An Alternative Mapuche Perspective
Comparing Leaders with the Rural Non-Politically Involved

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School of Social Science Peace and Development Studies Bachelor’s Thesis
2FU31E
Spring 2015
Abstract

Chile is portrayed as a Latin American success story when it comes to democratic transition, development and fiscal growth. However, the largest indigenous group, the Mapuche, have been marginalized by the government and its policies, as a conflict has been present ever since the independence. The complexity of the situation, and the lack of information about different Mapuche groups, has created a research gap where little is known about the rural non-politically involved Mapuche, where emphasis has rather been put on the demands of Mapuche leaders. Through the concepts and theories of Ted Robert Gurr, regarding ethnic groups and group mobilization, this research sets out to investigate the grievances of rural non-politically involved Mapuche, and compare those to the grievances of the Mapuche leaders. By doing that, this study will analyze the level of cohesion within the Mapuche population, and whether or not they are mobilizing successfully. The research takes place in highly Mapuche populated Padre las Casas, Araucanía, where interviews are conducted with rural non-politically involved Mapuche. To investigate the grievances and demands of the Mapuche leaders, this study uses Chilean and international secondary sources. The results of this research indicate that the differences, in terms of grievances and demands, are highly diverse between rural non-politically involved Mapuche and Mapuche leaders.

Keywords: Non-politically involved Mapuche, Mapuche leaders, Grievances, Cohesion, Mobilization
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1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction, Research Problem and Relevance

Chile is often referred to as the Latin American model for the developing world in terms of progress, with strong economic growth from its privatization and resource exploitation, which is often at the expense of the Chilean indigenous population (Carruthers and Rodriguez, 2009. pp. 743-744). Chile, placed in south west of South America, has a population of 17.6 million people (World Bank, 2015), of which around 1.5 million are indigenous Mapuche (2012). This makes them the largest indigenous group in Chile, and they are mainly residing in the central and south parts of the country, where their ancestors have lived for over 12,000 years. Their living standards are low, and they are the poorest group of the Chilean population (UNPO, 2013). The word Mapuche means 'People of the land', in Mapudungun, the native language, and they possess a strong connection to nature and land (Radcliffe and Webb, 2014. p. 5).

Despite the Chilean success story in terms of democratic transition and high development (Carruthers and Rodriguez, 2009. pp. 743-744), the conflict within Chile may tell a different story, where there has been, and still is, a conflict between the Mapuche and the Chilean state. The conflict is, and has been, portrayed as being solely about land rights, where the Mapuche have been depicted as fearsome terrorists (Crow, 2014. p. 78). A poll, conducted by Chile Indígena, presents quotes and expressions made from Chileans about the Mapuche, where the Mapuche are clearly viewed as aggressive and armed terrorists who fight for land rights (Chile Indígena, 2009). The image of Mapuche as terrorists has its origins from violent Mapuche demonstrations, setting fire to forestry company vehicles, and illegal land occupations (Crow, 2014. p. 93). The most extreme case was when two non-Mapuche were killed in an arson, where a Mapuche leader is held responsible and was put to jail (de la Maza, 2014. p. 360).

Furthermore, Patricia Richards and Jeffrey Gardner argue that autonomy and land rights, as well as recognition are some of the primary demands of the Mapuche leaders, which are key issues when trying to understand the conflict (Richards and Gardner, 2013. p. 259). The Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO) argues that the use of the anti-terrorism law against Mapuche is another deeply rooted issue that could be considered another main aspect of the conflict (UNPO, 2013).

However, according to Richards, the image of the Mapuche being terrorists is not accurate, as she further points out that there is only a very small number of communities
who are actually following the leaders that are involved in the violent actions, despite how media and the Chilean government illustrate it. (Richards, 2010, p. 68). Given that only a small part of the Mapuche are engaging in violent actions to press through their demands, we question whether or not the rural non-politically involved Mapuche share the same grievances and perceptions as the leaders, where the main grievances for the leaders are Land rights, autonomy, recognition and the anti-terrorism law (Richards and Gardner, 2013). While going through academic literature, one understands that there is a research gap about what the non-politically involved Mapuche considers to be their most important grievances, and what their demands are. There is research about young Mapuche students and how they wish to live their life in comparison to their parents, by Sarah Radcliffe and Andrew Webb (Radcliffe and Webb, 2014), which points at the young Mapuche students dismissing the violence performed by the Mapuche leadership and minority activists. Given that there is only a small part of the Mapuche population fighting for these demands, and the lack of information about the non-politically involved rural Mapuche, as well as how the young Mapuche students seem to have a different perception of the situation, we believe that there may be great differences between the Mapuche groups, and that they may not be as united as they seem to be.

Today’s discourse regarding the Mapuche situation is focusing on leaders and their demands, where very little research include the demands or grievances from a non-politically involved rural Mapuche point of view. Francisca de la Maza (de la Maza, 2014), Joanna Crow (Crow, 2014), Jeanne Simon and Claudio González-Parra (Simon and González-Parra, 2014), and Denise Richards and Jeffrey Gardner (Richards and Gardner, 2013), to name a few, have made recent research about the current Mapuche situation. However, they do not take the non-politically involved Mapuche perspective into consideration, but rather generalize the ideas of the leaders and activists that fight for their demands. This research, along with other relevant literature, will be used in this study as it aims to understand the differences between the Mapuche groups, where the leaders’ perspectives will be based on secondary sources.

By researching this area, we aim to understand the differences in terms of grievances and demands among the rural non-politically involved Mapuche and the Mapuche leaders, as well as the level of cohesion and how this impacts mobilization among them. This is important for the international discourse of the conflict, as there has been limited research in this area. Our research will help point out the differences among the Mapuche population, which could provide new perspectives to the Mapuche situation.
By doing so, we strive toward gathering crucial information on the topic, and thereby try to understand whether or not the situation can be solved differently from a rural non-politically involved Mapuche perspective, than from a leader perspective, given that there actually are differences between the non-politically involved rural Mapuche and the Mapuche leaders. If there proves to be clear differences, this study may provide necessary information in terms of understanding the characteristics of the situation, and possibly the need for different approaches when trying to solve the problems for the different groups of Mapuche. If the rural non-politically involved Mapuche prove to have different demands and grievances, there is most likely a need for a different approach toward them, in comparison to the leaders who strive for autonomy, land rights, recognition and the removal of the anti-terrorism law.

1.2 Objective and Research Question
This study sets out to investigate the grievances of non-politically involved Mapuche and compare them to the Mapuche leaders, in order to compliment the image of the Mapuche struggle by analyzing the cohesion within the Mapuche community, and how this affects the tense situation from different perspectives. This will be done through a field study conducted in Padre las Casas, Araucanía.

- What are the most important grievances of the non-politically involved Mapuche, in comparison to the Mapuche leaders?
- What is the level of cohesion within the Mapuche population, and how could this, along with the grievances, affect the mobilization within the Mapuche population?

1.3 Analytical Framework and Method
As an analytical framework, this study will use the concepts and theories of Ted Robert Gurr, regarding ethnic groups and group mobilization, which suits this study well when it comes to finding grievances, the level of cohesion, and how this affects mobilization. He divides grievances into five different categories; *Grievances about economic rights,* *grievances about social and cultural rights,* *grievances about political rights,* *grievances about rights,* and *grievances of political autonomy.* This is thereafter used in order to point out which areas of grievances are of most importance for the different Mapuche groups and to structure the findings. Furthermore, this study aims to
understand if rural non-politically involved Mapuche and Mapuche leaders have a high level of cohesion among them. This will allow the study to characterize the groups that are being analyzed as what type of ethnic group they resemble, in accordance to the concepts of Gurr and Harff, regarding ethnic groups and group mobilization. Ultimately, the analytical framework points out the impact of the leaders behaviors, which can impact the behavior of the entire group, either for the common good or for the leaders own purposes.

Based on the objective of this research, we chose to perform a qualitative abductive case study, in which we seek to receive individual opinions regarding what is most important for non-politically involved Mapuche. The information regarding the leaders is collected from secondary sources. We conducted interviews in Padre las Casas, Araucanía, which is a municipality that consists of over 40 percent Mapuche, which, according to de la Maza, is where much of the violence and protests take place (de la Maza, 2014. p.349). We conducted semi-structured in depth interviews, face to face, which allowed us to have a core set of questions, with the possibility to ask further questions depending on the answers of the interviewee. The interviewees consist of a great mixture of ages, all living in rural areas without any connections to the political sphere.
2. Background

2.1 Early History
The history of the relationship between the Mapuche and the Chileans began with the Spanish conquest of Chile, in the mid 1500’s, where the conquistadors overpowered and crushed most of the Chileans and the indigenous populations of Chile in the Central Valley. However, they were never able to overpower the Araucanian Warriors – the Mapuche. As the conquistadors realized they were unable to conquer the Mapuche and their land, they decided to sign a set of treaties, establishing a border between the Mapuche and the Chilean territories by the Bió-Bió River. Patricia Richards puts emphasis on the uniqueness of the situation, where the Mapuche were not part of Indios Cristianos (indigenous communities who were paying tribute to the crown), nor the indios bravos (the ones who remained outside the settled areas, being subject to punitive campaigns by the Spaniards), but were rather a group whose claims for sovereignty and independence were officially recognized by the Spaniards, which did not happen in any other part in the Americas (Richards, 2010. p. 61).

As the Mapuche victoriously fought against the Hispanic conquistadors and the royal army, Richards underlines that the Chilean patriot leaders tried to gain Mapuche support for Chilean independence. However, the patriot leaders failed in their mission, and the Mapuche chose to side with the Spanish, as they preferred the existing treaties over an unfamiliar future with Chilean patriots (Richards, 2010. pp. 61-62).

