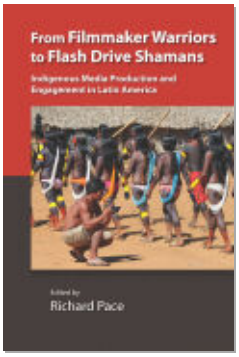
3. Wallmapu Rising: Re-envisioning the Mapuche Nation through Media



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Wallmapu Rising

Re-envisioning the Mapuche Nation through Media

By Amalia Córdova

During the Closing Night and Awards Ceremony of the Twelfth International Film and Video Festival of Indigenous Peoples held in the Chilean city of Temuco, Mapuche singer/songwriter Daniela Millaleo closed the festivities with a song in honor of photojournalist Felipe Durán, detained two months earlier on September 22, 2015. While Mapuche art becomes fashionable and is increasingly visible in the museums, galleries, and airport shopping centers of Chile and Argentina, Mapuche communicators still routinely face threats and persecution.[1]

With an assertive discourse that has flourished over the years, the demands of various ethnic groups in Chile, particularly the Mapuche, embody the struggle against the dominant neoliberal model and the failure of public policies of democratic governments that diminish the already limited opportunities for participation and inclusion of Indigenous peoples on the national stage. By infusing new and evolving media communications with traditional practices and grassroots organizing, Mapuche-produced media, as with many Indigenous media projects, question notions of citizenship and support historical claims to sovereignty and territorial unity.[2]

Wallmapu, or the Mapuche Nation's traditional territory, encompasses the southern reaches of Chile and Argentina, countries where aboriginal peoples are still stigmatized and relegated to marginal sectors of society.[3] This mentality began to be audiovisually challenged in the mid-1990s, when Mapuche activists took up video cameras to record their histories and to document protests against extractive multinational incursions in the region. Today we see an increase in dedicated Mapuche filmmakers, journalists, and artists working in video and new media to express their visions and strengthen their culture, denounce the ongoing violations of their rights, and link dispersed, remote communities with the growing number of Mapuche migrants living in Chilean cities and abroad.[4]

In this chapter, I describe important productions by independent Mapuche women directors Jeannette Paillán and Jennifer Silva (a.k.a. JAAS) as case

studies that illustrate how a rich body of work on the contemporary Mapuche experience is taking shape, displacing the cinematic focus on genre and mass audience expectation. Rather than seek out an "Indigenous aesthetic," as many would like to see established, I focus on the rooted aspects and on the creative innovations these directors have deployed to shape works that enjoy a certain popularity, and exercise an effective impact on a determined constituency. I consider these works exceptional in that they are pioneering and groundbreaking, though they may not be well-known outside specific circuits of Indigenous cinema. I discuss these "other" uses of Indigenous video productions; how they are being used to rethink indigeneity, rewrite history, and question assumptions on the practice of individual filmmaking. I propose that works such as these hybrid documentary practices offer counter-representations of the past and facilitate understanding of contentious, ongoing issues misrepresented or missing from the mainstream, public arenas of national debate.

Hybrid Documentary for Advocacy

The documentary has proven to be by far the weapon of choice for recording subaltern histories, contesting multinational extraction and development projects, and denouncing human rights violations on Native lands and bodies. The very real need to document these abuses in order to raise awareness often translates into expository shorts echoing newsreel-style reportage and longer works without artistic ambitions, produced under the auspices of nongovernmental organizations or other external agencies. While they may cover diverse topics, these works may present a similar and rather indistinct look and feel. Both time and funding constraints obviously affect the final outcome, and the directors seldom have formal film training; they often work collectively or in partnership with funding agencies or nonprofit organizations.

The reliance on others and the commitment to sustainable filmmaking leads to projects grounded in community accountability and infused with a community's pressures and interests; what Ginsburg has called "embedded aesthetics" (1994). These works, which can use unconventional film styles such as static shots of lengthy speeches in an Indigenous language, become more geared to the local audience rather than one trained on mainstream cinemas, more in line with "imperfect media" practices proposed by Salazar (2004). Fictional works are less common, often based on traditional stories, involving collective memory and consultation with elders to verify the accuracy of the working version of the tale. In addition, important works have been produced under duress, even overnight, when human rights are at stake.

