

In summation, all these factors contribute to a disencounter between transnational advocacy and international solidarity from the Global North, historically a domain of the Left, and the Mapuche movement, which consistently resists being subsumed under non-Mapuche leftist projects. This explains the ambivalence towards ideological Leftism of the non-Mapuche interviewees. Furthermore, it seems like Mapuche organisations and actors apparently do not favour non-Mapuche solidarity activists from the Left.

Thus, as a consequence of the Mapuche's experience of leftist paternalism, it is fair to say that international solidarity with the Mapuche suffers from a "Left-Wing Melancholia" (Traverso 2017). Whilst this notion describes a state of mind to mourn and self-reflect upon the failed and defeated left-wing political projects throughout the twentieth century, which nevertheless continue to inspire future political action, I want to expand its meaning towards a melancholia regarding the failed encounters between a (Eurocentric) Left and Indigenous liberation movements. In that way, a decolonial left-wing melancholia goes beyond a "postcolonial melancholia" (Gilroy 2006) because it also mourns the colonial and racist bias of leftist projects throughout the twentieth century that ignored or even erased the very different historical experiences of oppression and domination of People of Colour, Indigenous people, migrants, and other minorities. Such a decolonial notion of melancholia needs to critically reflect the unsuccessful alliances of the Left with racialised groups and colonised societies in order to regain mutual trust for a potentially shared emancipatory project.

This type of decolonial left-wing melancholia makes a gap in the ideological commonality between Mapuche and non-Mapuche visible. International solidarity with the former's resistance thus might take place within an ideological limbo and become depoliticised. Some statements of non-Mapuche actors explaining and legitimising their engagement reflects this danger.

To begin with, Amanda explains her ideological influence as coming "from people around me," including values like "being kind, helping when you can, being involved in your community, local but global as well" (interview with the author, July 1, 2016). Also, Rike (interview with the author, May 27, 2016) claims to be politically "not thoroughly defined," without a "clear stance towards most of the political parties." Furthermore, Clarissa declares herself to be politically "neutral," having a "open world-view" (interview with the author, January 22, 2016). These statements from non-Mapuche solidarity activists from Germany

are stunning in the context of the success of right-wing and neo-fascist political projects all over the world. During my fieldwork in Temuco, I addressed my shock about the increase of votes for the right-wing AfD in Germany to Alma, a solidarity activist from Germany. I was even more shocked when she did not even know what I was talking about.

Such apolitical understandings also impact particular solidarity events. For example, in order to raise funds for her microfinance project, Eva (interview with the author, December 1, 2015a) aimed to organise a solidarity event in the form of a salsa party in Munich. She explained to me that the political angle of the evening should be minimal and having a nice evening is much more important. She had the idea that people are going to be asked to donate to the Mapuche, but they should not be bothered with the political and historical background, “since they are not really interested in that.” Rather, people should “relax from their stressful day at work” and enjoy the salsa music. According to her, it is fine for the audience to celebrate Latin American culture (in the form of salsa music), but they should not be bothered with information about the political conflicts in the region. It seems that, according to her, there is a contradiction between having a good time and informing oneself about a political conflict and human rights violations.

Instead of politicising their solidarity, some non-Mapuche prefer to articulate their motivation through depoliticised topics which are less controversial, such as health, religiosity/cosmology, consumerism, and ecology. For example, some non-Mapuche actors expressed their fascination with how Indigenous societies deal with illness and health issues (Greta, interview with the author, December 12, 2015; Sybille, interview with the author, June 26, 2016; Luis and Nadia Paineñil, interview with the author, March 10, 2016). The talk in Bad Ems was also not framed in explicitly political terms but rather mythologised—and thus depoliticised—the struggle of the Mapuche.

An interesting commonality that non-Mapuche claim to have with the Mapuche is a critical position towards consumerism. For example, Verena frames her motivation within a general interest for consuming consciously and critically, as well as a rejection of consumerism over handicraft. She notes that producing just the necessary amount of goods is something that Indigenous societies apparently do (Verena, interview with the author, December 6, 2015). In another conversation, critical consumerism was articulated as a parameter for being left-wing (Madeline, interview with the author, December 6, 2015).

This has controversial consequences for transnational advocacy and international solidarity with the Mapuche. Maike, who works in the public rela-

tions department of a human rights advocacy NGO, explains how they strategically use critical consumerism for raising awareness. This is because their work requires to “pick up people in their everyday life” (interview with the author, June 9, 2016) by politicising individual consumerist choices. They make campaigns, for example, denouncing precarious and hazardous working conditions on tea plantations or sweatshops by challenging the consumption of tea or clothes. The problematic aspect is that the particular injustice only matters as a result of an unethical consumerist choice from the Global North. Potential supporters of this NGO are not addressed as politically conscious subjects, but foremost as conscious consumers.

Such expressions of depoliticising solidarity can be further explained by the critical analysis of contemporary (Western) democracy as postpolitical or postdemocratic.⁴ This is because, as it seems, these statements suspend a culture of political debate and conflict in favour of questions about individual lifestyles and consumerist choices. For example, Amanda does not justify her engagement within the framework of a particular political project, organisation, or ideology. Rather, she claims to be inspired by her personal surroundings and reorganises individual ethical behaviour as a political belief. This ultimately leads to the depoliticisation of solidarity activism and solidarity events by favouring consensuality over political conflict. The statements about critical consumerism further transpose questions of political reasoning and deliberation into the sphere of individual consumption.

This depoliticisation not only transforms the focus of solidarity, but the very ways in which solidarity is carried out with problematic consequences. This development allows to transform “the Mapuche topic as a cultural issue” into a commodity that can be sold (Llanquiray Painemal, interview with the author, June 16, 2017). In that context, Llanquiray Painemal had an experience in which someone in Berlin claimed to raise money for the Mapuche

4 The term postpolitical is inspired by post-Marxist thought and especially the work of the French philosopher Jacques Rancière. He counterposed his ideas of a radical democracy with the diagnosis of the present times’ postdemocracy. The latter consists of the establishment of a “consensual democracy,” where political dissent and dispute is suspended in favour of a smoothly running governance. In this way, the political becomes a “flattened form of calculation” (Bohmann 2018, 82–83; my translation) that suspends the political “culture of dissensus” (Hildebrand 2018, 12; my translation). Rancière warns that this postdemocracy would lead to a “civilizational catastrophe” of “consumerist democracy” and “supermarkets of lifestyles” (Bohmann 2018, 78; my translation).

without any transparency about his organisation or the beneficiaries of the donations. This person was able to transform the political struggle of the Mapuche into a commodity that can be exchanged for donations and transformed into personal benefit. Furthermore, this commodity can be consumed by non-Mapuche actors through their privilege of choosing their object of solidarity. It thus becomes just one of many commodities in the supermarket of solidarity and depoliticises its historical context and political struggle.

But the ideological void, made visible through a decolonial left-wing melancholia, also presents the opportunity to create ideological linkages and commonalities between Mapuche and non-Mapuche actors beyond the Eurocentric left-right divide. In particular, it might facilitate a connection that non-Indigenous actors can establish with the Mapuche through their (shared) struggle for ecological or environmental justice or—in less abstract terms—their respect for nature (Land 2015, 215).

By referring to their concern about ecological issues, non-Mapuche actors create a commonality between them and the Mapuche. At the same time, these issues were used to identify problems that are relevant both in Europe and in Wallmapu. In other words, these statements simultaneously expressed a shared positive feeling of caring about nature and a shared negative feeling towards ecological destruction. Concretely, non-Mapuche activists articulated their convictions and engagement with critiques of extractivism (Amina, interview with the author, November 27, 2015; Peter, interview with the author, December 1, 2015; Sabrina, interview with the author, February 4, 2016; Sybille, interview with the author, June 26, 2016) and land-grabbing in Latin America (Madelaine, interview with the author, December 6, 2015), their own and the Mapuche's respect for nature (Greta, interview with the author, December 12, 2015; Verena, interview with the author, December 6, 2015), and even alternative practices of (urban) gardening (Verena, interview with the author, December 6, 2015).

Organisations of TMA like the GfbV also establish a connection between the defence of Indigenous rights and of nature, whilst being aware of differences between Eurocentric and Indigenous cosmologies and epistemologies regarding the nonhuman (Isabell, interview with the author, June 9, 2016; Maike, interview with the author, June 9, 2016). Simultaneously (and not unproblematically), the stereotype of the ecologically conscious and respectful Indigenous people is strategically mobilised to gain sympathy for their Indigenous rights advocacy (Maike, interview with the author, June 9, 2016).

In accordance, several Mapuche interview partners identified shared ecological concerns as the major linkage between them and European non-Mapuche supporters (María Teresa Loncón, interview with the author, March 3, 2016). More precisely, ideological connections and commonalities are argued on the basis of a “love for life,” the “protection of mother earth,” an “ecological intelligence” (Alex Mora, interview with the author, November 28, 2015), or an equal respect towards nature (Cecilia Necul, interview with the author, March 10, 2016). In addition, political representatives of Mapuche organisations and communities identified potential allies in Europe based on their ecological agenda (Isabel Cañet, interview with the author, February 24, 2016; Jaime Huenchullán, interview with the author, March 20, 2016).

But this ideological commonality of a supposedly shared ecological conscience is not without its contradictions. One reason is that this apparently shared concern for nature is based on different, and maybe even competing, underlying cosmologies and epistemologies about what nature actually is. At the same time, there is a strong tradition of reproducing the colonial stereotype of Indigenous people as guardians of the environment. Finally, the actions of environmental organisations need to be understood within global power dynamics with sometimes competing interests. For example, in 2017, the *Red por la Defensa de los Territorios* (RDT) criticised a series of international environmental organisations like WWF, Greenpeace, and Rainforest Alliance for awarding ecological certificates to Chilean companies despite their responsibility for and complicity in land-grabbing and deforestation, as well as water and soil contamination (Mapuexpress 2017).

Despite these contradictions, the shared reference to resisting ecological destruction across the globe constitutes a major injustice frame through which non-Mapuche construct their ideological linkages with the Mapuche.⁵ The shared feeling of the imminent threat of the irreversible destruction of the planet can be understood as an important resource for a human commonality because of a shared dependence on the environment: “Yet climate change,” and the general climate crisis under the Capitalocene,⁶ “poses for us a question of a human collectivity, an us, pointing to a figure of the universal that escapes our capacity to experience the world. It is more like a universal that arises from a shared sense of a catastrophe” (Chakrabarty 2009, 222).

5 See chapter five.

6 The term ‘capitalocene’ describes the capitalist era and type of human relations towards nature. For more on this term, see Moore (2016).

In that way, the shared sense of an immediate ecological catastrophe is what could be the point of departure for an ecological cosmopolitanism from below.⁷ Such linkages on ecological grounds between Mapuche and non-Mapuche are a specific expression of this quest for an ecological cosmopolitanism that connects actors across different positionalities and territories.

A Critique of Maputhusiasm in Solidarity

A series of investigations in literary, cultural, and history studies have described the very peculiar imaginary relationship between Germany and (North) American Indigenous people as “Indianthusiasm,” in which Native Americans are essentialised and stereotypically depicted in an essentially positive light (Berkhofer 1979; Calloway, Gemunden, and Zantop 2002; LaFramboise 2017; Usbeck 2015). Within that complex, Indigenous people are not seen as inferior but rather “through a positive racial lens” (Usbeck 2015, 208), including “a yearning for all things Indian,”⁸ a fascination with American Indians, a romanticizing about a supposed Indian essence” (Lutz quoted in Usbeck 2015, 2).

These studies describe and deconstruct the particularly German Indianthusiasm from the fifteenth century until the present day as “a socially constructed German national(ist) myth” (Ridington 2004, 403) and as a “part of the national fabric, embedded in national discourses of ‘Germanness’” (LaFramboise 2017, 33). German Indianthusiasm claims a special bond between the Indian and white males, but nevertheless “the heroes of their [the German’s] dreams are not real Indians, but fictional ones” (Bolz and Davis 2003, 194). Similar to postcolonial and decolonial approaches, deconstructing Indianthusiasm thus does not demand to conceive of Indigenous people more authentically or to substitute these stereotypes with supposedly real knowledge. Rather, it means

7 The idea of a “cosmopolitanism from below” is critical towards exclusively elitist notions of cosmopolitanism and transcultural contact (Robbins and Lemos Horta 2017, 9).

8 With the term ‘Indians,’ these authors refer to the stereotyped figure and the racialised image.

to understand the racial aspects of the profoundly meaningful desire many Germans possess to want to be Indian, because being a good Indian means being a good German. These racial and national ideologies are intrinsically interesting, but are also part of a larger, historical discourse of essentialism and racism. (LaFramboise 2017, 33)

As part of a broader history of German racism, contemporary critical race studies, for example, show that German Indianthusiasm is even connected to stereotypes within anti-Muslim racism (Attia 2009, 39).

Discussing Indianthusiasm means navigating between discourses about the real and the fake, the closeness and distance of Indigenous people, their presence and absence, as well as between modernity and antimodern ideas. Engaging critically with Indianthusiasm thus allows to question “what this phenomenon tells us about Europe and European cultures” and “to what degree [it] merely reflects an increased dissatisfaction with the political and cultural modernity on offer in Europe” (Stirrup 2013, 4).

These investigations invite to challenge the representations and ideas about the Mapuche that non-Mapuche actors mobilise in the context of transnational advocacy and international solidarity. These actors translate the Indigeneity of the Mapuche, a resource to claim their distinct nationality, into the European context. As argued in the previous chapter, such translations do not happen unhindered, but occur within an already existing conflictive field, where meanings and ideas are negotiated. Rather, they take part within what this chapter outlines as Maputhusiasm—a representational framework activated by non-Mapuche, particularly German, actors that racialises and stereotypes the Mapuche culture and society through mostly positively connoted, romanticised, and antimodern imaginaries.

Transnational advocacy and international solidarity with the Mapuche thus necessarily engage with the already existing framework of German Indianthusiasm and contribute to producing what this chapter defines as Maputhusiasm. This is because (in particular, non-Indigenous) advocacy NGOs tend to reproduce stereotypical and essentialised representations about Indigenous people as a consequence of their bureaucratisation, producing a “hyperreal Indian” (Ramos 1994) as a failed transcultural translation. So, what are the elements of Maputhusiasm and the hyperreal Mapuche that are articulated and mobilised by non-Mapuche actors and NGOs?

Isabell has been engaged in Indigenous rights advocacy in Germany since the 1970s. She notes that the first Indigenous delegations from Central and

South America had to fight against being subsumed under the dominant imaginaries about Indigenous people. As a consequence of Indianthusiasm, these imaginaries conceived Indigenous people from the Americas as exclusively North American. Delegations from South and Central America first had “to clarify that they actually existed” (Isabell, interview with the author, June 9, 2016). According to her, this has changed substantially today, but her narration sheds light on the imaginative force of Indianthusiasm within international solidarity in the German context.

Several statements from interviews with non-Mapuche actors engaged in solidarity and advocacy show how the gaze of Indianthusiasm still informs stereotypes about the Mapuche. To begin with, before travelling to Wallmapu the first time, Clarissa admits that her idea about the Mapuche before coming into contact with their culture and society was that “those are Indians just like in the US” (Clarissa, interview with the author, January 22, 2016). Other Indianthusiastic tropes were the Mapuche “sitting around a campfire” (Karin, interview with the author, January 22, 2016), wearing “colourful clothes,” and having “particular traditions and music” (Clarissa, interview with the author, January 22, 2016).

Though most of my non-Indigenous interview partners articulated imaginaries about the Mapuche informed by an Indianthusiastic gaze, they were aware of their stereotypical character. For example, they imagined them as technologically backward⁹ (Peter, interview with the author, December 1, 2015; Madelaine, interview with the author, December 6, 2015), as living cut off from Western society and remotely in the mountains (Eva, interview with the author, December 1, 2015a; Peter, interview with the author, December 1, 2015; Madelaine, interview with the author, December 6, 2015), having a close connection with nature and animals (Greta, interview with the author, December 12, 2015; Sybille, interview with the author, June 26, 2016; Verena, interview with the author, December 6, 2015), and that self-sufficiency and agriculture

9 The colonial and racial bias about the usage of information and communication technologies (ICTs) by Indigenous people is noteworthy: either it is impossible to even consider the very fact that Indigenous people also use ICTs and social media or the white gaze is astonished and disrupted when considering that these supposedly premodern people mimic ‘our’ modernity (Taussig 1993). The stereotyped Indian has either no mobile phone or he is an exception for having one. For example, Peter claims that using cell phones “was not really their thing” (interview with the author, December 1, 2015) instead of considering contextual factors like a bad Internet connection as reasons for his Mapuche interlocutors sometimes not being available.

were the basis of their livelihood (Verena, interview with the author, December 6, 2015).

After having spent some time in Wallmapu, several interviewees admitted that, as a consequence of such stereotypes, their own naivety led them to underestimate the highly conflictive and hazardous situation there (Clarissa, interview with the author, January 22, 2016; Rike, interview with the author, May 27, 2016; Sybille, interview with the author, June 26, 2016). Their experiences show that stereotypes like Maputhusiasm are far from innocent and can have harmful consequences. The imagined peacefulness and innocence surrounding Indigenous people made them careless and led them into dangerous situations during their stay in Wallmapu. In that way, stereotypes are not only harmful to the stereotyped group but also towards the people reproducing them. Furthermore, this carelessness does not only present a risk for the non-Mapuche visitors, but might even put their Mapuche hosts at risk by feeling responsible for their guests.

The stereotypes about the Mapuche are generally very positive. Some described their interest in Indigenous cultures as a result of their conscious “idealisation of Indigenous people” (Verena, interview with the author, December 6, 2015) and of a positive (Greta, interview with the author, December 12, 2015) and “idyllic” (Clarissa, interview with the author, January 22, 2016) image of their culture. Especially the imaginations about the Mapuche as living in close touch with nature were presented in a very positive, affectionate, and even admiring way. Such positive references towards an assumed ecological consciousness of the Mapuche are part of a larger set of colonial stereotypes about Indigenous societies and cultures as the keepers and preservers of the environment (LaFramboise 2017, 15).

It struck me that non-Mapuche actors reproduce stereotypes whilst being aware of them. If there is an explicit awareness about their Maputhusiasm, what consequence do they experience as a result? Do they critically engage with their Maputhusiasm, aim to challenge it, or is their awareness essentially “non-performative” (Ahmed 2004)? For some, being confronted with their stereotypes “sparks the interest in visiting these countries, to see how it really is” (Karin, interview with the author, January 22, 2016). Similarly, during her trip to Europe, the Mapuche weaver María Teresa Loncón felt that non-Indigenous people were “on the quest for the most genuine” (interview with the author, March 3, 2016). Also, the event in Bad Ems and particularly the reaction of the audience to the intervention of Alina Rodenkirchen expresses a similar fascination about the opportunity to talk to a ‘real’ Mapuche woman.

Such statements and reactions can be described as a “quest for the authentic Indian” (Penny 2006)—in this case, for something that would count as real and authentic Mapuche people, culture, and society. Their awareness about their own Maputhusiasm and their reproduction of a hyperreal Mapuche leaves the non-Mapuche actors with a troubled feeling about not knowing what actually is authentic and real. In short, the hyperreality needs to be substituted by something real.

This quest for a real encounter with the Mapuche translates itself into attempts to make transnational advocacy or international solidarity projects as authentic as possible. For example, in his documentary, for Peter it was “important [...] to portray above all ‘the life’. People, how they live, as authentic and real and as interesting as possible” (interview with the author, December 1, 2015). In her photography project portraying different aspects of life in Wallmapu, Sybille’s idea was

[...] actually to see how these people live, what problems they have, what are all the circumstances, and in the end not to show these are their traditions and those are their costumes, as all the photos normally show, but to show—starting from their everyday life—that this is their situation. (Sybille, interview with the author, June 26, 2016)

Such attempts seek to authenticate solidarity efforts. Thus, they not only try to portray something in the most authentic way but seek to make the solidarity efforts more credible and trustworthy.

For some, the most authentic experience of solidarity and advocacy could be achieved by the very presence of Mapuche people. As shown in chapter four, Mapuche actors manage to maintain a high level of agency and autonomy within solidarity efforts. For many non-Mapuche activists, this authenticates their solidarity activism. For example, their presence is considered to be “important, because it is more authentic [...] when someone [...] comes from this culture” (Clarissa, interview with the author, January 22, 2016) and because “what comes from these people themselves is what represents them much more” (Greta, interview with the author, December 12, 2015). As a non-Indigenous supporter of the Mapuche foundation FOLIL in the Netherlands, Amanda wishes “that there were more opportunities for those affected themselves to set out those organisations” because “they lived it, they see it, they are in touch with it constantly. That makes it really raw, to be honest—when you hear the stories, when you see the emotions, you’re in the middle of it” (interview with the author, July 1, 2016).

Whilst the presence and agency of Mapuche actors in solidarity efforts is an important achievement, the quest to authenticate solidarity might in the end only benefit non-Mapuche actors and organisations, making them more credible to outsiders. The attempts to make experiences of solidarity more authentic also puts a lot of pressure on Mapuche activists during rallies, in which they are approached by the audience or the media as supposedly authentic voices. Llanquiray Painemal feels that her presence as a Mapuche woman is made into a burden, and that she is pressured to deliver an authentic and legitimised account. For her, the “distinct legitimacy” of Mapuche people talking for themselves and the pressure to authenticate solidarity remains an unresolved dilemma (Llanquiray Painemal, interview with the author, June 16, 2017).

Postcolonial and decolonial perspectives do not resolve this dilemma, since their critiques do not seek to substitute a stereotype with something real or authentic.¹⁰ Instead, such critiques complicate the very possibility of a proper representation of cultural Otherness. Similarly, a critique of German Indianthusiasm considers it “irrelevant whether German authors knew what the reality of Native American life actually was” (Usbeck 2015, 8). Rather, there is a “critical consensus” that Indigenous people “have gained the ultimate authority to mediate representations of Indianness” (Penny 2006, 814). Most importantly though, “the debate over ‘realism’ will always be framed in terms of White values and needs, White ideologies and creative uses.” (Berkhofer 1979, 111)

The quest for authenticity and the authentication of solidarity is hence not about what replaces the hyperreal with a real Mapuche, but rather needs to be understood as another contested arena, wherein different actors—Indigenous and non-Indigenous—struggle over authority, access, and content. At the same time, the quest for authenticity paves the way for (dis)encounters of solidarity between Mapuche and non-Mapuche, yet never towards the ultimately real Mapuche. This is because a singular encounter with a Mapuche person could never claim authority over each possible encounter with Mapuche people. Nadia Paineñil from the community of Llaguepulli, for example, rejects this representational authority because representing her culture

10 For example, in his work about Orientalism, Edward Said (2003) highlights that he is not interested in criticising an apparently false representation of the Orient through Western eyes—this has to be straightened out through better and more objective accounts.