After the independence from the Spaniards 1810, the situation between Chile and the Mapuche was tense, as the Mapuche previously rejected the Chileans call for help in the fight against the Conquistadors, and therefore the Chilean state began their war against the Mapuche 1861 in order to reclaim their territories. The war, called the Pacificación of the Araucania, led to a Chilean victory, and the Mapuche saw themselves defeated in 1883, losing over 90 per cent of their original territory. Patricia Richards and Jeffrey A. Gardner argue that after the Pacification of Araucania, exclusion and marginalization continued, with physical violence and recruitment of European immigrants advocating whiteness, which further intensified the situation and the inequality (Richards and Gardner, 2013. p. 260).

As Richards points out, by the mid-19th century, scientific racism and positivist logic, combined with geopolitical and economic interests led to a distinct shift in discourse toward the Mapuche, who were to be portrayed as a barbaric and uncivilized people by
Chilean media and political authorities (Richards, 2010. p. 62). Jorge Pinto Rodríguez provides an example of this, where he quotes one of the largest newspapers, *El Mercurio*, from 1859 which states that nature has spent everything on developing the Mapuche body, where their intelligence remained at a level of scavenging animals, and that the Mapuche are solely a wild horde who wants to destroy the interest of humanity and the good of human society (Rodríguez, 2003. pp. 154-155). Richards clarifies that until recently, the *Pacificación* was considered a victory over barbarity, where Mapuche losses in territory, autonomy and human lives were disregarded (Richards, 2010. p. 62).

Joanna Crow argues that despite that existing research is suggesting that the Mapuche, or the heroic Araucanian warriors, were removed from the official discourse in the late 1880’s and that the authorities from the Chilean state were highly racist toward the Mapuche, they were still part of the Chilean nationalism and iconography, which could indicate that they were indeed never fully excluded. However, one could argue that they in fact were excluded, as they were merely ‘used’ in times of war with external enemies in order to ensure the support of the Mapuche, while being fully excluded during more peaceful times (Crow, 2013. p. 23).

In the early 20th century, when images of Mapuche or Araucanian warriors from the conquest were incorporated into the education system, endorsing the identity of the mestizo, authorities believed that the tensions would decrease. However, one could argue that this was solely done in order to mitigate class conflicts in urban and mining areas located in the north, as it was not included in the southern areas where the Mapuche had just been defeated by military force and lost their lands, leaving the Mapuche still marginalized and excluded, and the racist approach toward the Mapuche continued. Chilean authorities expected the Mapuche to become ‘Chilean’ when they were overpowered by the military. However the racial discrimination toward the Mapuche did not come to an end, nor did the conflict between Mapuche and the Chilean authorities (Richards, 2010. p. 63).

During the agrarian reforms 1962-1973, the Mapuche benefited much and recovered a sizeable amount of the land which was previously lost. However, during the counter-reform, when Pinochet gained power in 1973, the Mapuche could once again notice a loss of land, and retained only about 16 percent of what was recovered in 1962-1973. Torture and disappearances were frequently used against Mapuche who opposed the dictatorship or the counter-reforms during the Pinochet regime (Richards, 2010. p. 63).
Richards argues that Mapuche are often viewed as terrorists, especially by local elites who reject multicultural values and refuse to recognize the Mapuche. In order for the Mapuche to survive, local elites argue that the Mapuche must leave their land and culture behind, by rejecting Mapuche history in the favor of Chilean future (Richards, 2010. p. 79). Based on these beliefs, one may argue that local elites often reject neoliberal multicultural values as a way of remaining in power.

2.2 Current situation
The Pinochet dictatorship ended in 1990, and Chile could thereafter recover democratically. Since then, the Chilean governments have put some focus on the Mapuche population and implemented policies in order to improve the livelihood of the native population, although, according to De la Maza the Chilean government is yet to politically recognize the Mapuche, as well as other indigenous people in Chile (De la Maza, 2014. pp. 346-347).

The anti-terrorism law was approved in 1984, during the Pinochet regime, in order to efficiently and rapidly get rid of protestors and possible ‘threats’ against the government. UNPO states that prosecutions under this law permits the use of “faceless witnesses”, where the identities of witnesses are withheld and are thereby less accessible for cross-examination and the process is less transparent, as well as the sentences carried out from the anti-terrorism laws are up to three degrees higher than what would be considered the standard criminal code. Hundreds of Mapuche have been prosecuted and charged with trespassing and arson (UNPO, 2013), where one could argue whether or not they would be considered acts of terror. The anti-terrorism law was removed after the Pinochet regime, but was reinvoked by president Lagos in 2002, and is still used against the Mapuche and other indigenous protestors and activists. Constantine Giles argue this to be one of the largest issues and worst discriminations toward the indigenous people, as it leads to excessive punishments and unfair treatment to the indigenous populations, while other Chileans are not affected (Giles, 2014).

As Michelle Bachelet became the president of Chile for the second time in 2014, she stressed the importance of strengthening the relationship between the government and the Mapuche, where she also includes it in her ‘50 promises’ for her period as president (Bachelet, 2013), and according to Sam Edwards and María del Carmen Corpus, they include land rights in order to improve the basis for continued and improved cohesion between the government and the Mapuche (Edwards and Corpus, 2014). However,
Bachelet is president for her second time and has, according to Giles, yet to win the trust of the Mapuche community, as she did not manage to improve the relations between the government and the Mapuche her last period 2006-2010 (Giles, 2014). The Mapuche leaders and the Mapuche elite often argue the necessity of land rights and autonomy as a solution for the problem, where Aucán Huilcamán, a Mapuche leader who is often present in media, argues that the proposed ‘indigenous ministry’ would only provoke a more severe conflict, as it would include more government presence and not providing the Mapuche population with enough opportunities to create changes themselves (Santiago Times, 2014).

The new government retained the neoliberal economic model presented by Pinochet, although it did also agree to draft a new indigenous law and incorporate indigenous organizations in the process. The law was passed in 1993 and was thought to improve the situation for the indigenous people in Chile. However, De la Maza underlines that the Mapuche were far from satisfied, as most of the issues that the government agreed to improve were never incorporated, such as constitutional recognition for the Mapuche and other indigenous people, as well as the ratification of ILO Convention 169, which were to take actions in order to recognize indigenous people with different programmes for the needs of the indigenous population through rights to self-government, participation, identity, and land (De la Maza, 2014. p. 352).

Furthermore, De la Maza points out that the governmental strategies to handle the situation with the Mapuche are highly contradictory, as they are engaging in strategies of police control and repression, while also attempting to create more programmes, and increase the reserved resources for the Mapuche and other indigenous people (De la Maza, 2014. p. 360). The National Indigenous Development Corporation (CONADI), established under the indigenous law, was to be used in order to stimulate the participation of indigenous people in the Chilean modernization process in terms of educational and cultural development. However, Jane Newbold argues that in reality, the budget is not being used for educational or cultural development purposes, but has instead been used to purchase land, where accusations of corruption have been constant since its very start. Newbold further points out how land has been given to one [Mapuche] family, while others were already living on the land (Newbold, 2004. p. 180). One could argue that the CONADI could have great value if used properly, however the malpractice of it has led to little actual success or benefit for the Mapuche community, and has thereby failed to strengthen the Mapuche.
The negative image of the Mapuche as violent is strong within the Chilean society and has been for several hundreds of years, dating back to their fearless and brutal fighting against the Spanish conquistadors and the Chilean state. This image is still present, and as mentioned earlier, they are often considered to be terrorists who illegally claim land and use violence in order to pursue their claims (Crow, 2014).
3. Analytical Framework

The analytical framework of this research is heavily influenced by theories and concepts of ethnic groups and group mobilization, explained by Ted Robert Gurr, and in some cases Gurr along with a co-worker. Gurr has been an important influence within research concerning minorities and conflicts, and has contributed to a large amount of books, as well as being the founder of the 'Minorities at risk'-project at the University of Maryland. His expertise within this area has led us to believe that some of these theories are very valuable when analyzing the opinions of both Mapuche leaders and non-politically involved Mapuche.

In the analytical framework we start by identifying minorities, according to the concepts presented by Gurr and James R. Scarritt (1989). Thereafter, we address the definitions of the four different types of minorities, described by Gurr and Barbara Harff (2003), which will help us identify what ethnic group or groups the Mapuche people belong to. Furthermore, the analytical framework provides examples of when ethnic groups and others coexist well within a country, as well as examples of when the situation is the opposite, which often lead to protests, rebellions and even devastating conflicts. Thereafter, we identify what Gurr describes as the most important factors when achieving successful mobilization. Ultimately, we will describe how this will be used in the analysis.

3.1 Definition of Minorities and Ethnic Groups

As mentioned earlier, the indigenous Mapuche represent the largest minority group in Chile. Gurr, along with Scarritt, define minorities as groups of people within a politically organized society that share distinct differences when it comes to culture and life in general, compared to the majority of the population. The differences create separate identities of the minorities from the majority, and there are multiple different ways of identifying a minority. Gurr and Scarritt provide examples of this, such as common historical background, religious beliefs, language, ethnicity, region of residence, and traditionally prescribed occupations. Furthermore, Gurr and Scarritt underlines that in order for these groups to actually be perceived as minorities, it is important that the differences between the minority and the majority are acknowledged from both sides in order to set the minority apart from the majority (Gurr and Scarritt, 1989. pp. 380-381).
The Mapuche, as a minority in Chile, could also, according to Gurr and Harff, be described as an ethnic group. This is defined by the two in a similar way as minorities: a group of people that pursue and share common interests and identity based on a mix of history, cultural values, religion, language, and homeland (Gurr and Harff, 2003. p. 3). Gurr and Harff suggest that there are four different types of ethnic groups, which all have different characteristics when it comes to what they want and what they demand from the others within the state, namely: ethnoclasses, communal contenders, indigenous people and ethnonationalists. The first two types consist of ethnic groups that are not originally from the country in which they now reside, but are instead originating from another part of the world, and their main concern regards improving their situation within their current society. The two latter types consist of ethnic groups that once had an established political existence within the country they live in, and they are striving for either autonomy or independence (Gurr and Harff, 2003. p. 19).

