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Ethnic Prejudice Against the Mapuche in Chilean Society as a Reflection of the Racist Ideology of the Spanish Conquistadors

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INTRODUCTION

The conquest of Chile and of America in general constituted an encounter between different and mutually unknown civilizations that discovered the existence of an "extreme otherness" which European civilization would generically call "Indians." The Spanish encounter with the aboriginals was both violent and subtle. The conquistadors' main aim was to collect the largest amount of gold and silver as quickly and easily as possible: a purpose that led their leaders to learn about the Indian "enemy," get close to them, and win their confidence in order to subjugate and colonize them. Cortés, in Mexico, was the prototypical conquistador using communicative abilities and native language to interpret the behavior of Indians, and temporarily adapting to their structures in order to conquer them.[1] The behavior of Cortés, and of the Spanish conquistadors, was based on a racist ideology in contemporary Europe with distinctive political, economic, and religious attitudes toward the "New World." The Spanish crown backed Columbus' enterprise in order to gain wealth (bullion, spices, etc.), create colonies, and convert the "pagan" Indians to Christianity.

This article examines the development of this ideology in creating stereotypes and prejudices against the Mapuche (Native Americans) by the non-Mapuche who settled in Chile.[2] We argue that the inhabitants of Temuco—a southern Chilean city in an area with a large Mapuche population—retain these stereotypes and prejudices in their everyday discourse: an attitude that is generally more explicit in lower-class individuals and more implicit among the middle and upper classes. This article analyzes comments in the regional

press during the previous century and the everyday language of non-Mapuche inhabitants of Temuco.

DEFINITIONS

We define *discourse* as a composite of three interrelated, interdependent elements: (1) the text and its constitutive elements; (2) the "discourse practice" that speakers carry on through texts; and (3) the "social practices" that shape discourse, as well as text.[3] The article defines *ideology* as a way of social cognition that consists of norms, values, objectives, and socially relevant principles selected and combined to favor certain perceptions, interpretations, and actions in social practices.[4] We define *prejudices* as preconceived ideas or judgments, which, when socialized within a group ("in-group"), shape a specific and overgeneralized social belief about another group ("out-group") that generates negative attitudes toward the members of the out-group based solely on their group membership. These beliefs generally derive from personal experience or are inherited during the first stages of socialization, and then are transmitted and disseminated through discourse practices.[5] *Stereotypes* are more cognitive in nature. They constitute concepts, clichés, and descriptive categories about members of the out-group that provide cognitive input for the expression of prejudice, since they are patterns which remain in the speaker's social memory. Thus, the notion of stereotype evokes that of prejudice and discrimination. Stereotypes have a strong emotional tone and are used to justify the nature of relations among groups and nations.[6]

RACIST IDEOLOGY

Racism develops from different streams of thought: primarily universalism, ethnocentrism, and/or cultural relativity. According to Todorov,[7] a racist doctrine consists of a coherent group of five propositions that: (1) defines races as human groups whose members have similar physical characteristics distinct from those of other races; (2) establishes a correspondence between physical and moral characteristics and cultural differences; (3) characterizes an individual's behavior primarily in terms of race; (4) uses racial attributes to create a hierarchy of races; and (5) uses the other four proposals to rank races morally and politically.[8] This hierarchy placed Europeans at the apex, followed by Asians and Africans, with American "savages," whom the author compared to "first order animals," placed at the bottom of the hierarchy.[9] According to Renan, Europeans would conquer inferior peasant peoples in colonial wars of expansion.[10]

The combination of praising the Indians for their "naturalness" with such attributions as "barbarians"[11] gave birth to the term *savage*, which European colonizers used widely during the conquest of the Americas. A number of examples typify this attitude. The writings of Father Las Casas, a strong defender of the Indians, reveal an underlying racist ideology. Las Casas described Indians in virtuous terms as "people without any defects," a description based on a Christian point of view and his own psychological observations.