Precisely for these reasons, highly innovative and creative self-produced works stand out. Mapuche filmmaker Jeannette Paillán's first video, the poetic video

essay *Punalka: El alto Biobio* (Punalka: The upper Bío-Bío, 1995), was made with Lulul Mawidha, the group she formed to contest the building of a major hydroelectric dam in Pehuenche territory. Hip-hop artist Jennifer Silva's music video *Newen* pioneered the use of the Mapuche language, Mapuzungún, in the urban centers of the southern cone. These works are made with extremely low budgets but with a degree of creative freedom, shot in Indigenous languages yet with multiple audiences in mind. While the local community may be the primary audience, there is an underlying intent to reach potential allies for the local grievances they are denouncing. In some cases, these audiences are one and the same, if we consider the internalized colonialism that affects Indigenous communities.

These works are made with an urgency to be widely viewed, screening at a range of venues such as local meetings, academic conferences, human rights courts, and specialized festivals, to name a few. Such is the case of Paillán's *Punalka* and a host of other works that have been distinguished at festivals for their powerful delivery of critical issues. Several Indigenous directors have come to light with at least one short film that screens through the Indigenous festival circuit. A few of these directors go on to make second and third films. The real rarity is the Indigenous-produced feature film, narrative, or documentary. For Indigenous "rising" directors, making a few acclaimed shorts and winning prestigious awards may help to garner the funds to make a feature film, but that recognition does not guarantee its distribution, as might be expected in the more traditional art-house festival circuit.

The fact that the overwhelming majority of works produced by Indigenous media projects are documentaries has drawn the attention of ethnographic and documentary film festivals. As documentary film programmers know, the documentary is already at a disadvantage as a film genre, from funding to screening. Fortunately, videos that have tackled complex issues of multinational encroachment on Indigenous rights have grown from urgent reportage to a solid body of documentary works that benefit from exhaustive research and know how to engage audiences, garnering diverse awards at international film festivals. These festivals and the funding agencies linked to them have opened up to this kind of work, reaching out to specialized programmers and producers to ensure their representation, often through the programming of Indigenous-themed sidebars, both in and out of competition.[5]

Framing Resistance

During the socialist Salvador Allende's presidential period (1970–1973), Indigenous struggles became part of a broader human rights campaign within an increasingly polarized political scenario. However, starting in 1990 and through Chile's transitional democratic governments, promises to the Indigenous move-

ment faded into the background despite efforts at organizing Indigenous demands. The independent organization Consejo de Todas las Tierras (Council of all lands, founded in 1990) attempted to unify an emerging Indigenous rights movement outside the government, putting pressure on the elected coalition government of Patricio Aylwin (1990–1994). Aylwin formed a special committee of Indigenous peoples, passing the first "Indigenous Law" of 1993 (Ley 19.253), a nod to Indigenous demands that established basic rights for Indigenous peoples. In 1996, as part of the law, a state-run Indigenous bureau was launched, the National Indigenous Development Corporation (Corporación Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena, CONADI), to support public policies regarding restitution and protection of lands and waters, and to some extent foment educational and cultural development initiatives for nine recognized ethnic groups—Aymara, Atacameño/Likanantai, Colla, Quechua, Diaguita, Mapuche, Rapa Nui, Kawésqar and Yagán.[6] However, this entity does not recognize Indigenous peoples or their traditional organizations as such; it only acknowledges them as ethnically distinct. Most notably, it doesn't recognize their political rights—to self-representation or traditional justice systems—or territorial rights, such as management and protection of natural resources. The four consecutive center-left coalition governments that followed Aylwin's administration consolidated the neoliberal policies of the Pinochet regime, allowing lumber and hydroelectric companies to aggressively implement development plans on Indigenous territory.

In response, the affected Mapuche communities organized on several fronts, protesting specific regional mega-projects and garnering international support. In 1997, Endesa, the largest electric company in Latin America, began building a massive hydroelectric complex called Ralco in the upper Bío-Bío River, a traditional territory of the Pehuenche people. Several films have been produced about its impact. The first one, *Punalka: El alto Biobio* (1995) was a poetic documentary by Mapuche journalist Jeannette Paillán, shot when the dam was under construction. Non-Mapuche directors have followed the case, producing *Ralco* (1999, by Esteban Larraín), *Üxüf xipay* (The plunder, 2004, by Dauno Tótoro) and *El velo de Berta* (Bertha's veil, 2004, by Esteban Larraín with Jeannette Paillán), which unveil the Chilean government's support for the dam and disregard for Mapuche rights. The Spanish films *Apaga y vámonos* (Switch off, 2005, by Manel Mayol) and *Ralco, un mal negocio / Ralco, a Bad Business* (2008, by Nicolás García and Xavier Vaqué) take the case further, establishing the transnational links of the Spanish capital behind the project.