Gurr and Harff describe ethnonationalists as relatively large ethnic groups that are concentrated regionally within one or a few neighboring states. Their main goal is to achieve greater autonomy and, in some cases, independence. Most ethnonationalist groups have previously experienced autonomy or independence, but lost it due to historical events. Although they may have lost it several centuries ago, it is still common for the ethnonationalist groups to demand it back (Gurr and Harff, 2003. p. 23). The characteristics of ethnonationalists, could be argued to characterize the Mapuche leaders very well, where, as mentioned before, they strive toward autonomy and independence. Gurr and Harff describe indigenous people as the original descendants of the state they are currently living in, who are striving for autonomy and independence just as the ethnonationalists, although not to the same degree (Gurr and Harff, 2003. p. 25). Gurr mentions that there are characteristics of indigenous people that separate them from ethnonationalists. Indigenous people are often far from having any political power at all, and have throughout history mostly lived a life consisting of subsistence farming, hunting or herding, with no demand for high level of technology. Until recently, they have mainly lacked modern political organization, common purpose, and cohesion. Their political activities have mostly been focused on keeping or saving their land and culture from the larger society within the state they reside (Gurr, 1993. p. 166).
3.2 Group Mobilization

Coexistence between ethnic groups in a country does not necessarily cause conflict, as the Swedish minority in Finland, where ethnic Swedes have had their own cultural and political institutions without any major problem since 1921, when the Swedish and Finnish governments signed an international agreement (Gurr and Harff, 2003. p. 3). However, coexistence between ethnic groups in a country does, in fact, cause tensions in many parts of the world, as in Iraq, Turkey, and Iran, where the Kurds have fought for independence since the 1920s, which has resulted in rebellions and conflicts (Gurr, 1996. p. 172). Another example is Yugoslavia, where continued democratization led to resurgent nationalism and ultimately civil war (Gurr, 1996. p. 184). Gurr and Harff claims that, since the end of World War II, nothing has led to more misery, loss of human life, and refugees, than conflicts related to ethnicity and religion (Gurr and Harff, 2003. p. 3). The mechanism of how ethnic groups mobilize to engage in conflict is therefore an important part of understanding ethnic tensions.

Gurr and Harff argues that the chances for successful mobilization are highest and most sustained within ethnic groups who share a strong sense of grievance about discrimination, have a strong common identity, and are highly cohesive. It is also highly important that decisions made by leaders are recognized by the followers, who are willing to commit and take the necessary risk in order to mobilize, which often leads to protests or rebellions (Gurr and Harff, 2003. pp. 122-123).

Gurr claims that protests and rebellions are heavily motivated by deep grievances of status and the pursuit of political interests, most often formulated by leaders or political entrepreneurs. Group mobilization is, according to Gurr, one of the leading theoretical perspectives when it comes to conflict analysis. It emphasizes the calculated resources within a group’s mobilization of what they can achieve from it when it comes to political change. Gurr states that grievances about different treatments and the sense of cultural group identity are the two most important factors behind mobilization within ethnic groups and are shaping what kind of claims the leaders within these groups can make. Gurr further explains that if the level of grievances and group identity is low, the prospect of mobilization is low. However, if the levels are high, the chances of mobilization become more prominent. In areas where there are high levels of grievances, strong sense of group identity, and common interests within an ethnic group, the chances of this providing fuel to the groups are increased and spontaneous.
actions could be something to take under consideration, whenever external control weakens. (Gurr, 1993. p. 167).

3.2.1 Gurr’s five different indicators of grievances
Gurr defines five different indicators of group grievances. The first is grievances about economic rights, which could be demands of greater reception of public funds, greater economic opportunities, improved working conditions and the protection of land, jobs and resources. The Second is grievances about social and cultural rights, which could be freedom of religious belief and practice, recognition of own language and cultural protection from other groups. The third one is grievances about political rights, which could be greater political rights in the groups own region, greater participation in politics at state level as well as equal civil rights and status. The fourth one is all grievances about rights, which is an indicator that sums up the three first indicators described.¹ The final fifth one is grievances of political autonomy, which could be independence, greater deal of autonomy or union with kindred groups² (Gurr, 1993. p. 170).

3.2.2 Importance of cohesion and identity
When it comes to the strength of group identity and cohesion, Gurr argues that when it regards indigenous people and ethnonationalists that live in isolated communities, the level of group identity and cohesion within those communities are usually very strong. Gurr further believes that the strength of group identity and cohesion highly affect the grievances of a group and a possible mobilization (Gurr, 1993. p.174). Gurr and Harff define strong cohesion within an ethnopolitical group as being based on a unifying belief system or ideology, as well as good communication and interaction between leaders and their followers. The more ideological disputes there are within an ethnic group, the less cohesion there is, which works the same way regarding communication and interaction within the group (Gurr and Harff, 2003. p.109).

¹‘Grievances about rights’ will not be used as an indicator, as we believe it will not contribute to the research, since it is solely a summary of the first three indicators.
²‘Grievances about political autonomy’ will not be used as an indicator, since we believe it fits better in the indicator ‘grievances about political rights’.
3.2.3 The impact of leaders

Gurr argues that leadership is highly important in terms of mobilization and overcoming internal divisions within ethnic groups, with coalition as an example. What symbolizes a good leader is, according to Gurr, authenticity. Within ethnopolitical groups, Gurr argues that the leaders are authentic when they are representing the main values and ambitions of the ethnic group, where the actions of the leaders are in favor of the common good of the group. The authenticity of a leader can be both gained and lost depending on how the leader behaves, for example: authenticity can be lost through using words or performing actions that the group does not agree with. Throughout history there have been numerous leaders that could be described as bad leaders. These leaders have in many occasions led their groups into devastating conflicts. This has been done by toying with the group’s grievances, identity and cohesion. Bad leaders sometimes do this in order to favor their own personal ambitions, over the common interest of the group (Gurr, 1996. p.173). Example of bad leaders could be Slobodan Milosevic and Franjo Tudjman who were two militant nationalists that led and used Serbian and Croatian nationalism in order advance their own political agenda. However, Gurr argues that it is important to remember that most of the followers of Milosevic and Tudjman thought that militant nationalism was the right way to approach the common good of their ethnic group (Gurr, 1996. p. 168). Furthermore, Gurr points out that groups get the kind of leaders they are prepared to follow, where skillful leaders have the ability to strengthen cohesion and the ties within a group, as well as to improve greater awareness about shared interests, although, a leader cannot create them. According to Gurr, leaders can only lead their groups to mobilization within the group’s expectations about what objectives and actions they believe is acceptable (Gurr, 1996. p. 173).

Since the literature indicates that the grievances and perceptions of Mapuche leaders and non-politically involved Mapuche may differ from several perspectives, especially in terms of which ones are of most importance, this study aims to investigate those grievances and perceptions, and the possible differences. As there is a great lack of information about the rural non-politically involved Mapuche, the image of the Mapuche could be argued to have been created by the leaders, where this study aims to also include the rural non-politically involved Mapuche in order to get a broader and more just perspective of the situation.
An interesting point regarding non-politically involved Mapuche and the leaders is the discussion of greed versus grievances, written by Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler (2004). They argue that rebellions can either be started when grievances are high, where the people are willing to engage in violent rebellions, or when leaders find opportunities to start rebellions by using their followers as a tool, with greed as the main factor in order to achieve individual goals (Collier and Hoeffler, 2004). While we do not go in depth of Collier and Hoeffler, it does go rather well with the concepts and theories of Gurr, and supports the idea of why they engage in conflict. Since Diane Haughney, influenced by Crow, argue that Mapuche leaders often shape discourses for their own purposes (Haughney, 2013. p. 857), one could argue that violence caused by the Mapuche people in Chile could arrive from leaders finding individual opportunities, while their followers do it because of their own grievances. In other words, the leaders often live of the grievances of their followers, while trying to reach their own purposes.

3.3 Use of Analytical Framework in Analysis

The different concepts and elements of grievances and cohesion, as well as leadership that have been explained previously, will work as the point of departure when it comes to analyzing the findings of this research. Most of the focus will be regarding the grievances, as this will facilitate detecting the level of cohesion within the research, as well as how Mapuche leaders act in comparison to the rural non-politically involved Mapuche. By doing so, the research will be able to compare the grievances and perceptions of the Mapuche leaders and the rural non-politically involved Mapuche, and how this affects the mobilization within the ethnic group. The reason we seek to investigate this, is because, as mentioned earlier, there are over one and a half million Mapuche living in Chile, where ideas of group mobilization could imply that they should have been able to have a greater impact on the situation. A reason for this not happening, may be that the majority of the Mapuche live in cities today, where Schnettler et al. argues they have adapted to the Chilean culture and does therefore not have the same willingness to mobilize anymore, as they often do not identify themselves as Mapuche anymore (Schnetter et al. 2011. p. 228). Since this research regards rural Mapuche, we are interested in understanding if this might have become the case among rural non-politically involved Mapuche as well. Therefore, the following questions will be answered in the analysis; do the rural non-politically involved
Mapuche share the same grievances as the leaders? Who is responsible for these grievances? What can be done to achieve or improve these grievances? With this, the study will answer whether or not there is a strong cohesion among the Mapuche, and if they are striving toward the same goals. In the analysis, this will be used in order to understand what characteristics that resemble the rural non-politically involved Mapuche, in comparison to the ones resembling the leaders.