This devout cleric saw the Indians as a pure, natural, and undeveloped people, but was never able to understand their cultural diversity.[12] Early colonial society in Chile inherited the concept of barbarism from the Spanish conquistadors to define intergroup relations between Creoles (*criollos*) and Mapuche in negative terms. According to Bengoa, this stereotype was the most outstanding characteristic of the attitude of colonial and Chilean society toward the Mapuche people.[13] Ercilla illustrates the underlying presence of this racist stereotype in his epic poem *La Araucana*. The poet not only praises the glory of the Castilians, but exalts the bravery of their opponents.[14]

In summary, according to Todorov, the colonizing ideology involved a threefold intercultural approximation. First is an epistemological encounter: "I either know or ignore the other's identity; I come to understand him, but with utilitarian or practical purposes (he knows where the gold is and where to get more), but I'm not interested in explaining his difference or 'otherness.'" Second is a value judgment regarding the "other": "he is either good or bad; I love him or I hate him." Third is a more practical form of approximation: "I identify myself with the 'other,' and then assimilate him to impose my own image on him." The conquistador ideology, and later that of the settlers, determined conflictual interethnic relationships between the indigenous people and the Spanish throughout the Americas.

PREJUDICE AND STEREOTYPES IN CHILEAN SOCIETY

The types of interethnic relations described above and held through the history of Chile have led non-Mapuche social groups to create a stereotyped vision of the Mapuche. The influence of racist ideology in emerging Chilean nationalism created a schizophrenic image of the Mapuche: a positive one, that of the "Araucanian warrior"[15] as a member of a strong and brave race, in conflict with a negative image of the "lazy Indian," "the barbarian," "the drunkard," or "he who doesn't have God or king." Non-Mapuche social groups began to build their discourse around this argument in both rural and urban social contexts. This dual image originated during the process of colonization. The first chroniclers described the Mapuche as "brave and courageous warriors" because of their resistance to the Spanish. However, colonial Spanish society created the image of the Mapuche as "bloody bandits," accused of collaborating with Realist guerrillas hiding in their territory. The image of Mapuche as "lazy and drunk Indians" developed during the early eighteenth century, when Europeans began colonizing the southern regions and the Mapuche were expelled to small areas of land called *reducciones*.[16] The descendants of the Spanish, together with European settlers, developed the country, excluding the Mapuche.

The liberal legitimation of Chilean society during the Republican period abolished legal and political discrimination. This abolition promoted the belief—still maintained, especially among the middle and upper classes—that Chile is a racially homogeneous nation,[17] which, according to Cantoni, created a structurally inconsistent dichotomy in the national ideology due to the contradictory image of the Mapuche in Chilean society. In fact, in earlier

times the Mapuche were valued as the first Chileans who had fought for their independence: an attitude symbolized by naming a significant number of cities and streets for Mapuche warriors. However, contemporary Mapuche continue to face discrimination, a dual attitude which allows Chilean society to evade its responsibility and guilt towards this indigenous group. According to Bengoa, the fact that Mapuche are seen as patriots when referred to as "Araucanians" (a generic term similar to Indian) illustrates this contradictory interethnic attitude. For example, the Spanish poet Ercilla reproduced the positive Araucano stereotype in seeking the roots of a national identity during the Republican period. This positive image resulted from the need of "patriotic *criollos*" (people of European descent born in the Americas) to find bases for their struggle against the Spanish. The Chilean army called this tragic episode in the south of Chile the "War to the Bitter End." After this war, the Mapuche were divided between "friendly Indians" and "enemy Indians." In addition, the use of alcohol and contact with Chilean outlaws who had taken refuge in their territory had divided the Mapuche and disarranged their traditional sociopolitical organization. They were no longer the "knights of war" sung by the poet Ercilla; the "noble Araucanians" had given way to "dangerous characters," "brave but wild." Racially based stereotypes continued to evolve throughout this period.[18]

