Photo 9: 3 generations Yagan (from right to left) – grandmother Cristina, granddaughter Cristina, and great-granddaughter Loimuska 2014 (Photo Oliver Vogel).

Cristina, "Are you the last of the Yagan?" "No, of course not," she replied, "I am neither the only one nor the last one!" (Photo 9)

(Translation from German by Angelika Striegel)

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(Re-)Constructing History

A Review Essay on Three Mapuche Examples

Ulrike Bieker

I

The Mapuche of southern Chile and Argentina are well known to Romance language students from reading Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga's epic "La Araucana" from 1569 which starts with these lines: "Canto I. El cual declara el asiento y descripción de la Provincia de Chile y Estado de Arauco, con las costumbres y modos de guerra que los naturales tienen; y asimismo trata en suma la entrada y conquista que los españoles hicieron hasta que Arauco se comenzó a rebelar" (Ercilla y Zúñiga 1972: 29). This cornerstone of Mapuche historiography, especially their resistance to Spanish colonialism, remains perceptible to this day. It invokes lingering questions like, who writes history and what is its subject? What archives of knowledge are used?

Who has access to them and who has not? By what means of communication is history constructed and reconstructed? What have we gained so far from studies on such topics?

I will address these questions by looking at three publications on the Mapuche of Chile. These three books merit a comparative view despite their provenance from different disciplines (Geography, History, and Anthropology). It is exactly this interdisciplinary comparison that offers important insights. The publications also represent different genres: two of them (Hauswald,[1] Riedemann Fuentes[2]) are dissertations – a fact that is reflected by their structure, whereas Bacigalupo's book[3] was written without the formal constraints of a thesis. Formal aspects will therefore not be in the focus of this review article.

The three books ask how historical consciousness is produced and history (re-)constructed, but they do so in very different ways. Bacigalupo approaches history-making from a subjectivist/autobiographical perspective in terms of a Mapuche female shaman's life story. Riedemann Fuentes focuses on the representation of Mapuche in Chilean history textbooks from 1846 to 2000. Her text alludes to the discursive potential of external ascriptions. While Hauswald's topic of ethnotourism at first glance appears to be located exclusively in the present, his comparison of Mapuche, Rapa Nui, and Aymara shows that tourism can serve as an archive of knowledge about traditions and their transformation.

Below I will first present each book by itself and then discuss certain aspects in more detail in order to elucidate the differences between them.

II

In his dissertation "Indigener Tourismus in Chile. Strategien der kulturellen und touristischen Inwertsetzung" Oliver Hauswald takes the Mapuche as his main example and compares his findings with data on ethnotourism among the Rapa Nui and Aymara. Due to the huge sociocultural differences among these groups and their social situation as one of eight state-recognized minority groups in Chile, the comparative approach proves ultimately unproductive to him. Still, Hauswald's approach and findings are not without merit, as will be elaborated below.

His approach to tourism research owes much to postcolonial theories and debates. He focuses on the themes of hegemony, language, text and representation, place and displacement, identity, and postcoloniality (Hauswald 2014: 48 f.). In order to make the research process transparent and give voice to his research partners, Hauswald's study is complemented by 5 excursuses and 4 contextual chapters that also contain personal reflections and experiences.

His Mapuche research partners include the "Fundación Chol Chol," the "Casa de la Mujer Mapuche / Asociación Puel Mapu," and the "Comunidad Zanja." Tourism services offered by these organizations range from demonstrations of weaving techniques, hikes, and lectures to local cuisine and overnight stays in traditional huts (*ruka*) (120–130). The organizations moreover maintain schools and/or are active in politics. During several visits to Chile, Hauswald conducted altogether 94 interviews (among Mapuche, Rapa Nui, and Aymara as with non-indigenous tourists, tour guides, and state representatives) and undertook participant observation. Beside selected contacts, his research approach leaves space for accidental encounters and observations. His key question is: "What strategies are used by local indigenous actors to place their tourism offers in the context of international tourism?" (18).[4] He understands the tourist interaction "not as a 'culture destroyer' but rather an aspect of social reality that is complemented by numerous other aspects" (20). His findings show that ethnotourism is perceived by many rural and urban Mapuche as a chance to revitalize traditions, since certain cultural techniques, e.g., of weaving or house building, would otherwise have fallen into disuse. In terms of negotiating strategies and attitudes toward ethnotourism, Hauswald organizes his findings along three lines: (1) *vender* vs. *recuperar*, concerning the dichotomy of accusations of a cultural sellout and political activism for indigenous rights; (2) *la parte privada y la parte pública*, concerning internal negotiations about which aspects of culture are made accessible to tourists and which are not; (3) *musealización y vida diaria*, concerning, for example, the question if traditional clothing should be worn especially for the tourists' benefit or if they should be