“is not [portraying] a different image, but how we really are” (interview with the author, March 10, 2016).

A final significant element of Maputhusiasm is that it stands in sharp opposition to the negative stereotypes of the Mapuche in Chilean media and mainstream society. One major challenge of transnational advocacy and international solidarity with the Mapuche is how to transform the racialised frame that not only represents them as violent terrorists, but ultimately legitimises them being treated as such. In contrast, transnational advocacy and international solidarity by non-Mapuche suddenly introduces a representational framework in which the Mapuche appear in an essentially positive light. At the same time, Maputhusiasm helps to explain why non-Mapuche people from Europe seem to be much more welcome in Mapuche circles than non-Mapuche Chileans, thus contributing to their privileged access.

Several conversations, especially with Mapuche activists and representatives, critically address the representational politics by non-Mapuche in the context of transnational advocacy and international solidarity. To start with, Llanquira Painemal critiques the ways in which Mapuche people, society, and culture are essentialised. Particularly, she challenges how Mapuche people are identified as such exclusively in biological terms and blood ties. In contrast, she argues that being Mapuche has much more to do with a political anticolonial and decolonial positionality, which can be assumed or rejected independently from ancestry (interview with the author, June 16, 2017). This provides a much more integrative and dynamic perspective on Indigenous belonging.

In addition, non-Mapuche activists articulated a prominent critique about essentialising the Mapuche through romanticised imaginaries. This “romanticising Indian-lens” (Isabell, interview with the author, June 9, 2016) contributes to the fact that people in the West misunderstand the often precarious realities of Indigenous or Native American lives (Maïke, interview with the author, June 9, 2016). Simultaneously, this opens the way for non-Indigenous people to “sell an imaginary Indian” and to “commercialise and corrupt” (Isabell, interview with the author, June 9, 2016) Indigenous cultures according to their own interests (Llanquira Painemal, interview with the author, June 16, 2017).

A very strong critique is directed against attitudes and discourses of non-Mapuche that subsume the Mapuche under a national (Chilean or Argentinian) belonging. Such practices are expressions of a paternalism by non-

Mapuche Chileans or Europeans that have their origin in the racist social structures in Chile and which are reproduced within solidarity work. Particularly on a discursive level, white Chileans talk in a possessive way about Indigenous people and develop “a language that is hard for me. For example, they say ‘ah, our Mapuche’” (Llanquiray Painemal, interview with the author, June 16, 2017). This critique also concerns the fact that non-Mapuche Chileans appear in solidarity events in Europe with a Chilean national flag without being aware that “the Chilean flag has a colonial history” (Ibid.). In contrast, the Mapuche flag holds the “meaning of an antiracist, an anticolonial struggle” (Ibid.). This nationalist and paternalist annexation is also expressed in experiences in which “they [the Chileans] want to talk for you, but don’t want you to talk” or claim to be the “representatives of the Mapuche in Europe” (Ibid.).

The critique of such paternalism is also directed against non-Indigenous people or Indigenous rights advocacy organisations, who “make themselves the owners [...], the representatives of all the Indigenous topics in the world [...]” (Llanquiray Painemal, interview with the author, June 16, 2017). In that way, their paternalism leads to a cultural appropriation of Indigenous issues within advocacy and solidarity. These acts of appropriation do not remain on a symbolic level, but have very concrete material consequences. For example, non-Mapuche actors and organisations can benefit from this appropriation by receiving donations and funding, or solidarity activists might get access to interesting jobs or internships in transnational organisations because of their experience in advocacy action.

Mapuche communities and organisations in Wallmapu seem to be aware of such acts of symbolic or material appropriation within solidarity and advocacy action. Andrea Cotrena, for example, explains that “the people there [in Wallmapu] think we [the Mapuche diaspora] are making money on top [...]. Taking advantage of the name of Mapuche and things like that” (interview with the author, June 6, 2017).

The fact that “the Mapuche issue as a cultural thing [...] sells” is exemplified by Llanquiray Painemal (interview with the author, June 16, 2017) with a particular experience: There is an organisation with a Mapuche name in Berlin that in the past ten years has claimed to collect money for a school in Wallmapu and organises numerous solidarity events. One activist of that organisation even gave himself a Mapuche name. Llanquiray Painemal reveals that there is no information about the school project the organisation claims to fund. She puts that experience in the more general context in which non-Mapuche people and organisations benefit from selling Mapuche culture in

the form of food or political symbols or from organising workshops about Mapuche culture.

Another critique addresses the depoliticisation of solidarity. For example, Isabel Cañet demands more political content within solidarity action and criticises those who repeat Mapuche slogans without embracing the political message behind them (interview with the author, February 24, 2016). In addition, Llanquiray Painemal gives an example wherein she was invited to lead workshops about Mapuche ceremonies in schools in Berlin. She expresses that she would love to work with children, but not teaching them “only” about Mapuche ceremonies (interview with the author, June 16, 2017).

This is connected to experiences in which the demands of particular Mapuche organisations or communities are made invisible in advocacy or solidarity action if they are not compatible with the political positions of the non-Mapuche organisation or group (Isabel Cañet, interview with the author, February 24, 2016). Party members of *Wallmapuwen* had one such experience: One of their members travelled to Canada and got in contact with a local magazine advocating for the cause of the Mapuche. One edition had an interview with the leader of the CAM, Héctor Llaitul, in which he was asked about his opinion of *Wallmapuwen*. Although he might not agree with their policy, in the original statement Llaitul answered in a very diplomatic way. Nevertheless, in the English translation of the interview that was finally published, Llaitul apparently harshly disagreed with and opposed the approach of *Wallmapuwen*. Isabel Cañet explains to me that it was the magazine's editor who distorted his answer on purpose because of their disagreement with *Wallmapuwen*'s policy; they willingly damaged and sabotaged their political project on a transnationally visible scale (interview with the author, February 24, 2016).

A final objection to the damaging representational practices by non-Mapuche concerns the portrayal of Mapuche people as victims. Isabel Cañet addresses this issue as part of “a self-critique [...] that several Mapuche, when they go abroad, also sometimes present themselves as victimised and that is also annoying” (interview with the author, February 24, 2016). This critique is foremost directed towards their own political community and its representational practices towards the non-Mapuche world. Her critique also resonates with other contexts of solidarity between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, where the “continual production and amplification of victim narratives to feed white appetite for trauma porn” (Simpson, Walcott, and Coulthard 2018, 81) is problematised.

However, critiquing its negative effects is not the only way of engaging with representational politics within transnational advocacy and international solidarity. Other statements, especially of Mapuche interview partners, show a more positive reaction to Maputhusiasm. Such reactions are positive in two senses: On the one side, they utilise Maputhusiasm in a productive way instead of rejecting it. On the other, they highlight and engage with positive ideas about Mapuche culture, society, and cosmology. Producing positive representations as a stereotyped group of people means challenging modern/colonial racism and its underlying “Manicheism delirium” (Fanon 2008, 141), where Blackness—and I would add Indigeneity—is referred to with foremost negative connotations in comparison to whiteness (Sardar quoted in Fanon 2008, xiii).

For example, several Mapuche interview partners seek to (re)produce positive images about Mapuche culture, society, and cosmology in their work as artists or educators (Alex Mora, interview with the author, November 28, 2015; Victor Carilaf, interview with the author, February 23, 2016). They hereby challenge the largely negative ideas about the Mapuche in Chilean civil society and domestic media. At the same time, they provide multiple stories (rather than just a single story) about the ways of being Mapuche in the world. For example, in the work of *Kimeltuwe*, the Mapuche figures are portrayed through “very friendly, [...] very close, and even funny animations” (Victor Carilaf, interview with the author, February 23, 2016). These efforts must be understood as an integral part of the struggle for decolonisation, as they “express an Indigenous spirit, experience or world view [by] countering the dominant society’s image of Indigenous peoples, their lifestyles and belief systems” (Smith 2008, 151). To provide one’s own society with a positive identity has been part of several struggles of minorities and colonised collectives.¹¹

However, providing a positive image of Indigenous people within transnational advocacy and international solidarity is complicated by the framework of Indianthusiasm and is described as, for instance, a “tightrope walk” by Maike (interview with the author, June 9, 2016). On the one hand, non-Indigenous NGOs popularise images and stories about Indigenous livelihoods that feed into satisfying the Indianthusiastic gaze. On the other

11 For example, the decolonial movements like the Black Power (Ongiri 2009) and Red Power movements (Nagel 1997) in North America, the Zapatistas (Hayden 2002), the Maori movement in New Zealand (Smith 2008), as well as in the German migrant experience (Steyerl and Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2012).

hand, international solidarity seeks to deliver critical information about the political and historical background of their struggle and respects the heterogeneous expressions of Mapuche people.

Appropriating a (negative) stereotype and turning it into something positive and dignified has been described as “strategic essentialism” (Spivak 1990, 11). However, whilst it contributes to essentialising an identity, in its strategic appropriation “one can self-consciously use this irreducible moment of essentialism as part of one’s strategy” (Ibid., 109). What is interesting here is that the Mapuche are making a strategic use of the essentialism and Maputhusiasm of non-Mapuche actors and organisations. The essentialisation of their identity through Maputhusiasm is thus less weighty than its possible strategic political usage.

Vicente Painel offers an example of this in the story of a Mexican shaman woman who was overrun by a mass of white North Americans because of her access to a very particular mushroom. Although this had emotionally and economically negative consequences for her, Vicente Painel emphasises its positive side effects, because “if the New Age [movement] did not exist, maybe many things would be already destroyed” (interview with the author, March 3, 2016). In that way, the essentialist treatment of Indigenous culture—in that case, the quest for a particular magic mushroom—could be strategically used to rescue the material or immaterial cultural products of Indigenous societies. Vicente Painel also claims to be fine with Maputhusiasm as long as it helps to stop the repression of the Mapuche people (Ibid.). Here, the political goal is clearly prioritised over the possible negative outcomes of Maputhusiasm.

Furthermore, the Mapuche diaspora publicly introduces elements of Mapuche culture in Europe, for example by wearing traditional clothes, as essentially positive features. They hereby gain extra attention by interrupting the public space with an Indigenous performance. At the same time, they benefit from a generally positive attitude, especially in Germany, from non-Indigenous spectators of Indigenous culture due to Indianthusiasm. Alex Mora (interview with the author, November 28, 2015) explains that diasporic Mapuche groups in Europe strategically perform their Indigenous identity collectively in public rallies but notes that it is not performed in everyday life.

Another example of the strategic usage of Maputhusiasm is given by Andrea Cotrena (interview with the author, June 6, 2017). Amongst other things, she supports her father’s community in Wallmapu by supporting its efforts in implementing ecologically and culturally sensitive tourism. In her perspective, the contact between the community and non-Mapuche visitors can have

a positive impact on the community in the following way: her idea is that non-Indigenous visitors, influenced by Indianthusiasm stereotypes, would ask the community members questions about their culture. As a consequence, the community members would need to start to “check their identity” and “look more for their roots and also recover the language.” They would also remember, for example, some traditions of their ancestors. For her, “when Europeans go to see Indigenous people, they expect them to live like a tribe” (Ibid.). In turn, this Indianthusiasm makes them aware that they have lost their cultural identity and became *wigkanised*.¹² Therefore, the strategic engagement with Maputhusiasm would unleash a process of consciousness-building about the fact that the community has been assimilated by Chilean culture.

This strategic appropriation of the essentialised identity is a remarkable way in which Mapuche actors deal with Maputhusiasm. Such stereotypes are not uncontested, but are put into service for the particular purposes of the Mapuche people. Thus, within Indianthusiasm “Native Americans can and will continue to harness – albeit sometimes in rather ironic ways – these ‘White ideologies’ within that ‘White frame’ to support their own ‘values and needs’ [...]” (Penny 2006, 815).

Furthermore, beyond their strategic appropriation, these experiences produce a “mimetic excess” (Taussig 1993, 254–55) between Mapuche and non-Mapuche.¹³ Indigenous people, and in the present case Mapuche, participate actively in the process of cultural transformation through mutual imitation. In Andrea Cotrena’s example, the Mapuche community imitates the non-Mapuche visitors’ imitation of a supposedly authentic Mapuche culture. This exchange thus contributes to a cultural revitalisation of the Mapuche community and ultimately has the potential to transform the non-Mapuche’s essentialism through the mimetic excess between both groups (since the latter would imitate the former’s imitation of the imitation and so on). In a similar way, the public performance of Mapuche culture in demonstrations in Europe feeds into the European appetite for Maputhusiasm but at the same time becomes an expression of the revitalisation of cultural symbols

12 The Mapuzugun word *wigka* (sometimes *huinca*) generally denominates a non-Mapuche person or an outsider to the Mapuche society in a rather derogatory way.

13 The idea of a mimetic excess highlights the creative transformation of cultures through imitation within cross-cultural and interethnic contact between Western and Indigenous cultures.

and language within the Mapuche diaspora and contributes to reconstruct a positive Mapuche identity.

Based on ongoing debates in critical race, decolonial, and feminist studies, the previous chapter critically examined how whiteness, conceived as a privileged and invisibilised social positionality, and colonial stereotypes, outlined as Maputhusiasm, are at work in the interethnic and interracial relations of solidarity between Mapuche and non-Mapuche actors.

First, the chapter described the different forms in which non-Mapuche actors enter spaces and relations of transnational advocacy and solidarity with the Mapuche. That led me to identify three forms of white privilege within solidarity action: 1) Compared to Mapuche actors, who describe their engagement as an inherited burden, white non-Mapuche have the privilege of freely choosing to enter solidarity and advocacy activism; 2) Due to the colonial relations of power within Chilean society, non-Chilean solidarity actors are considered to be more trustworthy and reliable than their white Chilean counterparts. This was defined as the privilege of trust; 3) Finally, whiteness includes the privilege of being able to abandon their engagements of solidarity, which is met with critical attention by Mapuche actors.

The second part presented the personal, political, and ideological motivations of non-Mapuche actors engaging in TMA and solidarity activism. I explained the limited references to leftist ideas by the non-Mapuche supporters through the historically complicated relationship between the Mapuche and non-Indigenous left-wing parties and movements in Chile. Through a decolonial left-wing melancholia an ideological void between Mapuche and non-Mapuche actors becomes visible, which presents a danger of depoliticising solidarity. However, it also uncovers the possibility of an ecological cosmopolitanism from below, creating commonalities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people.

The last section proposed the notion of Maputhusiasm as a representational framework activated and (re)produced by non-Mapuche, particularly German, actors which racialises and stereotypes the Mapuche culture and society through mostly positively connoted, romanticised, and antimodern imaginaries. Interestingly, most of my interview partners presented themselves as being aware of these stereotypes whilst also reproducing them. As an effect of this awareness, they seek to encounter and show the most authentic expressions of Mapuche culture and society within solidarity and advocacy action. In conversation with Mapuche interlocutors, expressions

of Maputhusiasm that essentialise, romanticise, paternalise, appropriate, depoliticise, render invisible, silence, and victimise the Mapuche and their cause, voices, and struggle were criticised. But the Maputhusiasm of non-Indigenous people is also strategically appropriated by Mapuche actors as long as it serves their particular goals. The strategic essentialism and appropriation create a mimetic excess between Mapuche and non-Mapuche that holds the potential of reconstructing and revitalising Mapuche culture.

Whilst this chapter primarily looked at the motivations, representations, and ideologies that are mobilised within solidarity and advocacy action, the next chapter turns the focus to the concrete practices and the social and interpersonal outcomes of these encounters.

7. Critical Practices and Assemblages of Solidarity

The final chapter seeks to discuss practices and assemblages of solidarity from a critical race and decolonial perspective. Based on discussions about solidarity with Mapuche and non-Mapuche interlocutors and from my activist ethnography, I will elaborate on a critical notion of solidarity across and beyond differences.

This critical notion of solidarity will be developed in three steps, each introducing a critical principle of solidarity. The first principle will discuss solidarity as *compromiso*—a long-term engagement and commitment that overcomes paternalistic practices and decentres white agency. Instead, solidarity as *compromiso* requires a radical form of passivity by white supporters and critical practices that can be expressed in a series of metaphors.

The second principle describes critical practices of sharing—*compartir*—as a form of solidarity. *Compartir* can include the exchange of material and immaterial goods, the sharing of spaces and gifts, as well as forms of spending/sharing time together. Different forms and modalities of *compartir* will be critically discussed by asking whether they contribute to an exploitative or rather a reciprocal relationship between Mapuche and non-Mapuche actors.

The third principle introduces solidarity as a critical practice that (re)produces communal and social bonds between the involved actors, which is expressed in the Mapuche ideas of *keyuwvn* and *mingako*. Critical practices and encounters of solidarity between Mapuche and non-Mapuche are called to be mutually transformative, reciprocal, and horizontal, taking place on a long-term and intimate basis. These factors thus transform the political encounters and relations of solidarity into social bonds between the involved actors. In these assemblages, the productive and transformative potential of a critical notion of solidarity becomes visible. The idea of assemblages of solidarity then “allow[s] us to ask about communal effects [of international solidarity]

without assuming them” (Tsing 2015, 23). In other words, this critical idea of solidarity is without guarantees. Such communal effects, in the present case, will be discussed as processes of identification, recognition, belonging, mimesis, and, finally, as relations of kinship and friendship.

An ethnographic experience invited me to consider these three critical principles and their entanglement. Whilst preparing for my first fieldtrip to Wallmapu in early 2016, I conducted several interviews with non-Mapuche solidarity activists. After having interviewed Clarissa, a white German woman, she offered to put me in contact with a Chilean family in Temuco, where she had stayed during her university exchange in Chile. I gladly accepted and soon arranged my accommodation with them.

However, after a few days in their house, I decided that I had to leave as soon as possible. I was shocked that even in a few moments of interaction they had made so many derogatory and racist remarks about the Mapuche that I was not able to stay with them any longer. Fortunately, I already encountered several welcoming and friendly people amongst the Mapuche movement in town who helped me to find a new accommodation within a few hours. They introduced me to Rayen Kvyeh, who at that moment was subletting a room in her house, where I would stay for the following weeks.

Besides my frustration about the racism of white Chileans, I could not stop wondering about the meaning of this experience. Why did Clarissa, considering herself in solidarity with the Mapuche, stay with that family and even recommended them to me? She must have heard many more similar comments during her considerably longer sojourn with them. I shared this story with some of my Mapuche interlocutors in Temuco and Vicente Paniel finally gave me a clue. He said that for Clarissa it was not a contradiction to stay with a racist family and consider herself in solidarity with the Mapuche. In contrast, being in solidarity means to transform oneself, to give up one's own comfort zone and, for example, even to look for a new place to stay, eat, and live together with different people. For Vicente Paniel, her commitment (or lack of commitment) with the Mapuche was reflected by her actions and practical decisions. A decolonial perspective on solidarity, however, demands a transformation of one's commitment into critical practice and social relationships.

This chapter is a continuation of this reflection. My decision to leave the safe space of my accommodation created possibilities for encounters with Mapuche people that eventually became much more than just political relations of solidarity. My and Clarissa's experiences reflect how transnational

advocacy and international solidarity with the Mapuche provide spaces of (dis)encounter between Mapuche and non-Mapuche actors in a conflictive postcolonial contact zone (Pratt 1992, 4–7). In these encounters, the political practice in solidarity has the potential to produce and transform the relationships between the involved actors connected across unequal power relations and geographies (Featherstone 2012). The present chapter will show what kind of political practices of solidarity take place within the rhizomatic solidarity network and how they transform, constitute, and assemble social relations of solidarity between Mapuche and non-Mapuche.

Solidarity as *Compromiso*: Towards a Critical Praxis of Solidarity

The transformation of such relations depends on how solidarity is carried out, practiced, performed, and enacted—in short, on the praxis of solidarity.¹ Besides the efforts in transnational advocacy and different solidarity projects, to look at the praxis of political solidarity means to understand how it is embedded and expressed as a social praxis within a racialised and postcolonial “space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other” (Mahrouse 2014, 16). This praxis exists in “in terms of co-presence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices” and informs “how subjects are constituted in and by their relations to each other” (Pratt quoted in Mahrouse 2014, 16).

The specific praxis of solidarity can be “grounded in presence and participations [...] that bring people together” (Squire 2018, 124–25) and in particular moments of encounters, mobilisations, or protests “because they *enact* solidarities in a dynamic form” (Ibid., 295; my emphasis). A practical (but also a decolonising) notion of political solidarity thus must start from a concrete praxis by the involved actors, since the “only way to build a radical alternative present is to make it on the ground, in real time, with real people” (Simpson, Walcott, and Coulthard 2018, 81). In other words, the performative potential of solidarity depends on its praxis (Ahmed 2004). So, what is actually being

1 The notion of praxis is inspired by the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1990), who argues for looking particularly at social practices to understand our societies. With the notion of praxis, Bourdieu manages to understand especially those practices whose immediate meaning and significance is hidden to the involved actors. To understand solidarity as a social praxis thus further accentuates its transformative potential.

done in political practices within transnational advocacy and international solidarity? How do non-Mapuche activists act?

To begin with, several statements describe the involvement of non-Mapuche solidarity actors as help and support, for example, in the context of preparing solidarity events, translating, doing legal research, joining the visits by Mapuche delegations to Europe, or being present at demonstrations.

They often characterised their help and support in a manner that understates their agency. For example, they did “a lot of small things” (Amina, interview with the author, November 27, 2015) and were a “helping hand” (Amanda, interview with the author, July 1, 2016). For Amanda, helping is “[lending] myself, uhm, to anything productive that I can do, anything that I could do to forward the cause.” (Amanda, interview with the author, July 5, 2016) In concrete terms, her support of the Mapuche foundation *FOLIL* includes, for example, writing a statement on short notice, doing a translation, publicising an event, etc. Essentially, non-Mapuche solidarity actors understand their help and support as putting themselves at the service of the already ongoing efforts of the Mapuche diaspora in a spontaneous, practical, and productive manner.