Ethnic Prejudice in the Chilean Regional Press

By the 1920s the settlement of Chilean provincial and regional governments had been consolidated, and most of the Mapuche had settled in the rural areas surrounding the southern regional capital of Temuco where a significant portion of this territory lay in Mapuche hands. The region's most important economic activity was (and remains) agriculture. This fact led political, mercantile, and agricultural leaders to view the Mapuche in the rural *reducciones* as an obstacle to agricultural development because of their apparent failure to develop their lands. The regional press publicized this view widely, giving birth to the expression "suicidal belt" which portrayed the Mapuche *reducciones* as strangling any progress. Public discourse was filled with symbols of "death and anguish (of self-elimination)," in the words of Foerster and Montecino, when it reappeared in the 1930s and 1940s, as a manifestation of prejudice against the communities surrounding the Araucanian region's main cities.[19]

In fact, the expression *suicidal belt* revealed a more complex racist ideology toward the region's non-Mapuche population. Public discourse of the period assumed the superiority of European descent. According to Foerster and Montecino the expression *suicidal belt* leads to the logical conclusion that the life and existence of the *huinca*[20] would be impossible without eliminating the Mapuche. A 1946 issue of Temuco *El Diario Austral*, a local newspaper, uses this expression to refer to the region's economy and its lack of progress,[21] metaphorically blaming the Mapuche as an obstacle or restraint to development that has kept the region backward. From the non-Mapuche point of view, such restraint suffocated the cities. An expansionist spirit underlay indigenous

assimilation because the destruction of the Mapuche culture would mean the fulfillment of development schemes sought by Chilean settlers.

The Mapuche also recognized the implications of the use of the expression *suicidal belt* spread by the press throughout the region. For example, in November 1944, *El Araucano*, an informative organ of the Mapuche organization Araucanian Union, warned its readers of the danger that this expression carried for the Mapuche: "the enemies of these people have denominated 'suicidal belt' those Araucanians living around Temuco."[22] Through public discourse, the original overt war between Mapuche and non-Mapuche had given rise to a war of implicit discourse that would continue through the coming years. This can be seen in the editorial pages of *The Diario Austral* on April 1962.[23] Subtle arguments such as these maintained and reinforced prejudice and discrimination against the Mapuche to legitimize the appropriation of their lands by pressuring them to move either to urban peripheries or other southern isolated regions. The quotes from the local newspaper reveal the climate of an intergroup discourse between non-Mapuche and Mapuche that remains to this day. Each sees the other as the enemy, and the image of the suicidal belt still remains.

Stereotypes and Prejudice in Contemporary Non-Mapuche Discourse

In 2001, we began a three-year research project to verify the existence of ethnic prejudices and stereotypes in the discourse of non-Mapuche inhabitants of Temuco, interviewing 260 non-Mapuche men and women representing the lower, middle, and upper classes.[24] The methodology used was critical discourse analysis.[25] The results were clear: Non-Mapuche in Temuco still use a significant number of stereotypes and prejudices with an underlying racist ideology. The survey revealed that more than 80 percent of non-Mapuche inhabitants practice ethnic discrimination against the Mapuche based on five main categories of prejudice: racism, the paradox of historical acknowledgment, counterdiscrimination, ambivalence in recognizing Mapuche ancestry, and untimely demands for the recovery of land.[26]

Racist Categories

This category is made up of four subcategories. The first, "overt racism," has to do with non-Mapuche attributing to the indigenous people such characteristics as "primitive," "uncivilized," "ignorant," "lazy", "uneducated," "don't speak correct Spanish," "procreate without any planning," and "maltreat and degrade women." These constitute the basis for such prejudiced statements as "they don't progress although they receive help," "they're an obstacle for development," "they resist change," and "they're responsible for the bad image of this region." The presence of a renewed image of the historical suicidal belt that attributed lack of progress to the indigenous peoples goes hand in hand with the "lazy" stereotype.[27] A number of responses in our study focused on the idea that Mapuche men degrade and physically maltreat women.[28] A lower-class male states: "Anyhow, the Mapuche guy is lazy; they make women work.