1 Hauswald, Oliver: Indigener Tourismus in Chile. Strategien der kulturellen und touristischen Inwertsetzung. München: Profil-Verlag, 2014. 221 pp. ISBN 978-3-89019-639-8. (Eichstätter tourismuswissenschaftliche Beiträge, 14) Preis: € 38.00.

2 Riedemann Fuentes, Andrea: Representaciones cambiantes e historia fragmentada. Los mapuche en los textos escolares de Historia de Chile, 1846–2000. Berlin: Freie Universität Berlin, 2012. 224 pp.

3 Bacigalupo, Ana Mariella: Thunder Shaman. Making History with Mapuche Spirits in Chile and Patagonia. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2016. 288 pp. ISBN 978-1-4773-0898-1. Price: $ 26.95.

4 Translation by Ingo W. Schröder, whom I thank a lot for translating my text.

shown actual everyday life (131). He argues "that the project of identity reconstruction would be considerably weaker, maybe even nonexistent, without the influence of tourism" (130).

In the final part of his study, Hauswald introduces his research findings from Rapa Nui, a Polynesian island annexed by Chile in 1888, and the Aymara from the Chile-Peru borderlands. The situation of these groups is radically different from that of the Mapuche. Mass tourism has been present on Rapa Nui since the 1960s – mostly in the form of day-trippers visiting the national park and the world-famous *moais* – and has profoundly changed local sociocultural structures (154–160). Hauswald's observation focuses on the *Tapati* festival in which he distinguishes "athletic-cultural activities" and "cultural-folkloristic evening performances" (168). Of special interest are his interviews with tourists concerning their expectations, impressions, and opinions. In northern Chile, tourism faces difficulties for several reasons, e.g., the elevation that requires a lengthy acclimatization period. Tourism offers in the region are therefore scarce and state support programs have been initiated to stimulate the local tourist industry.

Andrea Riedemann Fuentes' study "Representaciones cambiantes e historia fragmentada. Los Mapuche en los textos escolares de Historia de Chile, 1846–2000" is divided into two parts. First, she investigates the Chilean public discourse on the Mapuche based on press reports, parliamentary and other documents, and school curricula (*programas*) that determine the content of textbooks. In the republic's early years, such *programas* usually offered only rather general recommendations; actual curricula exist only since the middle of the 20th century. Chile's political upheavals in the latter part of that century (e.g., the military coup of 1973) obviously had a strong impact on fundamental pedagogical attitudes as on curriculum design. In a second step, Riedemann Fuentes analyzes a selection of 14 textbooks for intermediate-level classes. She divides them into three phases identified by selected quotations: "Los mapuche como 'guerreros' y 'salvajes' (1846–1893)," "Los mapuche como representantes o integrantes de la 'raza nacional' (1907–1950)," and "Los mapuche como pueblo (1969–2000)." Each textbook is described in detail and a period's key characteristics and discontinuities are summarized. Differences within each phase are also identified, as in the case of the second phase: "Mientras Galdames atribuía la rebeldía de los mapuche a la codicia de los conquistadores y Montero aplicaba la guerra como un aspecto inherente al ser araucano, el texto de Amunátegui tiene la particularidad de presentar la rebeldía de los mapuche como un hecho completamente incomprensible o inexplicable" (Riedemann Fuentes 2012: 143).

