INDIGENOUS INTERFERENCE

Mapuche Use of Radio in Times of Acoustic Colonialism

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Abstract: *Since 1993 to the present, a group of Mapuche activists has aired the bilingual radio show* Wixage anai! *in Santiago, Chile; on the other side of the Andes, another Mapuche collective, the Equipo de Comunicación Mapurbe, produced and broadcast a series of brief radio programs between 2003 and 2005 in Bariloche, southern Argentina. In this article, I argue that these radio programs constitute an exercise of Mapuche agency that challenges what I call the acoustic colonialism of corporate and criollo mass media in both countries. This article illustrates how Mapuche activists creatively use radio as a connective medium among Mapuche communities and a space for the public audibility of their own voices, sounds, and modes of speech. I analyze the history, cultural politics, and performative features of these two initiatives, engaging theoretical and critical views on sound media, state cultural policies, and politics of indigenous agency.*

In the winter of 1993 in Santiago, Chile, a collective of Mapuche activists broadcast the radio program *Wixage anai!* for the first time. A distinct utterance in the Mapuche language, or Mapudungun, "Wixage anai!" can be translated as "wake up," "get up," or "rise up." With this provocative interjection, the program began its transmission that year in both Spanish and Mapudungun. As a fully bilingual radio program, the first of its kind in Chile, *Wixage anai!* reconnected many Mapuches living in Santiago with their native language and presented ongoing Mapuche cultural and political issues under the guiding motto *"Wixage anai! kuyuntukukei taiñ kiñantual,"* that is, *"Wixage anai!* helps us stay united." On the other side of the Andes, in Bariloche, a city in the Río Negro province of Argentina, a group of young Mapuches created a radio team in 2000. With the name Equipo de Comunicación Mapurbe (Mapurbe Communication Working Group), this Mapuche team decided to produce a series of brief radio programs, which they called *micros* in order to highlight the shortened format. The team began to broadcast these microprograms in 2003 as part of their broader Campaign for Mapuche Self-Affirmation, the Campaña de Autoafirmación Mapuche Wefkuteluyiñ. The Mapudungun phrase in the name of this campaign means "we are emerging" and marked the beginning of Mapuche political resurgence in the early 2000s in southern Argentina.

As illustrated by these two stories, Mapuche use of radio on both sides of the Andes is linked to a sense of reemergence, recovering expressions of native linguistic and cultural traditions and performing Mapuche voices and sounds on the airwaves. In this sense, these radio initiatives form part of the broader Mapuche social, political, and cultural movement in contemporary Chile and Argentina, a movement for which the question of voice and self-representation in media has become critical in the struggle for territorial rights, autonomy, and self-determination.[1] In the scenario of the 1990s and early 2000s, the global demand of indigenous communities "to speak for and represent themselves as opposed to being 'spoken for' by non-indigenous experts, bureaucrats, and policy-makers" (de la Cadena and Starn 2007, 10) clearly resonates in these Mapuche radio initiatives.

With this context in mind, I argue in this article that these two radio programs, *Wixage anai!* and the micros of the Mapurbe Communication Working Group, constitute an exercise of Mapuche agency through their establishment of autonomous indigenous media, that is, media that are autonomous from the state (including the cultural politics and policies of the Chilean and Argentine states and their governmental institutions) and from other nonindigenous institutions, broadly speaking.[2] Autonomous Mapuche radio programs harvest and employ sounds in order to communicate—in their own terms—urgent Mapuche concerns and demands involving linguistic and cultural rights, the dispossession of indigenous territories, historical memory, and environmental destruction. This article will demonstrate how these radio programs empower Mapuches to position their own linguistic and musical identities within contemporary auditory culture, creatively using radio as a connective medium. In this process, Mapuche radio shows perform a politics and poetics of sonic interference that disrupt what I call, from an indigenous point of view, the "acoustic colonialism" of criollo mass media, the media that have historically prevailed in the region, transmitted under the aegis of corporate media in the neoliberal era.[3]

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1. In the epilogue of their seminal book, ¡ . . . Escucha winka . . . !, Mapuche historians Pablo Marimán, Sergio Caniuqueo, José Millalen, and Rodrigo Levil (2006, 253) elaborate on the relevance and inter-weaving of the concepts of territory, autonomy, and self-determination in the contemporary Mapuche movement. They state, "For us, autonomy represents an aspiration to recuperate a 'sovereignty suspended' by the invasion and conquest of the Chilean and Argentine State; this is a form of governance, a way to exercise our own administration in our territories." They add: "Autonomy is a tool for self-governance and for the exercise of self-determination." It is worth mentioning here that the concept of self-determination has become increasingly prominent in twentieth-century international law and has been embraced by indigenous movements in order to strengthen their demands for territorial rights and self-governance. According to James Anaya (1996, 75), self-determination constitutes "a universe of human rights precepts concerned broadly with peoples, including indigenous peoples, and grounded in the idea that all are equally entitled to control their own destinies." For the historical, political, and juridical genealogy of this concept, see Anaya (1996, 75–96).

2. Not included here within the politics of autonomous indigenous media are those radio programs that, although hosted by Mapuches speaking Mapudungun or containing a portion of Mapuche content, ultimately serve the goals of non-Mapuche institutions, whether these be religious institutions of Catholic, Evangelical, or other denominations; agencies of the Chilean or Argentine states; or regional criollo-led political parties.