The Poetics of *Punalka*

Resistance to the construction of the Ralco dam has become emblematic of the struggle of Indigenous peoples in the southern Andes. Even before actual con-

struction of the dam began, Pehuenche resistance and displacement catalyzed a broad front of opposition to the project, which generated both national and international media coverage. The mobilization against Ralco, beginning in 1997, marked a turning point for the Mapuche political movement. Several regional fronts emerged to protest other development projects, such as lumber extraction, industrial fishing, and water privatization, that encroached on traditional Indigenous lands and rights and whose profits benefitted foreign companies and individual Chilean investors. A new movement took shape with the formation in 1998 of the Coordinadora Arauco-Malleco (CAM, a coordinating body for communities in the Arauco and Malleco regions) in Tranaquepe, which was active in the areas of Tirúa, Contulmo, and Cañete, and in Temucuicui, a community that declares itself autonomous and even has a website of its own.[7]

As conflicts over Mapuche territory and sovereignty escalated, a number of documentaries were made in defense of the Mapuche, particularly regarding the impact of the Ralco megaproject.[8] The first one was *Punalka: El alto Biobio* (1995), the aforementioned documentary video shot on U-matic by Mapuche journalist Jeannette Paillán, of Pehuenche origin. Narrated through a poem in Mapuzungún by Mapuche poet Leonel Lienlaf, the film is about the river's spirit and is both a prayer and a call to action to protect the threatened river. Through this short film, Paillán became the first internationally recognized Indigenous video-maker from Chile, a remarkable feat for an Indigenous woman without formal film training. The video screened at the VI Festival Latinoamericano de Cine de los Pueblos Indígenas in Guatemala (1999) and at the Smithsonian Institution's 1997 Native American Film + Video Festival in New York City. However, this did not protect her from suffering beatings and having her camera confiscated while covering protests. Paillán later directed *Wallmapu* (2003), a historical documentary on Mapuche territory from a Mapuche point of view, which won a Special Mention of the Jury for Best Historical Research at the 2003 Human Rights Festival in Santiago del Estero, Argentina, and a short fiction, *Perimontún* (2008), about identity loss, shot when Paillán was on a Ford fellowship studying film in Spain.

Paillán has also gained prominence as a leader of the *video indígena* movement, mainly through her participation in the Latin American Coordinator of Indigenous Peoples' Film and Communication (CLACPI, Coordinadora Latinoamericana de Cine y Comunicación de los Pueblos Indígenas). In 2004, she headed the CLACPI festival's eighth edition, the International Festival of Indigenous Peoples' Film and Video in Santiago, Chile, and in 2008 she was honored in Spain for her tireless defense of Indigenous peoples' culture and patrimony with the City of Córdova Award to Communication Solidarity, a distinction first awarded to writer Eduardo Galeano in 2006. Paillán was elected General Coordinator of CLACPI in 2008, and in 2012 was re-elected for a second term. In 2013, she was recognized with the Premio Bartolomé de las Casas Award, as

a representative of CLACPI, for "the dissemination of Indigenous cultures in diverse international instances, allowing Indigenous peoples to express their own worldview, particularly with regards to defending Mother Earth and affirming the rights of Indigenous peoples."[9] This is an annual award offered by the Spanish Secretariat of International and Ibero-American Cooperation, of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, in conjunction with Casa América, to distinguish outstanding individuals or organizations in the defense of the rights of Indigenous peoples. Paillán and a team of supporting broadcasters, journalists, and producers also organized the Twelfth Festival Internacional de Cine y Video de los Pueblos Indígenas, the first CLACPI festival to be presented not by a nation-state (i.e., Argentina and/or Chile) but convened by an Indigenous nation's traditional territory, in this case the ancestral Mapuche territory of Wallmapu.[10]