Such statements are reflective about possible power imbalances, downplay white agency and, in contrast, support the autonomous efforts of the Mapuche. Nevertheless, help and support are not uncontested notions when it comes to describing solidarity action. They are also the subject of some critiques, since they are connected to an individualised practice and a paternalistic concern about something or someone. Such notions further reproduce subjectivities of the white saviour and might contribute to avoiding a thorough political analysis. Finally, the site of intervention remains solely within the lifeworlds of Indigenous people and rarely seeks to identify common aspects of a political struggle shared by Indigenous and non-Indigenous people alike (Land 2015, 205–8).

Another common practice of political solidarity in the present case are visits from Europe to Wallmapu. Such visits are portrayed as face-to-face encounters over a small period of time in Mapuche communities or with political prisoners in jail by solidarity actors. Experiences of such visits were narrated in mostly enthusiastic terms, because they made the host feel important, interesting, or appeased (Cristián, interview with the author, March 8, 2016; José Luis Calfucura, interview with the author, February 16, 2016a; Radio Mapuche 2015). At the same time, most of the non-Mapuche actors were excited about the possibility or experience of visiting a Mapuche community in Wallmapu.

Visits by non-Mapuche actors or representatives of non-Indigenous organisations give transparency and legitimacy to their solidarity projects as well as to the particular political projects of those being visited. This is because the visits of international delegations were depicted as expressions of political commonalities (Isabel Cañet, interview with the author, February 24, 2016; Jaime Huenchullán, interview with the author, March 20, 2016; Rayen Kvyeh, interview with the author, March 1, 2016). Visitors were referred to in a way that implied that the practice of visiting produces political allyship.

Such visits are embedded in the strategic and generalised disposition of the Mapuche to have political dialogues with non-Mapuche representatives. The important aspect is that these visits are necessary to discuss ideas and projects of solidarity as a condition of a possible future collaboration. Visitors who come on the recommendation of someone the community already knows are especially welcome: “when he or she comes in that way, we are always willing to receive him or her” (Jaime Huenchullán, interview with the author, March 20, 2016).

If these visits are a condition for initiating a project with the community, it means that there can hardly be any solidarity with a Mapuche community or organisation without visiting them. Finally, such visits constitute possible transformative encounters of solidarity in which white privilege can be enforced or destabilised (Mahrouse 2014, 146). For a non-Indigenous person, visiting an unfamiliar territory and being in a minority position can have positive transformative potential since “the process of being uncomfortable is essential for non-Indigenous people to move from being enemy to adversary to ally” (Regan quoted in Land 2015, 218). In my personal experiences and visits to Mapuche communities and political prisoners, I felt that these encounters also provide spaces to challenge Maputhusiasm and the idea of the hyperreal Mapuche. In that way, solidarity is transformative because it produces encounters with actual people with whom you have a sit-down, share a meal, a *mate*, tears, or a good laugh.

Another way of practicing solidarity in face-to-face encounters is the idea of insertion. In my visit to the Jesuit Mapuche Mission (JMM) in Tirúa, Juan Fuenzálda expressed the following idea in our dialogue: insertion would not mean only a short visit, but a constant and close side-by-side between Mapuche and non-Mapuche people in a certain territory. He describes their work as a “dynamic of insertion,” “where the ‘how’ is much more important than the ‘what’”. Insertion, according to him, “has to do with the way of presence”

and “becoming neighbours”—not as an institution but as an “inserted, more simple presence” (interview with the author, March 12, 2016).

Practices of solidarity thus arise from within this insertion. This could mean helping to fix the water supply, helping out in the households, escorting someone to do bureaucratic formalities, or taking someone to the doctor. Insertion is about “trying to accompany life and accompany the processes that are, on the one hand, more communal, and, on the other, also often very domestic and personal.”² An insertion does not only mean sharing time and resources on a local and long-term level, but also becoming an agent of a political process and sharing the conviction for struggling for the same cause.

Another important way of describing one’s practical commitment is the Spanish term *compromiso*, which does not have a proper translation into English.³ An illuminating description for *compromiso* is

the action or attitude of the intellectual, who by becoming conscious about her/his belonging to society and the world at the moment, renounces her/his position as a mere observer and puts his thinking or art at the service of a cause. [...] The *compromiso* with that cause of a fundamental transformation [of society] is the valid action. (Fals-Borda 2009, 243; my translation)

Here, the inner attitude of the *compromiso* is transformed into a political practice that demands renouncing one’s privileges and making them useful for a particular political cause. The *compromiso* can be further understood as a self-binding commitment and voluntary act on behalf of the consciousness, located within one’s own positionality, that contributes to maintaining and preserving life (Garbe, Cárdenas, and Sempértegui 2018, 13, 139).

A critical discussion of solidarity thus needs to consider how interpersonal practices in solidarity and advocacy activism reaffirm white agency and protagonism. At the same time, it requires finding those practices of solidarity that do not reproduce colonial and racialised hierarchies.

2 He further relates this way of practicing solidarity as part of his perspective from Latin American liberation theology. Nevertheless, the idea of insertion also appears within the proposals for participatory action research developed by Orlando Fals-Borda. In his radically committed research methodology, insertion involves “get[ting] involved as an agent within the process one is studying, because one has taken a stand in favour of certain alternatives [...]” (Fals-Borda 2009, 235; my translation).

3 I believe that notions like commitment, engagement, involvement, or responsibility do not completely grasp its meanings.

The heterogenous ways of how non-Mapuche people act or behave within the context of advocacy and solidarity express different modalities of solidarity. From a critical race and decolonial perspective, these modalities are particularly interesting because they point towards the ways in which agency between different actors is distributed. A critique of white and non-Mapuche agency in solidarity critically analyses those experiences in which the protagonism of non-Mapuche actors compromises the cultural politics of autonomy of the Mapuche involved.

It is important to start with a critique of solidarity projects that are initiated by non-Mapuche actors, which include most of the projects of my non-Mapuche interview partners, including my own research. A movie documentary and a photography project to raise international awareness about the situation in Wallmapu were initiated by white Europeans, other non-Mapuche activists offered their support to diasporic Mapuche organisations, and the drive of Adveniat to financially support the three local projects in Tirúa, Temuco, and Santiago de Chile came from Germany. As the initiation of a project by non-Mapuche actors is an expression of white agency, I now want to discuss if and how white agency is played out and negotiated within particular experiences of solidarity.

During my research stay in Temuco, I met one non-Mapuche activist, Alma, with a strong “impulse towards action” (Ahmed 2004, para. 56). I spent a considerable amount of time with Alma (conversations with the author, February–April, 2016) and, whilst her presence and actions were largely welcomed by Mapuche hosts, she put herself into several dangerous situations. For example, after a Mapuche community centre in Temuco was violently raided by the military police, she decided to spend the night there in order to accompany those who remained, even though people close to her wanted to hold her back because the situation was still unsafe. Also, in her visits to the political prisoners in Temuco, she did not comply with some basic safety measures that we were instructed to follow.⁴ I had the impression—and some of my Mapuche interlocutors agreed—that she was overcompensating by trying to help as much as possible. I discussed her behaviour with our hosts, who were worried about her physical as well as psychological—in their words, spiritual—wellbeing. For instance, she could have been locked up, beaten by the

4 For example, not taking any personal belongings to the visits, since you're required to hand everything in at the entrance. We were warned that house keys might be copied, mobile phones intercepted, etc.

police, or worse. However, our warnings were ignored. Such an impulse for action or actionism can have different reasons, which may be contradictory:

The impulse towards action is understandable and complicated; it can be both a defense against the 'shock' of hearing about racism [...]; it can be an impulse to reconciliation as a 're-covering' of the past (the desire to feel better); it can be about making public one's judgment ('what happened was wrong'); or it can be an expression of solidarity ('I am with you'); or it can simply be an orientation towards the openness of the future (rephrased as: 'what can be done?'). (Ahmed 2004, para. 56)

What was problematic in the case of Alma was that her impulse to action required the care and attention of our Mapuche hosts that could have been directed towards their community and family members instead. This is an ambiguous outcome in situations of racial stress or violence, in which white people demand excessively more emotional care than those who suffer from it—a phenomenon coined with the term “white fragility” (DiAngelo 2011). After discussing her behaviour, we agreed on confronting her carefully, but did not succeed in getting through. It is an unfortunate confirmation of the claim that the impulse to action ultimately “can work to block hearing” (Ahmed 2004, para. 56). Such paternalistic practices of solidarity reproduce unequal and hierarchical relations between white people and People of Colour and have harmful effects for the latter (Ahmed 2004).

I experienced several situations of such paternalistic expressions of solidarity. For example, in the event in Bad Ems, Barbara Katz was described as the “defender of the Mapuche people.” This phrasing reproduces a colonial stereotype about Indigenous people who are not able to help themselves and thus need protection by white people. It recentres the agency on one white woman, who is heroised, whilst at the same time collectivising and deindividuating the Mapuche people, as she becomes the defender of a whole society.

In another example, Eva was not shy in hiding her agency in the planning and organisation of her microfinance project.⁵ Her statements reproduce a Western subject who considers him/herself cognisant about the problems of

5 She revealed that she reflected (by herself) about “what could be the best option” for a development project within a Mapuche community and finally “came up with this project”. Put differently, she “looked at the problems, thought about what could be done and [...] found the solution [...]” (Eva, interview with the author, December 1, 2015a)

the Mapuche and offers a solution. The fact that there might be other valid or very different reflections or proposals about problems of the Mapuche society is ignored.

Such a paternalism was rejected by some Mapuche interview partners, because it means that non-Mapuche actors assume too much protagonism within solidarity work. Paternalistic practices are dialectical in a way that the agency of one group (non-Mapuche) has an immediate effect on the possibilities of action by another one (the Mapuche). In other words, paternalism describes the practical and performative (re)production of the subaltern as the one who cannot speak but needs someone to speak for him or her (Spivak 1988).

Whilst the impulse towards action blocks listening, paternalism contributes to silencing the Mapuche by pretending to support them. The paternalism of non-Mapuche Chileans has been especially criticised because “they want to talk for you, but don’t want you to talk” (Llanquirañ Painemal, interview with the author, June 16, 2017). Whenever I experienced or heard about such an attitude by other non-Mapuche actors, they were harshly sanctioned and rejected by the Mapuche.

In contrast to the impulse towards action and paternalism, two alternative practices of solidarity minimise white agency and show consideration of the autonomy of the Mapuche.

First, on several occasions Mapuche interlocutors demanded a certain degree of cautiousness by non-Mapuche activists. For example, whilst preparing my trip to Wallmapu, activists from the Mapuche diaspora urged me to be careful when doing fieldwork and human rights observations. These statements pointed out the potential risk of my behaviour and praxis for the communities I would visit, as well as for myself, for instance in becoming the target of repression. Particularly, they requested not to behave inappropriately or disrespectfully, since I would be visiting some communities based on their recommendation.

Some non-Mapuche activists did show some awareness about the need to act carefully. For example, I asked Amina what she would do differently in another trip to Wallmapu. She emphasises that she would be “much, much more careful” (interview with the author, November 27, 2015), because her first visit led to internal friction inside a community. Amanda too claims that her experience of supporting a diasporic Mapuche organisation has made her “really careful about speaking on anyone’s behalf, so in that sense I really am

wary of it [...]” (interview with the author, July 1, 2016). Rike describes her engagement as “in no way influencing or prescribing what is good or bad” but as a “position in the background” (interview with the author, May 27, 2016).

Another idea of practicing solidarity without reinforcing white agency was articulated as passivity or the complete lack of agency. For example, Amina does not see herself as “the person, who would go around in Chile somehow looking for collaboration” (interview with the author, November 27, 2015). Instead, she notes that this should be the task of diasporic Mapuche. She explains that she would only consider continuing collaborating if she is approached by Mapuche and asked for support but would not push forward a project by herself since she is “not sure if that is actually wanted” (Ibid.).

Activists from the Mapuche diaspora articulated a similar idea by acknowledging that they, for example, do not have “the moral position” and “do not have the right to politically define” what would benefit a Mapuche community (Alex Mora, interview with the author, November 28, 2015). This more passive approach seeks to show consideration towards the autonomy of Mapuche community and organisations in Wallmapu. This is because, as Juan Fuenzálida explains, “there is also a political Mapuche life in autonomy which demands a certain distance from us” (interview with the author, March 12, 2016). Thus, their autonomy is respected by remaining in a more passive and distant position, which needs to be regulated actively.

This actively regulated passivity resonates with the notion of a (radical) passivity⁶ as a form of political solidarity praxis. This kind of passivity is produced in encounters of solidarity in which non-Mapuche actors are challenged to actively give up a great part of their protagonism. As a decolonial approach to solidarity, the idea of a radical passivity seems illuminating for navigating the power imbalances within political solidarity practices, decentring white agency, and being attentive to the autonomy of the Mapuche. But this idea also highlights the fact that the passivity of powerful actors can only be exerted due to existing privileges and does not remove them completely. This means that a radical passivity remains critical and precarious because,

6 A radical kind of passivity does not only mean to remain passive but to actively move towards passivity and become “passive with regard to *itself*” (Wall 1999, 1; emphasis in original). It is the action of stepping out of the spotlight and not waiting until the spotlight moves on. This passivity is a radical one to the “extent that [it] articulates an extreme passivity, expropriation, de-nucleation, or neutrality that is paradoxically *constitutive* of the self, the image, or the community” (Wall 1999, 7; emphasis in original).

as a result of existing privileges, it can be withdrawn and white agency reinstalled. The notion thus remains problematic, since white actors keep a privilege through which they can choose passivity over agency.

Another approach to uncovering critical notions of solidarity practices comprises looking at the metaphors that the involved actors use. Whilst the critique of some solidarity practices is important, this research is also interested in understanding decolonial possibilities for more horizontal practices of solidarity across power imbalance. Such possibilities were expressed in a series of metaphors by non-Mapuche and Mapuche actors.

Several non-Mapuche activists described their contributions as small and modest. These statements express an awareness about their support not “turn[ing] everything upside down” (Amina, interview with the author, November 27, 2015) and that they are not able to “change the world” (Isabell, interview with the author, June 9, 2016; Verena, interview with the author, December 6, 2015). This awareness is critical to white agency and its impulse towards action, whilst leaving non-Mapuche activists with a positive feeling of being able to contribute: “I really feel amazed that I can play even the smallest part [...]” (Amanda, interview with the author, July 5, 2016).

Such practices were described metaphorically as “building blocks” that contribute to transnational advocacy and international solidarity. On the one side, these blocks finally would add up to a path towards more substantial change, which should be built “in consultation or commissioned by the affected group” (Isabell, interview with the author, June 9, 2016). On the other hand, these blocks were depicted as parts of a “mosaic in what could maybe be done and achieved” (Sybille, interview with the author, June 26, 2016).

An interpretation of solidarity as ‘building blocks’ points in two different directions of how to understand contemporary expressions of political action. On the one hand, limiting solidarity to small contributions can be a symptom of the melancholia over the possibility for systemic or even revolutionary change based on the experience of failed political projects of the Left throughout the twentieth century (Traverso 2017). On the other, the contemporary heterogeneity of political projects of the Left is also analysed as a mosaic, in which “the Left can be understood as an association of field actors, who contribute to a progressive transformation within their fields, in order to enable agency [...] beyond their field” (Urban 2007; my translation). I contend that the metaphor presented above and its underlying understanding of soli-

darity as a critical praxis is caught in the contradiction between two analyses, wherein each manages to highlight a particular dimension.

Another way interviewees describe the praxis of solidarity is through the metaphor of healing. In situations of personal or collective suffering and traumas, healing aims to “generate positive [human] beings” as a reaction to when “there is only pain” (Alex Mora, interview with the author, November 28, 2015). Practices and encounters of solidarity thus would provide opportunities for the involved people to get to know each other better and, consequently, to heal each other (José Luis Calfucura, interview with the author, February 16, 2016b)

Rayen Kvyeh describes her exile in Germany in the 1980s as an experience of healing, which was supported by her (German) comrades and a “feeling of strong friendship” (Rayen Kvyeh, interview with the author, March 1, 2016). Solidarity thus is presented as a praxis that aims to “heal souls [and] heal people” (Pastoral Mapuche, group discussion, April 6, 2016). It is, according to this metaphor, about contributing to and caring about the emotional, affective, psychological, and physical well-being of all the people involved.

Almost all the political events in the context of transnational advocacy and international solidarity that I experienced included a sort of shared meal. This is true for both the contexts of Europe and Wallmapu. Political meetings, actions, demonstrations, or simple visits always included eating together—at the very least a snack and tea. Based on that experience, eating together can count as a metaphor for a critical praxis of solidarity.

It is particularly interesting how people give meaning to these shared moments. In my experience, eating became an essential part of working collaboratively. The host of a solidarity event in Wallmapu or Europe would feel responsible for providing a shared meal for everyone before or after a political event. The importance of sharing that moment was expressed to me in the context of the trial against *Mapuexpress* in July 2017. After the trial, all the supporters came together for a meal and I was warned that it would be rude to reject the invitation, to come only for the trial, or to leave before everyone has eaten. This means there is even a (sometimes rather unspoken) demand for and morality in the practice of coming together to eat.⁷

7 Beyond the praxis of eating together, the transmission of knowledge about food and its preparation is crucial to the contemporary recreation of Mapuche cultural practices mostly carried out by Mapuche women. In that way, they “enact private and embodied politics of resistance against cultural absorption.” (Becerra et. al. 2017, 13)

Furthermore, the ways meals are shared is given a particular meaning. In my visit to the community of Llaguepulli, I wanted to know what kind of practices and encounters with non-Mapuche the community members perceived to be valuable and positive. On two occasions, good relationships with non-Mapuche visitors to the community were emphasised by having begun through shared meals. Cecilia Necul says that she expressed surprise that the visitors “also wanted to eat with us” (interview with the author, March 10, 2016) as a sign of mutual appreciation. Another conversation told the story of a non-Mapuche family who developed a good and trusting relationship with their hosts, Selma and Ramón Necul. According to them, the mutual trust was expressed by the fact that both families started to have meals together at the same table (Selma and Ramón Necul, interview with the author, March 11, 2016).

Eating together can be interpreted as a way of incorporating a guest into the intimate cultural praxis of the *ngvtram*, a family conversation. But it is further an occasion wherein an immaterial and material exchange takes place. Sharing a meal becomes a ritualised practice between strangers, where the guest is treated as if he or she were a friend: “Sharing the food and the food [itself] are the currency” and “if I serve you, then you are the debtor. You owe me” (Fernando Díaz, interview with the author, March 26, 2016). But the act of eating together can also be a symbol for an already established trusting and intimate social relationship: for example, on one occasion (a meal, of course), I was introduced to the Mapuche notion of *mizawvn*, which describes the situation of when two (or more) people eat from the same plate as an expression of enormous trust.

Sharing food is thus a highly important metaphor not only to express how solidarity is enacted or the act of eating itself; it also highlights a critical praxis through which socially binding, long-term relationships between non-Mapuche and Mapuche are produced as a form of *compromiso* or fortified in the case of *mizawvn*. It is through this metaphor that solidarity in the present case ceases to be a relationship between two different groups that came together through a political purpose and gradually transforms the political encounter into social solidarity. However, whilst sharing food is a very concrete and vivid metaphor for a practice of solidarity, the importance of sharing and exchange itself deserves some attention as well.

Solidarity as *Compartir*: (Critical) Practices of Sharing in Solidarity

Sharing food transforms the ways in which the involved actors come together, but the crucial aspect of this practice lies in the sharing and not necessarily in the food. Thus, the transformative potential of encounters of solidarity lies in practices of sharing and exchanging material and immaterial goods. Weaving the solidarity network produces an infinite number of encounters of solidarity in which different actors come together and share their experiences. This dynamic was described in Spanish as *compartir experiencias*, in which actors encounter each other on the basis of a political solidarity but might transform their relationships into social solidarities.

First, the notion of *compartir* deserves some attention. I was puzzled when my Mapuche interview partners put more emphasis on solidarity in the form of sharing experiences rather than concrete political actions. For example, as a central aim of the encounters between *Wallmapuwen* and international actors, Isabel Cañet highlights the idea of “sharing experiences and points of view and insights about the political work and experiences of progress” (interview with the author, February 24, 2016). In my perspective, *compartir* can include different notions: it can mean the act of sharing the same thing equally, sharing different things (exchange), or just spending time together and hanging out.

Compartir was also used in other statements to describe a positive relationship with non-Mapuche people based on mutual sharing and exchange both in a material and immaterial sense. In that way, acts of sharing can be described as spending time together, exchanging cultural knowledge, or exchanging gifts (Cecilia Necul, interview with the author, March 10, 2016). It is important that the three meanings of *compartir*—sharing, exchange, and spending time together—work together in the transformation of a relationship and would even, in the words of María Teresa Loncón (interview with the author, March 3, 2016), “reaffirm the *compromiso*” between strangers.

In that way, *compartir* becomes an indicator of the quality of the relationships produced through transnational advocacy or solidarity action. For example, Alex Mora laments that there are some people in the European solidarity network who are active but “do not get together with each other” and “are isolated, trying to keep themselves at a distance” (interview with the author, November 28, 2015). On the other side (especially in sociocultural events of the Mapuche diaspora like the *wetripantu*) are moments of *compartir*, “where we get together and there are all kinds of organisations, they come to get to-

gether, get to know each other, see each other, talk to one another" (Ibid.). In that way, the notion of *compartir* has an intrinsically sociocultural dimension that is not only connected to but rather inseparable from political solidarity efforts.

Moreover, several non-Mapuche appreciated the possibility of *compartir* (i.e., spending time and getting together) with Mapuche. For instance, Peter describes these moments as "something slightly exceptional" and feels honoured since, according to him "they do not do that with everyone" (interview with the author, December 1, 2015). Solidarity projects or transnational advocacy thus create such situations in which non-Mapuche actors might "by happenstance slip into" these moments in which they "just hang out with them" (Ibid.).