3. I refer here specifically to the period in which the radio shows examined in this article emerged, a period during which the reigning economic model in both countries was that of free-market econom-

The present article is the result of my continuous dialogue and collaboration for more than a decade with the teams of the two indigenous radio programs in question. A significant moment in this collaborative relationship was the conference "¡Culturas en el aire!," which took place in the Centro Cultural Estación Mapocho in Santiago, Chile, on October 14–15, 2005, and which brought together native radio producers and broadcasters as well as indigenous and nonindigenous scholars from the hemisphere. This initiative had the support of the Cultural Agents Initiative at Harvard and several other academic and nongovernmental institutions.[4] Over the course of 2004 and 2005, I worked on the organization of the event with the members of *Wixage anai!,* with whom I had been in dialogue since 1998. As part of this collective endeavor, I also began to engage in conversations with the founders of the Mapurbe Communication Working Group, who also participated in the conference. Thus, beyond the mediation of the nonindigenous sponsoring institutions, I was able to forge a lasting, cross-nurturing relationship with both groups of Mapuche radio activists. The present study thus takes shape as the result of this process of communication, a process in which the series of interviews I conducted with members of both teams, in Santiago and Bariloche, form part of long-term collaborative relationships. From my own perspective as a Mapuche researcher committed to supporting indigenous uses of radio and technology, this article methodologically engages the Mapuche concept of *nütramkan,* translatable as "conversation," which implies an activity of dialogue and learning within a mutual relationship of respect and affect that is constitutive of social life among Mapuches. To some extent, this modality of work coincides with what anthropologists Xochitl Leyva Solano and Shannon Speed (2008) define as "co-labor."[5] In this way, I situate this study within my continuous engagement in supporting Mapuche use of radio and a cultural politics of autonomous indigenous media, which I consider to be a critical challenge to the invasive presence of corporate media in the region over the past few decades.

As shown in studies of the period, the 1990s and 2000s were decades of corporate expansion in the ownership and control of mass media in Argentina and Chile, with an antidemocratic effect on auditory public culture in both socie-

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ics. Chile, in the early 1990s, was in the midst of a democratic transition. The policy makers of the newly elected Chilean government invested in the vision of "market-driven social economics," or what some called "market economics with a human face." Basically, however, they maintained the fundamentals of the neoliberal model put into place in the mid-1970s by the authoritarian government of General Augusto Pinochet and his allies. In the Argentine case, the presidential terms of Carlos Saúl Menem, from 1989 to 1999, witnessed the implementation of aggressive neoliberal policies whose repercussions were evident in Argentine society in the 1990s and 2000s. These policies had a significant impact on radio communications in both countries. For a critical overview of the effects of neoliberalism in Argentina, see Svampa (2005); for Chile, see Moulian (1997).

4. Other institutions that sponsored this indigenous radio conference were the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies at Harvard, Fundación AVINA, the Hemispheric Institute of Performance and Politics at New York University, the Observatorio de Derechos Humanos de Pueblos Indígenas, Ser Indígena, the Farmacia Mapuche Makewelawen, and LOM Ediciones.

5. Leyva Solano and Speed (2008, 96) state, "Decolonization-oriented research in co-labor is not purely academic investigation, but rather it is born and reproduced in the interstices generated by the crossings of academia's others, flexible and open activisms, and social movements."

ties (Bosetti 2007; Mönckeberg 2008; Poblete 2006; Sunkel and Geoffroy 2001). In this process, indigenous communities—their voices, their sounds, and their realities—remained marginalized from aural public spaces. Mainstream media (mis)represented them as either exotic others or, when associated with political conflict, as troublesome subjects. In contrast, "indigenous media productions and the activities around them are rendering visible"—and audible, in the case of Mapuche radio—"indigenous cultural and historical realities to themselves and the broader societies that have stereotyped or denied them" (Ginsburg 2003, 97). The experiences of the Mapuche radio programs I discuss in the present article offer a clear illustration of this important insight.

Wixage anai! and the micros of the Mapurbe Communication Working Group activate a localized, indigenous mode of interfering with and disrupting the Westernizing aural space that has prevailed in contemporary Chile and Argentina. Furthermore, by partially or fully speaking the native language and putting Mapuche narratives on the air, these radio shows contribute to building an indigenous sense of collective belonging during a time of dispersion, diasporization, and the relocation of many Mapuches to cities. Thanks to the additional streaming of their programs on the Web or their reproduction in mobile formats, such as CDs, Mapuches creatively use radio as a medium to "stay united," thereby establishing affective, linguistic, cultural, and political ties among Mapuches living in urban centers, rural areas, and locations far from the Mapuche homeland.

In this way, over the past two decades, radio has emerged as a connective medium helping to rebuild a sense of peoplehood, a process symbolically framed within the metanarrative of the Wallmapu—that is, the Mapuche nation, country, or universe.[6] This connective role of radio also resonates with other experiences of native communication in the region.[7] For example, in creating a radio network in Bolivia in 1982, Aymara activists aimed to establish "a major information and communication network among indigenous-campesino peoples, natives of Tawantisuyu" (Condori Laruta 2003, 89). In North America as well, native radio performs similar functions and goals. Here I will mention just a few examples, based on my own knowledge and collaborations. To begin with, *First Voices Indigenous Radio* is a program broadcast from New York City through WBAI 99.5 (Pacifica Radio), hosted and produced by Tiokasin Ghosthorse (Lakota). As stated in its mission, this program aims to connect "all the Native Peoples here in Turtle Island (renamed North America by the occupiers)."[8] Not far from there, Native

6. Further explanation of the concept of Wallmapu will be provided later in this article.

7. As demonstrated by recent studies, this linkage between radio and indigenous agency constitutes a much more global phenomenon. Two relevant, newly published volumes, Bessire and Fisher's *Radio Fields: Anthropology and Wireless Sound in the 21st Century* (2012) and Wilson and Stewart's *Global Indigenous Media: Cultures, Poetics, and Politics* (2008), include several articles that focus on the empowering role of radio in different regions and native communities. It is striking to note that, although these volumes were coedited by US-based scholars and published by American university presses, neither of them includes any article on the significant connective role of radio in the Native American experience or within indigenous immigrant communities from Latin America in the United States.

8. See WBAI, Pacifica Radio, www.wbai.org/program.php?program=56.

Hawaiian scholar J. Kēhaulani Kauanui produces and hosts the radio program *Indigenous Politics: From Native New England and Beyond,* broadcast from Wesleyan University in Middletown, Connecticut. Syndicated by stations from different states, this program connects a diverse range of Native American audiences.[9] In California, a team of Mayan and Guatemalan activists produce the radio program *Contacto Ancestral,* which defines itself as "a multilingual and multicultural indigenous program transmitted in Maya K'iche', Kaqchiquel, Q'anjoba'l, and Spanish."[10] Aired through KPFK 90.7 in Los Angeles, this radio show has become an important medium of linkage for Mayan, Guatemalan, and Central American communities in southern California. In short, as these examples clearly suggest, radio has become a connective medium as well as an essential tool in the reconstruction of indigenous notions of peoplehood, of territoriality, and even of new diasporic spaces, both on the air and on the earth.