This style of analytical framework will allow this study to actually understand and analyze the differences and the believed differences among the Mapuche people. Further through the analysis, this study will recognize what non-politically involved Mapuche think about the current situation and the picture that is being painted by the Chilean media, which portrays the Mapuche people as a violent ethnic group with a high level of cohesion who easily mobilizes in order to seek achievements for the common good of their people, similar to a terrorist group. Is it true that the Mapuche people are as violent as one could believe from reading existing literature regarding the ethnic group?
4. Method

This chapter starts by describing our research design, which is a qualitative and abductive case study. Thereafter, we move to the sample and data collection, where we describe Padre las Casas, where the interviews are conducted, and then further to the data collection of the leaders. Furthermore, we describe the approach we use in order to find the interviews, who we interviewed, and how the interviews were conducted. Ultimately, we describe our data analysis process, the ethical considerations, as well as limitations and delimitations.

4.1 Research Design

Since this research is looking to collect personal answers and opinions in order to get as correct accurate findings as possible, through the lens of the previously described theories and concepts regarding ethnic groups and group mobilization, it is a qualitative abductive case study. Gary King et al. describes a qualitative research as normally focusing on one or a small number of cases in order to have intensive interviews. Furthermore, they argue that qualitative researches most often reveal a great amount of information about their studies, even if they have a smaller number of cases. Within social sciences, qualitative researches are sometimes linked to case studies, which are when the focus is on a particular event, decision, institution, location, issue, or piece of legislation (King et al, 1996. p.4). Since our research is focused in Padre las Casas, this makes it a case study. As we take a point of departure from the concepts and theories of Gurr, this is an abductive study, where Norman Blaikie argues that data and theoretical ideas are “played off against one another in a developmental and creative process” (Blaikie, 2009. p. 156) in the search for answers to a hypothesis or idea, where “research becomes a dialogue between data and theory mediated by the researcher” (Blaikie, 2009. p. 156). As the theory emerges, it will be tested and refined while the research continues, and will continue until satisfying explanations have been achieved.

During this research, we aimed at finding the most important grievances and the level of cohesion among the rural non-politically involved Mapuche in Padre las Casas, Araucanía, and compare that to what seems to be the most important grievances for the Mapuche leaders, and how this may affect mobilization within the Mapuche people in the current situation. In order to accomplish this, as mentioned earlier, consider a qualitative research approach to be the most appropriate and compatible for our study,
as John W. Creswell points out that a research problem that examines a concept or phenomenon, is understood most easily from a qualitative method (Creswell, 2009. p. 98). Jerome Clayton Glenn describes a qualitative method as aiming toward gathering in depth understanding of human behavior, and the reasoning behind it. It investigates the why and how of decision making, where he points out that smaller and more focused samples are more important than larger random samples (Glenn, 2010. p. 95). By performing a field study, we were able to get a more in-depth understanding of the situation, compared to what a desk study would have contributed with. Furthermore, this allowed us to get our own impression of the situation, by receiving first-hand information from our sources.

4.2 Sample and Data Collection
This research was conducted in Araucanía, which is the Mapuche stronghold in Chile, and more specifically in Padre las Casas, with 41% of the population being Mapuche (Municipalidad de Padre las Casas, 2015. p. 5). Araucanía is also where the Mapuche conflict is most concentrated (De la Maza, 2014. p. 347). For geographical position of Araucanía and Padre las Casas, look at the maps below.

In order to get information about grievances and demands of the Mapuche leaders and political activists, we collected information from secondary sources written previous to our research, which gave us an image of what the situation looked like according to the
leaders and activists. The secondary sources used in this study are from a variety of literature, such as academic research, field works, newspaper articles, interviews and internet sources. The used literature are from both international and Chilean sources, where the variety of sources provide a broader perspective to the situation, as it was written from different angles of the situation.

Before we arrived in Chile to conduct our research, we contacted people and organizations who were, in some way or another, in contact with the Mapuche population and the conflict. When talking to these people and organizations, we realized it were to be a difficult task to get in touch with non-politically involved Mapuche, as they are allegedly not interested in talking to foreigners, compared to the outspoken Mapuche leaders and activists. As a result of this, we had no confirmed interviews as we left Sweden. However, we were determined and hopeful that it would be easier to solve once we were there.

When we arrived in Chile, we immediately started contacting more people and organizations, and follow up on the leads we already had. We began to visit the people and organizations, which led us to new relevant contacts in different areas. We explained that we were very flexible geographically and time wise, which we believed would facilitate finding interviews with non-politically involved Mapuche in different regions. Two weeks into our research, we still had no confirmed interviews, which led to great frustration and stress. After three weeks we were finally able to find a contact that were willing to take us to visit non-politically involved Mapuche in Padre las Casas. After another week of planning, we went to Padre las Casas and met our contact, which made it possible to get our first interviews. It became a snowball-effect, where interviews led to new contacts, which led to further interviews.

The interviews were finally conducted between the 16th and the 29th of April 2015. In total, 19 interviews were conducted with 12 men and 7 women. They were in ages between 30 and 75, and they all lived in rural communities of Padre las Casas, namely Chomio, Niagara, Truf Truf, and Huichahue. For information about the interviewees, see the table in appendix 1.

Our intention was to have an equal amount of men and women as interviewees. However, as we started conducting interviews, we realized that men were more willing to participate in this research than women, and therefore there is no gender equality in terms of interviewees. We believe we have a good variety in terms of age amongst the
interviewees, which provided different perspectives on the situation. The reason we conducted our research in rural communities is because, as mentioned in the analytical framework, that is generally where the highest level of cohesion between ethnic groups exist.

The interviews ranged between 10 and 60 minutes, where most are between 20-60 minutes. This was a result of a few people not being willing to speak about certain issues, often related to the government and its policies regarding indigenous people. The interviews were conducted one at a time, with the exception of one interview which was done with two people simultaneously (F5 and F6), as Alan Bryman argues that the best way to achieve full participation and to acquire social knowledge from another person is through face-to-face interaction (Bryman, 2008. p. 385).

We used the method of semi-structured interviews, as it allowed us to add or remove questions, based on the interviewee and what he or she wished to talk about, within the range of our research. We had eight original questions that can be found in appendix 2, and thereafter we followed up with questions based on the conversation, and where we believed we could get more information, or more in-depth answers about certain topics. Monica Dalen points out that semi-structured interviews are used to get specific information needed in order to get the desired results. She further argues that it is preferred to have questions prepared before the interview, with the possibility to change or adjust questions during the interview (Dalen, 2007. p. 31).

The majority of the interviews took place in the homes of the participants, where two of them took place at a Mapuche school. In order for us to gain the trust of the non-politically involved Mapuche, we had help from different people who were respected and trusted within the communities, who introduced us to the interviewees. When meeting the interviewees, we explained where we are from, what we are doing, why we are doing it and how we will use the information given to us. The interviewees were often curious about indigenous populations in Sweden, which led us to talk about the Samis, resulting in relaxed atmospheres, where the interviewees felt comfortable.

4.3 Data analysis

All interviews were conducted in Spanish, as none of the interviewees spoke English. In order to make sure we did not miss anything during the interviews, everything was recorded. Thereafter, the recordings were handed to translators and interpreters from the
University of Concepción, who translated them properly into English and transcribed them. After the interviews were translated and transcribed, we reviewed the data multiple times in order to find the most relevant information, as well as the most common similarities amongst the interviewees, which we could apply to our analysis. We carefully compared each interview with the others, which made it possible to capture the most important and relevant information needed for this study. Based on the information we already had of the grievances and demands from the leaders, we were able to narrow our study and put emphasis on the grievances and demands from non-politically involved Mapuche, which made it possible for us to specify our interview questions in order to get the desired information.

4.4 Ethical considerations
As the situation between the Chilean government, private companies and the Mapuche is rather tense, we decided to set up some ethical ground rules to make sure that no harm would come to our interviewees as a result of this study. Before each interview, we described our method, objective, and use of the study thoroughly to the participants. This was done in order for them to fully grasp what we aimed for with our research, and to eliminate any possibilities of misunderstandings. To make the participants feel as safe and comfortable as possible, we also explained that everything will be fully anonymous. Furthermore, we asked whether or not they were comfortable with us using a voice recorder, which was agreed to by every interviewee. We also explained that they were not forced to answer questions they feel uncomfortable with, as well as asking if there are specific topics they did not wish to discuss.

4.5 Limitations and Delimitations
One of the limitations to this research was the fact that many of the confirmed interviews could not be conducted, since the interviewees did not show up. Another limitation was how a few of the interviewees did not want to answer specific questions, often regarding the relationship with the government or politics in general. Another limitation was the access to interviewees, as it was very difficult to get in contact with the non-politically involved Mapuches, and more so, to get them to agree to an interview, presumably because of the tense situation and lack of trust toward foreigners.
Language barriers may also be considered a limitation, as it led to minor difficulties during some of the interviews, where the interviewees mixed Spanish with Mapudungun, which sometimes led to confusion and difficulties asking further questions. A further limitation is that this study used fewer interviews than planned, which was a choice made under restraints, which in the end works as a limitation to the generalization of our research results.