This appreciation of spending time together is reciprocated by the addressees of solidarity. Frida Erazo from the *Pastoral Mapuche* appreciates that a delegation from Adveniat "shared time with the communities, but above all [...] with the family" (Pastoral Mapuche, group discussion, April 6, 2016) during their visit to Chile. To her, the Adveniat delegation was able to "visualise the fruits of their support" (Ibid.) by spending time with the beneficiaries of their donations.

After understanding the notion of *compartir*, it is worth looking more concretely at what is actually being shared. This is because besides the meaning of *compartir* as spending time together or hanging out, it also expresses the exchange of goods and gifts, space, and knowledge. Gift or good exchange is a fundamental aspect of the practices within international solidarity with the Mapuche. I rarely experienced an encounter amongst Mapuche or between Mapuche and non-Mapuche activists that did not involve bringing a gift to the host. Such goods are rarely valuable, but are rather tokens of appreciation by the guest in order to symbolically reciprocate the hospitality, value the opportunity of the encounter, and recognise the effort of receiving someone. In the European context, such gifts were books, sweets, something to eat, or a bottle of wine or beer. But besides its symbolic meaning, such gifts can also be contributions to a household with low resources, for example in communities in resistance.⁸

The importance of such gifts as a sign of respecting my Mapuche hosts was underlined to me by my contacts within the Mapuche diaspora in Europe. In Wallmapu, I also learnt that it was important to bring some food

8 For example, nonperishable food like noodles, rice, coffee, or tea.

or *mate* tea to the political prisoners. Eventually, I learnt of one's preferences and started bringing a particular cake or brand of tea during my visits. Other solidarity activists told me that they were also instructed to bring some gifts to their hosts. Sybille was surprised that the gift is not further commented about and, in her perspective, is taken for granted. Her host even ironically challenged her by complaining that she had brought the wrong brand of tea (interview with the author, June 26, 2016). Furthermore, the exchange of gifts is something that enables a durable and caring relationship between the (Mapuche) host and the (non-Mapuche) guest (Cecilia Necul, interview with the author, March 10, 2016).

It is important that these gifts are adequate to the context in which they are exchanged, for example, they are not too expensive or too insignificant. More expensive gifts are especially problematic because they complicate the possibility to reciprocate and contribute to an unequal relationship, undercutting the possibility for an equal devolution—"thus does mutual aid slip into inequality [and] [t]hus do patron-client relations come into being" (Graeber 2011, 119). Such inequality contributes to a paternalistic relationship⁹ because they are forced into a position of debtors; in order to reciprocate, they would have to enter in a relationship of subordination (Fernando Díaz, interview with the author, March 26, 2016). This is why, for example, excessive monetary donations were directly rejected (José Luis Calfucura, interview with the author, February 16, 2016b)

Compartir also includes sharing spaces of encounters. The gifts by the guests thus reciprocate the invitation to the host's space. Sharing spaces is also a symbolic act and is linked to the importance of the territory within Mapuche cosmology and political thought. In that perspective, inviting a non-Mapuche to a Mapuche territory becomes a meaningful act because of the spiritual and cultural connections associated with certain locations. It also means to share one's community, which is the basis of the rural Mapuche political, social, and cultural life. On a smaller scale, my hosts have shared

9 For example, in the 1960s and '70s, right-wing landlords corrupted Mapuche communities by paying for a huge barbecue for everyone. The community felt an obligation to pay them back by voting for the right-wing candidate (Vicente Paniel, interview with the author, March 3, 2016). Also, today monetary donations and credit from state agencies are considered very critically (Mauricio Vergaras, interview with the author, February 25, 2016). Moreover, I was given examples of private companies who basically paid off Mapuche communities for their support of, for instance, a hydro-electric power-plant in their area (Rubén Sanchez, interview with the author, March 1, 2016).

their houses with me—their most intimate space—and introduced me to their whole family, including their animals. In addition, there is a meaning attached to sharing the same table whilst eating as part of the family conversation *ngvtram*.

Sharing spaces can also have a political function by providing encounters of different political struggles, in which political and sociocultural differences, as well as commonalities, can be articulated. For example, Llanquiray Painemal explains that by sharing the same space in Berlin, different diasporic groups came together and learnt about their different histories, whilst also “looking for a connection with other struggles” (interview with the author, June 16, 2017). Thus, sharing spaces is a meaningful practice in the context of international solidarity, as it is an opportunity for different actors to encounter and connect with each other. They might not share the same vulnerability and positionality, but through sharing the same space, for example within a Mapuche community in resistance, they can experience the material immediacy of repression at a particular moment.¹⁰ Sharing space thus can serve both to find commonalities in political struggles and at the same time create opportunities for non-Mapuche to empathise with feelings of vulnerability.

A third interesting expression of *compartir* is the sharing and exchanging of knowledge through international solidarity. To start with, several non-Mapuche actors admit to having benefitted from their engagement by acquiring knowledge and learning new things. They describe the activists of the Mapuche diaspora as mentoring the non-Mapuche in solidarity and advocacy action (Amanda, interview with the author, July 1, 2016). Learning new things is also articulated as a central motivation to get involved with solidarity action in the first place. For example, visiting solidarity events serves as a contribution to their academic curriculum (Rike, interview with the author, May 27, 2016; Verena, interview with the author, December 6, 2015). At least Isabell (interview with the author, June 9, 2016), who is from an Indigenous and human rights advocacy organisation, recognises the unpaid labour of the Mapuche diaspora in educating non-Mapuche activists, sharing information, and contributing to their knowledge.

10 I remember vividly the discomfort and vulnerability I felt whilst visiting a Mapuche community in resistance and looking at the sky and seeing a drone flying above or jumping out of the way of an excessively speeding armoured police car.

Yet Mapuche actors also claim to benefit from the educational and knowledge exchange within international solidarity. For example, Jaime Huenchullán sees in education an “important issue that also should be worked on” (Radio Mapuche 2015). Such experiences would include both the support of educational efforts within his community as well as the solidarity tours by his community’s representatives.¹¹ For him, the exchange of “solidarity and exchange of experiences has been reciprocal,” because “[o]ne has learnt a lot and also the people who came here have learnt with us” (Jaime Huenchullán, interview with the author, March 20, 2016). At the same time, he articulates an awareness about the fact that international non-Mapuche actors have benefitted from the knowledge the community produced “as a product of the struggle” (Ibid.).

The exchange of knowledge also benefits the political efforts of Mapuche organisations and communities by sharing experiences of political strategies and mobilisations (Isabel Cañet, interview with the author, February 24, 2016). For Isabel Cañet, there must be a “redistribution in terms of knowledge and experiences” by international solidarity actors, because “it interests us a lot to get to know the experiences [of others] and [...] people who can come here and also share experiences in terms of participating in the process of revitalising the language [...]” (Ibid.).

Educational exchange is also articulated as a central element of the diasporic experience of some of my interlocutors. For example, Alex Mora claims to have “learnt to see to what we are subjected to” and says, “it is like opening your eyes, like an incredible thing, like living here you start seeing your rights” (interview with the author, November 28, 2015). In addition, Llanquiray Paine-mal stresses that she learnt a lot by connecting with the struggles of other diasporic groups in Berlin as a process of “enrichment” (interview with the author, June 16, 2017).

Rayen Kvyeh, who was a political refugee in Germany in the 1980s, had a similar experience. For her, “Germany was a source of knowledge” and through her engagement in the internationalist journal *iz3w* in Freiburg, she suddenly had access to “a world of political, social, historical, cultural knowledge of

11 Another example would be an educational exchange for young community members in order to study abroad. These young people should then “become an element of the struggle [...] and, if it happens, it would be good if they put this preparation at the disposition of their people afterwards” (Jaime Huenchullán, interview with the author, March 20, 2016).

Africa, of Europe, Arab countries, India, America” (interview with the author, March 1, 2016). On an interpersonal level, she appreciated the opportunity to have this “contribution of knowledge” from “the comrades” (Ibid.). She also notes that she appreciated the opportunity to learn about different ways of knowing the world. For example, in Germany, she was astonished by “an almost mathematical analysis of the things you could say are scientific” (Ibid.). Thus, her mixed background in cosmologies is something she is thankful for.

These experiences seem to indicate that both non-Mapuche and Mapuche benefit equally from the dynamic of sharing and exchange. Nevertheless, *compartir* can also turn into a highly exploitative relationship and reinforce a racialised and geopolitical North-South divide, in which certain privileges and resources are distributed unequally. Such exchanges can have an exploitative dynamic,¹² in which non-Mapuche actors unevenly benefit. This is why the different modalities of exchange and sharing need to be discussed critically by asking whether they constitute exploitative or reciprocal—that is, mutually beneficial—relationships.

Chapter six already discussed some expressions of an exploitative relationship between Mapuche and non-Mapuche, where the latter transform Maputhusiasm into a commodity for their personal benefit in forms of donations or reputation. This exploitative dynamic is a consequence and materialisation of paternalistic attitudes by non-Indigenous people.

In a different context, Amina told me how Sybille was perceived by a visiting Mapuche delegation. Whilst Amina describes her relationship with members of the delegation in positive terms, they did not accept Sybille in the same way. Amina (interview with the author, November 27, 2015) explains that—unlike Sybille—she had never used her engagement in solidarity action to publish something by herself and did not “make that my project” (Ibid.). Her story shows that the Mapuche delegation morally opposed the fact that Sybille profited from their relationship. In contrast, Amina did not appropriate the value produced in the encounters of solidarity.

This example highlights that there is not only an awareness of, but also consequences for, such exploitative dynamics. In this vein, Alex Mora argues that there is a need for “more control” within the solidarity rhizome, since “you cannot make money with pain. [...] There are people who have good intentions at the beginning but afterwards you realise that there are profit in-

12 It is important to recall that exploitation is a structural relationship and not a mere question of morality.

terests and they also take advantage" (interview with the author, November 28, 2015). Controlling the setting of international solidarity in Europe thus reveals itself as a reaction of the Mapuche diaspora against possible exploitative dynamics.

In the interviews with non-Mapuche solidarity actors, I specifically asked who they think benefits from their particular project. Most of the answers reflected an uncanny awareness about the possible exploitative dynamic and their disproportionate benefit within solidarity action. For example, Peter laments that after he had filmed his documentary in a Mapuche community, "they were suddenly left alone" (interview with the author, December 1, 2015). He describes it as "awful" to imagine that some foreign people spend one week with you, document your life, and suddenly disappear without knowing what they are going to do with that material. Regarding the question of who benefits, he considers it "pretty difficult to define without anyone being disappointed" (Ibid.).

Other statements expressed a discomfort of being perceived as "sensation-seeking" and about the possibility of Mapuche people feeling as an "object of study" (Clarissa, interview with the author, January 22, 2016). Thus, there seems to be an awareness about the fact that encounters of solidarity reflect and reproduce power imbalances because "that feeling might come up, 'someone comes from outside, has read some books, and thinks that s/he somehow can talk to you, and, yes, maybe they change something and maybe they don't, but, yes, these people will have done their job and leave'" (Madelaine, interview with the author, December 6, 2015).

I interpret these statements as reflections about the possibility of reproducing an exploitative dynamic within solidarity action based on the existing power imbalances within a particular encounter. Such encounters produce situations that non-Mapuche activists describe as uncanny, absurd, or discomforting and in which they are worried that their actions might have negative consequences for the Mapuche.

Decolonial interventions have already criticised the exploitative dynamic of non-Indigenous and Indigenous relations within encounters of solidarity. They particularly address the unequal exchange (exploitation) in knowledges as part of a "critique [of] the imperialistic enthusiasm for 'getting to know the Other' as one-way sharing that benefits only non-Indigenous people" (Land 2015, 119). The interest of non-Mapuche actors in learning from the Mapuche

thus transforms the latter into native informants¹³ without reciprocating the knowledge transfer. Based on such decolonial interventions, sharing knowledge is much more than the exchange of information; instead, it is based on a social dimension between the interlocutors which demands a respectful and dialogic—that is, reciprocal—relationship.

Mapuche actors have challenged such experiences of exploitative dynamics within solidarity action further by demanding a fair redistribution. They hereby argue for a more reciprocal or redistributive dynamic within solidarity as *compartir*. This idea was also proposed by Isabel Cañet, who insists on a “redistribution in terms of knowledge and experiences” (interview with the author, February 24, 2016), and by Nadia Paineñil, who criticises researchers who do not leave “a redistribution of what they investigated” (interview with the author, March 10, 2016). The idea of redistribution is interesting because it shows a clear awareness of the fact that non-Mapuche people benefit from these encounters and, accordingly, demands repayment. It further challenges the illusion that there actually might be a horizontal exchange within relations of solidarity that are clearly unequal.

Several stories demonstrate how a redistribution or devolution between Mapuche organisations and communities and solidarity activists might take place. For example, Alex Mora notes that he started to support “the Mapuche movement by taking photographs” but “handed over all the material” (interview with the author, November 28, 2015). Such accounts include promises, as Sybille (interview with the author, June 26, 2016) explains, “that all of them will get a piece” of the final product, in that case a photography documentary about Wallmapu, by “bringing pictures from the first trip to the second and distributing them to everyone I see.” In short, her idea was “to carry the whole project back to Chile”.

Practices of redistribution and devolution within solidarity action are not given but demanded as a condition by Mapuche actors to agree to support a certain project. This situation sometimes created irritation amongst the non-Mapuche actors. For example, Peter was puzzled when some of the commu-

13 A decolonial critique of the native informant, in contrast, argues that “an interview, for instance, is not just a means to obtain data.” Instead, “it is a visit in which the interviewer is a guest in someone else’s memories and in someone else’s mind. A most respectful and ritualized dialogic relationship needs to be forged before such an exchange may even take place. If we were to engage decoloniality strictly on careerist grounds, it would lack a moral center” (Arias 2018, 618).

nity members demanded a copy of the finished documentary or “from time to time [...] wanted some things from us” (interview with the author, December 1, 2015). In contrast, I would like to ask why they should not demand things in return. It seems that the community is clearly aware that they also should benefit from the project in some way.

Such demands of Mapuche communities reflect their experience of supporting a certain project or handing out information. Today, there is “a lot of distrust also in the fact that sometimes you [the Mapuche] give out information and then it does not come back” (Isabel Cañet, interview with the author, February 24, 2016). We went deeper into the topic of redistribution in our conversation and she began to demand redistribution from me as a non-Mapuche researcher. She directly suggested ways of how *Wallmapuwen* could make use of and share my research results. Her statement started by acknowledging me as a researcher and my investment in the extraction of knowledges. But continuing, she proposed some kind of deal between us, in which she would give me an interview on the condition that I redistribute some of the material (Isabel Cañet, interview with the author, February 24, 2016).

In a similar way, my interview partners in the community of Llaguepulli discussed and demanded redistribution from me. In these situations, I was directly challenged on “what contribution” I would be able “to leave to the community” (Cecilia Necul, interview with the author, March 10, 2016). It was suggested I “send notes [...] by internet or fax” or contribute “with some sort of little book” for future visitors to the community (Ibid.). Nadia Paineñil (from the same community) highlights the educational and political benefit of such forms of redistribution. This is because of a critique that “people give information and then it does not come back here” so that, for example, “many of the regional universities here keep the Mapuche knowledges and they become the owners of Mapuche knowledge” (interview with the author, March 10, 2016). Her father, Luis Paineñil, also laments the historical continuity in which many investigations have extracted knowledge but do not provide “any report afterwards, a document, everything they talked about” (Ibid.).

Nevertheless, these statements do not seem to reject the possibility of research or solidarity projects with the community generally, but critically address the terms on which this collaboration is done. For them, there must be a clear and visible benefit for the community, in which the idea of redistribution is only one possibility.

Of course, some solidarity projects do not end up like they were planned. In this way, the possible redistribution or benefit for a community is nonexis-

tent. Jaime Huenchullán addresses such cases with understanding: “if things did not work out, it is because they just could not be done (pause) and we understood [this].” (interview with the author, March 20, 2016). In contrast and despite such disappointments, he goes on that “[from] all the people [non-Mapuche foreigners] that we have met, we are in contact with the majority and some come back or visit us” (Ibid.). This statement reveals something noteworthy: despite failed projects and the disappointments that go along with them, Jaime Huenchullán appreciates the commitment and *compromiso* of these non-Mapuche actors because they have come back to visit them. He thus gives value not exclusively to encounters of solidarity that concluded in a successful project but also to those that led to an enduring social relationship expressed in ongoing mutual visits. In other words, the political aspect of solidarity becomes secondary to its social dimension.

Juan Fuenzálida goes into a similar direction whilst detailing that he began to understand that within Mapuche cosmology the “relationship comes first” (interview with the author, March 12, 2016). The quality of the exchange within encounters of solidarity then is not just measured according to its exploitative dynamic or possible redistribution. Encounters of solidarity are rather judged by if and how they create a social surplus and relations of social solidarity between the involved actors.

Going back to my experience from the beginning of this chapter, now it becomes clear why Vicente Painel disapproved of Clarissa’s behaviour. Despite her possible political solidarity with the Mapuche, she preferred to maintain social relations of solidarity by living with a white Chilean family; she chose their relationship over the ones she had with the Mapuche.

Solidarity as *keyuvvn/mingako*: The Assemblages of Solidarity

The final section of this chapter will argue how encounters of political solidarity between Mapuche and non-Mapuche produce and assemble new social bonds, and thus forms of social solidarity. This challenges a basic assumption in the idea of a political solidarity that the involved actors are socially separated and distant. Instead, encounters of political solidarity, for example within transnational advocacy and international solidarity, thus have the potential to transform the social relationships of the involved actors into forms of social solidarity. In short, the political solidarity between non-Mapuche

and Mapuche demands and, in some cases, creates and assembles, new social bonds.

The idea of assemblages is particularly helpful here because it “allow[s] us to ask about communal effects [of international solidarity] without assuming them” (Tsing 2015, 23). Understood that way, the outcome of international solidarity cannot only be measured by looking at policy, legal, or institutional change, but needs to include the heterogenous and open ways of assembling social bonds of affinity between and across different actors.

Such an assemblage of social and political solidarity is strange for a Eurocentric perspective. I found it hard to make sense of Vicente Painel explaining Clarissa’s choice of staying with a non-Mapuche family despite her (possible) engagement in political solidarity. In a similar way, Peter was struck by the fact that the Mapuche community constantly demanded he spend more time with them. For example, “they did not want any money from us. It was more about small, interpersonal moments” (interview with the author, December 1, 2015). These experiences indicate the value Mapuche actors assign to the social dimension of encounters of solidarity.

Two Mapuche concepts or ideas, *keyuwvn* and *mingako*, are particularly helpful to decipher the importance of social and communal bonds for a critical notion of solidarity. A decolonial approach to solidarity needs to go in two directions. On the one hand, it demands a critique of Eurocentric notions of solidarity that inform contemporary solidarity practices, legitimise paternalism, recentre white agency, or reproduce colonial stereotypes. On the other, it challenges to think of solidarity beyond Eurocentric categories and instead based on other cosmological and epistemological notions. The last section of this chapter addresses the latter.

Several Mapuche interlocutors challenge the Eurocentric idea of Western forms of solidarity and proposed notions of solidarity based on a Mapuche cosmology. The most elaborate analysis comes from Rayen Kvyeh, who critically notes that “you [Europeans] have a concept of solidarity which is about helping the poor” (interview with the author, March 1, 2016). She explains the Mapuche idea of solidarity thusly:

Amongst the Mapuche that is not the concept of solidarity. The concept of our solidarity is not the solidarity in a *wigka* style, as we say. You should not [only] help one because he is poor, right? For example, have you ever been to Chiloé? Well, there you use the *mingka*, right? [...] You build a house because it is a sentiment, it is belonging, let’s say, and everyone participates

and builds the house. In occidental terms you would call this solidarity, right? But for us it is not solidarity, it is part of life itself. Because you defend the Mapuche prisoners not because of a political conception but because it's part of life. The Western concept of solidarity is when you give something to someone. We do not give something to someone, we share. You share the pain, you share the land, you share the food, you share love, beliefs, the struggle of belonging of being Mapuche—that is solidarity. It is not that you give the other [something]. Mapuche solidarity does not have a price, it does not have a currency. It does not translate into currency. It does translate in facts, in care, in love, in work, in being there. That is solidarity. (Ibid.)

She associates the Western concept of solidarity with paternalistic and hierarchical practices. Instead, in her account, solidarity is part of a belonging to a particular social group and takes place within communal life and as a member of that group. She hereby critiques the ideological motivation for solidarity within theories about political solidarity.

This conversation with Rayen Kvyeh was joined by a *machi* friend of hers. After the interview, he offered to translate notions of solidarity into Mapuzugun and explain their meaning. He offered the idea of *mingako* as collective and solidarity work, *lofkedaw* as communal work, *lofdungu* as any topic or thing that has a communal importance, *norfeleal* as having a good time and living well, *komkeyuayin* as mutual help, wherein everyone helps everyone, and finally, *wayontamapukeyuaful* as international solidarity. All of these notions have an essentially communal and social basis and cannot be detached from the social context in which they take place because they are tied to a specific collective or community. Also, they clearly speak to the moral and affective dimensions of such forms of solidarity.

The cooperative *Kvme Mogen* also bases its work on Mapuche cosmology as their guiding principles. They argue that the Mapuche notions of *keyuwvn*, to work amongst everyone, and *mingako*, collective work in the countryside/community, can be translated to the form of the Western notion of the cooperative (Pérez Guerra 2016).

If we follow the insight of Rayen Kvyeh, this means that in encounters of international solidarity two different understandings of solidarity clash. Vicente Painel understands this in terms of the sociological difference between mechanic and organic solidarity. According to him, “European solidarity is organic solidarity” and “in the case of the Mapuche [...] you maintain a lot of mechanic solidarity” (interview with the author, March 3, 2016). As expressions

of this mechanic solidarity, he gives examples like the *keyuwvn* or *mingako*, but also of the *malluntu*, which is what Mauss (2013) describes as mutual and obligatory gift exchange. With that anthropological perspective it is now possible to conceive of the “relation-making force of the gift” (Tsing 2015, 123) in such practices between Mapuche and non-Mapuche. Accordingly, this would mean that the Mapuche society is characterised by strong communal bonds and mutual identification, which are perpetuated through an ongoing debt via obligatory gift exchange. On the other side, Western socialisation causes a higher degree of individualisation in non-Mapuche, where there is no need to verify social bonds through gift exchange due to social stratification and labour division.