Given its importance, it is imperative that we include indigenous sound media production within broader discussions of cultural policy and the shaping of public auditory culture in contemporary Latin America, as well as on a global and transnational scale. Within the realm of state institutions, cultural policy is traditionally understood as "a means of governance, of formatting public collective subjectivity" (Lewis and Miller 2003, 2). However, scholars Justin Lewis and Toby Miller (2003, 2) have proposed instead what they call "a critical approach to cultural policy," or "critical cultural policy studies," an approach which relies on "making connections with progressive social and cultural movements as well as technical bureaucracies." Following the intellectual tradition of Raymond Williams, these scholars wield an anthropological notion of culture as "an all-encompassing concept about how we live our lives, the sense of place and person that make us human" (Lewis and Miller 2003, 3). In his discussion of critical cultural policy studies, Jim McGuigan (2003, 23) observes that our "expanded notion of culture" includes two general fields of reference, one being "the arts and higher learning," the other being "ways of life"; and with its more anthropological view, McGuigan notes, the latter notion "has tended increasingly to subsume and transform the first referential field, thereby, in effect, democratizing how we think and talk about culture."[11]

Given the tenets of this critical approach, it makes sense that any media connected to social and cultural movements should occupy a significant position in cultural policies. In particular, greater attention should be paid to radio as a sound technology that plays a key role in shaping aural "ways of life" in contemporary media ecologies. For indigenous communities especially, radio offers an opportunity to maintain as well as recreate their linguistic, cultural, and political identities. As scholar Faye Ginsburg (2003, 97) points out, "the social relations built out of indigenous media practices" contribute to developing "support and

sensibilities for indigenous actions for self-determination." This nexus between media and indigenous rights to self-determination and self-representation has come to the fore at international forums, as evidenced in the 2007 Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which states: "Indigenous peoples have the right to establish their own media in their own languages and to have access to all forms of non-indigenous media without discrimination."[12] Nonetheless, in stark contrast to this desire for native agency, the media and radio cultures of Argentina and Chile remain dominated by national colonial histories and their Western sound imaginaries.

COLONIZED AIRWAVES?

Since the 1920s, radio has played a significant role in the consolidation and expansion of criollo national projects in Latin America (see Merayo Pérez 2007, 12–16). In fact, the first radio transmission in Chile took place on the Universidad de Chile campus in August 1922. In March 1923, the first commercial radio station began transmission in downtown Santiago using the symbolically charged name Radio Chilena (Pastene 2007, 114). In Argentina, the first radio transmission was emitted in August 1920 from the Universidad de Buenos Aires's School of Medicine as an initiative spearheaded by the Sociedad Radio Argentina. This pioneering initiative paved the way for the daily broadcast of LOR Sociedad Radio Argentina in the ensuing years (Bosetti 2007, 26–30). Thus, on both sides of the Andes, with the inception of radio in the early twentieth century, the "national" identities of Argentina and Chile branded the airwaves.

Here one needs to remember that it was just a few decades earlier that the Argentine and Chilean nation-states had set out to destroy Wallmapu, the Mapuche country, thereby reshaping the physical, political, linguistic, and cultural geographies of the region. In Argentina between 1878 and 1885, General Julio Argentino Roca and the national army carried out the genocidal Campaign of the Desert, a state-sponsored military invasion that evicted Mapuche communities from their native lands.[13] In Chile, Colonel Cornelio Saavedra headed the euphemistically termed Campaign for the Pacification of the Araucania, through which the Chilean army attacked and subjugated Mapuche communities in an effort to confine them within *reducciones* and transfer their lands to state-sponsored German and criollo settlers.[14] Wallmapu was historically destroyed as a territorial entity as a result of these campaigns—a colonial enterprise that constituted the precondition for the geopolitical and cartographic existence of Argentina and Chile.

For Mapuches, however, the map of the region looks different. Ngulu Mapu is the name for what is generally referred to today as central and southern Chile, which by 1536—the year of the Spanish arrival—encompassed the historical Mapuche territories spanning the area from the Copiapó River to the southern

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12. United Nations, "Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples," September 13, 2007, Article 16.1, www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf.
13. On the Argentine Campaign of the Desert, see Delrio (2005, 61–81).
14. On the Chilean campaign, see Marimán Quemenado (2006, 114–123).

island of Chiloé. Puel Mapu is the name for the eastern region of Wallmapu, which corresponds to the provinces of Neuquén, Río Negro, and Chubut, as well as the central-southern reaches of the province of Buenos Aires. Wallmapu, in other words, is the Mapuche country that was progressively dismantled by Spanish colonial occupations and later by the nineteenth-century expansions of the Argentine and Chilean nation-states. In this destructive—and ongoing—colonial process, native language, spiritual and cultural traditions, political sovereignty, and the very sense of being a people (Mapuche) with a distinct homeland (Wallmapu) were violently disarticulated. By the 1920s, radio had emerged as a medium used to strengthen the consolidation of the Westernizing national soundscapes of the Chilean and Argentine states.[15]

Given this historical resonance, the undertaking of radio programming by Mapuches a century later sounded distinct and empowering, for the *Wixage anai!* collective in Santiago and the Mapurbe Communication Working Group in Bariloche emerged from a process of continuous colonial (mis)representation of the Mapuches as either nonexistent or folkloric figures in the imaginary of national subjects that have proudly perceived themselves as European descendants. Furthermore, *Wixage anai!* was founded only a few years after the end of the Pinochet dictatorship (1973–1990) and at the beginning of a democratic transition framed by neoliberal economic, social, and cultural policies. Indeed, in 1993, the Chilean state instituted the Ley Indígena (Indigenous Law), which consecrated the rights of the *etnias indígenas* (indigenous ethnicities) to catch up with the international wave of multiculturalism.[16] In the early 2000s, the Mapurbe Communication Working Group launched its radio shows in a media environment with limited spaces for indigenous political and cultural voices, especially after a decade of intense neoliberalization in Argentina during the era of *menemismo* (see Svampa 2005, 21–49). Referring to the increased power of media conglomerates such as the Grupo Clarín and Admira in Argentina during this period, scholar Óscar Enrique Bosetti (2007, 41–42) highlights the fact that "large economic groups were able to