A further limitation to our research is that it focuses solely on Padre las Casas, where the information given cannot be used as a generalization of what all non-politically involved Mapuche believe, but merely in the area around Padre las Casas. Another limitation is that most of the interviewees are farmers who live in rural areas, which limited this study from obtaining information about the urban Mapuches, as well as generalizing. Furthermore, the fact that the interviewees are not equally divided in terms of gender, must be considered another limitation, as it does not necessarily provide a fair image of what all the non-politically involved Mapuche in Padre las Casas believe. Mapuche leaders, political activists and representatives from the government were not interviewed, which must be seen as a delimitation. However, this was never the intention of this research, as there is enough secondary literature and research already dealing with that.
5. Findings

In this chapter we will present the findings from the interviews conducted in Padre las Casas, Araucanía. In order to be able to answer the research questions of this study, we start by looking at the grievances and perspectives of the leaders, and thereafter we divide this chapter into four different categories of grievances, which provide the non-politically involved Mapuche perspective concerning the different issues that seem to be the ones of most importance. Through these findings, we will analyze the different viewpoints of the rural Mapuche, and try to understand the differences between the Mapuche leaders and the non-politically involved Mapuche, and how this might affect the ethnic group in the future. This will be done later in the analysis chapter through analyzing the difference in grievances, the level of cohesion and how this affects the ethnic group mobilization of the Mapuche people. The word "Huinca" is mentioned repeatedly throughout the interviews, which is the word for foreigner (non-Mapuche), in Mapudungun, and specifically Chileans in this context.

5.1 The leaders’ perspective

As this study aims to find differences, in terms of goals and grievances between the non-politically involved Mapuche and the Mapuche leaders and activists, this chapter begins with findings from secondary sources and interviews, done previously to this study with Mapuche leaders and political activists. In this part, information and quotes will be provided from these leaders and activists, in order to paint a picture of what the grievances for the leaders and political activists are and what they fight for, and later in this chapter following that information up with what the grievances are for the non-politically involved Mapuche and what they wish to achieve most urgently.

During an interview in the Santiago Times, with Mijael Carbone, a Mapuche leader for the Mapuche Territorial Alliance (ATM), in Temucuicui, he starts by telling the interviewer what the main goals for the Mapuche is, which according to him is a Mapuche nation with full autonomy. This goal, along with the issues concerning the anti-terrorism law and the political recognition seem to be the most important ones for most Mapuche leaders, all over Chile.

“Our proposal is very clear: we aim to construct a ‘Mapuche nation.’” (Santiago Times, 2014).
Carbone is advocating direct action, as he believes dialogue and conversation is too slow and time consuming, and does not produce any real results. The direct action has been expressed in different forms of protest, but also occasionally in the form of violence. When talking about the land, and how the state and companies exploit their (the Mapuche) land, he claims that direct action is the only way forward for the Mapuche, and he justifies it like this:

“The risks are greater, the consequences more severe, but at least I will create a space, a cessation of activities so that the landscape can recover. So, if you ask me what is the most viable option for us to achieve our goals, I would say direct action. Definitely.” (Santiago Times, 2014)

Patricia Richars and Jeffrey A. Gardner write about the different demands from Mapuche leaders, where they claim land rights, recognition, and the anti-terrorism laws to be the largest issues, along with the current racial and ethnic discrimination. (Richards and Gardner, 2013)

On the 8th of June 2014, Jose Quipal, another Mapuche leader from Ercilla in the Araucanía region, tells the Washington Post that the land was taken from the Mapuche, and that they will take the land back. He further argues that they will keep fighting for their most important objective – to get their land back – despite the fact that many Mapuche have been killed by police during the last years when trying to demonstrate or fight for their rights. (Washington Post, 2014)

During an interview with Gustavo Quilaqueo, a Mapuche leader and president of the organization Wallmapuwen, Published by Development in 2011, he express what the main objectives for the Mapuches are, according to him. He begins by expressing that issues concerning land and territorial rights are the main issues that the Mapuche face in Chile.

“The issue of the territorial rights that were never recognized which particularly affect the communities surrounded by forestry companies or big land estates.” (Development, 2011)

He further argues how the issues of repression and persecution are other important aspects for the Mapuches, where he points out how the state uses legislation anti-democratically against the Mapuche by applying the anti-terrorism law against them. Thereafter he explains that the anti-terrorism law, along with the use of police force has led to the death of young Mapuches, as well as incarcerating hundreds of leaders.
Quilaqueo believes that the anti-terrorism law is one of the greatest existing threats to the Mapuche population.

Quilaqueo further points out how he believes that the government and the parliamentarians are greedy and that their interests are solely political and economic, which gets in the way when the Mapuche are striving for their rights of autonomy, removal of anti-terrorism law, and political recognition.

“[…] they keep considering indigenous people not as a people; instead, they insist that we are all Chilean, 'indigenous', therefore there can't be special rights for one people. So the main point here is that the Convention (ILO Convention 169) clashes with a very conservative legislation, tied to economic interests, and the political elite in power does not show any interest in wanting to recognize the rights for indigenous people.” (Development, 2011)

According to Quilaqueo, and many others, political recognition is also one of the main issues for the Mapuches today. He argues that “The State does not recognize the Mapuches as political actors. This state wants a monolithic, unicultural and unipolitical country. We as Mapuches have no representation in parliament, nor special laws as in other countries, like quotas or rights to local autonomy.” (Development, 2011)

Daniel Melinao, a Mapuche leader from Ercilla, who previously was wrongfully incarcerated for one year, tells Indian Country Today Media Network that “The government ignores the fact that we are demanding our own lands.”, (Indian Country Today Media Network, 2013) where he further tells Vice News that the Mapuche will continue to fight for what is theirs, where he refers to land rights and full recognition (Vice News, 2014).

5.2 Access to land and water

Although it seems that land, the anti-terrorism law and political recognition seem to be the main issues, we received a different image when talking with the non-politically involved Mapuche, who speak mainly of issues of accessing land and water. The non-politically involved Mapuche have at occasions received actual land from the government, which is often something that is appreciated within the Mapuche communities. However, based on the findings of this study, it does not necessarily mean the rural non-politically involved Mapuche are satisfied. After the land has been given, there rarely seems to be any further help provided by the government in order to
facilitate the use of the land, as the Mapuche themselves often lack the capital needed to invest in tools and machines that are needed when cultivating the land.

When asking why there seems to be so little interest in actually providing the rural Mapuche in Araucanía with what is actually needed, the answers were often similar to the one provided by F1.

“Because, we, the Mapuche, have needs that people in the city —the non Mapuche—don’t understand, like the issue of water, of housing. You may have heard that some lands were given to Mapuches. They were given, say 6 hectares, but they don’t receive any help to invest in things to work with. They just give you land and that’s it. That isn’t a solution for us.” (F1)

Another issue, which seems to be one of the most urgent ones, and is mentioned by almost every single interviewee, is the water situation. There has been a severe drought in Araucanía the last years, which has led to harsh living situations for the Mapuche in these areas.

“We are bad. There’s a drought. Sometimes there’s no water. Now that it has rained a little, we have seen a little bit more water. We’re in a bad situation in terms of water. We plant beans, for example, and they don’t grow. Same with potatoes. They don’t bear fruit.” (M6)

“The issue with water is a very serious one; despite the fact that there’s enough water in the region, there have been laws that favor the few that have resources and want them for themselves.” (M11)

“[…] We were a little bit better before. Besides, because of what’s going on now, we’re not having a good time because of the whole problem with the volcano, with the animals and the drought. The drought is the worst; this year we almost didn’t harvest anything. We didn’t harvest as much as before, like beans. Before we harvested a little bit more, but now we almost didn’t harvest anything.” (M8)

5.3 Political perspective
Based on the findings of this study, what seems to be one of the most important issues in order to reach a stage of negotiation or cooperation with the government is conversation between the two parts. Today, there is a great lack of conversation between the Chilean state and the Mapuche living in Araucanía, where the Mapuche often have nothing to say, even in matters concerning their livelihood. What is strived
for is the possibility to be included in a dialogue – which is believed to have a great positive impact on the situation.

“I believe that dialogue is fundamental. Dialogue, and also, I have the impression that, it would be a good thing if all actors, state, political, and social actors were more connected, if we want to achieve something.” (M1)

“There are many issues in Araucanía that must be addressed, but we have never seen an agreement. It’s always the situation: the Mapuche people say something and the government says something else, so there’s a conflict and they don’t reach an agreement. The dream is having room for dialogue, analysis and debate.” (M9)

“[…] There has to be a dialogue, and I am telling you, in the Araucania region there is no dialogue. […] there should be equality, more equality, more opportunities, and the Mapuche people should have a say in politics, especially in public policies. I believe I would be contented with that.” (M10)

“In my opinion, the government should try to create intercultural exchange. This means that both cultures can have a good relationship, in which there is no discrimination and everybody regards everybody as equal; a society where Mapuche children are recognized and considered equal; a society where they’re not looked down upon or judged because of their problems; a society where everybody is equal; a society in which everybody has the same rights, yet we acknowledge that we are different and that we have different customs and beliefs; a society where everybody works for a common good; a society where Mapuche children can be included in the city without problems or where the people from the city can work with Mapuche people; a society where there is an equal relationship. The dream would be having a relationship without hierarchies between both cultures.” (M9)

It seems many of the rural non-politically involved Mapuche feel betrayed by the government. When asking whether or not there has been any improvement in terms of the situation between the government, its policies and the Mapuche population, most answers were concerning that close to nothing has been done, or negative to what has been done – for not being satisfactory.