Have you seen in the open market that it is the woman who sells garlic and onion, while the Indian stays at home resting, warming and watching the sheep?" Similarly, other statements demonstrate how racist ideology underlies arguments supporting a racial hierarchy.[29] An upper-class female states: "The chinas [a derogatory term that means "Indian maids"] were the Mapuche women, because they were the aboriginal people. Because there was a cultural belief that those who are blond and blue-eyed are the decent people. The dark ones were no good . . . because even for work you had to preferably have a foreign last name; and besides, the Mapuche were the ones who lost the war."

The second subcategory, "difference," involves stereotypes and prejudices that highlight physical, as well as cultural, differences between Mapuche and non-Mapuche.[30] The following testimony describes this category. A lower-class male describes his view about Mapuche women who go to Santiago to work as maids: "Mapuche girls mix with Chilean sluts who tell them: 'Hey, don't go about with that long rural-type skirt. That's worn in Temuco, where there are only Indians. Shorten it in a fashionable style. Because you're short you must wear high heels. Tame yourself, girl. Don't look ashamed. Wash yourself to lose that smell of cattle. You won't eat hay anymore because it gives you that nasty smell.'" This type of discourse conceptualizes the Mapuche as having a physical structure that is "abnormal" or "unacceptable" in terms of the European ideal, and as being "uncivilized." The enhancement of differences polarizes interethnic relationships, a view clearly expressed when interviewees rejected the possibility that their son or daughter might eventually become romantically involved with, or marry, a Mapuche.[31] Interviewees described this sentimental possibility as a shameful issue, a type of "punishment" for the family. In many interviews discussing intermarriage between Mapuche and non-Mapuche, the interviewees, especially men, avoided or minimized the reality. There were many cases in which the interviewees had a Mapuche relative. They insisted on saying that their relative "looked just like any Chilean" and that "he or she no longer goes to their farm to see their relatives," thus implying that he or she has already been assimilated by the Chilean culture.

The third subcategory, "violence," conveys stereotypes and prejudices related to the perception of some type of threat perceived by non-Mapuche. Interviewees describe Mapuche as "violent," "aggressive," "troublemakers," "drunkards," "quarrelsome," "extremist," "blinded" and "hard-headed."[32] These characteristics shape prejudiced expressions that blame Mapuche for frightening investors so that they won't invest in the region, as a result of which, according to the interviewees, the Ninth Region of Chile remains the poorest in the country. Again, the symbolism of the suicidal belt reappears in contemporary discourse, blaming the Mapuche for the backwardness and impoverishment of the region.

The fourth subcategory, "paternalism," is a mutant-like variant of classic racism that might at first be deceptive because it involves a compassionate protectiveness. Since the Mapuche are seen as weak, defenseless, and lacking any capacity for self-initiative, it is assumed that non-Mapuche society is responsible for to "protecting" them and preventing their extinction.[33] Examples of this view include: "Mapuche are dependent on the state," "they expect the government to

give them everything," "they only get manual jobs such as bakers, or carpenters," "they should exploit their culture through tourism," and "they should commercialize their folkloric objects." The discourse of non-Mapuche women is more compassionate than that of men, including such diminutive expressions as *mapuchitos* ("little Mapuche"), *indiecitos*, ("little Indians"), "little round-faced darkie," and "selling their little apples and little onions."

The Paradox of Historical Acknowledgment

The paradox consists of recognizing and valuing the Mapuche who resisted the Realist and Chilean armies for their courage and martial prowess, while at the same time looking down on the Mapuche of today. These are seen not as "true" Mapuche, but as some type of "degeneration of the race." Non-Mapuche are ashamed of any mention of the Mapuche ethnocultural presence, particularly with reference to demands for land recovery. This explains why contemporary non-Mapuche avoid speaking about the Mapuche of today, preferring to praise their ancestors, as done by the poet Ercilla in his work *La Araucana*.