15. As an example of this Westernizing drive, suffice it to say that the event broadcast by the Sociedad Radio Argentina in its inaugural transmission on August 27, 1920, was Richard Wagner's opera *Parsifal* from the Teatro Coliseo of Buenos Aires (Bosetti 2007, 27). Wagnerian music has been emblematic of a sense of harmony in aesthetic expression in Western, Eurocentric modernity (Steiner 1967, 44–46). Within the Latin American criollo literary imagination of the late nineteenth century, Rubén Darío ([1905] 1954, 39) also joined the Wagnerian cult, as registered in the following verses of his poem "El cisne," from *Prosas profanas* (1896): "Cuando se oyó el acento del cisne wagneriano, / fué en medio de una aurora, fué para revivirlo."

16. The Chilean state promulgated the Indigenous Law on September 28, 1993. In the second paragraph of its Article 1, Title 1, the Chilean Indigenous Law states: "El Estado reconoce como principales etnias indígenas de Chile a: la Mapuche, Aimara, Rapa Nui o Pascuense, la de las comunidades Atacameñas, Quechuas y Collas del norte del país, las comunidades Kawashkar o Alacalufe y Yámana o Yagán de los canales australes. El Estado valora su existencia por ser parte esencial de las raíces de la nación chilena, así como su integridad y desarrollo, de acuerdo a sus costumbres y valores" (CONADI 1993, 7). In this statement, the indigenous peoples of Chile are reduced to "indigenous ethnicities" (*etnias indígenas*) and defined as an "essential part of the roots of the Chilean nation." As such, they are recognized only as the bearers of "ethnic difference" within the framework of the "multicultural" arch of the *nación chilena*.

overcome laws and norms thanks to their economic and bargaining power and the corruption of officials, judges, and legislators."[17] Moreover, Argentina's Radio Communication Law, instituted during the Junta period (1976–1983), remained in effect right through the transition period, coupled with a dramatic lack of cultural policy regarding indigenous languages and native peoples's cultural and territorial rights.

It is within this historical context that *Wixage anai!* and the radio programs of the Mapurbe Communication Working Group have utilized radio technology to circulate Mapuche modes of speech and communication. Of particular interest to me is how they work with their language (Mapudungun) and their own sense of territory and nationhood (Ngulu Mapu, Puel Mapu, Wallmapu) to reconstruct a sense of belonging associated with the territorial, political-cultural, and symbolic imaginaries of the Mapuche as a people. Using these tools and strategies, the Mapuche radio activists also make public the sentiments and experiences borne of a colonial history of loss, pain, and resistance, all the while revitalizing through the airwaves the expressive and performative force of their struggle for agency.

WIXAGE ANAI!

On June 26, 1993, the radio program *Wixage anai!* first aired from the studios of Radio Nacional de Chile in Santiago. It was an initiative conceived by a group of Mapuches who until then had been dedicated to teaching and promoting their language and culture in the city of Santiago. The core of the group included Ramón Curivil, Clara Antinao, and José Paillal, all fluent speakers of Mapudungun and Spanish. The alternation between these two languages became a key component of the radio show, which emerged as the first fully bilingual show in the history of radio in Chile. In addition to the inaugural team of Antinao, Curivil, and Paillal, *Wixage anai!* welcomed new bilingual voices over the years: María Catrileo in the late 1990s, Elias Paillán between 1995 and 2005, and Elizabeth Huenchual beginning in the early 2000s. All of these hosts have worked for the radio program as volunteers.

Curivil, Antinao, and Paillal were the main voices of the broadcast in its inaugural years. Ramón Curivil, a primary school teacher, had migrated to Santiago in the 1980s from the Lago Budi region, located west of the city of Temuco in southern Chile. In the early 1990s, Curivil took the first steps toward organizing a Mapuche collective focused on conceiving and developing the radio program. He succeeded in obtaining some financial support for the project from the Catholic Congregation of the Divine Verb in Santiago, which accepted the autonomy of the radio team. Under these conditions, Clara Antinao joined the initiative. As a Mapuche person who had migrated to Santiago in the mid-1970s from the Chol-Chol region, she had trained herself as an instructor and researcher of the

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17. Bosetti (2007, 47) individualizes these economic actors in the following passage: "The Argentina of Carlos Menem, Domingo Cavallo, Fernando de la Rúa, the entrepreneurial family Macri, the union labor leader Barrionuevo, and Daniel Hadad legalized the formation of media monopolies."

Mapuche language during her years in the city. With her fluent Mapudungun, she became one of the characteristic voices of the radio program during its first two years on the air. Antinao and Curivil conducted the radio program in 1993 and 1994. Another key leader, José Paillal, was born and raised in Santiago. At the time the program was being conceived, he was just graduating from high school. As a reporter for *Wixage anai!*, Paillal began compiling Mapuche testimonies and music from Mapuche families throughout the greater Santiago area. Additionally, he would travel to southern Chile with the same objective of collecting audio materials to enrich the radio programming.