Riedemann Fuentes pursues three main lines of inquiry: the use of terminology (e.g., *indios*, *araucanos*, *bárbaros*, *naturales*, Mapuche), the historical context described in the textbooks (e.g., migration, war), and the concomitant characteristics and connotations. Here she notes that since a certain period the descriptions of historical and contemporary Mapuche differ substantially in order to legitimize political processes of the present. Historian Frías Valenzuela, for example, describes in his book (1950) pre-Hispanic Mapuche migrations from Argentina to Chile as a historic fact. His true motive according to Riedemann Fuentes, however, is to challenge Mapuche territorial claims (164). Likewise, the Mapuche's designation as *raza nacional* and the detailed description of pre-hispanic times has to be viewed with reference to the independence struggle and identity building of the young republic.

Ana Mariella Bacigalupo's ethnographic study "Thunder Shaman. Making History with Mapuche Spirits in Chile and Patagonia" centers on the life history of the female shaman (*machi*) Francisca Kolipi Kurin (1921–1996) and her relationship with the researcher. The book originated from the *machi*'s request to the researcher to write a "bible" that describes the former's life and spiritual work. The book presents ethnographic data collected by Bacigalupo over the period of twenty-four years (1991–2015). They constitute a person-centered ethnography and speak of subjectivity and individuality rather than claiming general validity as Bacigalupo focuses on her research partner's life history, motivation, and perspective. These data are then placed in a wider context in terms of their cultural, social, economic, historical, and, of course, spiritual connotations. In the course of her research Bacigalupo is adopted by the *machi* as her granddaughter and instructed as her apprentice in order that the book, her personal bible, will not only document the *machi*'s life story but also serve as ritual tool for invoking her spiritual power. The book contextualizes the assignment of writing Francisca's bible in multiple ways in order to explain general as well as specific characteristics of Mapuche shamanism, among them the process of forgetting the *machi* as a person after her death. For this reason, Bacigalupo's/Francisca's book could be published only now, many years after Francisca died (1996) and her memory has faded.

III

Closeness and Distance

Some of the dreams – her own and those of the shaman – that Bacigalupo describes testify to the closeness of the research relationship. She writes, "In January 2011 I dreamed repeatedly that Francisca asked me to take her headdress and ring back to Millali. In my prayers, I told her I would return her objects in December, when I was finished with classes. But the spirit became increasingly impatient in my dreams" (Bacigalupo 2016: 218 f.). That month she had a car accident. When she traveled to Chile in December and told about her dreams, it was explained to her that she had that accident and become ill because she had not complied with Francisca's wish immediately. After the headdress and the ring had been ceremonially returned, Bacigalupo's dreams changed: "Since then, I have not dreamed about Francisca as a demanding spirit, but only as the ancestral *filew*, offering healing and advice. I have invoked her five times" (220 f.). One of Francisca's relatives asked her to include these dreams in Francisca's bible, because they were important for its ritual context. In terms of the scholarly context, it would have been much more important to learn what new insights were gained from the conversations about these dreams. Dreams become a tool of ethnographic inquiry through their telling and the research partners' response and interpretation, which may contain important information that could not have been obtained without the telling of the dream (cf. Tobón 2015: 339), just like a vessel's hidden interior is revealed by its accidental breaking and a researcher's improper behavior through his being corrected by his research partners. However, such methods are contingent on specific situations and usually cannot be planned or controlled. In the case mentioned above, such conversations and interpretations were only suitable to a limited extent or were not included in the publication. Rather, the dreams were the topic of a dialogue between Bacigalupo and the deceased, where the former responded through prayers (218–221).

The way Bacigalupo deals with her dreams probably reflects her dual role as researcher and shaman's assistant, which made it impossible to the latter to ignore the role and function of dreams. Such role conflicts may also happen in ethnotourism with regard to the establishment of contact or the offer of compensation. Hauswald notes that he saw "accepting tourism offers, e.g., in terms of accommodation, as a common and reasonable practice of compensation", whereas he made it a matter of principle never to pay for interviews (2014: 108). Interestingly enough, Bacigalupo's role conflict tends to be interpreted as an issue of too much closeness, while Hauswald's dual role appears to indicate too much distance.