“Only now, in the past couple of years, because of the international treaties and agreements the Chilean state has signed abroad to have a more decent treatment towards the native peoples, there have been some changes. But we still have a lot to do to have a true encounter and understanding. Because, the policies the Chilean state has
applied regarding the development of our people are analyzed and created by them, there in Santiago, but with little participation of Mapuche representatives or Mapuche people, in this case.” (M12)

“She (Bachelet) has stood aside in that regard, she is not involved. So, if you ask me “What has president Bachelet actually done?” I would have to say that, in my opinion, she hasn’t done much to resolve the Mapuche conflict.” (M9)

“[…] They haven’t worked yet, because, well... President Bachelet has had two periods. In the first period there was a small progress regarding some recognition, but, in the second stage of her government, she promised that in the first 100 days in office she was going to deal with the Mapuche issue firmly and with a strong determination. They even talked about a constitutional recognition for the native peoples, not only the Mapuche but all the small peoples all along Chile. But we haven’t seen that considerable progress, so, she owes us. I believe that, the President... Sometimes I think that she might have a good willingness, as a woman, with good feelings from her heart, but the world that surrounds her, different parties, different leaders that manage the party,... they also have an influence on the final decisions that are taken. Maybe they are not giving her a space to advance faster in the search of a solution for this issue.” (M12)

“I hope they help people, the poor Mapuches. I really hope so. I’m telling you, there is a lot the government has to give. The President will have to cope with it. Help the people by any means. Hopefully she will give something for agriculture; she could help giving a little bit of compost, that kind of things to the people.” (F7)

F7, and many with her, do not seem to have unreasonable or high demands, they merely ask for what is needed to live without fear of diseases and extreme poverty.

“Michelle Bachelet... What can we say about her? Any coming President is going to do the same, things are never going to change. I hope things can improve, for students, for farmers and for the people of the city; we have to consider them as well. We can’t ask for help for us only, no.” (M5)

“We have to address the actual issue: fostering full development that hopefully involves the whole Mapuche people, as well as improving education, health, housings, roads, and life quality in general; and, most importantly, recognizing that the Mapuche people lived in this territory and compensate them by supporting them economically, so people can finally say that the Chilean state is bringing justice. The country has the resources to do that.” (M11)
F5 and F6 do believe that the government has helped, even though they believe the help could have been more significant and could have come at a far earlier stage.

“A little bit. But they are helping. They are giving us money, because of the drought. Now we received some money to buy fodder and other stuff for the animals. It is little, but we got it, and it is better than nothing.” (F5 and F6)

Chile Indígena (indigenous governmental program through CONADI) is something concrete that has been done, but is often considered a failure when talking with the rural non-politically involved Mapuche.

“It’s like she [Bachelet] gives and takes away at the same time so... the situation doesn’t improve much. Sometimes implements programs to our benefit, but they don’t meet our expectations. As I just said, she gives and takes away. [...] Right now, for instance, there’s Chile Indígena, which is a complete failure, a disappointment.” (F3)

“They have done very little and I believe there is no real willingness, from the heart. The efforts they want to do don’t come from the heart, and I see it as dangerously populist. It’s like if they were doing it to make a good impression, to do a little good; they design methods, strategies for the development of the Mapuche people, but they make the same mistake of not involving the actors to cooperate and work for a mid or long-term project, so the Mapuche people can also give their opinion and together find the best way to support the development of our people.” (M12)

“The Chilean state, however, hasn’t taken into account the real needs of the Mapuche people. On the contrary, it has used been giving small things to the Mapuche in order to keep them quiet. They give insignificant things as help, which doesn’t really help to solve the problem, but create more conflicts instead. Actually, there are governments that, after Pinochet, have taken policies to give lands to the Mapuche through subsidies. This has actually been done, but it’s still not enough. That’s what I could comment on the current situation of the Mapuche people. The other thing is that there is no representation of the Mapuche in the political positions that take part in the decision making. The Chilean state has not allowed the Mapuche people to do so.” (M11)

There seems to be a great lack of trust from the non-politically involved Mapuche in Araucanía toward the government and the Chilean state. This is partly due to the historical tension between the two parts, but also the current situation, where the Mapuche feel excluded and marginalized. For example, as mentioned earlier, there is, and has been, a great drought in the Araucania region over the last couple of years,
where very little help has come from the government. Furthermore, the government is often accused of making promises, but rarely acting on or pursuing them.

“What I can say is that I see the way things are and every year is the same; a new President comes, but it is the same, then another one comes and it is the same as well.” (F7)

“I think that she [Bachelet] talks a lot, but does nothing” (F1)

“For instance –and this is just an example- our President has not visited the Araucania region, as she should, because of the drought. The Mapuche people are suffering, we couldn’t harvest the fields, the grass dried, animals wonder about. So, from that perspective, the community here has asked for help but there are no results.” (F2)

The government is believed to always come up with excuses to why they are not obliged to help, and when they do help, it is often for previous issues, that are not necessarily the most important in the current situation.

“One way or another, the government always has an excuse, and that will be always the policy, regardless of their political views: left wing, right wing, center right wing, social democrat, socialist, communist; politicians will always aim to provide wellbeing for those within the circle, those who control the system. We, who actually have a need — the Mapuche people—, are very limited from reality, especially considering the national budget.” (M8)

“We haven’t seen much. The government doesn’t do much for the Mapuche people.” (F4)

“The government, because of international agreements and conventions that the Chilean state has to comply with, has been forced to improve the life quality of Mapuche families. Most of the time, these measures give help that doesn’t actually solve the problem, but are a way to keep the Mapuche people quiet. There is no solution with the issue of the lands. The Mapuche people need to be recognized in the constitution, but we are not, so we’re considered to be just another group.” (M11)

F7 and her husband felt forced to wait for help in their worn out house, as they are old and are not capable of repairing it themselves, and do not have the money to hire help externally.

“The government only favors the people from the city, not the Mapuches. The Mapuches are, not left aside, but we are not valued [...] We are waiting for a new house; that is
why we haven’t repaired this house. We are waiting because maybe we will get one. That is the way things are, we can’t repair the house.” (F7)

“The current situation of the Mapuche people in Chile is very complex. Basically because the Chilean state is very ignorant and also, people ignore the real history about the moment when our two cultures met, the native Mapuche culture and the western culture.” (M12)

Furthermore, being recognized as an indigenous group, and where the government and the state recognizes the abuses toward them, are often portrayed as crucial when trying to find a solution to the tense situation between the two parts.

“The ideal scenario would be one in which the Chilean state recognizes their abuses and that they are occupying territories that belong to the Mapuche people; promotes free education to the members of the communities; improves the health situation; advises the Mapuche people so they can grow economically; allows the Mapuche people to properly develop. [...] the Mapuche don’t have the same economic concept as the Huinca. The Huinca want to exploit everything and make profit and make money. The Mapuche, on the other hand, do need the money, but they are not that greedy to the point where they destroy the environment and don’t have any regard for anything, like big companies. Companies only want to make money. The Mapuche, or at least most of them, content themselves with living quietly with their families, being in harmony with nature, living their spirituality.” (M11)

“I think the indigenous situation is complicated. It is complicated because, despite the fact that here has been some integration, we still feel discriminated or even stepped on sometimes. Lately, with the forest fires and all, all the Mapuches have been called terrorists, and this is not true.” (F1)

In order to further understand the deep rooted trust issues toward the government, the final question in every interview was whether or not they believe in a peaceful future. This in order to try to grasp the lack of trust the rural non-politically involved Mapuche have towards the government. Some did shortly answer “I do”, and those quotes are not included. However, many others did not believe it was possible, and here follows a few of their statements.

“Mapuche want peace, but there can’t be peace if you see that your children hunger; if there are horrible economic conditions; if you see the Huinca stepping on us; if a
policeman comes and beats your mother, your father or your children, just for claiming for their rights.” (M11)

“If there is no recognition of the Mapuche people, then we have to fight for it. We don’t ask for much; only the basics, such as a good school with good teachers and infrastructure” (M8)

“No. As long as they don’t know which are our problems and actually do something about it, the situation will keep getting worse. There’s nothing that will stop it. I don’t think it will improve; it will get worse. This is unfortunate for our children and for the country. That’s the image that we have as a Country. I think our situation is bad, really bad.” (F1)

“Racism, classism and discrimination must end, because they cause conflict and a rupture within the country. Otherwise there will be no peace.” (M11)

5.4 Culture

Many of the non-politically involved Mapuche express their concern when it comes to losing their language, and thereby a huge part of their culture and heritage. The language is of great importance for the Mapuche, and when they risk losing it, they fear the entire Mapuche population will 'go under'. It is often argued that it is closely related to the advance of technology, as well as Mapudungun not being part of the curricula for schools where Mapuche children attend. Technology itself is often also considered dangerous for the cultural identities of the Mapuche.

“The way I see the future is a bit sad, because they will not be able to speak our language in 10 or 20 years. They will keep our traditions, our customs, they will keep them, but transmitting our language, speaking our language is going to be difficult, although some children are being taught now, but this is what I see for 10 or 20 years from now. The Mapuche people will stay alive, but our language is going to get lost. The Mapudungun.” (F2)

When talking to the rural non-politically involved Mapuche, it seems crucial for them to keep their language, where science, technology, cell phones, and television are often seen as threats, as it leads to less conversation between the families and communities, and instead leads to quick phone calls instead of taking the time to visit each other, which is considered another threat to their culture – becoming individualistic due to westernization. The influence of technology also leads to the Spanish language coming
closer to the Mapuche, in to their homes and families and 'forces' them to speak Spanish, since there are no television or radio shows in Mapudungun. Based on the findings, the government often seems to be blamed for the loss of indigenous languages, as it obliges the native population to speak Spanish in schools, the army, and at working places.

“Actually, today, many of us have lost the language because the Chilean state forced the Mapuche people—which is a different culture and way of life—to assimilate their culture through education, where the children were being punished for not knowing how to speak Spanish and the authorities forced them to speak in Spanish. [...] When children are born in a community and they have a Mapuche surname, they are bullied by the Huinca, and they feel bad and don’t want to be Mapuche, because they’re picked on.” (M11)

“It has changed, the times, the people have changed. The Mapuche people used to be very loving; they used to share a lot, but not anymore. They stay at home now, each one in their home. It was not like that around the year 2000 at least, families used to visit each other, but not anymore. Each person loves their family, their sons, their daughters. The love is there, the respect is there, but these are different times.” (F7)

“I always give this example: there’s a UNO study that says that every 15 minutes a language disappears in the world. So I worry that maybe the next language that disappears is my language. [...] My language can’t disappear, or else we disappear as a people or as a race.” (M2)

M2 further argues how being forced to speak Spanish during the Chilean army training gave him even more energy and incentive to continue teaching Mapudungun, in order to make sure that it will never be forgotten.