Recalling those initial years of the program with Radio Nacional, Antinao recounts: "It was a novelty for me. . . . Most of us had never seen a microphone."[18] Nonetheless, they already had a communicational objective in mind: "We wanted a program that would revitalize Mapuches," affirms Antinao. The goal of animating Mapuche listeners was (and still is today) performed in the very format of the start of each program. In addition to a verbal pronouncement of its name and mission by powerfully expressive male and female voices, the radio show opens with the striking sounds of the *kull kull*, a native wind instrument associated with calls for gathering people together for Mapuche ceremonies or community meetings.[19] In this radiophonic opening, the kull kull airs the striking rhythms of the *purrun*, which is the dance collectively performed during the *ngillatun*, one of the best-known Mapuche ceremonies. This musical beginning supplements and strengthens the enlivening impulse that the program's name bears, not only semantically but also stylistically. As an interjection, *Wixage anai!* performatively recovers the expressiveness of Mapudungun as a language, thus evoking and bringing into the present the force (*newen*) of the commands and callings characteristic of Mapuche leadership and public speech. In this interjective manner, the very utterance *Wixage anai!* stages at once a call to wake up and an awakening of the language; an interjection and an interference of Mapudungun on aural space.

According to María Catrileo (2010, 143), a linguist who has devoted most of her academic life to studying the Mapuche language, "interjections were, in past times, used frequently in speech" in Mapudungun. Antinao, also deeply knowledgeable about the language, reiterates this characteristic of the language, noting that the expression "Wixage anai!" evokes the discursive strength of the speeches performed by traditional Mapuche authorities such as the *longkos* (community chiefs). In this sense, it is a discursive call for one to rise up or "stand up" in a time of crisis and conflict. At the same time, Antinao notes that the name is not without its humorous connotation; since the program originally aired at 10 p.m., the name was also a call for the listener to stay awake. As Antinao puts it, "We asked the listener to not fall asleep."[20]

Elias Paillan, a host of the program for over a decade, also comments on the animating goals of the program:

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18. Clara Antinao, interview with author, July 26, 2012.

19. *Kull kull*: a wind instrument made of a bovine horn with a mouthpiece at its tip. On the characteristics and functions of this instrument, see Pérez de Arce (2007, 283–289).

20. Antinao interview.

From its very inception on that cold winter day on June 26, 1993, *Wixage anai!*'s main objective was to animate Mapuche life in the countryside and in the city, that is, to promote Mapudungun speech, Mapuche socio-cultural practices, religion and sports in order to keep [our] culture alive—both in the city, because of the increase in the numbers of Mapuches who migrated to urban centers in search of a better life, and in the countryside, to serve those who remain on the land and who, many times, are alone.[21]

"To animate Mapuche life," then, has been a guiding principle for *Wixage anai!* since its foundation, a goal that took shape within the context of Chile's own awakening to the contradictory processes of democratization. General Pinochet's dictatorial regime came to an end in March 1990, when a new Chilean government was elected through popular vote. This political transformation resulted from the struggles of millions of people who opposed Pinochet's dictatorship. The transition itself, however, was marked by negotiations between politically liberal elites, the military, and the entrepreneurial class. While guaranteeing the continuity of the neoliberal economic model, the transition process was also to eventually include social reforms. In 1993, the new government of the politically centrist Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia responded to social pressure by instituting the so-called Indigenous Law, a juridical-political arrangement through which agents of the Chilean State defined the indigenous peoples of the country as *etnias*, that is, as ethnic populations subject to the unifying narrative of a hegemonic nation-state refashioned as a multicultural mosaic. According to scholars Charles Hale and Rosamel Millamán (2006, 290), a new era of "governance through recognition" began to take shape in Chile within this postdictatorship period, an era that created a gap between Mapuches who collaborated with the new indigenist state policies and institutions (*indios permitidos*), and those who maintained a practice of political autonomy in regard to these institutional arrangements (*Mapuches autónomos*).[22] Certainly, as even Hale and Millamán (2006, 293) admit, these positions "in practice" overlap, "blur into one another, shift one another according to context."[23] Historically, we are speaking of a context in which influential Mapuche social and political organizations, such as the Consejo de Todas las Tierras/Awkiñ Wallmapu Ngülam, decided to embrace "the discourse of political autonomy and the questioning of the Chilean state sovereignty over the Mapuche population and territory" (Levil Chicahual 2006, 240–241). With this political vision, the Consejo took on a protagonist role, offering a critical response to the commemoration of the Fifth Centennial in 1992, mobilizing several communities in southern Chile, and influencing many more in Santiago and the rest of the country.[24]

21. Elias Paillan, personal e-mail communication with author, July 27, 2009.

22. On the repressive and exclusionary practices against the autonomous Mapuche organizations and activists that characterized this period in Chile, see Richards (2010).

23. In my view, this dual scheme of analysis and representation (indio permitido/Mapuche autónomo) effectively explains an important aspect in the relationship between state institutions and indigenous subjects in the neoliberal era; however, it deserves further examination in regard to the problematic effect of establishing a taxonomy—as a classificatory language—of native subjects that are immersed in dynamic social processes.

24. For a detailed account on this period, see Levil Chicahual (2006, 240–248).

In this environment, the *Wixage anai!* team members committed themselves to supporting this Mapuche movement by putting Mapudungun on the airwaves and offering a space to voice the political, economic, linguistic, and cultural rights of the Mapuche people. The utterances "Wake up!" and "Rise up!" were part of the collective desire to contribute to the Mapuche social movement and to establish their own indigenous aural space. The program constituted political and cultural dissonance in an era of growing privatization of Chilean media outlets, and in particular radio. Research-based journalist María Olivia Mönckeberg (2008, 370) provides an in-depth study of the overconcentration of media in Chile. She states:

In the 1990s, foreign companies with affiliates in other Latin American countries initiated a conquest of Chilean radio listeners. At the same time, large local owners of newsprint decided to expand their markets, this led to the strengthening of certain groups that asphyxiated the numerous regional initiatives that until recently characterized the Chilean radio landscape. In 1999, these large consortiums represented 31 percent of the radio stations in the country, within a total of 308 radio stations.