This differentiation is helpful for understanding statements in which non-Mapuche solidarity actors complain about the social distance between German people in contrast to Latin Americans (Verena, interview with the author, December 6, 2015). Such a comment appears to be a critique of the lack of communal bonds and the singularisation within a highly stratified society. Furthermore, organic solidarity also describes the increasing specification and differentiation of labour within Western societies.

Such a contractual understanding clashes with the more mechanic notions of solidarity amongst the Mapuche society, where individual tasks, obligations, and responsibilities are subject to constant negotiation. This is why, for example, Madelaine (interview with the author, December 6, 2015) was puzzled by the idea that her presence might lead to further demands by the Mapuche community. After all, for her, there is an apparently clear division of labour between both parties. In her view, her engagement thus would not further create a mutual obligation that eventually demands certain forms of reciprocity or the establishment of social bonds.

In contrast, the majority of statements from Mapuche interlocutors point towards more mechanic forms of solidarity, in which the social cohesion is given more importance than the individual and is “only possible to the extent that the individual personality merges into the collective personality” (Durkheim 2012, 183; my translation). This kind of mechanic solidarity is not a contractual relationship between individuals but is rather a result of the social bonds within a collective. This is what the Mapuche notions of *mingako* and *keyuwvn* embody.

Some experiences and statements within transnational advocacy and international solidarity express such an understanding. For example, the aim of the cooperative *Kvme Mogen* is not an “individual accumulation” of associates

but to build a “culture of mutual, solidarity support, that people remember even from their historical memory” like when in a community “a person does some work [for someone and] then that someone does some work for someone else” (Gloria Marivil, interview with the author, February 23, 2016). The cooperation hereby favours an economy of mutual obligations, in contrast to the Western understanding of solidarity as a voluntary act. Thus, as the result of a communal belonging, solidarity implies a mutual obligation and commitment, in which the social bonds are (re)produced.

This further explains why, for example, there is no possibility to donate in *Kvme Mogen*. Instead, the only option for international support is for non-Mapuche actors to become members (Vicente Paniel, interview with the author, March 3, 2016). The reason is that a mechanic logic of solidarity demands that the mutual obligation as a basis for mutual support can only be the result of a belonging to the collective of associates. Whilst a donation, according to the logic of organic solidarity, would be the result of an individual choice without a community, in mechanic solidarity support is possible only through adherence and belonging to a collective.

Several statements about *compartir* reflect this logic of mutual obligation in contrast to individual choices. In that perspective, *compartir* is not a logic that closes or seals a deal, but it creates and reproduces a debt between both actors who are now mutually obliged to perpetuate their relationship. The creation of a debt thus transforms voluntary acts of solidarity into obligation, expressed in a ritualised, material, or immaterial gift exchange.

This ritualised and obligatory gift exchange in Mapuche society, the *malluntu*, creates a moral and social surplus, symbolised by the gift (Frank 2016, 263–68). The *malluntu* is also present in encounters of solidarity between non-Mapuche and Mapuche in the various forms of *compartir*. Sharing spaces and exchanging goods is essentially a form of gift exchange within a mechanic logic of solidarity. Hereby, apparent meaningless small tokens of appreciation resemble symbolically and cosmologically loaded artefacts that create mutual obligations leading towards social bonds. In contrast to the contractual logic within organic solidarity, the gift exchange essentially aims at perpetuating the social bonds (Frank 2016, 274).

Such encounters between non-Mapuche and Mapuche and their underlying gift exchange thus imitate the Mapuche logic of creating alliances with foreigners on the basis of an unstable balance between friendship and enmity. For example, the most important Mapuche ritual, the *nguillatun*, consists of a series of gift exchanges that symbolically transform enemies into allies (Díaz

Fernandez 2012, 80). Experiences of *compartir* within encounters of solidarity thus resemble the dynamics of alliance-making and social recruitment of the Mapuche society (Stuchlik 1999).

In that way, political encounters of solidarity take place according to the mechanic logic of solidarity within the Mapuche society. International non-Mapuche actors are woven into this social network on the basis of their political engagement and become socially attached to and assembled with Mapuche communities and organisations as a result of their general “openness towards a possible social horizon” (Díaz Fernandez 2012, 69; my translation) with the non-Mapuche world. In contrast to the assumption that organic forms of solidarity slowly overlap mechanic forms,¹⁴ in that case the social experiences of organic solidarity by non-Mapuche are slowly transformed as they are woven into the social Mapuche networks.

These encounters of different logics of solidarity can, in the worst case, (re)produce relations of domination and exploitation between the non-Mapuche and Mapuche societies. This also leaves non-Mapuche solidarity actors puzzled about the different Mapuche solidarity logic, which requires social interaction. In the best case, the encounters through solidarity action actually produce durable and intimate social bonds amongst Mapuche and non-Mapuche actors. Finally, it is not only the possibility of the co-existence of mechanic and organic solidarity that deserves special attention. What is more, those bonds are created following a mechanic logic of solidarity and thus disprove the teleological assumptions about the suppression of mechanic by organic solidarity.

Several Mapuche interview partners highlighted that solidarity in their perspective, whether as *keyuwvn* or *mingako*, should be a mutual, reciprocal, and horizontal relationship.¹⁵ In the Mapuche society, there is a generalised reciprocity that does not immediately expect the return of a gift but demands the general disposition of devolution. In that way, “this disposition towards reciprocity that manifests itself in the form of hospitality, generosity, and that escapes the quick answer in the sense of a ‘payment’ for a service is what establishes a network of mutual support on which the Mapuche society is built

14 Most prominently articulated by Durkheim (2012, 200–255).

15 This is important because mechanic solidarity and gift exchange can also create or deepen hierarchies amongst different actors. In particular, nonmonetary gift exchange is a key factor in developing debts and thus hierarchies within human societies (Graeber 2011).

today” (Díaz Fernandez 2012, 82; my translation). This logic of mutual support also manifests itself within encounters of solidarity with the non-Mapuche world. Notably, its generalised logic of reciprocity demands an equal benefit, or at least the promise of a benefit, of all the involved actors as a responsibility and obligation towards a shared community.

The reciprocal aspect of solidarity implies the disposition of “people helping each other, being in solidarity, having responsibilities as a community” and “that the communities assume the responsibility towards their members, the people” (Llanquira Painemal, interview with the author, June 16, 2017). It demands a growth that is mutual by “looking for the best balance so that everyone is able to profit” (José Luis Calfucura, interview with the author, February 16, 2016a). Furthermore, representatives of *Kvme Mogen* articulate the reciprocal aspect of *keyuwvn* as part of the general Mapuche ethics *az mapu* (Pérez Guerra 2016).¹⁶

The reciprocal aspect of solidarity is also present in interpersonal relationships between Mapuche and non-Mapuche. Whilst speaking about her exile in Germany, Rayen Kvyeh (interview with the author, March 1, 2016) constantly puts emphasis on the mutuality and reciprocity of the learning process between her and her German hosts, which benefitted both. These connections later became friendships based on that shared understanding of horizontality.

However, such relations of reciprocity can be corrupted by powerful and resourceful actors from the outside. For example, Chilean institutions have tried to get influence within a community by engaging in the everyday networks of mutual exchange or ritualised practices like the *nguillatun*. Fernando Díaz describes such attempts as akin to “a virus entering a network” (interview with the author, March 26, 2016), since the hierarchical logic of the state would destabilise the principle of reciprocity within the Mapuche society. However, as long as external actors respect the autonomy of their society and do not try to co-opt their decision-making processes, an external support that is sensitive to the principle of reciprocity would not be destabilising (Ibid.). In short, as long as it is on a reciprocal basis, international solidarity is welcome.

16 Specifically, it was described as the creation of something that is owned collectively without being indebted to anyone (Gloria Marivil, interview with the author, February 23, 2016), the formation of an alliance with others in a situation of equality (Ibid.), and a system of saving and mutual loans for members of a community (Ibid.).

Mutual support is conceptualised as a horizontal form of solidarity that does not (re)produce social stratification, but rather reinforces balanced and equal social relationships. Horizontal support and solidarity would mean “building a world where everyone has a place, where you have a place, where the other comrade has a place, respecting each other, and also, sure, learning relations of horizontality” (Llanquiray Painemal, interview with the author, June 16, 2017). In addition, transcultural communication and translation should include horizontality and allow mutual critique (Ibid.) in order to strive towards an “equilibrium in the discussion” and “to have the same opportunities to discuss amongst equals” (Rayen Kvyeh, interview with the author, March 1, 2016).

Communicative horizontality is also a central demand of the contemporary Mapuche organisations towards the Chilean state (Mauricio Vergaras, interview with the author, February 25, 2016). This is because until the present day there has been no horizontal basis for a political dialogue between Mapuche society and the Chilean state. Such a demand for horizontality is equally present within international relations of solidarity with the Mapuche, as an expression of their cultural politics of autonomy.

From Mapuche perspectives, relations of solidarity are conceived as a perpetual, long-term and intimate social and political commitment. Whilst visiting a Mapuche community in resistance during my trip to Wallmapu, I had the chance to discuss solidarity with a local community leader. For him, solidarity of non-Mapuche people would mean that they walk together with the Mapuche—*caminar juntos*. I interpret the idea of walking together as a form of expressing the temporal as well as the spatial dimension of solidarity. It expresses, on the one side, the sustainability and longevity of solidarity and, on the other, the proximity, closeness, and intimacy of people engaged in solidarity. Ultimately, it also expresses a clearly ethical and social quality of solidarity relations.

The appreciation of a long-term commitment is the other side of the coin that sanctions and denounces a short-term commitment or the privilege of leaving.¹⁷ For example, Juan Fuenzálida notes that during his first ten years in Tirúa, there was still a lot of distance between the JMM and the local Mapuche communities. Especially after the seaquake in 2010 and the devastation in the region, the local communities expected the JMM to leave soon. According to Juan Fuenzálida, the fact that they stayed finally led the communities to

17 See chapter six.

bestow their trust upon them. This is because, according to him, their logic is that “if you are not coming to stay, you better not come in the first place!” (interview with the author, March 12, 2016).

This temporal logic of a sustainable solidarity is what measures the commitment, responsibility, and liability of non-Mapuche solidarity actors or organisations. For example, they express an awareness to “show [their] presence” in a Mapuche community in order to “show that we still exist as a group and we still work reliably, and we want contact with you” (Amina, interview with the author, November 27, 2015). The demand of sustainable forms of solidarity is made explicit by claims that “it is necessary that the international solidarity [...] is continuous [...]” (Jaime Huenchullán, interview with the author, March 20, 2016).

The long-term commitment of solidarity also includes the sustainability of the social relations forged in solidarity action, which are measured according to their durability. Positive examples of relations of (social and political) solidarity are those where “you keep in touch and someone comes back” (Ibid.).¹⁸ In contrast, if you do not stay in touch and “if you forget to write an e-mail, if you forget to call me, you forgot what it means to cultivate a friendship” (José Luis Calfucura, interview with the author, February 16, 2016a). Also, rejecting the possibility of a sustainable commitment or invitations to stay longer might cause disappointment and frustration for the Mapuche hosts and expresses the non-Mapuche guests’ privilege of leaving (Peter, interview with the author, December 1, 2015).

This means that durable relations of solidarity create the possibility of friendships between Mapuche and non-Mapuche, making those relations more binding and enjoyable (Amina, interview with the author, November 27, 2015). Friendship and trust are described as possible results of a long-lasting relationship that might have a starting point in the mutual or even just unilateral interest by non-Mapuche in engaging in solidarity action.

Decolonial interventions have also critiqued experiences of solidarity between non-Indigenous and Indigenous people without a long-term commit-

18 A similar idea was expressed in the community of Llaguepulli about experiences of keeping in touch with former non-Mapuche visitors that would even transform them into family members (Cecilia Necul, interview with the author, March 10, 2016). Also, when asked how to describe these good types of relationships with non-Mapuche people, Nadia Paineñil characterises them “as friendships, like staying in contact, they always write us” (Luis and Nadia Paineñil, interview with the author, March 10, 2016).

ment (Land 2015, 166–69). This is because an antiracist or decolonial commitment “requires that white subjects inhabit the critique, *with its lengthy duration*, and [...] recognise the world that is re-described by the critique as one in which they live” (Ahmed 2004, para. 57; emphasis in original). This lengthy duration and demand for sustainable relations of solidarity is expressed, in the present context, by the reciprocal and horizontal logic of solidarity which creates an “infinite sequence of exchanges” and thus “involves a *nexum*” (Frank 2016, 274; emphasis in original). The idea of solidarity as walking together makes this demand for a continuum within solidarity visible.

Coming together in encounters of solidarity and *compartir* is a central aspect of solidarity practice with the Mapuche. These situations make intimate and close encounters between non-Mapuche and Mapuche actors possible. Based on the previous arguments, such encounters of interpersonal proximities could be considered an aim in itself of international solidarity by transforming political solidarity into social bonds. The idea of interpersonal relations as an end in themselves resonates in the famous statement by the Chilean singer and artist Violeta Parra. When asked what artform she preferred, she answered that she would always choose to stay with the people (Alex Mora, interview with the author, November 28, 2015). To paraphrase her, solidarity in the present case is choosing to stay with the people.

During my research, I slowly began to understand that such face-to-face encounters are a fundamental aspect of transnational advocacy and international solidarity. I learnt about its importance in countless situations in which I would just sit around with other (Mapuche) people before or after a political event, drinking tea, having a conversation, or laughing together. And, for example, if you have not yet shaken someone’s hand, there would hardly be an interaction at all.

Numerous statements from interviews with non-Mapuche and Mapuche people alike highlight the importance of interpersonal encounters as an end in itself (The Hague, group discussion, May 5, 2015). Such moments produced a rewarding feeling of encountering people (Rike, interview with the author, May 27, 2016) or established contact in the first place (Ibid.). In these situations, Sybille experienced the “true communities” and “a totally different community spirit than amongst non-Mapuche” (interview with the author,

June 26, 2016). The interpersonal proximity or contact is thus a key factor in establishing contact or accessing a Mapuche community.¹⁹

My experience of meeting Jaime Huenchullán in Cologne as a preparation for my visit to Wallmapu highlights that aspect as well. I understand this experience as an example of the need to encounter someone personally before a relation of solidarity could be possible. Still, besides these direct encounters there is also the possibility of being welcomed by knowing a person who already has a trustful relationship with the community.²⁰

Knowing someone or visiting someone through a recommendation thus grants or denies access to Mapuche contacts. Other non-Mapuche activists had similar experiences, in which knowing someone was described as a precondition for the visit (Sybille, interview with the author, June 26, 2016). Through the mediation of a third person, non-Mapuche actors become woven into the solidarity network as a result of social and interpersonal bonds. Such face-to-face encounters also reflect the reliability and commitment of the non-Mapuche actors. For example, Eva notes that she wanted to install her project in another Mapuche community. That community declined because Eva was not able to spend some more time in the community and thus did not “really get to know the community life” (interview with the author, January 29, 2016). It is through proximity and intimacy that different realities, separated by privilege, encounter each other. Whilst such encounters make these hierarchies visible, they also provide a space to seek possible commonalities (Llanquiray Painemal, interview with the author, June 16, 2017).

Such an emphasis on the need for interpersonal closeness and proximity challenges understandings of international solidarity as relations of distance and with only a little face-to-face contact (Gould 2007, 157). Proximity and closeness in interethnic contact has a productive and transformative dimension and can lead both to the maintenance but also to the deconstruction of stereotypes and racial prejudices (Hamann and Karakayali 2016, 84; Land 2015, 153; Usbeck 2015, 210). In any case, they produce “domains of commonality”

19 Nevertheless, they have also been exploited by non-Mapuche actors by placing certain individuals known to a community, and sometimes even Mapuche, as intermediaries between themselves and a particular community (Rubén Sanchez, interview with the author, March 1, 2016).

20 In that way, unknown people would be welcome on the basis of an already established connection and as a someone's ‘plus-one.’ Jaime Huenchullán explains this logic to me whilst detailing that someone could visit Temucucui on the recommendation of “Sebastian from Germany” (interview with the author, March 20, 2016).

(Glick Schiller 2016, 7) that might be created through a “democracy of proximity” (Kristeva quoted in Squire 2018, 130), as a consequence of the “shared production of space” (Lefebvre quoted in Purcell 2003, 577).

Walking together in solidarity through proximity contains an ethical principle for solidarity since the “empirical immediacy of two human faces confronting each other [...] appeals to *the political responsibility of the Other* and requires the overcoming of the horizon of Totality (the ‘going outside of the path’ that has been established)” (Dussel 2006, 81; emphasis in original). At the same time, face-to-face encounters and the proximity of social relations are a crucial aspect of the mechanisms of social recruitment within Mapuche society (Stuchlik 1999). Here, contacts and bonds are created according to the social, familiar, and spatial distance amongst people. This distance or closeness then obtains a “logical priority to the analysis of interpersonal relations of the Mapuche” (Ibid., 24; my translation). In the present case, a similar logical priority must be given to the interpersonal relations between Mapuche and non-Mapuche within encounters of solidarity.

Critical practices of solidarity like *compromiso* and *compartir* connect different actors and communities by transforming or (re)creating social bonds between them. Solidarity then takes place from within these newly established bonds as a form of mutual and communal support under the logic of reciprocity and horizontality. This type of solidarity demands a temporally sustainable and spatially intimate and close relationship. Hereby, the initial political relation of solidarity is transformed into social solidarities of different kinds.

In order to make sense of the very heterogenous and open-ended new relationships that are forged through solidarity, it is best to describe them as assemblages of solidarity. Accordingly, solidarity is assembled as forms of identification, recognition, belonging, mimesis, family, and friendships. I propose the idea of assemblages of solidarity because, first, an assemblage is a momentary product of a very particular and contingent relation within the rhizomatic solidarity network. Second, it is a partially autonomous relation within a wider networked structure, but is not determined by it. That means that specific social bonds can be (re)created and coexist with other forms of relationalities within the same structure. Third, the idea of assembling solidarity grasps the creative and transformative character of relations of solidarity. Finally, the idea of an assemblage highlights the possibility of human/non-human encounters, which in the present case could mean establishing rela-

tionships between non-Mapuche actors and the non-human environment in Wallmapu as part of an ecological cosmopolitanism from below.

Mechanic forms of solidarity demand a considerably higher degree of mutual identification than organic forms. Some theoretical debates about political forms of solidarity also preclude shared identification as the basis for solidarity, whilst others have criticised their identification-based conceptualisation. In accordance with the latter, identification can be understood rather as a product of relations of solidarity instead of their condition.

Social proximity and closeness were described as enabling an identification with the vulnerability of the Mapuche; sharing and identifying with that vulnerability was detailed as a major motivation for engaging in the struggle or solidarity activism (Radio Mapuche 2015; Alex Mora, interview with the author, November 28, 2015). More interestingly though, non-Mapuche actors claimed to be able to identify more with the Mapuche as a result of the social proximity produced through solidarity action. According to Amanda, for example, “you become more involved because they tell you their personal story and it gets to you, or at least to me, on an emotional level” (interview with the author, July 1, 2016). A major challenge of transnational advocacy and international solidarity is creating empathy by identifying with an oppressed or persecuted group (Maïke, interview with the author, June 9, 2016). Nevertheless, this approach needs to be attentive to “imperialist ways of addressing difference [by] trying to erase or negate difference” (Land 2015, 120).

Still, sustainable and intimate relationships of solidarity can provide a basis on which non-Mapuche might be able to identify with the vulnerability and struggle of the Mapuche. This identification, nevertheless, needs to be a performative result of concrete practices and commitment instead of a nonperformative claim. One of Sybille’s experiences makes this passage from nonperformativity to performativity tangible. After a demonstration where she had been taking pictures, she was invited to participate in a social and spiritual gathering of a community. In that context, people asked her not to take pictures but allowed her to participate in the festivities. Whilst she was frustrated at the beginning that she could not take photographs, during the festivities she became more and more involved and was “so moved [...] by the warmth” that she “almost forgot” about taking pictures. She concludes that “those are the best moments, in which you realise [...] that you actually just want to continue to participate” (Sybille, interview with the author, June 26, 2016).

On the other side of the emotional spectrum, identification can also surface through shared vulnerability. During my research in Europe, I had visited many demonstrations and gatherings in solidarity with the Mapuche, but the first rally after my return from Wallmapu felt very different. This was because in my last two weeks in Wallmapu I had visited a community in resistance and stayed with the community's *werken*, whom I had previously met in Europe. I spent a couple of nights at his family's house and I enjoyed the visit a lot. The day after I had left, I woke up and had some missed calls from Fernando Díaz from early in the morning, who knew that I was visiting that particular community. When I called him back, he sounded extremely worried and asked me if I was OK. I answered affirmatively and asked what was going on. Then he told me that last night the same community I had visited was raided by the military police and that several community members, amongst them those I had talked to, were arrested. I was shocked and could hardly believe that the people who had just hosted me were in prison. Whilst talking to Fernando Díaz, I also realised that if I had stayed one day longer in the community, I might have been arrested as well. As international visitors in Mapuche communities in resistance are generally treated as supporters of terrorist activity and are expelled from the country, in short, it could have ended pretty badly for me.

After coming back to Germany, I went to rally against this raid and the imprisonment of those community members. It came as great shock when I realised that I was protesting as someone who was almost affected by this event himself. The rally felt much more intense, important, and relevant than any other demonstration I had been to before. My participation in that rally and my commitment felt different, because "to be committed is to be in danger" (Baldwin quoted in Yancy 2018, 116). It seemed that in the end I could identify with the cause of the Mapuche because I felt a glimpse of the same repression that communities in Wallmapu face constantly. My encounter with the community in Wallmapu thus transformed my perspective about their vulnerability and opened a window towards identifying with the Mapuche. This is because, as a result of *compartir* with those community members, it actually could have been me.