At the same time, a broader Mapuche social movement has taken root across Chile and Argentina. For years, Mapuche activism was largely ignored by local and national media, but when it was covered, it was actually charged with promoting acts of violence and outright secession from Chile. Acts of physical repression and legal persecution of Mapuche leaders are regularly denounced by human rights observers such as Amnesty International and Observatorio Ciudadano (Citizen Watch). Chile's mainstream print media in particular perpetuates a violent image of the Mapuche, going as far as to insinuate that there are links between Mapuche rights movements and worldwide terrorist organizations including al-Qaeda, ETA, and even FARC.[11] This climate seeks to warrant the excessive use of force in any situation regarding Mapuche demonstrations. As a result of widespread, violent persecution and murky court procedures, several young leaders have been killed or forced into hiding.[12] In all cases, the Mapuche protesters were proven to be unarmed, and no members of the police forces were killed.

Most prisoners held under an anti-terrorist law dating from the Pinochet regime are Mapuche.[13] Their trials are also tainted by false testimonies and anonymous witnesses, as expressed eloquently in the documentary *El juicio de Pascual Pichún / Besieged Land* (2007), by María Teresa Larraín, which juxtaposes the perspectives of the prosecution and the defense during the trial of a respected Mapuche traditional leader, or *lonko*, Pascual Pichún, now deceased. The number of political prisoners jumps to a hundred if one considers prosecutions under other laws, in addition to innumerable false arrests. In an effort to protest the law and bring awareness to their plight, three prisoners processed under the anti-terrorist law engaged in prolonged hunger strikes in 2007, drawing national media attention. Many were hospitalized while awaiting a response from the government of Michelle Bachelet, including Patricia Troncoso, who holds the record for the longest hunger strike in Chile over the last twenty years, for a total of 112 days. Through the mediation of the Catholic Church

and with pressure from human rights organizations, the strikes were suspended in January of 2008. Although the more conservative government of Sebastián Piñera met in 2010 with Mapuche leaders to discuss the law and revise the terms of the sentences, there continue to be prisoners on hunger strike on and off in the jails of Wallmapu, regardless of the politics of the current government.

Non-Mapuche journalists, filmmakers, and communicators have also been harassed, arrested, and even deported over the mere fact of being sympathetic to the Mapuche cause. Chilean filmmaker Elena Varela was arrested by over twenty armed policemen on May 7, 2008, in her house in Lican Ray, in southern Chile. She was producing two films at the time of her arrest, one exploring the perceptions of local Mapuche communities to the repression suffered at the hands of the Chilean state in their attempt to recover seventeen thousand hectares of historically Mapuche-held territory from lumber companies. She received funding from the national Production Development Corporation (CORFO, a state agency), and from the national film fund Fondo de Fomento Audiovisual, of the National Council on the Arts, a peer-reviewed government granting agency. Varela was not allowed to speak to anyone for the first twenty-four hours of her arrest. The national media supported the investigation's thesis that her production company used state film funds to support terrorist actions. All of her audiovisual and written material such as scripts, diaries, log books, and archival interviews of ex-political militants (Mapuche and others), including political prisoners and leaders, were seized by the Investigations Police of Chile. Varela spent four months in solitary confinement as the case gained national and international attention from groups such as the Chilean Association of Documentarians, Amnesty International, and dozens of other human rights organizations worldwide who feared the information contained in her tapes might be used by Chilean security forces against Mapuche activists and the film's collaborators. Eventually some twenty tapes were returned to Varela, and she was able to shoot once a week while under house arrest. In the trial that took place nearly two years later, Varela was found innocent of all charges. She was released on April 22, 2010, and finally completed the two-hour documentary *Newen Mapuche* (2010, Chile), which includes the harrowing story of her arrest.[14]

Newen/Calling on the Power of the Land

Jennifer Andrea Aguilera Silva (whose artistic name is JAAS) grew up in the southern section of Santiago, Chile. Her working-class family never brought up their Mapuche heritage, a very common phenomenon in large cities where such ancestry is actually considered to cause setbacks and be a source of shame. She became involved in the somewhat marginal hip-hop scene in her early

twenties, working with a music producer in the late nineties. As a result of her experimental artistic drive and a renewed interest in her native heritage, she produced an extraordinary song and music video called "Newen," a Mapuche term for life-force.[15]