As Mönckeberg notes, this process took the shape of a "conquest of Chilean listeners" by Chilean and foreign megacorporations. According to scholar Juan Poblete (2006, 319), during the 1990s international conglomerates such as the US and Venezuelan Grupo Cisneros and the Colombian companies Cadena Caracol and Grupo Santo Domingo had stepped into Chile's media business to operate major FM and AM radio consortia. As a result of this positioning, these conglomerates "imposed a model of broadcasting as an entertainment industry."[25]

The *Wixage anai!* radio program emerged in the public space to feature sounds and voices divergent from the dominant neoliberal current. Initially, from 1993 to 1996, it was broadcast from Radio Nacional de Chile, a state-sponsored AM radio station at the time with the broadest coverage in the country. In 1996, Radio Nacional officials behaved in a rude manner toward a Mapuche guest on the program, Anselmo Aillapan, who happened to be a spiritual authority (*machi*). For the Mapuche team, this incident was indicative of the racism they constantly encountered in Radio Nacional, and it prompted their decision to move to a smaller radio station, Radio Yungay, whose reach was limited to the metropolitan area of Santiago. Nonetheless, Radio Yungay offered a less racist environment in which to operate, as well as an opportunity to be on the air one hour daily from Monday to Saturday. The team broadcast with Radio Yungay from 1996 until September 2000. In 2000, Radio Tierra, a Santiago-based independent and nonprofit radio station led by feminist activists and scholars, offered them airtime at a rate comparable to that of Radio Yungay. As a radio station invested in the empowerment of women's voices, human rights, and minorities in Chile, Radio Tierra not only provided a much more friendly space for the program and its Mapuche audience, it also connected them to a politically engaged community of nonindigenous listen-

25. This new hegemony of foreign holdings in radio communications in Chile implied a displacement of two other actors in this field: Chilean private companies and institutional stations such as those owned by the state, the Catholic Church, or institutions of higher education. See Poblete (2006, 318–320) and Sunkel and Geoffroy (2001, 75).

ers in the Greater Santiago area.[26] From the year 2000 to the present, *Wixage anai!* has been on the airwaves of Radio Tierra, going through different adjustments but maintaining its ethos of Mapuche linguistic, cultural, and political agency.

Over the course of its broadcast life, *Wixage anai!* has articulated both cultural and political resistance to what, from an indigenous aural perspective, constitutes a form of acoustic colonialism in neoliberal Chile. In this setting, *Wixage anai!* has contributed to elevating the long-marginalized language and speech of Mapuches, which have been nearly inaudible in mainstream Chilean sound media. It has performed an acoustic and material struggle to democratize the public "soundscapes" (Schafer [1977] 1994), and to pose other voices and other histories.[27] As part of this endeavor, over the years the *Wixage anai!* broadcasters have conducted several interviews with elderly members of the Mapuche community in Santiago. These engagements reflect the politics of the *Wixage anai!* team to periodically feature the voices of elders in their program, which follows a Mapuche tradition that considers elders "people of special wisdom" (*kim che*). In this manner, the radio program recognizes their vast knowledge and experiences and their key role in collective memory making.[28]

For example, in the winter of 2005, the team invited two elderly members of the Mapuche community in Santiago, Bartolo Aillapan and Carmela Aillapan, to the Radio Tierra studio. Hosted by Elias Paillan and Elizabeth Huenchual, this radio show went on the air as a live dialogue with both interviewees. In this dialogue, Bartolo Aillapan narrates the story of his life as a Mapuche man growing up in a rural Mapuche community in the province of Cautin, in southern Chile's Araucania region. He talks about his childhood, his initial experiences as a worker in a nonindigenous labor system, the way he met Carmela Aillapan, and their migration to Santiago in the 1960s. Recalling his days working in the forestry sector in southern Chile, he says, in Mapudungun: "First, I worked on a pine tree plantation. I went to work there. . . . there was a lot of work, and I worked hard. I behaved well, the boss liked me" (see Rauld 2005). What Bartolo Aillapan expresses in the broadcast is a story common to many Mapuche elders currently living in Santiago; it is a story of hard work and displacement from their traditional communities. To this narrative, Carmela Aillapan adds her own comments, not through speaking but by singing in Mapudungun: "I don't see them now, but I remember them. / I don't see them now, but I remember them. / I don't see them now, but I remember them." With this aesthetic and stylistic turn, Carmela Aillapan contributes a song of loss and remembrance to the dialogue.

What is striking in this particular program is the juxtaposition of various forms of communication characteristic of Mapuche tradition. Particularly impressive is the irruption of the Mapuche chant through the voice of the female elder, Carmela Aillapan, halfway through the interview. Through her voice, an ancestral tradi-

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26. On Radio Tierra, see Poblete (2006).

27. Here I use the notion of "soundscape" as conceptualized by R. Murray Schafer (Schafer [1977] 1994, 7), for whom "the general acoustic environment of a society can be read as an indicator of social conditions which produce it and may tell us much about the trending and evolution of that society."

28. In regard to this approach, see Huenchual and Paillan (2010); and on the status of the elders in a Mapuche politics of communications, see Cárcamo-Huechante and Paillan (2012).

tion, that of *ül*, is performed on the airwaves. Ül constitutes the traditional chant in Mapuche oral and musical culture. Through ül, the chanter (*ülkantufe*) "transmits messages with different sounds" (Curivil Paillavil 2002, 22). In this case, the female elder performs one of ül's genres, the *güman ülkantun*, which is a song of sadness.[29] As in countless other interviews conducted throughout the 1990s and 2000s, here we are presented with an example of how the program airs traditional Mapuche modes of speech in conjunction with life stories that for decades had remained publicly untold. At the same time, the microphones and the radio studio form the unlikely setting for the performance of these voices and memories of Mapuche elders.

LOS "MICROS"

In 2001, the national census of Argentina incorporated the idea of "the indigenous variable" (*la variable indígena*), through which the government aimed to collect information about "indigenous persons living at home."[30] The survey question offered the challenge of "self-recognition" or "self-identification" for indigenous persons in Argentina, in particular for Mapuches. A group of young Mapuches, who were studying at the time in the cities of Bariloche, General Roca, Neuquén, and Buenos Aires, decided to organize a response to the challenge presented by the census, a particularly palpable challenge given the invisibility of Mapuches in public spaces and, above all, given the prevailing culture of fear or simply shame about Mapuche self-identification. In the mainstream media of southern Argentina, this invisibility was most prominent in terms of a lack of audibility in radio.