Reverse Discrimination

The belief that the Mapuche are unable to invest adequate resources for their own development and for that of the region has led to what many non-Mapuche Chileans, usually the upper- and middle-class interviewees, see as policies of reverse discrimination.[34] Similar statements are common in everyday Chilean discourse: "The thing is why should the Mapuche have privileges over everybody else? . . . As long as we continue thinking this way, we will cause more damage than benefit . . . To give assistance, to give benefits, brings, as in every human group, a corresponding obligation. When you give something to a group and ask nothing in return, what you're really doing is causing them harm" (upper-class male). The interviewees focus on the competition for government benefits, and blame the state for not demanding of the Mapuche the same civil obligations that it imposes on non-Mapuche.

Ambivalence in Recognizing Mapuche Ancestry

This category, more frequently stated by men than women, is a contradictory discourse that questions the boundaries and definitions of Chilean identity. The argument is as follows: All Chileans descend from a mixture of Spanish and Mapuche, then from *mestizos* (half-breeds), who might include the descendants of Spanish and other Europeans, or the mixing of *mestizos* and Mapuche. Because this blending occurred in the distant past, today "we are all Chileans."[35] Thus, typical Mapuche foods such as *catutos* or *mote* are regarded as Chilean, or belonging to "Chilean folklore." This belief corroborates Cantoni's 1978 observation of a Chilean dichotomy that views the Mapuche ethnic group as "a shameful matter," about which there's a "pact of silence" which becomes an instrument of evasion and ideological compensation in social interethnic theory and practice.

Criticism of Mapuche Land Restoration

Criticism of the government policy of returning land to the Mapuche is widespread among middle- and upper-class interviewees. Although some might admit the legal validity of Mapuche demands for land restoration, the opposing argument states, "there's no point in giving them land because they don't know how to work." Racist ideologies posit a Mapuche "incapacity to progress," a typical reaction to sociopolitical pressures that indigenous people and organizations are exerting throughout the world. This can be observed in the way that some United Nations institutions (such as UNESCO in its Universal Declaration of Indigenous Peoples' Rights and the ILO in Convention 169), as well as institutions created by governments, have responded to the demands of indigenous peoples.

In summary, the categories of prejudice shown above are expressed in discourse mainly through strategies of evasion, which results in non-Mapuche avoiding much contact with Mapuche unless it is in the context of a business or service relationship. The expression of prejudice and stereotypes is more likely to become explicit and direct in the discourse of lower-class interviewees, especially men. However discourse becomes more implicit and underlying among middle-class speakers. The discourse of upper-class interviewees is more explicit and direct among their peers, but becomes increasingly implicit in the context of social and public discourse.

CONCLUSION

The analysis of stereotypes and prejudices in the discourse of contemporary interethnic and intercultural relationships between Mapuche and non-Mapuche in Temuco demonstrates the continuity of a racist ideology that underlies Chilean social structure. The epistemological axis proposed in the reference frame ("I either know or ignore the other's identity; I come to understand him, but with utilitarian or practical purposes; and I'm not interested in explaining his difference or 'otherness'") underlies the racist ideology in the stereotyped and prejudiced discourse of non-Mapuche toward the Mapuche. Such racism, shown both in twentieth-century press releases and in contemporary spoken discourse among members of different social classes in Temuco, and based on concepts and stereotypes maintained over centuries, underlies the categories revealed in the analysis.

The authors will make the epistemological focus of this study more explicit in a forthcoming analysis using data from final part of our research project to examine the logic of Mapuche and non-Mapuche ways of thinking from an interethnic and intercultural, as well as an intra-ethnic, perspective.