Land

The Mapuche term *wingka* can be translated as "stranger, a non-Mapuche, a white man who abuses the Mapuche people" (Smeets 2008 [1950]: 576). The Hispanicized term *awingkado* labels such Mapuche individuals who no longer live in the traditional way, especially those who have migrated to the cities. Currently more than 50 percent of Mapuche live in cities. Maintaining relations with their communities of origin is comparatively easy in a regional center like Temuco, but extremely difficult for Mapuche living in Santiago de Chile. For this reason, new forms of identification and community building have developed in the urban environment. Analogous to the self-designation "mapuche" (*mapu* = land, *che* = people) an artist / political avant-garde has coined the term "warriache" (*warria* = city, *che* = people) in order to express this new way of being Mapuche (cf. Bieker 2006, 2009, 2010). The studies under review do not ignore such developments but emphasize the existential relevance of land (and land rights) both in an ontological sense and as a resource in the Mapuche's struggle with the state and agricultural and forestry companies. A Mapuche's place of origin (*tuwün*) matters not only in everyday life but also in processes of identity construction (cf. Course 2011). Hauswald's study refers to the issue of *awingkamiento* being used to criticize those Mapuche who make tourism offers. There is fear that the fulfillment of tourists' (*wingka*) needs and demands for monetary compensation might lead to distorting or forgetting one's own culture. Furthermore, the issue of land rights obviously plays an important role in the context of tourism, as Hauswald notes in passing for the Likan Antai in San Pedro de Atacama (2014: 199–201). Bacigalupo's protagonist, the *machi* Francisca Kolipi Kurin from the *comunidad* Millali in the Región de la Araucanía, is even herself an *awingkada*. She came to the region after her marriage and it was here that she received her spiritual powers from a former shaman (her grandmother) through thunder and lightning during the great earthquake of 1960. She accepted these powers but initially practiced as a "modern-day *machi*" that watches television and eats Western food. Only after suffering several illnesses, she recognized that she had to live the life of an "old-time

machi" in order to satisfy the spirits' demands. As insightful as these observations may be for understanding an alien symbolic system, one should be cautious not to accept the essentialist understanding of culture that speaks from them in terms of a scholarly concept. An emic perspective must include innovative and revitalizing forces in its understanding of a group's symbolic fabric. This is even more important when theoretical assumptions regarding historical (re-)construction are based on a highly flexible and fluid concept of history. Bacigalupo uses the term of multi-temporality. The fluidity of historical construction clashes with methodological presuppositions concerning urban Mapuche, who are viewed from a culturally pessimistic perspective.

The analysis of the textbooks by Riedemann Fuentes uncovers in many respects the hegemonic structures, which were used to deny the Mapuche any land rights in the past. Therefore, it can be assumed that the author does not declare their demands for land and territorial rights as illegitimate, and neither do I. Riedemann Fuentes' study, on the other hand, shows how the category of "land" assumed a negative connotation in the external ascription by making people disappear behind the strong emphasis on territory and the region of Araucanía. She notices that, i.e., Miguel Luis Amunátegui in his textbook (1856) repeatedly puts an emphasis on the Araucanía as a territory. By doing so, he resorts to a dichotomy of nature vs. culture and relates the Mapuche more to a natural notion instead of a cultural. This emphasis on territorial belonging must be seen as an ideological support for the annexation of that area, which was and still is of great economical interest to the Chilean state (2012: 103).

Historical and Ethnographic Representation

By studying historical periods (pre-Hispanic, colonial, independence struggle, Republican, etc.) separately and mapping out the differences among various authors, Riedemann Fuentes constructs continuity in terms of several red threads. She makes clear, for example, that the continuous use of certain terms, like *rebelde*, serves to evoke specific images and association concerning the Mapuche. She gives numerous examples that the simple mention of Mapuche in a specific context does not signify their inclusion in the "historical narrative." She notes that "[c]omo fue posible observar, la fragmentariedad fue un elemento presente en todos los textos escolares analizados, desde 1846 hasta el año 2000: los mapuche fueron utilizados como elementos auxiliares del relato histórico, pero nunca bajo el reconocimiento de integrantes plenos de la nación chilena" (2012: 202). Such fragmentary inclusion into national historiography moreover creates subalternity, as Mapuche are mentioned with mostly negative connotations, thus allocating to them a position of inferiority.