JAAS never formally learned how to speak Mapuzungún, the language of the Mapuche people. She started to listen to local bilingual Mapuzungún-Spanish radio programs such as *Wixage anai* (Wake up and rise up, produced by the collective Jvken Mapu), and taught herself the basics. She sought out Mapuche community activists in Santiago such as radio producer Freddy Treuquil who negotiated the terms of the shoot in the *lof*, or Mapuche community. Freddy's brother José was a leader in a community near Valdivia and was a completely fluent speaker of Mapuzungún who advised on all aspects of translation during the shoot and post-production. When the project was completed, terms of economic compensation were discussed in the event there was any income as a result of the film, but, for the most part, the shoot in the community, and the filming of the clip in general, was a labor of love and collaboration with no real budget to speak of. The music video was uploaded to JAAS' MySpace page and YouTube channel, and the song appears on her first self-produced album, *En este mundo* (2004).[16]

The song "Newen" kicks off with the trill of a *trutruka*, a long horn made with bamboo and bullhorn traditionally used by the Mapuche to call community members together. In the fourth measure, this acoustic sound is joined by a synthetic drum machine loop, creating the instantly recognizable syncopated beat of rap music. JAAS opens by calling out in Mapuzungún: "Newentun! Nawuntun! Mapu! Mapu, Mapu, Mapu! Mapu, Mapu, Mapu!" (Invoking life-force! Power of the Land, the Land, the Land!) Her call to the power of "the Land" cannot be merely understood as the earth or a given territory; it is an appeal to origin itself: to Mother Earth and the inherent power of being connected to the earth, to being a part of that vital original force. Her singing then shifts into Spanish, asking her audience, "How many years of oppression? More than five hundred. The Mapuche people shall be resurrected, persistent in the struggle . . . lethargy doesn't calm the warrior . . . the wind drags away all that is asleep."[17]

JAAS performs multiple identities in a short music video. The video opens with a sunrise in the countryside, layered with silhouettes of Mapuche warriors on horseback and footage of peaceful marches for Mapuche rights. JAAS first appears kneeling at the side of a river, dressed in the traditional clothing of Mapuche women: wearing a black wool robe, *trariwe* (loom-woven colored waistband), and silver *chaway*, or earrings, and crowned with a jingling silver headband. Abruptly, we see her in an urban setting, in sweatshirt and baggy pants, rapping and gesturing straight into the camera in full urban hip-hop mode. She raps in Spanish over a montage of images of Mapuche ceremonies, protests, and confrontations with police. JAAS crouches in the riverbed of the Mapocho, the main fluvial artery

of Santiago, where she raps in front of a graffiti mural in her sweats. A lull in the lyrics shows the countryside of southern Chile, virtually all of which is originally Mapuche territory, where JAAS is seen swimming in a shallow stream under a dense canopy of trees, emerging from the chilly waters in her regalia, pressing her bare feet firmly into a muddy embankment, gripping a long thick branch of a tree and sticking it into the earth. Halfway through the song, she shifts to rapping in Mapuzungún. Various scenes of daily life follow: we see elders and children together; short clips of ceremony and dance; scenes of planting, harvesting, and horseback riding. JAAS climbs a tree, wields a lump of untreated lamb's wool, sits at a loom, and, in a modest kitchen lit only by a blazing hearth, she helps slaughter, bleed, and skin a sheep. Next she performs live in a concert in front of a large group of youths, rapping in Mapuzungún while the chorus repeats: "Mapu Mapu Mapu!" Her closing words conjugate both languages, indexing her fluency in both: "Mapu—pisando fuerte la Tierra" ("Mapu—stepping firmly on the land"). Ultimately, her plea is not just to connect to the land but to opt into self-recognition as Indigenous people who honor and defend that special connection to the land.