In discussions in moral and political philosophy, solidarity has been conceptualised as a form of recognition. But practices of recognition in the present case are rather different to these conceptualisations of a moral solidarity. To begin with, Fernando Díaz notes that the Mapuche communities rejected the unilateral recognition by the JUPIC. According to him, this is

because “the Mapuche said to us that they do not want the word ‘pastoral’ and that they are not sheep” and they “realised that there was a complaint regarding this subject-object or agent-patient relationship and instead [there was a demand for] teamwork.” Instead, they engaged in horizontal and reciprocal relations with the communities by “walking together” with them (Fernando Díaz, interview with the author, March 26, 2016).

Also, the conversations with non-Mapuche actors indicate that recognition does not reveal a moral positionality towards the Mapuche but, in contrast, of the Mapuche towards them. For example, some report that non-Mapuche actors and their solidarity efforts have not been recognised by the Mapuche because they did not create a social bond with them and were perceived as only pursuing their own interests (Amina, interview with the author, November 27, 2015). Others had the impression that their Mapuche hosts perceived them as “quite alright” (Peter, interview with the author, December 1, 2015) or received “a real recognition for the courage” of visiting them (Greta, interview with the author, December 12, 2015). In addition, Amanda seemed to strive to be recognised as “genuine” in order to be “able to do something really meaningful” (interview with the author, July 5, 2016). For Verena, it seemed important to “be integrated more and more in the group” and to become “incorporated” (interview with the author, December 6, 2015) within a solidarity activity in Europe.

Being accepted and recognised as a Mapuche and a solidarity activist was also discussed as an important aspect in statements of diasporic Mapuche in Europe. On the one hand, it is vital to become accepted as a Mapuche within the diasporic network in Europe (Alex Mora, interview with the author, November 28, 2015). On the other, diasporic Mapuche struggle to be recognised as a Mapuche by communities in Wallmapu since they grew up in a different context (Andrea Cotrena, interview with the author, June 6, 2017). Being accepted as a member of a transnational Mapuche society thus seemed to be more relevant than being recognised by non-Mapuche.

Very much on the contrary, non-Mapuche become recognised as solidarity activists, for example, by respecting the authorship of cultural (José Luis Calfucura, interview with the author, February 16, 2016a) or political ideas (Isabel Cañet, interview with the author, February 24, 2016), as well as their political efforts and struggle (Jaime Huenchullán, interview with the author, March 20, 2016). Non-Mapuche actors are accepted and recognised as those who “[are] human and [have] reflected about a lot of things and keep reflect-

ing and keep learning” (Llanquiraý Painemal, interview with the author, June 16, 2017).

In this way, recognition in this case of solidarity is demanded according to a reciprocal and horizontal logic. This is also the case in relations between the Mapuche society and the Chilean state. Here, the Mapuche society rejects the possibility of a unilateral recognition by the state as long as the state does not recognise the autonomy of the Mapuche (which would include their right not to recognise the state). This reciprocal notion of recognition complicates debates in moral philosophy, which conceive it as a unilateral relation.

This analysis suggests, instead, that the possibility of solidarity does not depend on a one-sided recognition, but rather on one that is mutual, reciprocal, and horizontal. In Chilean-Mapuche relations there is a lack of recognition by both sides. In this way, the discussion about recognition with international non-Mapuche activists is insightful because it provides examples and experiences of a mutual recognition between Mapuche and non-Mapuche. Furthermore, the statements from above show that the much more interesting question is whether the non-Mapuche activists are accepted and recognised by the Mapuche within opportunities for solidarity.

Relations of solidarity between Mapuche and non-Mapuche create social bonds assembled as forms of belonging.²¹ I experienced the possibility of such a transformation on a discursive level when diasporic Mapuche activists slowly began to call me *peñi*, the Mapuzugun word for brother. I was suddenly addressed in the same way as Mapuche address each other; I was thus included in their form of belonging. A similar transformation happened before my first trip to Wallmapu, when a Mapuche woman made the ironic remark that, if I get arrested in Wallmapu, they would start solidarity campaigns in Europe for me. Her statement is a beautiful expression of what belonging between Mapuche and non-Mapuche in that context could mean: receiving the same solidarity you were willing to give in the first place.

The feeling of belonging is one possible assemblage of the social relations of solidarity created by political solidarity. As a result of her activism, Amanda began to “feel connected with their cause and really involved in making the situation for them better [...]” (interview with the author, July 1, 2016). She feels this connectedness with the diasporic Mapuche organisation she supports, where everyone is “part of one group” and a “sense of community” is created. Her sense of belonging also includes the feeling of being “a part of a greater

21 For the notion of belonging, see Albiez et al. (2011).

cause” as a result of having “grown to be a part of this” (Ibid.) through her commitment to the Mapuche diaspora.

More than that, Llanquiraý Painemal argues that this feeling of belonging is a result of the commitment and the *compromiso* of non-Mapuche activists. She notes that, for example, Chileans who “have positioned themselves in support of the struggle of the Mapuche nation” are “counted as Mapuche” by the Mapuche themselves. In addition, “the Mapuche brother [...] is a Mapuche because he positioned him or herself [as such]” (interview with the author, June 16, 2017).

Along the lines of the abovementioned arguments, such a political positionality can hardly be nonperformative or just a declaration. Rather, such positionality needs to be put in practice as a sustainable mutual support that stems from a social relation and maintains a horizontal and reciprocal dynamic.

Assemblages of solidarity are in constant transformation, have a dynamic and processual character, and do not dictate a particular outcome. Assemblages of identification, recognition, and belonging are thus in constant movement and are creatively transformed by the actors involved. With this intense dynamic, encounters of solidarity thus create a mimetic excess because of the fact that the involved actors always relate to each other on the basis of what the other allows them to relate to. For example, whilst Llanquiraý Painemal considers a non-Mapuche a Mapuche based on her/his political commitment, others could highlight another aspect that would justify that recognition. The idea of a mimetic excess (Taussig 1993) makes the representational relativity of the conditions for identifying, recognising, or belonging visible. A non-Mapuche can only identify with what he or she thinks of as a Mapuche society or culture but will never identify with it in an absolute or finite sense. And he or she will also only be able to identify with those aspects that others have shared with him or her based on their assumption of what he or she might be willing to accept, be interested in, and so on. Assemblages of solidarity thus include a dynamic process of constantly engaging and re-engaging with the other’s mimesis.

Such a mimetic faculty is crucial for assembling new social bonds amongst the involved actors because it produces similarity, identification, or belonging. It is not relevant to determine or to prove whether a non-Mapuche activist actually embodies a Mapuche identity. Rather, it is about the question of whether a non-Mapuche has the mimetic faculty and is potentially able to reflect what a particular group or individual would consider a Mapuche char-

acteristic. For example, Sybille says that she was tested on if she was able to fetch a loose sheep in the community she had visited. Besides her enjoyment of the task, she also realised that her host wanted “to check [...] if she is actually tough enough to spend some days in the mountains with us” (interview with the author, June 26, 2016). Putting her toughness to the test could also include other dimensions, such as, for example, her reliability or willingness to get her hands dirty.

Testing the mimetic faculty of non-Mapuche mirrors the mimetic faculty of the Mapuche society and culture.²² In that way, the social excess of solidarity is not necessarily about belonging to and identifying with a particular set of cultural or social rules. Rather, it is about producing similar ways of relating to each other. It is not about establishing absolute sameness but about the question of whether sameness can be produced jointly through mutual exchange in which each party is willing to imitate the other. This resonates with the concept of mechanic solidarity, which demands a shared identification but, in the present case, is never a finished product.

The fact that “Mapuche communities have always been very integrating” (Llanquiray Painemal, interview with the author, June 16, 2017) also applies to encounters of solidarity. These encounters are possible and produce affinities as long as they mimic the mimetic faculty of the Mapuche. Since this faculty is a basic element for the social cohesion amongst the Mapuche society, relations of solidarity with non-Mapuche are essentially an extension of its sociality.

As extensions of the Mapuche society, assemblages of solidarity (re)create social bonds between Mapuche and non-Mapuche that are similar to kinship and friendship ties. One important element to understand the contemporary political mobilisation of the Mapuche society are its forms of social and political organisation (Morales Urra 2008; Stuchlik 1999). These forms are based “principally on structures of kinship, which determines the exogamy of a group and which politically meant the development of alliances between groups of relatives” (Gómez Leytón 2009; my translation).

Family associations and kinship ties play an important part in the present case by structuring and assembling relations of solidarity. Specifically, traumatic experiences within one's own family make kinship relations a reason to engage in solidarity action in the first place (Alex Mora, interview with the

22 This relates to a cultural strategy of the Mapuche through which they manage to differentiate and open themselves to outside elements, incorporating particular aspects in order to strengthen their own culture and society (Kaltmeier 2004, 42).

author, November 28, 2015). Moreover, discourses of solidarity are influenced by family traditions (Llanquiray Painemal, interview with the author, June 16, 2017) and might lead to structures of political solidarity that resemble kinship relations (Alex Mora, interview with the author, November 28, 2015).

The early experiences of the Mapuche diaspora in Europe in the 1980s and '90s already resembled family and kinship relations. Today, many diasporic Mapuche organisations are the outcome of such family networks. At the same time, their solidarity efforts are organised and mediated through direct family ties and kinship relations with Wallmapu. For example, Andrea Cotrena explains that her "relations with Wallmapu are more oriented towards my family, who are struggling over there" (interview with the author, June 6, 2017). For her, solidarity actions essentially are "family support," "related to my land," and relevant because they "concern your own blood" (Ibid.).

Another noteworthy aspect is that international non-Mapuche solidarity activists rarely visit individuals, and are instead hosted within a Mapuche family network. Their encounters of solidarity are made possible by "very open and hospitable Mapuche families" and by the fact that they "partially live with Mapuche families," producing strong sentiments of belonging and closeness (Sybille, interview with the author, June 26, 2016). Such encounters assemble social relations of solidarity similar to kinship relations, in which the non-Mapuche guests are virtually treated as if they were kin (Luis and Nadia Paineñil, interview with the author, March 10, 2016; Selma and Ramón Necul, interview with the author, March 11, 2016).

Such assemblages of solidarity as family relations have a concrete expression in the participation of non-Mapuche guests in Mapuche rituals or ceremonies like the *nguillatun* or the *palin*.²³ During my first research stay in Wallmapu, I was invited to a *palin* between three Mapuche communities in order to celebrate the recuperation of one community's territory. I was invited as part of the family with whom I was staying for those days.

There are two possible ways to take part in a *nguillatun* as non-Mapuche guests. One is the experience of the team of JUPIC in Temuco, who have been invited to participate in *nguillatun*, never as a family unit, but as if they were part of a Mapuche family—in this case, the family of the community's *longko*. In the words of Fernando Díaz, they participated "as part of the family. As those who help" (interview with the author, March 26, 2016). In this case, the non-Mapuche (person or group) without their own piece of territory is invited

23 *Palin* is the traditional Mapuche sport. For a more in-depth analysis, see Duval (2002).

as a guest of someone's family but has to return the favour and support that family's participation.

In the other case, and if the non-Mapuche group is considered to be part of a territoriality, a group can participate as *metrem*²⁴, a part of the alliance that is celebrated, performed, and reproduced during a *nguillatun* (Ibid.). This was the case of the JMM in Tirúa. Juan Fuenzálida says that their team has been invited to several *nguillatun* over the years but as part of their neighbouring Mapuche family, because "the *nguillatun* is a sort of a familial presence." However, on the last occasion, their team was invited as their own family unit and no longer as someone's guest. For him, "there is a validation in some way that we are a part of it, not just guests anymore, right? [...] You have an important gesture here, which says a lot" (Juan Fuenzálida, interview with the author, March 12, 2016). These very concrete experiences show that relations of political solidarity amongst non-Mapuche and Mapuche ultimately lead to social relations that resemble kinship relations, which might even lead to extending the whole sociality of Mapuche society.

Besides the assemblage of filiation and kinship, encounters of solidarity create bonds of friendship between non-Mapuche and Mapuche. Intimate and close relationships were described as opportunities to build friendships and trust amongst Mapuche and non-Mapuche (Amina, interview with the author, November 27, 2015; Peter, interview with the author, December 1, 2015). From a Mapuche perspective, non-Mapuche friends are called *wenuy*. Only very few non-Mapuche supporters, like Felipe Durán or Iban Gartzía, have been addressed publicly in that way. Some theoretical approaches to friendship highlight the emancipatory and decolonising potential of such relations and contrast them with relations of kinship and filiation as "possessive communities" (Gandhi 2006, 10). Nevertheless, the present context suggests something different and a solely negative connotation of kinship and filiation fails to recognise the possibilities of more horizontal and reciprocal assemblages amongst family and community networks. Conceptualising kinship as only hierarchical thus reproduces Eurocentric assumptions about vertical, patriarchal, and bourgeois family structures. Such assumptions are not necessarily the case for the Mapuche society. As bell hooks (2015b, 76–88) reminds us, (re)creating the (Black) family in the context of enslavement and structural racism can also be understood as a site of protection and resistance.

24 Guest or visitor.

The experiences of solidarity between Mapuche and non-Mapuche show that rather than establishing relations of friendships amongst individuals, non-Mapuche actors establish friendships with entire families. Also, already existing friendships enable to create more friendships, if, for example, person X introduces his friend Y to her other friend Z. On that basis, the friendship between Y and Z can be forged.

Non-Mapuche actors describe their friendships with Mapuche as “getting along great” and “spending every day with them” (Amina, interview with the author, November 27, 2015). To become friends with Mapuche further means to be “able to talk about a lot of things with them, also about problems” and “to get a little bit of a different perspective on things” (Verena, interview with the author, December 6, 2015). Stories about friendships were also very present in conversations with Mapuche. In the diaspora in Europe, dispersed Mapuche “began to make friends and we started to unite us [the Mapuche in diaspora], to talk and to see how we could help our people in a real way” (Alex Mora, interview with the author, November 28, 2015). In that way, getting to know each other and starting to act in political solidarity is part of “building networks [and] friendships” (Llanquiray Painemal, interview with the author, June 16, 2017) and thus has an essentially social dimension. Solidarity is thus not a merely instrumental relation amongst people with the same political conviction, but one in which “you need to get closer towards friendship and trust” (José Luis Calfucura, interview with the author, February 16, 2016a).

For Rayen Kvyeh, for example, to “develop a feeling of strong friendship” means to “really love” the comrades who hosted her during her exile in Germany (interview with the author, March 1, 2016). Her trips to Europe in recent years do not only have a political or professional importance to her; these visits are not just a means to denounce the human rights violations in Wallmapu or to present her poetry. They rather have a social purpose in itself—the reproduction of friendships: “And, well, that moves me, and I am happy to go back and meet my friends, the comrades. Because the friendships that I have are also people, comrades, who work in solidarity because they believe in a better world, with more equilibrium” (Ibid.).

In her words, the friendships are the primary relations, and only afterwards are they highlighted as people who are engaged in solidarity action. In that way it seems that social solidarity produces political relations of solidarity. In such a perspective, international solidarity needs to be understood, in the first place, as assemblages of transnational and transcultural social rela-

tions. Finally, it seems that the political action of transnational advocacy and international solidarity is only the next step.

A friendship thus becomes the point of departure to engage in a liberating and decolonising solidarity with the racialised, oppressed, and exploited Other (Dussel 2006). At the same time, such a friendship is also transformative for the relationship with one's own society. This is because such a friendship with the Other demands to transform former friends within the totality into enemies and former enemies outside the totality into friends. This radical and liberating notion of friendship demands to renounce one's privileges (one's friendships within the system) and become a traitor (an enemy) to the system through the quest for solidarity (becoming a friend to the Other). In contrast, if non-Mapuche actors do not transform their friends within the system into enemies, their solidarity does not only remain nonperformative but is complicit with an oppressive racialised social structure. Indeed, her inability to transform her host family into enemies is what excluded Clarissa from any possibility of a political, but foremost social, solidarity with the Mapuche.

The final empirical chapter presented and discussed critical practices and assemblages of solidarity across and beyond differences. The purpose of the critique was twofold: On the one hand, I developed a critique of solidarity practices that reproduce or reinforce colonial, racialised, and gendered hierarchies between Mapuche and non-Mapuche. On the other, I aimed at discovering critical practices that open the horizon to decolonise relations of solidarity across and beyond colonial differences and contribute to establishing truly ethical relations of solidarity. The chapter thus presented a critical notion of solidarity across and beyond differences based on three principles.

The first principle argued for solidarity as a form of *compromiso*—a long-term engagement and commitment that overcomes paternalistic practices and decentres white agency. Against such problematic practices, solidarity as *compromiso* requires cautiousness and a radical form of passivity by white supporters which respects the cultural politics of autonomy of the Mapuche. Critical practices of solidarity were sketched out through a series of metaphors that my interlocutors deployed. These metaphors conceived of critical practices of solidarity as a collective effort of 'building blocks,' as a process of healing, and as the experience of eating together from the same plate, expressed in the Mapuche notion of *mizawvn*.

The second principle described solidarity as a (critical) practice of sharing, framed in the idea of *compartir*. This idea characterises solidarity as the exchange of material and immaterial goods, the sharing of spaces and gifts, as well as forms of spending/sharing time together. The chapter hereby looked at the different modalities of *compartir* and critically discussed whether these practices contribute to an exploitative or rather a reciprocal relationship between Mapuche and non-Mapuche actors.

The third principle delineated solidarity as a critical practice that (re)produces communal and social bonds between the involved actors, best expressed in the Mapuche ideas of *keyuwvn* and *mingako*—forms of mutual communal support. Critical practices and encounters of solidarity between Mapuche and non-Mapuche were depicted as mutually transformative, reciprocal, horizontal, intimate, and long lasting. I laid out how these factors transform the political encounters and relations of solidarity into social bonds amongst the involved actors. They hereby produce a series of assemblages through which the productive and transformative potential of a critical notion of solidarity becomes visible. Such assemblages, in the present case, were portrayed as processes of identification, recognition, belonging, mimesis, and, finally, as relations of kinship and friendship.

8. Conclusion

This study aimed to discuss the limitations and possibilities for international solidarity and transnational advocacy with and of the Mapuche in Chile from a critical race and decolonial angle. It thereby focused on the relationships that are created and produced in the encounters of solidarity between Mapuche and non-Mapuche people in Chile and Europe by looking at their different positionalities, resources, privileges, and motivations for engaging in solidarity efforts. For that purpose, this research engaged in different arenas of solidarity action: its networked aspect (chapter four), strategies and tactics (chapter five), the role of stereotypes and privileges (chapter six), and finally the everyday praxis and interpersonal encounters of solidarity, understood as assemblages (chapter seven).

A central aim of the present research is to update notions of solidarity by engaging with decolonial perspectives. But what do I understand by such perspectives? In short, in my view those political, cultural, and intellectual (but not only academic) perspectives and movements can be described as decolonial that are not only critical towards colonial relations of power, but actively strive to overcome them (Garbe 2020, 151). The usage of the term 'decolonial' requires a special sensitivity towards the fact that decolonisation should not be used as a metaphor, e.g., for social justice, human rights, or epistemic alternatives beyond Eurocentrism, but rather that it implies and demands the reconfiguration of material, territorial, and sociocultural conditions rooted in historical injustices created through European colonialism (Tuck and Yang 2012).

On an epistemological level, 'decolonial' has become generally accepted in academic debates as a term to describe critical and historically subjugated perspectives, mostly articulated by actors from the Global South, who produce knowledge in favour of or in complicity with contemporary anti- and decolonial political struggles. In contrast to mostly anglophone postcolonial debates,

decolonial perspectives further became associated with Latin American discussions about coloniality (Escobar 2003). Against the grain of an already well-established academic field of postcolonial studies, decolonial arguments have intervened by warning how such research “can lose its political edge as a position of critical social inquiry” by being “reduced to rhetoric, easily consumable as part of an educational package without promoting transformative practice” (Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2016, 62).

Now, similar criticisms towards the increasing popularity of decolonial perspectives in academia are brought forward. According to the Bolivian sociologist Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, a rupture with colonial relations of power can only happen through concrete actions, gestures, and practices. For her, “there is no discourse of decolonization, no theory of decolonization without the corresponding practices” (Rivera Cusicanqui in Garbe, Cárdenas, and Sempértegui 2018, 15). Similar to postcolonial studies, not only can decolonial perspectives therefore become defanged of their critical transformative potential, but even further contribute to reproducing, recentring, and stabilising the Eurocentric hegemony in global knowledge production (Rivera Cusicanqui 2018; Moosavi 2020). Against such “dangers of intellectual decolonization,” Leon Moosavi (2020, 19) proposes five compelling strategies:

- (1) engage with decolonial theory from the Global South so as to avoid decolonisation without decolonising, (2) recognise that intellectual decolonisation requires momentous effort and may not even be possible, (3) avoid essentialising or appropriating the Global South, (4) explore the complex ways in which coloniality produces multiple forms of marginalisation, (5) avoid ‘nativist decolonisation’, and (6) avoid ‘tokenistic decolonisation.’

Intellectual decolonisation therefore requires engaging in a productive (in the best case, horizontal and reciprocal) dialogue with scholars and intellectuals (both academic and nonacademic) from the Global South and with non-Eurocentric perspectives, to recognise the limitations or even impossibility of decolonising efforts, and to reflect on and challenge the “materiality of knowledge” (Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2016, 57–59) organised along the colonial, racialised, and gendered axes of power expressed in access to content, privileges, and positions within academic institutions.

What do these reflections on the ‘decolonial’ imply for my research? What does it mean to understand solidarity through decolonial perspectives? In the case of the present study, the aim was to establish a dialogue between decolonial perspectives and the efforts of transnational advocacy of and with the

Mapuche. This endeavour does not necessarily seek to ‘decolonise solidarity,’ because, at least from my positionality as a privileged academic working in the Global North, it would hardly avoid the dangers of intellectual decolonisation outlined above. Of course, I would argue that several of the practices and statements presented in my study, particularly those of the Mapuche interlocutors, contribute to decolonising relations of solidarity. In contrast, my situatedness requires a humbler engagement with decolonial perspectives and my object of study—expressions of solidarity—for which the dialogue seems fitting. Through this dialogue, I aimed to make visible the limitations as well as the possibilities of disentangling solidarity from its complicity with white paternalism and dependency and of supporting the decolonial struggle of the Mapuche in Wallmapu. At the same time, this study constantly sought the conversation with particular expressions of decolonial thought, that is, critical Mapuche thinking. In that way, my research aimed to dialogue both with the political and the epistemological decolonisation efforts of the Mapuche in Wallmapu without appropriating them. Rather, researching solidarity through decolonial perspectives in this case means trying to understand solidarity from a radically different perspective than my own. This is because “[c]hallenging the colonial world is [...] the impassioned claim by the colonized that their world is fundamentally different” (Fanon 2008, 6). In that way, it was possible to design this research as a platform to learn from the critical decolonial perspectives on solidarity from Mapuche authors, intellectuals, and activists.