NOTES

1. Tzvetan Todorov, *La Conquista de América* (México City: Editorial Siglo XXI, 1987), 257–258. According to the author, Cortés was interested in Indian semiotics only because of his political and practical need to communicate with natives on their own terms and through their own language. Thus, the Indian's language, together with the

extraordinary interhuman communicative ability of Europeans, becomes paradoxically the most important vehicle used by the conquistadors to assimilate Native American cultures. Says Todorov, "since that time, and for almost three hundred and fifty years, Western Europe has made a great effort to assimilate the 'other,' to make his exterior otherness disappear, and to a great extent it has succeeded. European ways of life and values have spread worldwide; as Columbus desired, the colonized people adopted our customs, and this extraordinary success is due, among other things, to a salient feature of Western culture . . . the ability of Europeans to understand others." Cortés' semiotic behavior characterizes his era and European attitudes.

2. This work is part of a FONDECYT (National Fund for Science and Technology) research project, N° 1010839 (Chile): "Ethnic Prejudice in the Discourse of Non-Mapuche in the city of Temuco: A Contribution to Intercultural Relations Between Mapuche And Non-Mapuche People."

3. Norman Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language* (London: Longman, 1995), 6.

4. Teun Van Dijk, *Ideología* (Barcelona: Gedisa, 1999), 7.

5. Gordon Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1954), 68–72.

6. Vincent Yzerbyt y Georges Schadron, "Estereotipo y juicio social," in *Estereotipos, discriminación, y relaciones intergrupales*, eds. P. Mandarga, R. Bourhis and J. Y. Leyens (Liège, Belgium: Mc Graw-Hill, 1994), 113–138.

7. Tzvetan Todorov, *Nosotros y los otros. Reflexión sobre la diversidad humana*, (México D.F.: Editorial Siglo XXI, 1991), 115–119.

8. European philosophers and political scientists developed similar ideologies for centuries. During the sixteenth century, Montaigne stated a theory of universalism, which, while praising cannibals for their warrior spirit and obedience to natural laws, called them "barbarians" who used cruel and degrading methods. In the eighteenth century, Buffon developed an ethnocentric aesthetic ideal in which "the primitive was white, and any change of color is some kind of degeneration," Todorov, 130; quoted in Michel de Montaigne, *Essais (1580–88), Oeuvres Complétes* (Paris: Gallimard-Pléiade, 1967).

9. The nineteenth-century philosopher Renan developed a racial hierarchy based on historical criteria and the progress of peoples, in which Negroes, Australian aboriginals, and American Indians were inferior to the superior white European race, which had "the mission of being master, soldier and conqueror," Todorov, 137; quoted in Ernest Renan, *Oeuvres Complétes (1823–92)*, 10 vol. (Paris: Calman-Lévy, 1947–61).

10. A century earlier, the renowned French racist Gobineau stated that men's behavior was determined by the race to which they belonged, regardless of the individual human will. To support his theory, Gobineau defined *civilization* as a state of relative stability, based on two hierarchies of human societies. The first divides society into three types: tribe, primitive people, and nation. The second defines the degree to which the ideal operates in the life of a society: (1) in the lowest degree, the ideal cannot exist apart from concrete reality; (2) in the second; the population has an ideal; and (3) in the third, the ideal acts on the population itself, and on other populations that adopt values and beliefs, to create a civilization—of which Europe formed the highest example. Such racist ideologies nourished the expansionist spirit of European civilization, based on defining the "other" so as to "put the world in harmony with a unique hierarchical value scale," Todorov, 164; quoted in Arthur

Comte de Gobineau, *Essais sur l'inégalité des Races Humaines (1853–1855), Oeuvres* I (Paris: Gallimard-Pléiade, 1983).