“Why, if in the past we were able to live without banks or currency, now we have to be slaves of that in order to be successful? We could think about that, because, when was the currency, the bank created in the world? About a thousand years ago? But we have existed for much longer than that, so, it might be a contradiction what I am about to say, but all the progresses of science, some might say is for better, and yes, it might be better for some things, but it has been extremely damaging for us.” (M12)

When asking F3 about her ideals and hopes for the future of her children, and the Mapuche population in general, she explains that she hopes for a chance of better lives, while she puts emphasis on the importance of culture. She hopes that the Mapuche are
able to succeed without losing their identities, culture and traditions, which many leaders and urban Mapuche often are accused of.

“For them [the children] to remember, for them to reach the top without forgetting who and what we are: What we were, what we are, and what we will always be as Mapuche. For them not to forget their culture, their race, their blood. I think that’s the most important thing: that, in spite of their education, they never forget that. Because, in the past, certain Mapuche have reached the top, but they’ve forgotten, and it feels as if they were using their people, their culture, their race, and that’s wrong. I wish they would be sincere and that they did it properly.” (F3)

M2 argues the loss of culture is at a critical stage, where Mapuche people often no longer identify themselves as Mapuche, as they have been influenced by the “Huincas”

“Then you would ask “are you Mapuche?” People would say “yes, I am”. Today, you would ask “are you Mapuche?” And people would answer “well, it depends…”” (M2)

When asked why he believes this happened, he said:

“We didn’t know how to keep our things. We let ourselves to be influenced by things from outside, like music, technology, and ever more stuff.” (M2)

“I miss that, because when I was a child I lived a little bit the natural life; I was embraced with so much love and affection, by my family, my grandparents, my grandmothers, my uncles, my parents, my siblings, everyone. But nowadays, we are isolated since the day we are born; we are educated alone, like individuals, individualists, on our own. So, we fight to become one more of the bunch. That is it.” (M12)

M1 does not necessarily believe that the culture is fading away, but points out how important the culture are to the Mapuche, and says the following when we ask why it is of such importance:

“Because, the Mapuche culture is so rich, it has things, cultural and world view aspects that are amazing, I mean, wonderful. If we live it fully, we will realize that we have an enormous wealth” (M1)

“I believe it would be good for the future generations that both cultures could coexist peacefully in this space. That the Mapuches don’t feel displaced or dispossessed, and that we can also appreciate and recognize the contributions in these times and that there is mutual understanding and respect.” (M12)
“So, I believe it is not good to remain in conflict forever, because we can’t progress. But, in order to have peace and be able to coexist, that coexistence has to be based on learning how to live together and share a space; firstly they have to recognize us and appreciate the way we are. I would like the Chilean state to be proud of having a history and an identity built by two considerable cultures. An important Mapuche culture, and the Spanish culture that we also have to recognize; they also have their history. If those two forces unite, they can show a strong identity and strength for this people.” (M12)

5.5 Education
One of the issues that seems to be one of the most important and urgent ones to deal with for the Mapuche is education, after the more vital ones - water and roads. During the interviews it is often expressed how they hope and desire good education for their children and grandchildren in order for them to be able to remove the shackles of illiteracy and low education. They wish to be able to send their children to universities and colleges, however, it is often too expensive, as the rural Mapuche rarely have enough capital to do so. There are scholarships solely for the Mapuche, but the number is rather small. When talking about education, these are some of the answers we received:

“The policy of state is too old, it has been very bad for the Mapuches. Especially regarding education, from the traditional structures of power we had here in Chile. That has affected us very badly.” (M10)

“It is going to get difficult for them (the children), with time. But if they have education they will get by.” (F7)

There are fights for lands, where the Huinca came and took them away, because someone came and said “Sign in here” and the Mapuche thought he was, for example, giving him permission to go to the toilet, but was actually selling all his lands. He was fooled. That happened many times, in many generations. Today, this 30% that I tell you about are those who are fighting and trying to get those lands back; maybe they’re the grandsons or the great-grandsons. (M8)

Here M8 is talking about how the Mapuche were fooled due to low level of education and high level of illiteracy, and thereby occasionally losing land.
6. Analysis

In this chapter we will analyze our findings through the lens of grievances and cohesion in order to draw conclusions about the possibility of mobilization, from the concepts and theories described in the analytical framework. Furthermore, we will analyze what kind of ethnic groups that can be applied to leaders and non-politically involved Mapuche. By doing so, we will answer our research problem and research questions provided in the introduction. The theory of group mobilization will be discussed throughout the analysis, in connection to grievances and cohesion.

6.1 Grievances: a comparison between leaders and followers

In this section of the analysis, we take a point of departure of what Gurr calls the five different indicators of grievances, except for 'grievances about rights', which would otherwise have been used solely as a summary of the three first indicators, as well as 'grievances about autonomy' as we believe it fits better into 'grievances about political rights'. As explained earlier, common grievances within a group presents a higher chance of mobilization, according to Gurr. Within each indicator, we point out what the non-politically Mapuche see as their main grievances, as compared to what the leaders believe. This is done in order to understand how this can, or cannot, affect mobilization from different angles.

6.1.1 Grievances about Economic rights

Through analyzing the grievances about economic rights, what we find interesting is how much emphasis is put on this sort of grievances, such as water, and protection of lands, by the non-politically involved Mapuche in comparison to the leaders. As some of the main issues for the non-politically involved Mapuche are the lack of public services, one could argue the importance of receiving more actual help from the government in terms of public funds in order to improve their livelihood. This could help the Mapuche to reach a more satisfying level of livelihood, by providing them with the water they desperately need.

While leaders talk much of protection and regaining of cultural land, the non-politically involved Mapuche seem less interested in that and accept the situation in a different way, as they mainly want actual help from the government. The leaders often demand all land back, including full autonomy of the land. The leaders argue the land and
autonomy to be a cultural idea, which they have lost during history, where Mapuche means “people of the land”, and is a huge part of their heritage and culture. One could argue that, if the government were to provide the rural Mapuche with what they need, the non-politically involved Mapuche would actually join the leaders in the fight for land and autonomy. This may provide the government incentives to not help them, as they fear the long term outcome where all the Mapuche could possibly mobilize, where the situation could escalate, which would mean far greater issues for the government. However, one could also argue that it is inhumane not to provide the Mapuche with what they need in order to survive and to have a decent livelihood.

Furthermore, the non-politically involved Mapuche wish for improved working conditions, as they occasionally receive land, but not the tools needed to cultivate the land. If the government were to support these needs, the risks for a greater mobilization may decrease, as the rural Mapuche will not necessarily demand more than just a reasonable livelihood and providing opportunities for their children. If the chances or risks, depending on your viewpoint, of mobilization decrease, the risks of the violence escalating may also decrease. Further on working conditions, the non-politically involved Mapuche wish for better infrastructure, and mainly better roads in their communities, in order to facilitate transportation of goods they wish to transport or sell in the cities. Water should also be mentioned here, as water would improve their working conditions, since it would provide better possibilities to water their arable lands to grow their crops, and to feed their animals.

Solving these issues could possibly lead to a higher level of satisfaction among the Mapuche, where they do not have to worry about basic human needs, but are able to put more focus on education and improving their livelihoods.

6.1.2 Grievances about Social and Cultural rights

While analyzing the findings in terms of social and cultural rights, one realizes that their language, Mapudungun, is a great part of their cultural heritage and identity. Through development of technology, and the discrimination against the Mapuche, the language has taken a blow, where fewer and fewer people know how to speak Mapudungun properly. This has led to loss of culture among the Mapuche, and thereby a loss of their identities. In order to improve this situation, the interviewees often argue that it is important for the government to give a helping hand. This could be done by recognizing Mapudungun as an official language, used within the political sphere, as well as in the
Chilean education. Since the governmental policies and laws are written in Spanish, there are no real opportunities for a native Mapudungun speaker to take part of it, without learning Spanish. This has led to a great takeover of the language, where Spanish is the most important language, and the numbers of Mapudungun speakers is continuously decreasing. A simple solution to this could be to add policies and laws in Mapudungun, in order for everyone to take part of it, or even simpler things, such as road signs in Mapudungun in highly Mapuche populated areas.

To secure the future of their children, many of the interviewees talk about the importance of education, and the lack of possibilities for the Mapuche to become educated at colleges or universities. Due to the high costs of colleges and universities, the rural non-politically involved Mapuche are rarely able to send their children there. As mentioned earlier, there are scholarships earmarked for the Mapuche. However, they are few and the Mapuche wish for more in order to improve the livelihood of their children.

Furthermore, the non-politically involved Mapuche argue that the government must provide more support to the Mapuche culture, by accepting them and thereby being able to reach a better functioning coexistence between the two, where they can learn from each other and prosper.

Leaders talk about land as one of the main aspects of the Mapuche culture, as they are called “the people of the land”, with little or no focus on the language or culture itself. By doing so, the possibilities for mobilization and cohesion are weak, and the two parts stand on different sides once again. However, based on our findings, there seem to be differences between the non-politically involved Mapuche as well, where they often blame each other for the loss of identity and culture, due to influence by the Chilean society and the urban modern life. If they would be able to come together, there could be far better possibilities for mobilization leading to actual change, as their demands are rather basic and could probably be achieved rather easily, especially in comparison to what the leaders strive for, which would require drastic measures from the government.