This condition was created with a research methodology that is equally sensitive to the power imbalances within and situatedness of knowledge production. That includes recognising both the partiality of perspectives from privileged actors like me and the epistemic potential of insights by subjugated, committed, and affected actors. The notion of an ethnography of and in solidarity describes the effort of putting both positionalities into dialogue. In that way, the relations, encounters, and experiences of solidarity between Mapuche and non-Indigenous supporters were set as objects of my research—hence, an ethnography ‘of solidarity.’ In parallel, throughout the research process I constantly positioned myself ‘in solidarity’ with the struggle of the Mapuche—whether as a supporter of the Mapuche diaspora in Europe or a human rights observer in Chile. Such a positionality, I argue, manages to gain more insights about my research topic than any acclaimed neutral or allegedly objective inquiry.

Thus, the results of this research are the outcome of a networked, activist ethnography of and in solidarity that I conducted between 2014 and 2017 in Europe and Chile. This ethnography created the terrain for discussing the limitations and possibilities for solidarity with Mapuche interlocutors from their epistemological and cosmological perspectives. This methodological approach not only allowed for but demanded my active participation in international solidarity action with the Mapuche, which was guided by the ideals of a horizontal and reciprocal relationship within the research process.

This investigation sought to make sense of and conceptualise the contemporary experiences of international solidarity with and of the Mapuche by using the historical and contemporary experiences of their struggle for autonomy, as well as the interlocutors' different references to Mapuche cosmology and epistemology, as a starting point. These experiences and insights were discussed using a series of theoretical approaches from feminist, post-colonial and decolonial, and critical race studies about solidarity and (new) transnational social movement studies through the process of transcultural translation.

These theoretical perspectives further boost the potential of critical self-reflexivity within the research process, which goes beyond merely disclaiming one's identity and positionality. Rather, such perspectives demand to ask the researcher how his or her positionality has actually contributed to making particular statements, setting out the goals of the research, and analysing certain situations. In the case of the present study, I only referred to three methodological challenges that a critical self-reflection helped to uncover: the difficulty of balancing academic and political interests during the research; the different vulnerabilities of the involved actors; and finally, the discussion about possibilities and limitations of redistributing the research results. These challenges have been crucial to the further development of my research and, specifically, of my proposal for a critical notion of solidarity in dialogue with decolonial perspectives.

I therefore suggest an empirically and theoretically informed notion of (international) solidarity through the concept of 'weaving solidarity,' which describes solidarity as conflictive, creative, and communal. It is conflictive because it understands solidarity, first, as a critical moment of encounter between different positionalities of the involved actors and as the co-presence of different understandings of solidarity that these actors bring along. Second, it is creative because it makes the different results of solidarity practices, in the form of rhizomatic network structures and assemblages, visible. Finally, it

is communal because it highlights the various possibilities of ethical relations of solidarity across and beyond differences.

Therefore, 'weaving solidarity' describes the production of new social assemblages as contingent, rhizomatic, and unfinished relations. These are the result of the conflictive, creative, and mutually constitutive dynamics of their corresponding practices and encounters. The metaphor of 'weaving' is hereby inspired by the cultural practices and knowledges about weaving amongst the Mapuche.

The conflictive dimension of this concept stems from the critical understanding of encounters and practices of solidarity between actors with different positionalities, privileges, resources, and motivations. Contrary to traditional and hegemonic debates in solidarity studies, postcolonial, decolonial, critical race, and feminist perspectives manage to highlight this conflictive dimension and therefore help to theorise differences within solidarity. In that way, solidarity does not become predefined and precluded as a relationship amongst equals. Rather, solidarity is understood in its political and social dimension as a conflictive moment of encounter, which connects different people and groups through their political activity. Within these encounters, the involved actors negotiate their hierarchies, agencies, and knowledges and eventually create new political or social assemblages. In this conflictive dimension of solidarity, the notion of *compromiso* becomes particularly relevant. This is because the mutually binding commitment of the involved actors creates enduring spaces in which potential conflicts can be negotiated and mediated. This type of commitment demands a radical form of passivity and a respect for the autonomy of the affected group by the privileged actors within such encounters. Despite their conflictivity, these encounters can also involve a high level of intimacy, mutual trust, and sustainability. This means that the conflictive dimension within relations of solidarity should rather be inhabited and made productive for eventual transformation instead of ignored or swept aside.

This is because encounters of solidarity bear a rich creative potential, which is the second dimension of the concept of 'weaving solidarity.' As shown in this study, relations of solidarity connect actors across and beyond differences and transform their relationship by taking into consideration their historically and structurally heterogenous sociocultural and political experiences. Solidarity as a transformative and creative relationship is thus open and without guarantees, but has the potential to creatively produce relationships that are based on mutuality, reciprocity, and horizontality. If these re-

relationships are sustainably perpetuated in close interaction, they generate new and heterogenous social assemblages amongst the involved actors. The practice of sharing, *compartir*, corresponds with this creative potential and includes exchanging gifts and spending time together. Such gifts can also have an immaterial dimension, if, for example, we accept the deconstruction and critique of the non-Indigenous actors' whiteness as an "act of gift-giving" (Yancy 2018, 95). Therefore, relations of solidarity, in the case of Mapuche and non-Indigenous actors, involve practices of sharing, which bring both parties into a permanent, reciprocal, and—in the best case—horizontal relationship. The creative dimension of solidarity is thus expressed in the multiple ways and outcomes of exchanges of time, tokens, and territories between those who come together in solidarity.

The third dimension of 'weaving solidarity' looks at the "communal effects without assuming them" (Tsing 2015, 23) and makes visible the social and communal bonds that are created in relations and encounters of solidarity across and beyond differences. This communal dimension of solidarity is owed to the Mapuche notions of *keyuwvn* and *mingako*, describing mutual aid or communal work on a horizontal and reciprocal basis. These notions demand to understand relations of solidarity as part of—and not as taking place outside of or independently from—social relations. Particularly those practices which are usually described as international solidarity only become possible once this communal dimension between actors from different geographies is established.

It is paramount to give the notions of *keyuwvn* and *mingako* more prominence because, first, they constitute a crucial decolonial intervention in debates about solidarity. On the one hand, they help to shed a critical light on Eurocentric notions of solidarity that inform contemporary solidarity practices, legitimise paternalism, recentre white agency, or reproduce colonial stereotypes. On the other, they challenge us to think of solidarity beyond Eurocentric categories and instead based on other cosmological and epistemological notions. Second, *keyuwvn* and *mingako* have an essentially non-instrumental character and therefore counter Eurocentric understandings of solidarity as supererogatory, which is, commendable but not binding. In contrast, the communal dimension makes practices of solidarity binding, since its ultimate end is the reproduction of communal bonds and, in the words of Chilean singer Violeta Parra, choosing to stay with the people. There is further great potential in uncovering the similarities in debates about solidarity between Mapuche cosmology and heterodox Marxist and anarchist thought. To

begin with, highlighting the force of mechanic forms of solidarity is an idea that has already been proposed by the Peruvian sociologist José Carlos Mariátegui (2007) at the beginning of the twentieth century. Mariátegui argues for a possible historical passage from mechanic forms of solidarity towards a non-Eurocentric socialism. Also, in a European heterodox Marxist and anarchist tradition, “solidarity in praxis becomes a partial utopia” in itself (Bayertz 1998a, 47–48; my translation). What is more (and following Albert Camus), political or militant solidarity is elevated to a metaphysical force as “the creation and the source of all commonality” (Ibid.). The third reason *keyuwvn* and *mingako* deserve special attention is because they frustrate the teleological and Eurocentric assumption that organic forms of solidarity slowly overlap mechanic forms. In contrast, my study shows that the social experience of organic solidarity by non-Mapuche actors is slowly transformed as they are woven into the social Mapuche networks.

Therefore, it is possible to conclude that different understandings of solidarity can co-exist and that political relations of solidarity morph into social relations of solidarity. This dimension has largely been overlooked within solidarity and social movement studies alike. In contrast to historical gaps or sequences between relations of solidarity, I rather observe a “historical-structural heterogeneity” (Quijano 2014b) of solidarities. This co-presence consequently creates a multiplicity of new social and communal bonds and assemblages between the involved actors.

Finally, the concept of ‘weaving solidarity’ achieves criticality towards relations of power, theorises and recognises (colonial, racialised, and gendered) differences, and spotlights the social dimension of solidarity. On the one hand, it accomplishes the understanding of how paternalistic practices, unequal positionalities, and colonial stereotypes limit the potential of relations of solidarity. On the other, it shows how truly ethical relations of solidarity can be forged. This foremost concerns processes of transcultural commonality, in which concrete practices and self-binding commitments create moments of mutual recognition.

Besides the contribution of the concept of ‘weaving solidarity’ to critical social research on solidarity, this study addressed discussions in (new) social movement studies in dialogue with decolonial and critical race/whiteness perspectives.

Particularly chapter four and five suggested to understand international solidarity and transnational advocacy in support of the decolonisation efforts

in Wallmapu on the basis of the agency and political philosophy of the Mapuche. This approach seeks to de-centre the agency of white, mostly privileged actors from the Global North in support of the struggles of minorities, oppressed populations, Indigenous people, or refugees. Instead, it makes their protagonism the point of departure for understanding their own struggles without the need of a Western subject entering the scene. Transnational and new social movement studies rarely explore translocal struggles without any linkage to dominant groups in the Global North, e.g., solidarity movements amongst migrants, refugees, or Indigenous people that are not backed by resourceful actors. Such approaches resemble a colonial representational strategy, which only “brings the Other into the Self’s history” (Coronil 1992, 9). The Other without the Self, in contrast, is rarely of interest for further inquiry.

This was exactly the original approach of this study: international solidarity with the Mapuche must be solidarity by non-Indigenous actors, I thought. Quite on the contrary, at the beginning of my ethnography I began to understand that international solidarity with the Mapuche is foremost solidarity amongst the Mapuche. This is the reason why it was possible to reconstruct the field of solidarity action in Europe since the 1970s through the agency and protagonism of Mapuche actors, whether living in exile or visiting Europe. They hereby manage to maintain their autonomy from (non-Indigenous) international organisations and supporters, weave a decentralised and rhizomatic support network, and transnationalise the struggle in Wallmapu. Mapuche actors are thus not only participants or protagonists within an already existing solidarity network, but are rather its architects. This counters colonial ideas about Indigenous people being assimilated by or incorporated into the dominant society or culture. On the contrary, the solidarity network with/of the Mapuche is an expression of their successful struggle for autonomy and their own transculturalising force towards outsiders.

These experiences and practices of the Mapuche show that they are able to maintain their autonomy within a political struggle and at the same time to weave alliances with non-Mapuche supporters. Consequently, the autonomy of an affected group in a political struggle does not exclude, but rather enables the possibility of solidarity with others. And a (new and transnational) social movement study perspective that seeks to be sensitive to colonial, racialised, and gendered power relations and differences needs to put the affected group’s agency and protagonism at the centre of their research.

One way of achieving such a sensitivity, as suggested in this study, is by entering in a dialogue with the political and philosophical perspectives

the affected group brings along. Instead of enforcing the researcher's gaze upon such struggles, my approach to critical social movement studies rather suggests privileging the epistemological and cosmological perspectives of the movement itself and to work with their theorisations. In the case of the Mapuche, I identified (struggles for) autonomy as the underlying theoretical key concept. I proposed a conceptualisation of autonomy in the reconstruction of the history of the Mapuche society, particularly against the Spanish Crown and, later, the Chilean state. Also, contemporary Mapuche mobilisations and intellectual discussions have autonomy at their core. Therefore, I argued that ideas of/for autonomy are at the centre of Mapuche cultural politics and equally shape the organisational logic of their transnational solidarity network. Critical and decolonial approaches to (new) social movement studies thus not only need to depart from the agency and protagonism of the affected group, but also from their political philosophy and cosmology, which form the basis of such struggles.

The efforts of transnational Mapuche advocacy (TMA), presented in chapter five, were introduced by focusing on the agency and autonomy of Mapuche actors and organisations. This chapter discussed a wide array of advocacy strategies and tactics according to whether they empower Mapuche communities and organisations or reproduce dependencies on non-Indigenous actors and organisations (for example, through donations). In that sense, I suggested evaluating transnational advocacy by asking whether it enables or prevents the autonomy or agency of the affected group. Accordingly, I found those advocacy strategies most successful which confirm or support the capacity of Mapuche organisations and/or communities to act autonomously.

Particularly two strategies showcase such autonomous efforts of Mapuche actors within transnational advocacy. One strategy is the digital activism of Mapuche organisations, collectives, and individuals in Wallmapu or in the diaspora. Since the turn of the century, this type of activism has become a central instrument to pluralise information about human and Indigenous rights violations globally and to raise sensitivity about the situation of Mapuche communities beyond Wallmapu. Another strategy that makes the autonomy of Mapuche actors in transnational advocacy visible is how they manage to transculturalise this field of action. They hereby recreate cultural practices, such as the *jejiñun*, *trawwn*, the playing of the *trutruka* and *kultrun*, or the *mate-tun* within encounters of solidarity action and protests in Europe. Not only do such strategies challenge a (self-)representation of Europe as mostly white and monocultural by 'indigenising' and 'mapuchising' the cultural politics of

protests and rallies, these transculturalising elements contribute to weaving and strengthening the social fabric between non-Indigenous and Indigenous allies and between Mapuche living in Wallmapu and in the diaspora.

Finally, my analysis of transnational mobilisation and advocacy strategies argues that a mere focus on the politics of recognition and on denouncing human and Indigenous rights violations does not correspond with the struggle for decolonisation in Wallmapu. Of course, the limited margin for political articulation of Mapuche organisations and communities in Chile is the main reason and motivation for transnational advocacy. But in contrast to traditional strategies of transnational advocacy, in the present context the Mapuche movement and its international allies do not necessarily aim for their recognition or acceptance by powerful and symbolically meaningful actors. This approach follows critical decolonial interventions against (state) politics of the recognition of Indigenous peoples or against Eurocentric human rights politics because they fail to accept the radical alterity of the oppressed and excluded group, “the Other as Other” (Dussel 2011, 90). In contrast, I showed how support strategies within TMA rather assist the capacity of Mapuche organisations and communities for autonomous transformation, emancipation, and liberation and ultimately decolonisation.

A decolonial approach to transnational advocacy therefore not necessarily examines the question of recognition (within a human or Indigenous rights frame) or legal change within the existing structures, but rather the potential for a radical reorganisation and transformation of the sociopolitical, economic, territorial, and constitutional order of the context in question. In the present study this means that transnationalisation efforts can contribute to rebuilding the sociocultural fabric and political institutions of the Mapuche society as an autonomous nation.

While critical race and whiteness studies have managed to establish a critical research practice that makes whiteness the object of its inquiry, (transnational and new) social movement research has rarely focused on the interracial relationships involved in translocal mobilisations, protests, and solidarities. This is problematic, as chapter six showed, because transnational support by white actors rarely happens unfiltered or unimpeded from historically rooted, colonial, and racial stereotypes. A critical focus on whiteness in transnational movements therefore sheds light not only on the problematic representations white actors and organisations bring into the scene; it also enlightens the ways in which struggles that take place at a distance from whiteness (by geography or positionality) are externalised as projection sites for white desires or prob-

lems. This is why, along with other critical race and whiteness research on solidarity and social movements, I argue for more thorough and systematic studies about the ways in which white actors and organisations relate to the struggles of minorities, Indigenous peoples, refugees, oppressed and subaltern groups, and so on. Only on that basis, I suggest, is it possible to discover commonalities and shared frames of reference for political struggles, such as an ecological cosmopolitanism from below, which connect actors across different positionalities and territories.

Due to its ethnographic and therefore inductive approach to international solidarity and advocacy of and with the Mapuche, this study aimed to build its case around those topics that were raised by the involved actors and organisations. In the course of the investigation, I remained rather cautious about bringing up possible topics that were not explicitly observable within the discourses and practices involving international solidarity. This is why, in the following pages, I want to address two additional important topics (there could be more) which could have further enlightened critical and decolonial perspectives on international solidarity of and with the Mapuche.

The first issue concerns the possibilities and limitations of critical interventions within solidarity that scrutinise certain actions and positions of Mapuche actors and organisations. But instead of suggesting a critical analysis and evaluation of certain practices and discourses surrounding international solidarity by myself, I rather opted for a research design that uncovers those critical discourses that already take place within TMA. A more systematic approach to the question of a critique within solidarity, e.g., in a chapter of its own, would have nevertheless been beneficial for the overall discussion of this investigation. For example, I could have chosen a more direct approach and critique towards cases in which certain Mapuche actors were delegitimised within the movement because of their apparent racial 'impurity.' On the other side, a critical discussion about certain political positions within the Mapuche society, such as the Mapuche journalist Pedro Cayuqueo's flirtations with the political right and economic establishment in Chile or the critique of the more autonomous Mapuche communities towards the Mapuche party *Wallmapuwen*, could have contributed to a better understanding of the heterogeneity of the Mapuche society and, in addition, the limitations of and possibilities for solidarisation. In the European context, I did not explicitly engage with some critiques towards Indigenous advocacy organisations, such as the GfbV, which has been repeatedly accused of a limited, romanticised, and es-

sentialised understanding of Indigenous societies and cultures. The debate about the GfbV alone deserves a critical investigation of its own.

My approach of letting critique speak through the statements of my interlocutors was therefore limited. It would have been insightful in any case to enter into dialogue with possible critiques of non-Indigenous actors towards positions of the Mapuche, but only a few had sufficient in-depth knowledge about the movement in order to make such critical remarks. Within my approach of making critical voices heard, of course, I favoured certain opinions over others and wove them into my arguments; particularly the chapter on Indian- and Maputhusiasm should be understood as a reaction towards problematic representations of Indigenous people by non-Indigenous solidarity and advocacy organisations. I also discussed how identification as a Mapuche can be tied to a political positionality that is anticapitalistic and ecologically sensitive and is therefore hardly a category of racial 'purity' or in favour of exploitative dynamics. In other instances, I showed how solidarity campaigns, particularly those that work with financial aid, can contribute to reproducing local and global dependencies and therefore need to be seen critically. In a similar vein, I critically elaborated how some actions of international solidarity and especially transnational advocacy, e.g., in the case of Aucan Huilcaman, detach themselves from the everyday life of Mapuche communities and therefore might lose legitimization.

With such critical interventions into the solidarity scene of and with the Mapuche, this study connects with critical reflections about past experiences of North-South solidarity such as the international solidarity campaigns with the Sandinistas in the 1980s. A more systematic dialogue between the past and present expressions of international solidarity analysed in this study could have been fruitful. Nevertheless, in this text I chose to articulate my critical views on certain practices and positions within the solidarity scene and not towards an academic and political public. As demonstrated with the case of the willingly false translation of the interview of Hector Llaitul, a critical intervention might cause more damage than benefit. An internal critique, based on one's *compromiso*, mutual trust, and intimacy, might therefore be a better option. This is because an external critique from non-Indigenous actors and organisations towards Indigenous societies has proven to rather reproduce its hegemonic position through the "totalitarianism of the public sphere" and therefore "continues and deepens the colonising process" (Segato 2010, 15).

The second matter that this investigation did not tackle as a separate subject is the gendered aspect of international solidarity and the outstanding

role of Mapuche women within transnational advocacy and community building. One reason is that such a research strategy, at least from my positionality, would easily reproduce the colonial violence of “white men saving brown women from brown men” (Spivak 1988, 296). But to analyse international solidarity from a gendered and feminist perspective by focusing on the agency of Indigenous women is both epistemologically and politically urgent. The former, because theoretical contributions (in different expressions and forms) of Black, Indigenous, migrant, and subaltern women have long been ignored, subjugated, and dismissed as adequate knowledges. The latter, because even during the COVID-19 pandemic “Latin America [...] continues to be the most dangerous area for environment defenders in the world” (Svampa 2021, 90; my translation); Black and Indigenous women in particular have become the target of state, police, and paramilitary repression by defending their communities and the environment. To understand these women’s resistance and courage in their political struggles and their knowledges as theoretical contributions to decolonial discussions is a subject for ongoing and future debates. For now, I will briefly outline a final reflection on the gendered aspect of international solidarity of and with the Mapuche.

In recent years, several Black and Indigenous women from Latin America became internationally prominent figures in the defence of nature, their communities, and alternatives to neoliberal and patriarchal capitalism in the region. The success of their resistance was proven by the fact that soon they became the key target of state repression or death squads. The most prominent cases include the murders of the Honduran activist Berta Cárceres in 2016 and of the city councillor of Rio de Janeiro and queer-feminist activist Marielle Franco in 2018. While social and feminist movements in Latin America and beyond fight to keep their memory alive and bring the people responsible to justice, particularly two cases of remarkable Mapuche women activists deserve attention, which were only briefly mentioned in this investigation. One is the case of Macarena Valdes, a community and ecological activist and mother of four children in the community of Tranguil in Wallmapu who was murdered in 2016, probably by mercenaries. Her husband Rubén Collío, with the support of local organisations and some international contacts, still seeks justice for her. Another important female figure in the struggle of the Mapuche in Wallmapu is *machi* Francisca Linconao, who was not only the first person to successfully invoke the ILO 169 convention concerning Indigenous people’s rights in Chile, but was also one of seventeen Indigenous delegates elected for the Chilean constitutional convention in 2021. Also, during her im-

prisonment from 2016 to 2018 in the context of the Luchsinger-Mackay case, she mobilised a nationally and internationally powerful solidarity campaign.