The group of young activists, students from different fields and cities, found ways to connect with one another through student networks and neighborhood organizations. They connected not as Mapuches but as young people demonstrating their discontent with the neoliberal policies promoted since the previous decade. Although many of them had grown up or studied in cities, they still had relatives in the countryside, where regional land struggles had emerged in these years in response to the installation of economic megaprojects.[31] What be-

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29. For an overview of the different genres of ül, see Curivil Paillavil (2002, 23).

30. The 2001 Argentine census asked: "Is there a person in this home that recognizes himself/herself as belonging to or as a descendant of an indigenous people?" (see Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos 2002). This concern for the "indigenous variable" in Argentina in the early 2000s should also be situated in an international context in which agendas of cultural diversity had gained worldwide impact, as documented by the UNESCO agreements of 1996 and 2001. See "UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity," November 2, 2001, http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13179&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html; "Our Creative Diversity: Report of the World Commission on Culture and Development," July 1996, http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0010/001055/105586e.pdf.

31. In recent decades, several multinational corporations have purchased large properties in southern Argentina, mostly for oil exploitation, mining, or forestry, which in turn has triggered territorial and environmental conflicts with Mapuche communities. For example, in 2001 the governor of Neuquén granted an additional ten-year concession of the Loma de Lata lands to the Spanish multinational oil and gas company Repsol, which allowed this corporation to exploit a 33,000-hectare tract of land until 2027 with no major tariff barriers or supervision of pollution or depredatory effects on the natural

came clear to these students was that migrant Mapuche families in urban centers, though not publicly recognizing themselves as Mapuches, had nonetheless maintained constant contact with one another and even with their relatives in rural areas. In response to this reality, in the year 2000, the young Mapuche activists created the Mapurbe Communication Working Group in Bariloche, whose major initiative was the Campaign for Mapuche Self-affirmation Wefkuletuyiñ. The name of the group itself is significant: this grassroots collective self-identifies as Mapurbe, a neologism resulting from the combination of *mapu,* a term from Mapudungun that means land, earth, and universe (people of earth); and, *urbe,* a word in Spanish that means city or urban center. The composite "Mapurbe" thus identifies urban Mapuches, like the founders of the Bariloche-based group.[32] In addition, the word "campaign" in the title of their group resounds in a particular way, evoking the Argentine state's use of the word in its late nineteenth-century Campaign of the Desert. Subtly, the Mapurbe Communication Working Group recontextualizes the term to position it as part of a counternarrative, now from the perspective of the "conquered," who have reemerged.

Lorena Cañuqueo Linares, who studied in General Roca at the time, and Miriam Alvarez Real, who studied in Buenos Aires, were part of this Mapuche campaign. They decided to use the 2001 census as an opportunity to create the conditions that would allow Mapuches in cities and the countryside to self-identify as such. Thus, they focused their efforts in urban and rural communities in the province of Río Negro. Their goal was to encourage Mapuche self-identification, organizing their campaign against decades of hiding and feeling ashamed of being Mapuche as an effect of a history and environment of racism in the region.

By 2003, their objective was to raise their voice in public spaces, and they did so by intervening in the medium that was most affordable and most popular among Mapuche families in cities and in the countryside: radio. They were then faced with the question of how to create Mapuche radio programming given their limited time and resources, a result of their precarious employment situations and their schedules as students. Another obstacle was the lack of information about the reality of Mapuches in the Río Negro province, and in Argentina as a whole,

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environment and the inhabitants in the region, specifically the Mapuche communities of Kaxipayiñ and Paynemil. In response, the Mapuche organizations blocked access roads to Loma de Lata and demanded that the authorities nullify these agreements and evict the company from their indigenous territory. During these mobilizations, the Mapuche and local protesters underwent violent repression and human rights abuses by the provincial state police (Gavaldà 2005). Another emblematic case came to light with the public disclosure of Italian corporation Benetton's large landholdings in the province of Chubut. Benetton's presence in this area became known only when in 2002 Mapuche couple Rosa Rua Nahuelquir and Atilio Curiñanco attempted to recover native lands situated in the Lote Santa Rosa in the Leleque area of northwest Chubut; until then, these lands were supposedly state properties. After the couple's land recovery action, the Benetton group and its regional representative, the Compañía de Tierras Sud Argentina S.A., claimed ownership of these lands and urged state police to evict the Mapuche family from the area (Briones and Ramos 2005).

32. The Mapurbe Communication Working Group borrowed the term in question from the Santiago-based Mapuche poet David Añiñir, who identifed his poetic persona as Mapurbe. In the early 2000s, Añiñir circulated his poem "Mapurbe," and in 2005 he published his first collection of poems under the title *Mapurbe.* For a broader analysis of urban Mapuche identities in southern Argentina, see Briones (2007).

due to a silencing of their history in the media, the educational system, and even within Mapuche family spaces.[33]

With their objective in mind, they began in 2003 to produce what in my opinion is one of the most creative expressions of indigenous media in the region: brief radio programs, or "micros" as termed by the Mapurbe Communication Working Group. These short programs are three to five minutes in length. According to Miriam Alvarez and Lorena Cañuqueo, the idea was to have "a program that was no longer than a musical piece."[34] In this way they could ask local radio stations to include the micros whenever they had airtime available throughout the day. The team succeeded in including the microprograms in different types of radio shows in Bariloche and the province of Río Negro, including Radio Nacional, a public radio station that reaches rural areas. Between 2003 and 2005, the Mapurbe Communication Working Group produced some fourteen micros.

Each microprogram creatively compresses different aspects of Mapuche life and history into a few minutes of airtime. Often the micros juxtapose and mix ancestral legends, personal and collective stories, music, and the narratives of contemporary land rights struggles. For example, one of the programs starts by invoking a traditional Mapuche legend: that of the *kai kai* serpent, a figure associated with the spirit of waters. According to this legend, kai kai originally fought against *treng treng*—the serpent of the mainland. Kai kai flooded vast areas and treng treng took the shape of the mountains to provide a safe ground for human beings. When the battle between them was over, the waters and the land had achieved a state of equlibrium. Subsequently, in times of crisis on earth, the disturbance of kai kai may again lead to seaquakes and floods. Thus, the characteristic voice of Miriam Alvarez, speaking in Spanish, begins the radio show by evoking it as part of a critical moment: "And kai kai perhaps again will start to shake the waters; as happened at that time, the Mapuche will become only 'people' (*che*), we are forgetting about earth, of being the people of earth, of being *Mapuche* . . ." (their emphasis).

