Resistencias diaspóricas e interseccionalidad: Mujeres mapuche profesionales en la ciudad de Santiago y el Wallmapu

Diasporic resistances and intersectionality: Professional mapuche women in the city of Santiago and Wallmapu

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Background
During the second half of the 19th century in Chile, the mapuche people were deprived of the recognition of Wallmapu, a historic mapuche territory (Ancán & Calfio, 1999). This, as a product of the post-war period during and after the military campaign called "Pacification of Araucania", which was directed by the State of Chile and executed by the Chilean army to take over the lands, territories, and resources from mapuche families (Nahuelpan, 2012). These facts shaped the loss of self-determination, land, and collective rights (Ancan & Calfio, 1999; Nahuelpan, 2012; Mariman, 2019), the main cause of the diasporic situation.

By forced, the diaspora is shaped displacements from south to north. However, the mapuche return from the north to Wallmapu is, in effect, another movement in the same diasporic process (Ancán & Calfío, 1999). Both movements make up the so-called mapuche diaspora. Mapuche diaspora involved both men and women, but mapuche women, as a result of their rapid insertion into paid domestic work, moved towards city life. Despite the marked process of linguistic, food, and ritual revitalization caused by mapuche women within the political movement itself (García-Mingo, 2017), their presence did not receive the necessary attention (Montecino, 1986).

Aims
To analyze, from an intersectional gender perspective, the diasporic condition of professional mapuche women, specifically in the family, educational, labor, and social areas.

Method & procedures
The research approaches from an interpretative paradigm; with a qualitative approach. It was a multi-situated ethnographic study. To analyze, from an intersectional gender perspective, the diasporic condition of professional mapuche women, specifically in the family, educational, labor, and social areas. The participants of this study were 20 professional mapuche women who lived in the diaspora in Santiago of Chile and/or have returned to Wallmapu, a historic mapuche territory in the south of Chile.

The methodological strategy included in-depth interviews and participant observation. The ethnographic observations were carried out between November of 2017 and April of 2018 in the Metropolitan, Biobío, Araucanía, and Los Ríos regions.

Results & discussion
The participants' testimonies, and their implications of the mapuche women identity constructs, allowed us to establish three major categories: (1) the dispossession made us travel; (2) the tears and transformations; and (3) the creation and recreation of resistance practices.

The dispossession made us travel: Dispossession leads to tears in mapuche women life's. Dispossession made them live in exile both internally and externally. Social inequality is also a constant in the lives of mapuche women in Chile. Some of the professionals mapuche women had to alternate between paid and unpaid domestic work; and other people's cares such as children, with their own insertion and professional development in the labor market.
The tears and transformations: The diasporic experience of the mapuche women is one of a serial of oppressions. It is the awareness of the intersectional oppressions they experienced at work and in educational spaces, which favors their transformations.

The experiences of exclusion faced by mapuche women lead to breaks in their stories. Some of them claim to value what has been denied, such as the symbolic composition of mapuche women’s corporeality. This is how they create their spaces of resistance.

The creation and recreation of resistance practices: Adaptation regarding difficulties is key to the experiences of the diasporas experienced by mapuche women. These difficulties are real tears in their stories, but also significant life moments that help to forge their resistance to look at themselves. The difficulties faced by mapuche women allow them to reflect on the rural and urban contexts and their influence on their constructions of fighting awareness.

Professional training for mapuche women is not seen as an opportunity for individual improvement; but rather as a commitment for their own people. It is a collective construction of life, based on the idea of the mapuche nation.

Conclusion
From the contributions of the intersectional gender perspective, we conclude that it is the awareness of social, colonial, gender, and class oppression and exclusions that promotes gestures of resistance by mapuche women, who display on a daily basis, and through their discursive practices, the diasporic becoming and resistance. This condition transforms their social interactions, which refer not only to the resistance deployed towards western society but also to the resistance deployed within their own families and territories. Family and territory represent the gender constructions that mapuche women seek to transform. Thus, these struggles coexist with resistance practices in the collective and traditional mapuche places. Also, mapuche women promote transformations that challenge the social constructions of their traditional socialization processes. Through encounters and disagreements, the resistances of professional mapuche women challenge the structures that exclude them and are seeds that fly to new generations to germinate again and again.

Keywords: diasporic resistances, intersectionality, professional mapuche women, mapuche knowledge

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