Given the importance of these women for contemporary Indigenous, Black, and popular resistance in Latin America, some special treatment regarding the gendered aspect of international solidarity from a critical feminist perspective would not only have given these cases their deserved prominence, but it would also have enriched the general debate about the limitations and possibilities of international solidarity across and beyond difference, in that case by focusing on the experience of Mapuche women. An analysis of their challenges in advocating for their rights as women and as Mapuche shows how “Mapuche women are able both to theorize what makes their rights different from women’s rights and to articulate demands for changes in their own communities and within the Mapuche movement” (Richards 2005, 216). Furthermore, “they demonstrate that women’s rights and Indigenous rights are not static or oppositional; their meanings can be reinterpreted and extended to simultaneously respect cultural difference and honor universal principles” (Ibid., 217). This is also a crucial contribution to the debate about particular and universal interests and commonalities in the quest for solidarity brought forward by the struggle of Mapuche women in Wallmapu and Chile.

On a more concrete level, a gender-sensitive approach to international solidarity with the Mapuche showcases the Mapuche women’s role within TMA. First, Mapuche women in the diaspora often had a prominent role as *werken* in European solidarity campaigns and were at the forefront of several protests. The best expression of this fact is the image of three Mapuche from the Mapuche diaspora (in traditional dress) protesting the awarding of the *Doctor honoris causa* to Michelle Bachelet at the University of Leuven. The question of if and in which way gendered community positions, such as the *werken* or the *longko*, might become transformed not only in Europe but also in Wallmapu, can be the topic of further inquiry. Second, the critique of an androcentric Maputhusiasm, employed not only by non-Indigenous organisations but also strategically mobilised by Mapuche actors, could benefit from a gender-sensitive and feminist approach. Possible critical interventions could, for example, address how particularly male and patriarchal images of the Mapuche culture, such as the image of the warrior—the *weichafe*—are activated within Maputhusiasm and therefore exclude not only female but also gender-diverse representations of being Mapuche.

Finally, it is worth highlighting the crucial role of Mapuche women in community building efforts in Wallmapu and beyond. The central part Indigenous women in Latin America play in the (re-)construction of communal and social ties—connected to the defence of the territory but unrecognised within a colonial and postcolonial public sphere—is the topic of a vivid and ongoing debate amongst critical female scholars (Cabnal 2010; Rivera Cuscanqui 2018; Segato 2010; Tzul Tzul 2018). For the Chilean context, an analysis on the cultural practices of Mapuche women in the diaspora in Santiago de Chile shows how they “maintain social configurations and ways of inhabiting public and private spaces that emphasize community solidarity, indigenous knowledges, and reciprocity” (Becerra et al. 2017, 15). These insights echo the ways in which Mapuche women weave bonds and communal ties in the context of international solidarity and transnational advocacy. Ultimately, weaving is a gendered praxis and most commonly employed by Mapuche women. Their practices of solidarity, particularly *keyuwn* and *mingako*, strengthen and (re-)create the cultural and social fabrics not only amongst Mapuche, but with non-Indigenous actors and well beyond Wallmapu. Together with the contemporary discussions about the (re-)construction of communal and social ties by Indigenous women, these observations open an immense field for further inquiry, in which the practices and knowledges of Indigenous women not only contribute to the transnationalisation of their cultures, but to forms of a “creolized conviviality” (Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2015) in other latitudes.

Epilogue – Towards a Reconstitution

In October 2019, a social uprising in Chile marked the beginning of the deepest crisis of the country's institutional and political order in decades. Due to the raise of the subway tariffs of thirty Chilean pesos (approximately € 0,03), social protests from diverse social, political, and cultural sectors started to mobilise against the political establishment and the neoliberal foundation of their society; they claimed that it is not about thirty pesos, but rather about thirty years of neoliberalism.

In connecting their protest to the institutionalisation of neoliberalism, the nationwide uprising has succeeded in doing what was not possible during thirty years of postdictatorial democracy: to shake up the neoliberal hegemony. This includes demands for the abolition of the privatised pension and health care systems; a reform of the education system; and an end to the high cost of electricity and public transportation, the privatised water supply, land concentration, patriarchal conservatism, and an ecologically disastrous extractivism (Liebermann and Garbe 2020).

While diverse social sectors of these protests explained their resistance with thirty years of neoliberal democracy, a highly active Mapuche youth in the country's urban centres ('Mapurbe'), Mapuche communities, and organisations rather framed the protest within 300 years of coloniality. In that context, the social uprising in Chile not only lays bare the crisis of neoliberalism in Latin America, but can rather be addressed as a phenomenon of the "deep crisis of the global coloniality of power" (Quijano 2014d, 852; my translation). This is because what has become visible since the beginning of the social uprising in Chile "has been already happening in Wallmapu for a long time ago, but now it is spreading throughout all territories" (Brito 2021, 86; my translation). This concerns, on the one side, the state repression and systematic human rights violations on a national scale since October 2019 and, on the

other, the formation of alternative communal assemblages beyond neoliberal capitalism and coloniality.

The preliminary success of this protest cycle is the election of a constitutional assembly in May 2021 with an overwhelming majority for left-leaning and left-wing candidates. While a new constitution is necessary for change to continue, the path to it also holds dangers of political appropriation and institutional pitfalls (Liebermann and Garbe 2020). Nevertheless, the social, cultural, and political transformation that has gained momentum since October 2019 already goes well beyond the institutional constraints of a constitutional reform, as the analysis of activists Alondra Castillo and Javiera Manzi from the Chilean *Coordinadora Feminista 8M* invite us to consider: “We think that a much deeper and more radical constituent sense is at stake; that we are constituting ourselves as a movement, as peoples; that we are reconstituting ourselves in the possibility of politicizing ourselves, of imagining another life” (Castillo and Manzi 2021, 31; my translation)

This inspiring statement made me think about possible connections between the idea of a ‘reconstitution’ and my argument for a weaving sense of solidarity. This is why I want to conclude by asking:¹ a) what consequences can be drawn from the latest developments in Chile for this research? And b) how can a perspective that centres the agency and autonomy of the Mapuche and raises awareness about the perpetuated violence in Wallmapu contribute to understanding what is going on in the whole country? In other words, how can decolonial perspectives on solidarity of and with the Mapuche also shed light on the limitations and possibilities of a social, political, and cultural reconstitution in Chile?

The brutal repression against the social uprising since the beginning of the protests caused national and international outrage. Within just a bit more than one month more than 12,000 people were hospitalised, approximately 2,000 had gunshot wounds, almost 350 suffered severe eye injuries, and countless protesters reported sexual and other forms of abuses by the security forces (Gaudichaud 2021). Also, several protesters that were fatally injured or killed in the first weeks of the repression must be added to the list of victims (Tinta Limón 2021, 9–12).

1 Some of these explorative thoughts have been developed and presented together with Julia Liebermann at the 36th annual convention of the Austrian Latin American Studies Association in May 2021.

These bitter numbers are a reminder of the darkest years of the Chilean dictatorship and images of the military police patrolling the streets of Santiago de Chile during the curfew caused international and domestic outrage against the government's repressive response. While these weeks brought back traumatising memories for a whole generation of Chileans, the repression and human rights violations never really ceased in Wallmapu. In other words, “everything we have seen since October [2019] in the centre of the cities (militarization, repression, assassinations, etc.) has had the Araucanía region as its laboratory, from 1997 to the present” (Zapata 2021, 146; my translation). Hereby, Claudia Zapata refers to the events that took place in 1997 in the small town of Lumaco in the Chilean South, where Mapuche communities protested the logging company *Forestal Arauco*. Their protest was followed by a wave of persecution, repression, and criminalisation, unprecedented during democracy. This is why the events in Lumaco from 1997 can be interpreted as a point of inflection towards a new conflict dynamic between private (neo-)extractivist companies, the Chilean state, and Mapuche organisations and communities. The only difference, following Claudia Zapata, is that this conflict dynamic now has been extended towards the urban centres and the mostly non-Indigenous populations.

At the same time, it is not only the repression that has expanded from Wallmapu to the Chilean (urban) territory—so has the potential for resistance and transformation. This is because of the important contribution young Mapuche, socialised in urban Chile, made to the social uprising. In that way, the current dynamic has a decolonising direction as it reverses the colonising process from the nineteenth century; now “there is a conquest of the ‘barbarity’ (the marginalised of the city and of the [neoliberal] model) over the enlightened city,” as Fernando Pairican ironically and sharply analyses (2021, 178; my translation). Not only were statues of former colonisers of Wallmapu decapitated during the protests, but also the *wenufoye* instead of the Chilean flag became the most visible icon of the social uprising.

But beyond the representational level, concrete demands and practices that have their origin in Wallmapu were also transferred to the Chilean territory. One example is territorial recuperation, which has been practiced by Mapuche organisations and communities continuously since the 1960s up to the present day. This refers to the occupation of certain small portions of land in Wallmapu by claiming their ancestral right to this territory, often in reference to the *títulos de merced*. The most famous expression of the transference of such territorial recuperations is the occupation of *Plaza Italia* in Santiago

de Chile, renamed into *Plaza Dignidad* (Square of Dignity) by the protesters. Another example of how political demands from the Mapuche movement reverberate within the social uprising is the call to 'relaunch' or 're-establish' (*refundar*) the Chilean military police—the *Carabineros*—by a broad alliance of social movements, political parties, and unions in early 2021 (NODAL 2021). The demilitarisation of Wallmapu has already been a central demand of Mapuche organisations and communities, also within transnational advocacy, for many years. The latest steps towards territorial autonomy taken, for example, by the community of Temucuicui show how Mapuche organisations and communities predate demands articulated within the nationwide uprising. Not only did they implement measures to protect their community from the COVID-19 pandemic by controlling access to their territory, but they also announced the foundation of their own community police in early 2021 (Stuardo 2021). Putting these experiences in a dialogue with the nationwide demands as well as with global developments regarding police abolition and defunding, most prominently put forward within the Black Lives Matter movement in the USA, might be a promising direction of further research.

Despite the overwhelming majority who voted in favour of a constitutional convention in a plebiscite in October 2020 and the election of a vast number of progressive and left-oriented candidates into the convention in May 2021, the question remains open of whether the constitutional reform can assure a deep political and economic transformation. A close but brief look at the relations of Mapuche communities, organisations, and leaders with the process towards a constitutional reform is therefore insightful for deciphering some of its pitfalls and potentials.

To begin with, a total number of seventeen seats in the constitutional convention were reserved for the ten Indigenous nations living in Chile, seven of them for the Mapuche. What is remarkable is that all seats reserved for the Mapuche were won by independent and mostly self-funded candidates associated with autonomist and territorial recuperation movements. Particularly, the successful campaigns by *machi* Francisca Linconao and the Mapuche lawyer Natividad Llanquileo, winning first and second place, stand out (Equipo de Trabajo por Derechos Colectivos 2021).

The road to the election of the constitutional convention was nevertheless paved by at least three controversies regarding the participation of the Mapuche candidates. The first concerns that fact that the law regulating the process towards a constitutional reform, the *Acuerdo por la paz social y la nueva Constitución* (Agreement for social peace and a new constitution), approved

in November 2019, did not entail a previous, free, and informed consultation of the Indigenous population as demanded within the ILO 169 convention. They were instead, again, included through a top-down approach. Second, the number of reserved seats for the Indigenous population does not correspond with their percentage of the national population. According to the national census, there should have been twenty-four seats, which is why it is safe to assume that the distribution of those reserved seats is “not a question of mathematics, it’s racism” (Tricot 2020; my translation). Finally, the last controversy refers to the fact that only those could vote for an Indigenous candidate who were officially and previously registered as an Indigenous person at the CONADI or the electoral offices. This excluded a considerable number of Indigenous people with a more autonomist vision, who refuse to be subjected to such registration practices.

A preliminary analysis of the election results for a constitutional convention must not only recognise the exceptional efforts of the campaigns by Mapuche candidates from autonomist sectors of the society, but also the prominence of Mapuche women candidates. Besides the already mentioned *machi* Francisca Linconao and Natividad Llanquileo, the successful campaign of the Mapuche scholar Elisa Loncón and the candidacy of *machi* Francisca Linconao’s former spokeswoman, Ingrid Conejeros, stand out. Not only do many of the Mapuche candidates come from autonomist sectors of their society, but some were themselves victims of state violence, repression, and persecution. What is more, in a *trawvn* in February 2021 twelve Mapuche candidates for the constitutional convention explicitly named the “reconstruction of the Mapuche nation, Wallmapu” as their goal (Koyagtun Koz-Koz 2021; my translation). But here is the catch: contrary to the autonomist stance of these candidates, a representative survey from early 2020 shows that “the option of the Indigenous Peoples being able to form an independent state from Chile does not attract much support” (CIIR 2020, 41) neither amongst Indigenous nor non-Indigenous participants.

What conclusion can be drawn from what appears to be a contradiction between the autonomist demands of political Mapuche leaders and the lack of broad social support for autonomy? At first sight, the gap between the autonomist movement and the broader social, Indigenous base throughout the country seems to grow bigger within the constitutional process—not only between some prominent figures and their society, but also between the former and some autonomist communities, who disapprove of their participation within the constitutional process altogether.

In contrast, I want to conclude with a different, more promising interpretation. The current dynamic bears the potential to canalise experiences of survival strategies of the Mapuche within the Chilean state through a reconstitution from below. The constant labour of reassembling their sociocultural tissue despite state persecution and economic disadvantages is what finally recomposes a Mapuche society and at the same time weaves it into the dominant Chilean society by creolising and transculturalising it. In reference to the centrifugal and centripetal force of their cultural politics of autonomy, analysed in chapter four, the current dynamic thus also shows how “the Mapuche society began to develop strategies of accumulating forces, first to survive, then to infiltrate” (Lincopi 2021; my translation). The electoral victories of autonomist Mapuche candidates seem to introduce the second step. On a socio-cultural level, the Mapuche resistance of the last decades, gaining prominence within the social uprising, has already won further ground: for example, data from a recent study shows that self-identification as Indigenous jumped from 12.8 percent in 2017 (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas 2017, 16) to 28 percent in 2020 (CIIR 2020, 41). In the same study, an overwhelming number (92 percent) support an education in Indigenous languages in the country for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people alike (Ibid.). While these numbers might seem surprising for some, as detailed with the strategy of *mapuchising*, the Mapuche “have always imagined another country with cultural diversity, etc.” (Zapata 2021, 148; my translation). In that sense, “what is in crisis is a political culture and a power structure for which the Indigenous movements [in Chile] have been preparing themselves for decades” (Lincopi 2021; my translation).

This means that the political resistance and sociocultural reconstitution led by Mapuche organisations and communities are now enabling transformations within the political institutions of the Chilean nation. The seeds that have been planted for decades are now being harvested within nationwide debates about intercultural rights, self-determination, plurinationality (Pairican 2021, 174), and police reform, as well as within the latest election results. Together with the discussed contradictions of Mapuche candidates participating in the constitutional reform, a horizon for enabling a deep, sustainable, and decolonising reconstitution of the Chilean society also becomes visible. Inspired by the practice of territorial recuperations of Mapuche communities in the 1960s and ‘70s, today “pushing the fence forward” seems more possible than ever (Millabur in Pairican 2021, 174; my translation). Beyond that fence, there is a decolonial future that waits to be woven.

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Appendix

A: Glossary

AMCAM (Asociación de Municipalidades con Alcaldes Mapuche)	Association of Municipalities with Mapuche Mayors
ATM (Alianza Territorial Mapuche)	Territorial Mapuche Alliance
CERD	Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination
CIISOC (Centro de Investigaciones de la Inclusión digital y la Sociedad de Conocimiento)	Research Centre for Digital Inclusion and Social Knowledge
CONADI (Concejo Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena)	The National Cooperation for Indigenous Development in Chile
CME (Coordinación Mapuche de Europa)	Mapuche Coordination in Europe
CTT (Concejo de Todas las Tierras)	Council of All Territories
EZLN (Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional)	Zapatista National Liberation Army
FEMAE (Federación Mapuche de Estudiantes)	Mapuche Students' Federation
FONDECYT (Fondo Nacional de Desarrollo Científico y Tecnológico)	The Chilean National Fund for Scientific and Technological Development
GfbV (Gesellschaft für bedrohte Völker)	Society of Threatened People
ICT	Information and Communication Technologies
IDNMP	International Defence Network for the Mapuche People
INDH (Instituto Nacional de Derechos Humanos)	National Human Rights Institute
ILO	International Labour Organisation
JUPIC (Justicia, Paz e Integridad de la creación en La Araucanía)	Justice, Peace, and Integrity of Creation in the Araucanía
JMM	Jesuit Mapuche Mission

OC (Observatorio Ciudadano)	Citizens' Observatory
RDT (Red por la Defensa de los Territorios)	Network for the Defence of Territories
SVD	Society of the Divine Word
TMA	Transnational Mapuche Advocacy
UNPO	Unrepresented Peoples' Organisation

B: Words in Mapuzugun

Ayllarewe	an assemblage of Mapuche communities
Az mapu	the ethical and normative framework of the Mapuche
Jejipun	Mapuche ritual and mostly welcome ceremony
Keyuwvn	to work amongst everyone/as a community
Komkeyuayin	mutual help where everyone helps
Koyang	meetings or gatherings with long-lasting discussions and speech acts
Kultrun	Mapuche drum
Lof	Mapuche community
Lofdungu	any topic or thing that has a communal importance
Lofkedaw	communal work
Longko	community leader or chief
Machi	healer or spiritual leader
Malluntu	mutual and obligatory gift exchange
Mapuzugun	Mapuche language
Marichiweu	resistance shout: for each Mapuche who falls, ten more will rise
Merken	smoked chili powder
Mingako	collective work in the rural community
Mizawvn	when two (or more) people eat from the same plate as an expression of enormous trust
Ngillatun	maybe one of the most important and highly complex ritualised celebrations between Mapuche communities. It is celebrated—at most—once a year
Norfeal	having a good time and living well
Ngvtram	a family conversation
Matetun	gathering to drink mate tea
Metrem	a guest or visitor
Palin	the traditional Mapuche sport
Peñi	brother(s)

Ragiñelwe	literally “space of the middle” and describes “a cultural agent, whose function is to mediate between the affected parts,” for example “between persons, where a certain type of disencounter [leads] to a certain degree of unbalance” (COTAM 2003, 1166, my translation)
Rewe	family unit and ceremony site
Trafkintu	fair and equal exchange
Trawvn	meeting or gathering
Trutruka	Mapuche horn
Wallmapu	the historical territory of the Mapuche—the southern parts of today's Chile and Argentina
Weichafe	Mapuche warrior
Wenufoye	the Mapuche flag accepted by most of the organisations and communities
Wenuy	friend
Werken	community spokesperson
Wetripantu	the Mapuche's annual celebration of the repetition of the earth's cycle around the sun, beginning with the shortest night in the southern hemisphere on the night of June 20
Wigka (sometimes huinca)	denominates a non-Mapuche person or an outsider to the Mapuche society in a rather derogatory way
Wayontamapukeyuaful	international solidarity
Yanakona	Traitor
Zeuma iyaël	the practice of and knowledge about preparing traditional Mapuche food, mostly by Mapuche women

C: List of Personal Interviews

Name	Date
Alex Mora	November 28, 2015
Alma	Conversations: February–April, 2016
Amanda	Two interviews: July 1, 2016 July 5, 2016
Amina	November 27, 2015
Andrea Cotrena	June 6, 2017
Cecilia Necul	March 10, 2016
Clarissa	January 22, 2016
Cristián	March 8, 2016
Eva	Three interviews: December 1, 2015a December 1, 2015b January 29, 2016
Federico Aguirre	March 2, 2016
Fernando Díaz	March 26, 2016
Gloria Marivil	February 23, 2016
Greta	December 12, 2015
Isabel Cañet	February 24, 2016
Isabell	June 9, 2016
Isidora	June 9, 2016
Jaime Huenchullán	Two interviews: March 18, 2016 March 20, 2016
Jose Luis Calfucura	Two interviews: February 16, 2016a February 16, 2016b
Juan Fuenzálda	March 12, 2016

Karin	January 22, 2016
Kira	February 29, 2016
Llanquiray Painemal	June 16, 2017
Luis and Nadia Paineñil	March 10, 2016
Madelaine	December 6, 2015
Maike	June 9, 2016
María Teresa Loncón	March 3, 2016
Matías	March 28, 2016
Mauricio Paineñil	March 10, 2016
Mauricio Vergaras	Two interviews: February 25, 2016a February 24, 2016b
Pastoral Mapuche group discussion	April 6, 2016
Peter	December 1, 2015
Rayen Kvyeh	March 1, 2016
Rike	May 27, 2016
Rubén Sanchez	March 1, 2016
Sabrina	February 4, 2016
Selma and Ramón Necul	March 11, 2016
Sybille	June 26, 2016
The Hague group discussion	May 5, 2015
Verena	December 6, 2015
Vicente Painel	Two interviews: February 20, 2016 March 3, 2016
Victor Carilaf	February 23, 2016

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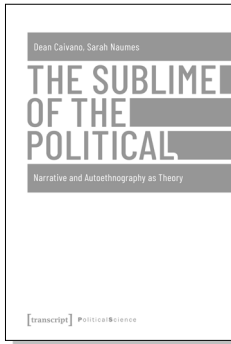
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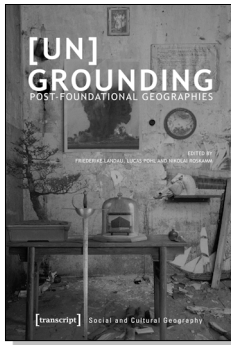
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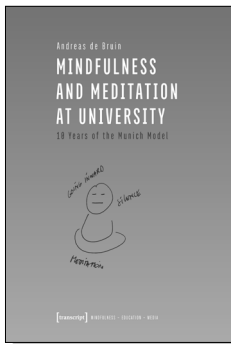
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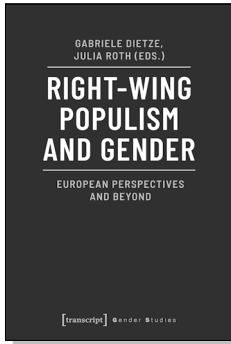
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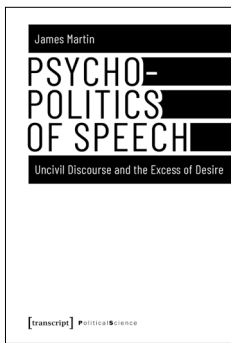
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