11. Lewis H. Morgan, *Dictionnaire des Sciences Humaines: Sociologie, Psychologie Sociale, Anthropologie*, eds. François Gresle et al. (Paris: Editions Nathan, 1990), 220–221. Morgan classified human development into three main periods: savagery, barbarism, and civilization. The first is characterized by the absence of porcelain and the use of the bow and arrow; the second (barbarism) developed porcelain and the use of iron tools. Finally, writing marks the gap between the two previous stages and civilization. Morgan categorizes human evolution in terms of group subsistence, using human material development and progress as his main criteria. Although the author's methodology was characteristic of late nineteenth-century ethnocentrism in its ignorance of non-Western cultures, he considered social and economic developments, as well as political institutions. Scientific debates also shaped the development of such racially based European ideologies as Darwinism and Spencer´s theory of evolution that coincided with the development of new social forces.

12. Todorov, *Nosotros,* 177. Las Casas took a pragmatic approach to historical events, based on the need to guide the Indians towards virtuous behavior that would repress their immoral and unethical practices.

13. José Bengoa, *Conquista y Barbarie. Ensayo crítico acerca de la conquista de Chile* (Santiago: Colección Estudios Históricos, Ediciones SUR, 1992), 101. "The concept of barbarism has prevailed throughout history. For 50 years the Spanish and the indigenous people despised each other, but they respected the military arts of their opponents."

14. Alonso de Ercilla, *La Araucana* (Santiago: Editorial Andrés Bello, 1982), 12, 20, 41, 60–61. "Nor were they submitted to any foreigner's domain . . . , there has never been a king able to hold these spirited, free people (12). In subtle and implicit discourse, Ercilla portrays the Mapuche as a barbarian and naïve people: "It is a people with neither God nor law "(20); "and the barbarian on his shoulder carrying the great tree trunk" (41); "what else but bravery could have led a barbarian young man to have taken victory away from the Spaniards' hands?" (60); "It was the incomparable difference between the countless pagan and the Christian" (61). These descriptions reveal the poet's controversial view of Indians as courageous, but lacking will and reasoning ability—the ascetic ideal of postmedieval Christian Spanish culture.

15. Araucanians is the name the Spanish gave the Mapuche because most of them lived in the vast Arauco region south of the Bio-Bio River.

16. *Reducción* is a sociopolitical method that the Chilean government created after conquering the Mapuche for distributing these lands to family members of the Mapuche who survived the war. This distribution was carried out under *Títulos de Merced de Tierras* (or Land Grants), based on the Laws of 4 December, 1866; 4 August, 1874; and 20 January, 1883. This distribution continued until the 1920s. Today, the descendants of these tenants occupy land under Indigenous Law N°19.225, Official Decree: October 5th, 1993; they constitute a new type of community in which individuals own the land.

17. Wilson Cantoni, "Relaciones del mapuche con la sociedad nacional chilena," en *Raza y Clase en la Sociedad Postcolonial. UNESCO* (Madrid: Organización de las Naciones Unidas para la Educación, la Ciencia y la Cultura, 1978), 227–334. However, although Chileans privately recognized the existence of discriminatory attitudes and

practices against the Mapuche, in public this was considered a shameful issue over which there was an implicit pact of silence: well-educated people were not expected to speak about it.

18. Bengoa, *Conquista y Barbarie*, 115. This author states that the lower classes referred to the Mapuches as mestizos, while "cultivated Chileans" stereotyped both the indigenous and lower-class people with such terms as "spiky-haired rabble, dark chestnut plaits, Chinese-like eyes, mixed mixture of American and European races."

19. Rolf Foerster and Sonia Montecino, *Organizaciones, líderes, y contiendas mapuches, 1900–1970* (Santiago: Ediciones CEM, 1988), 106.

20. The Mapuche people use the expression *huinca* to refer derogatorily to non-Mapuche people as "new invaders."

21. Foerster and Montecino, *Organizaciones*, 279. "The dam against greater progress of the region's economy lays precisely in those lands, which, by being in idle hands, have formed a negative circuit, visible at first sight and known under the expression of Cautín's suicidal belt. . . . Work does not flourish there and progress does not infiltrate its fertile sap. Who do these lands belong to? Why are they unproductive? . . . because of the characteristic laziness of the Mapuche, their lack of capital, and their restricted vision of the future."