As mentioned earlier, the rural Mapuche often have to move to the cities, due to the lack of capital and resources in the rural areas, which leads to further integration within the Chilean society, where many of the interviewees argue they lose their language, identity and culture in favor for the 'Huinca' culture. By receiving more help from the
government, there would not only be better living conditions among the rural non-politically involved Mapuche, but it could also help preserving the culture.

6.1.3 Grievances about Political rights
As mentioned in the findings chapter, one of the key issues that the non-politically involved Mapuche put emphasis on is the lack of dialogue between them and the government. By having a better dialogue between the two parts, coexistence could improve and there could be better opportunities to solve the problems, as the Mapuche would have more connection to the politics. By partly decentralizing the political system, many non-politically involved Mapuche believe it could improve the situation, where they would have a say in decision making, especially in their regions, in this case the Araucanía, which could influence mobilization in an important way. As mentioned earlier, Bachelet is yet to visit the Araucanía region, where one could understand the grudge held against her, since the Mapuche consider it a lack of respect toward them, which is a huge issue for the Mapuche, as respect is a central part in the Mapuche culture. Through dialogue and respect, the cultures could work together instead of against each other, by understanding the differences between the indigenous people and the 'Huincas', where norms and rights are equally important.

Furthermore, as the trust issues are deeply rooted among the Mapuche, the situation does not seem to improve, where every government is viewed as the same to the Mapuche. No matter who is in power, the situation is the same for the Mapuche, which the leaders can feed off when trying to mobilize themselves to fight for their demands. Whereas, if they were able to have confidence in the government, and trust them, the risks for the government would most certainly decrease, as the non-politically involved Mapuche would have far less incentives to join the leaders. An example that could be linked to the ineffectiveness of the government, through the eyes of the leaders, is the lack of response when it comes to the anti-terrorism law. The anti-terrorism law discriminates the indigenous people in Chile, as it prevents them from speaking their minds and protesting, and is considered one of the main grievances from a leader perspective. One could argue that when the government decides not to remove that, it strengthens the leaders’ possibility to mobilize, since the government does not show any intention to handle the situation. As the anti-terrorism law is used in order to reduce violence from the Mapuche, removing it could, from a governmental perspective, lead to further violence and mobilization including the non-politically involved Mapuche, as
the actions would not be classified as acts of terror. However, on the other hand, it could lead to more peaceful protests instead of violent protests, as there would no longer be any threat to take part of regular protests.

From a leader perspective, one could argue they need to use violence in order to be heard, as their main approach has been direct action, where mobilization and protests have had little effect, and violence is often their final option when trying to achieve their goals.

As the government fails to improve the situation for the Mapuche, their grievances may very well become stronger, and the grudge held against the government could become stronger as well.

As discussed previously, there are few grievances about political autonomy within the rural non-politically involved Mapuche. However, it is often considered the number one grievance among the Mapuche leaders. Although the non-politically involved Mapuche would most likely not turn down an offer of full political autonomy, it is clearly not their biggest priority. This may be because of non-politically involved Mapuche have realized the difficulties in actually recovering their old land, or reaching political autonomy, and are thereby focusing on other things that are more easily achieved, instead of not gaining anything. However, the lack of mobilization within the Mapuche has led to lack of achieving even these smaller things, where one could argue it being because of non-politically involved Mapuche not believing the leaders are striving for a common good, but rather personal gain or political agenda, as they would probably be the leaders of the new autonomy if that would be the case. This is, as described earlier, one of the main factors behind a successful mobilization.

6.2 Cohesion
As Gurr argues, the level of cohesion has a big impact on grievances and mobilization. The higher the level of cohesion, the more significant grievances exist within ethnic groups. Along with this, the chances of strong sustained mobilization increases. By analyzing the findings of rural non-politically involved Mapuche and Mapuche leaders, one could argue that the level of cohesion among the Mapuche population is not at a high enough level in order to mobilize successfully. The differences are many and often big, which makes it difficult to increase the level of cohesion without coming together as one group, with common grievances. One could argue the relevance and credibility
of the strong image given by media and much academic research, which generates the idea that there is a high level of cohesion among the Mapuche population. This could be because of rhetoric used by leaders in media, who talks about the Mapuche as one single unit, with similar grievances, where they do not keep in mind that they have very different grievances and goals. Once again, this could be seen as leaders not striving toward what seems to be the most important for the non-politically involved Mapuche in Padre las Casas, but rather focuses on their personal wishes and hopes.

6.3 Ethnonationalists and Indigenous People
Analyzing our findings, one could argue, as mentioned in the analytical framework, that the characteristics of non-politically involved Mapuche and the leaders are quite different. The non-politically involved Mapuche are arguably mostly linked to what Gurr and Harff would describe as indigenous people, as they live simple lives of farming and herding, without having any significant political power or access to modern technology. Instead, their focus is on keeping their land, culture, as well as gaining access to basic needs. Furthermore, the Mapuche leaders seem to be more like ethnonationalists, as they mainly focus on achieving autonomy or even independence, which they previously possessed. One could discuss if these two groups have enough common grievances and level of cohesion in order to successfully achieve a sustained mobilization that seeks to be in the common good for all of its population, as their grievances and demands are far from each other in terms of what is most important.
7. Conclusion

It is interesting what the picture of Mapuche looks like, and what seems to be the reality, at least in accordance to our research in Padre las Casas, Araucanía. Even if we had reasons to believe that there would be differences between the non-politically involved Mapuche in rural areas, and the Mapuche leaders, the differences and issues that were in focus were not what we expected. The issues with water, roads, and education, are very basic issues, which brings about an entirely different perspective of the conflict than what is illustrated in previous literature. These are not merely struggles for land, autonomy, the anti-terrorism law or power, but rather issues of simple basic needs, where one would think they would be rather easy to achieve in a country as developed as Chile. However the situation itself is clearly not simple, but rather complex as it do seem very difficult to reach any kind of agreements or solutions. As mentioned previously, the non-politically involved Mapuche in Padre las Casas seem to have adjusted themselves to the situation, and are today simply trying to improve their living conditions, and not fight for causes that require a large amount of struggle, such as autonomy, land rights, or the anti-terrorism law, which are all very large issues that most certainly would require tremendous work to accomplish. This could be linked to what Gurr argues in Why Men Rebel from 1970, where he argues that over time, value expectations tend to adapt to the actual value capabilities (Gurr, 1970. p. 58).

This research contributes a new perspective to the Mapuche conflict, as it includes the non-politically involved Mapuche in the discussion. This creates a more integrated picture of the Mapuche as a group, which does not follow the current discourse of how they are portrayed in media and research, but instead divides leaders from followers. The Mapuche are depicted as terrorist, who use violence in order to achieve their goals, where this research cannot relate to that image. By portraying the Mapuche as terrorists, the gap between leaders and followers has increased, without it being fairly discussed in research and media. Furthermore, as the rural non-politically involved Mapuche does not have the same agenda as the leaders, the solution to the problems may vary depending on what problems the government tries to solve. Since the rural non-politically involved Mapuche in Padre las Casas strive toward different goals than the leaders, the measures to fulfill their needs may take a different path, in comparison to what is needed to fulfill the demands from the leaders.
During our research, we have not encountered any violence or any unreasonable demands. The demands and wishes from the rural non-politically involved Mapuche in Padre las Casas are not exaggerated or unreasonable; they simply wish to fulfill their basic needs in order to improve their livelihood, as their grievances are very different from the ones presented by the leaders. Since the leaders have a different agenda, and takes a different path in order to get there, the rural non-politically involved Mapuche have suffered from the image of the leaders, where they are excluded from the discussion and dialogue.

Future studies may very well continue researching the area, by including more regions and rural communities in the research, in order to facilitate generalization concerning the rural non-politically involved Mapuche. This would help strengthen the image of them as different groups, at least in terms of grievances and demands, without focusing solely on the leaders, as it seems that leaders and followers are not united, which may be holding them back in their struggle. Our research is not able to fully generalize the rural non-politically involved Mapuche, as it does not include more regions of Chile. However, today’s research seems to generalize the Mapuche as a group, although it often solely focuses on leaders. Furthermore, continued research could also include the government, and what they are doing in order to improve the situation for the rural non-politically involved, and whether or not they actually try to involve them in dialogue, or if the government prefers the current situation where the Mapuche is being illustrated as the violent minority who fight for unreasonable demands. This research gap can be filled by continued research, where the rural non-politically involved Mapuche are in focus, or by going further by also including the urban Mapuche.

The conflict is called the Mapuche conflict, although, as pointed out previously, there is only a very small part of the Mapuche actually involved in the violence of the conflict. By naming the conflict ‘the Mapuche conflict’, it implies that all Mapuche are part of it. This creates an unjust image of the Mapuche as a people, where all Mapuche are lumped together and generalized as the same. As this research may show, this has created a social stigma toward the entire Mapuche population, who are viewed as violent, or even as terrorists, both by Chileans and internationally.
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## Appendix 1: Interviewees

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Appendix 2: Interview questions

1. How would you evaluate the current situation for the Mapuche?

2. How is your livelihood right now in comparison to 10 years ago?

3. How would you describe the situation between Mapuche and the government? What has been improved? Has the situation been improved at all?

4. How would you describe your dreams and the ideal scenario for your children in the future?

5. What would have to happen for this to be achieved? What do you believe you should do? What should other actors do?

6. What is the government doing / trying to do in order to improve your situation?

7. Do you believe that the policies by the Bachelet government that are supposed to improve the Mapuche situation will work? Or do you have any suggestions of what should be done instead?

8. Do you believe in a peaceful future