In this way, the beginning of this micro addresses an uneasy situation in the environment and the critical issue of self-identification among the Mapuche, in which the people (*che*) are in a process of uprootedness, disconnecting themselves from "earth" (*mapu*).[35] This opening narrative is then followed by the voices of community activists who speak about issues of discrimination and conflicts over land rights, all the while in the background hearing the sounds of traditional musical instruments, mainly the *kultrun*.[36] Finally, we hear a speech in Mapudungun referring us back to the ancestral legend of the kai kai serpent.

33. In the introduction to her study of Mapudungun in Argentina, scholar Lucía Golluscio (2006, 24–30) provides a critical account of the long history of repression and marginalization of the Mapuche people in the political, economic, educational, cultural, and linguistic realms of Argentine society.

34. Miriam Alvarez and Lorena Cañuqueo, interview with author, November 7, 2010.

35. *Mapuche* means "people of earth," or "people from the land" (*mapu:* earth, land, territory, country, and universe; *che:* person, people).

36. The kultrun is a traditional Mapuche percussion instrument, akin to a drum or timbale. It is made from a hollowed tree trunk and covered with a stretched horse, sheep, or cow hide. For an exhaus-

In this juxtaposition of voices, sounds, and narratives, the past and present overlap in a performance of the Mapuche mode of framing the present within the past. What is certainly being performed in this temporal framing is a Mapuche sense of time and history. From the point of view of the Mapurbe Communication Working Group, the temporal framing is related to the question of origin and identity, which is central to their radio activism as highlighted in their Campaign for Mapuche Self-Affirmation. On the one hand, the figure of kai kai refers listeners back to an ancestral legend, and reminds them about the inner connection between people and the earth. On the other hand, the past-present-past circle of this micro is rooted in a Mapuche notion of history, in which the past is not only something prior to the present, but the very future is in fact the past. Therefore, in the program discussed here, an ancestral narrative constitutes the closure of a story composed of multiple voices and the spoken insertions of contemporary Mapuches in Argentina.

On a more formal level, in juxtaposing varied voices and narratives, the micros appropriate the style of video clips, producing a series of radio clips. Using this format, they compress diverse aspects of past and present Mapuche life. Rather than a single narrative-oriented script, the Mapurbe Communication Working Group thus opts for a polyphonic assemblage of voices and multiple narratives. Their manner of speaking through radio includes not one but multiple voices. The micros represent an effort to rebuild Mapuche narratives of identity through fragmentary speeches, a format particular to the very precarious condition of Mapuche linguistic, cultural, and political survival in modern and contemporary Argentina.

INTERFERENCE AND PERMANENCE

Both *Wixage anai!* and the microprograms have created Mapuche uses of radio that interfere with or interrupt the entrenched, massive, acoustic colonialism imposed by the Chilean and Argentine nation-states and corporate media that regulate the contemporary broadcast environment. Within their respective contexts, these radio initiatives have performatively made the Mapuche language, family histories, and legends audible, along with the many political, economic, and social struggles of the Mapuche people. The voices and sounds of Mapuche subjects no longer constitute simple objects to be "embalmed" in the ethnographer's recorder, a colonial process that Jonathan Sterne (2003, 311–325) describes in relation to the Native American experience in the late nineteenth century. In the cases I have discussed in this article, we can see how Mapuche activists and self-taught radio producers and broadcasters have dealt with multiple material, social, and economic obstacles and yet managed to establish and perform their agency in the realm of communications. These radio programs have allowed them to stage the public audibility of Mapudungun—the Mapuche language—

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tive and comprehensive explanation of the characteristics and functions of the kultrun, see Pérez de Arce (2007, 141–171).

and the reconstruction of Mapuche modes of speech. The programs also establish new connections among Mapuches: between youths and elders, in the cities and the countryside, and among those living in the native lands as well as those in the Mapuche diaspora. Radio—or rather *Mapuchizada*, indigenized radio—is both urban and rural, and it has become a connective medium in the uneven and still difficult process of building an aural and oral indigenous public sphere in the current neoliberal era.

As a noncommercial media domain, one of the key challenges that autonomous indigenous radio in Chile and Argentina faces is its sustainability over time. The micros, for their part, had a short life (2003–2005) as one component in a time-limited campaign carried out by young Mapuche students in southern Argentina. As for *Wixage anai!,* it has depended entirely on contributions from individual donors or temporary local sponsorships since the late 1990s. Moreover, in recent years *Wixage anai!* has been broadcast mostly thanks to the volunteer work of José Paillal and Elizabeth Huenchual, who have made the program part of their everyday lives—a reality of subsistence through low-income jobs in the city. This is the precarious yet determined life of indigenous radio in the region. Certainly their radio activism, with its economics of self-sustenance, illustrates the gaps of cultural policies in relation to the realm of indigenous media.

Yet, radio programs such as the ones presented here play a significant role in positioning indigenous agency in contemporary soundscapes. The existence and sustenance of these radio shows help Mapuche communities "stay united" and maintain their linguistic, cultural, and political voices and sounds on the air—an auditory struggle to reconstruct Wallmapu. At the same time, the way in which these radio shows consistently interweave linguistic, cultural, and political struggles poses a critical challenge to cultural policies, and in particular to state indigenist projects, which, even in their broader engagement of culture as a "way of life," tend to fall back on Western, liberal tendencies to compartmentalize the cultural and the political realms into distinct spheres. Autonomous Mapuche radio initiatives challenge managerial, colonizing separations of public life, performing an emancipatory linguistic, cultural, and political impulse toward indigenous self-determination and self-representation on the airwaves.

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