22. *El Diario Austral de Temuco*, April 1962, 3. This editorial criticized the Chilean government's *Reforma Agraria* policy of appropriating lands to be divided among the peasantry: "in Cautín, the expression 'suicidal belt' was formerly used to refer to the farm lands that were in the hands of Mapuche who did not exploit them. If they did exploit them, they would use rudimentary means that resulted—instead of higher productivity—in impoverishing and wasting the land without any benefit to anybody."

23. Foerster and Montecino, *Organizaciones*, 106. In a 1962 issue of *El Diario Austral*, a journalist interviewed an organization of farmers to find out why they call the Araucanian territory "the suicidal belt." Their answer was: "Because they impede the progress of cities; because Araucanians do not have a progressive spirit; because it's necessary to build houses and buildings. We need to make every farm productive so there can be good plantations and we can breed good cattle." The journalist continues to argue: "For the Mapuche, on the other hand, the Chilean farmers' view only means making good business out of their ancestral lands. Do Araucanians near Temuco realize what's being thought about them?"

24. The sample corresponds to 0.18 percent of the total Temuco urban population of 185,936 according to 1992 census records from the National Institute of Statistics (INE).

25. Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis*, 17–20. This author develops an analytical model for language study and its relation to social power and ideology. Considering the relevant role that discourse has taken in reproduction and cultural change, the analysis of varied contents within discourse becomes methodologically essential. Teun Van Dijk, et al., "Discourse, Ethnicity, Culture, and Racism," in *Discourse as Social Interaction*, Vol. 2, ed. T. A. Van Dijk (London: Sage Publications, 1997), 144–80. The author develops a sociocognitive approach to discourse analysis through the study of text and speech based on the interrelation among text, cognition, and society.

26. The first category, racism, is found in 78.8 percent of non-Mapuche discourse. This category is subdivided into four subcategories: *overt racism*, with a

frequency of 32 percent; *difference*, found 24 percent of the time; *violence*, with a 15.3 percent frequency, and *paternalism*, reaching a frequency of 7.5 percent. María Eugenia Merino y Mauricio Pilleux, "El uso de estrategias semánticas globales y locales en el discurso de los chilenos no mapuches de la ciudad de Temuco," in *Estudios Filológicos*, número 38, Facultad de Filosofía y Humanidades, Universidad Austral de Chile, 2003, 118.

27. Foerster and Montecino, *Organizaciones*, 106.

28. María Merino, et al., *Informe de Avance año 2003*, Proyecto Fondecyt N°1010839, Temuco, Chile, 17.

29. María Merino. "Prejuicio étnico en el habla cotidiana de los Chilenos acerca de los Mapuches en la ciudad de Temuco, Chile," Capítulo in *Culturas e Ideologías en los Andes* (Quito: Editorial Abya Yala, 2004), 80–94.

30. María Merino y Mauricio Pilleux**,** "El uso de estrategias semánticas globales y locales en el discurso de los chilenos no mapuches de la ciudad de Temuco," *Estudios Filológicos*, número 38, Facultad de Filosofía y Humanidades, Universidad Austral de Chile, 2003, 52.

31. Merino, et al., *Informe de Avance*, 27.

32. María Eugenia Merino and Daniel Quilaqueo, "Esterotipos y prejuicio étnico hacia los mapuches en los textos complementarios a la asignatura de Historia," *Revista Campo Abierto*, número 23, Facultad de Educación, Universidad de Extremadura, España, 2003, 35.

33. Merino y Quilaqueo, "Esterotipos y prejuicio étnico," 42.

34. María Merino, et al., *Informe Final año 2003. Hermenéutica del prejuicio étnico en el discurso de los no mapuches de la ciudad de Temuco respecto de los mapuches*, Proyecto Fondecyt N°1010839, Temuco, Chile, 2003, 63.

35. Cantoni, "Relaciones del Mapuche," 230–231.