History traditionally focuses on written sources. For this reason, Riedemann Fuentes relies exclusively on books and archival documents. Oral statements, especially from the readers of these books, have no place in her analysis. In a footnote, she remarks that she conducted 60 semi-structured interviews with students in three different localities. From an anthropological perspective, the disregard of these interviews in her analysis is extremely regrettable but probably simply illustrates the two disciplines' methodological difference. Riedemann Fuentes indirectly criticizes ethnographic representations for their ignorance of the temporal dimension, which serves to reinforce the Mapuche's exclusion from hegemonic historiography. Regarding the third phase of her study (the second part of the twentieth century) she writes: "De todas formas, lo que sigue sucediendo, al igual que en la primera mitad del siglo, es que la época prehispánica es redactada 'en un estilo etnográfico y no historiográfico', es decir, que en vez de representar a los mapuche como parte de la historia, se les margina del relato histórico manteniéndolos en una especie de atemporalidad antropológica" (2012: 193).

The "New Cultural Geography", where Hauswald situates his study, critically examines "the subordinate role of sociopolitical issues (like racism, migration, inequality) and the privileging of theoretical over more empirical approaches in Human Geography."[5] He argues in great detail for the use of data from interviews and participant observation. Such methods are considered most effective in anthropology, which rather considers the loss of distance and the lack of comparability of data as problematic. Bacigalupo's close contact with shamans is the result of a long-term relationship from 1991 to 2015 as both apprentice and researcher that allows for extraordinary insights. From her postcolonial perspective, the shaman's multi-temporality that allows her to travel across space and time as well as the belief in the intervention of spirits in the course of history represents a form of historical construction that is equal to others. Bacigalupo traces this simultaneity on several levels of her book: it is the shaman's biography and also an anthropological study of shamanism; it is Francisca's bible and also

5 <https://kulturgeographie.org/2016/07/11/nkg-xiv-in-bayreuth/> [08. 05. 2017].

a reflection of the research process. The study is the outcome of a co-authorship with her research partner, since Bacigalupo was commissioned to write this book for both scholarly and ritual purposes.

Whereas in her earlier work she focused on the gendered aspects of Mapuche shamanism, here these are confined to one brief chapter and the focus shifts to processes of history making through spirits. Bacigalupo investigates – jointly with the *machi* Francisca, as it were – the active construction of history in shamanism. The processes of history making are supported by various contextualizations of Mapuche society with outside processes, e.g., the struggle over land rights, ecology, Christianity, and the legal relationship with the Chilean state that are linked to Francisca's statements and actions. The book's argument becomes particularly clear in chapter 5, when the meaning of texts and the strategies of their appropriation by the *machi* Francisca are explained. The author distinguishes between the (Holy) Bible (Christian context) and bibles (Mapuche context) in order to avoid confusions between the two. Rituals, objects, and texts are seen as "embodied forms of shamanic history making" (2016: 129), because "for machi and other people in Millali, historical consciousness is itself shamanic" (2016: 10). Such observation is supported by Bacigalupo's statement that Mapuche and other indigenous groups "engage with literacy in different ways" (2016: 131). Francisca's bible represents an "intertextual object" (2016: 141) since she appropriates it as a shaman and makes it her tool. Hence, it is more than simply a ritual object (2016: 151). The bible links the past with the future and gives "a voice to an indigenous understanding of history" (2016: 227). This re-telling (re-construction) of history with the help of spirits and history she calls history making.

Hauswald had originally planned to compare the ethnotourism offers of Mapuche, Aymara, and Rapa Nui. After his first visit to the field, however, he became aware "that the academic notion of a comparison of the three groups made little sense. The levels of tourist interaction are too different; the tourism offers, concepts, and development opportunities too diverse" (2014: 15). He concludes, however, that his experiences on Rapa Nui can be useful for understanding "indigenous tourism in Chile – between touristic invalorization and identity reconstruction" (2014: 202). Concerning his observation of the *Tapati* festival he notes that it combines "traditional practices and modern adaptations" and that "cultural practices are simultaneously reaffirmed, modified, and modernized" in touristic contexts (2014: 204). The internal negotiation processes obviously differ widely between Rapa Nui and the Mapuche. In both cases, the festival's correct performance is the subject of intergenerational controversy; on Rapa Nui, however, the young generation is apparently most interested in the festival's adaptation and reinterpretation. "Commitment, perseverance, and (attractive) physicality are not only part of the discourse on modern personhood; they also represent key elements of Tapati" (2014: 185). The fact that such processes take place in the context of tourism shows the latter to be a variable knowledge archive that can be "read" by the Rapa Nui and tourists alike.

The three authors approach the issue of representation in very different ways. Hauswald extensively gives voice to his research partners and diligently reflects upon the research process throughout his study. He thus enables the reader to scrutinize his findings at every step concerning the question of "who speaks." The broad scope of his research design, however, deprives his findings to some degree of analytical depth. Bacigalupo's approach shows the opposite: her long-term and intimate involvement and especially her dual role as shaman's apprentice and researcher allow for unique and deep scholarly insights due to her exceptional knowledge of Mapuche history, culture, and religion. Throughout the text, authorship is purposefully blurred as the book is intended to be a polyphonic, multi-temporal, and open-ended history (2016: 234). Riedemann Fuentes focuses on foreign depictions of the Mapuche at the expense of an historical or contemporary indigenous perspective. Her research centers on the issue of representation. For this reason, the question of "who speaks" takes on a different relevance here. The author mostly disappears behind her research. A textbook is critiqued from a neutral position. Riedemann Fuentes contextualizes each author in terms of his/her education, political and social position, but refrains from applying the same critical approach to her own authorship. Thus, her own role in the research process and her stance on issues like the conflict between the Mapuche and the state or the struggle for land rights remain open to speculation.

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Working in the Desert

The Significance of Labour Performances among Tuareg Nomads in the Algerian Sahara

Anja Fischer

Introduction

The Tuareg nomads work as pastoralists in some of the most extreme climatic environments in the world. They have always been dromedary and goat breeders in the Sahel and the Sahara, and, nowadays, they are also sheep breeders. The Central Sahara of North Africa is an area which can experience temperatures as high as 57 °C in summer, accompanied by extremely low humidity and permanently hot trade winds. What does work mean for nomadic pastoralists in such a barren and swelteringly hot environment? This article examines the seasonal labour processes of Tuareg nomads in the Ahnet/Mouydir Mountains in the South of Algeria, the hottest and driest mountainous region in the Central Sahara. Only highly qualified and specialised pastoralists can work in such extreme climatic conditions. Their subsistence-orientated milk economy and market-orientated meat production require permanent supervision and care of the herds even in the unrelenting heat of the summer. So pastoralists always have to work (Dahl 1987: 249; Klute 1996: 212). The Tuareg nomads' subsistence needs are satisfied by goats in Algeria (Keenan 2006: 686), while the work in dromedary breeding creates investment (Fischer 2008: 81). As with most pastoral societies, the division of labour is determined by the types of animal that are herded (Chatty 2006: 11). Labour is divided between women and men, with the women managing the small livestock and the men being responsible for the dromedary breeding.

"Ethnological research on pastoralism has strikingly neglected the issues of work and labour" (Beck und Klute 1991: 91). So far the labour of Tuareg pastoralists has been documented in detail in less extreme environments such as the Air Mountains in Niger (Spittler 1998), the Iforas Mountains in Mali (Klute 1992), and the Ahaggar Mountains in Algeria (Nicolaisen 1963). This current study is based on anthropological fieldwork carried out among a group of around 200 nomads in the Algerian Ahnet Mountains over a period of 22 months between 2002 and 2011. The method used in the fieldwork was participant observation. This meant, that I not only watched the nomads at work, but that I actually worked with them, thus enabling me to gain an understanding of what working in the desert means. It is difficult to define clearly what work for Tuareg nomads means, because their language has no word for work (Spittler 1990). This article examines the working procedures and habits of the Tuareg nomads, not only when working with the livestock but also when carrying out essential labours such as in the household. The research also includes the cultural embedment, the emic concept of work, and the emic work ethic, without which the research would not have been feasible (Beck und Klute 1991: 106).

However, the article does not examine what work means for the production, but what work means for