Newen was selected to screen at the 2006 Smithsonian Institution's Native American Film + Video Festival (NAFVF), presented by the Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI), and subtitled into English and Spanish by co-director Katherine Ross for the purpose of screening at the festival. This was decided so all festival attendees, including JAAS's own counterparts from other regions of Latin America, could fully understand the content of the song. As occurs with many other works from Latin America, English subtitling has been one of the most concrete outcomes of being screened at a festival. The work not only gains a home (a copy remains in the NMAI Study Collection, and the Festival drafts a director biography and film description for its catalog and its online platform), but also becomes available to Anglophone audiences and international festivals, programmers, viewers, and scholars. *Newen* has screened to audiences in Brazil, Canada, Chile, Mexico, and Spain through contacts made via the NMAI. In fact, the video screened in Chile only after screening in New York, as part of a showcase from the 2006 NAFVF held in Santiago in June 2005. This speaks to the enduring impact of an international agency such as an Indigenous film festival in bringing works to light in places where they are otherwise invisible and considered irrelevant.

Mapuche Media's 2.0 Generation

While there is no dedicated archive of Indigenous-produced work in Chile, the Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino (MCHAP), a private collection located in downtown Santiago, houses an ethnographic video archive that includes over three hundred works from across the continent, of which twenty-eight

are about the Mapuche Nation (Carreño González 2014). The works represent 61 percent of the documentaries in the Museum's national video collection, making the Mapuche the most represented Indigenous people of Chile in the collection (Carreño 2014). This archive has been a magnet for scholars, filmmakers, anthropologists, teachers, and students, but it was not a priority for the museum's leadership. Free film programs from the archive were regular, well-attended events at MCHAP beginning in the late nineties, garnering a modest but faithful lunchtime audience for Indigenous-themed videos. Anthropologist, musician, and filmmaker Claudio Mercado, the archive's founder, maintains the collection, along with his other duties as the audiovisual coordinator for the museum. Anthropology student Gaston Carreño was recruited to organize the collection, producing an updated catalog for public use. The collection is open to the public and several videos are currently online (in Spanish or with Spanish subtitles) through the museum's website, *chileprecolombino.cl/archivo-audiovisual*.

Mapuche media now also has dedicated international scholarship. Australian-based media scholar and anthropologist Juan Francisco Salazar directed *De la tierra a la pantalla* / *From Land to Screen* (2004), a documentary that contrasts Chile's media depictions of the Mapuche struggle with the activism of three Mapuche-run media projects: the Center for Mapuche Communication Jvken Mapu, which hosts the oldest running Mapuche radio program in Chile, *Wixage anai*;[18] Lulul Mawidha, run by filmmaker Jeannette Paillán; and the online news service Mapuexpress. All three collectives are self-generated, long-standing efforts that remain active in media production.

Bilingual radio programs are bridging cultural differences between Mapuche and non-Mapuche. By 2005 at least six different Mapuche radio programs aired regularly, two weekly programs in the southern city of Nueva Imperial (*Nutram Kawün* and *Aim Mapu* on Radio La Granja), the rest in different parts of Santiago, including *La voz del viento*, produced by Agrupación Antu Liwen, and *Iñchiñ Mapuche tati*, both weekly conversational programs aired by Radio El Encuentro of Peñalolén (Ortega Fuentes 2005). Weekly bilingual shows such as *Identidad Mapuche* (on Radio Florecer in La Florida) and *Wixage anai* (produced by Jvfken Mapu and broadcast by Radio Tierra in downtown Santiago) feature Mapuzungún, cover wellness issues, and track current Mapuche political and cultural issues.

The political nature of their work exposes the producers of these radio programs to persecution. In Santiago, Chile, in February 2010, Investigations Police seized computer equipment, audiovisual records, and written material from both the workplace and home of Jvfken Mapu member Richard Curinao, claiming that the program *Wixage anai* had broadcast public statements of CAM. In April 2010, the Red de Comunicadores Mapuche (Mapuche Com-

munication Network) presented Curinao's case to the newly elected government of Sebastián Piñera, stating that, along with the arrest of Mapuche *lonko* Pascual Pichún, the cases "constitute serious violations to freedom of expression while at the same time are a blow to the communication and information rights of the Mapuche Nation."[19] To date, Curinao has not recovered his equipment and is still being pressured to reveal his sources.[20]

Many new Mapuche media initiatives have emerged on digital platforms. From the news agency Mapuexpress, founded in 2000, to the binational (Argentina and Chile) print and online journal *Azkintuwe* (The lookout), news from Wallmapu is now accessible in Spanish, English, and Mapuzungún. The internet hosts a wealth of Mapuche-run blogs and several sites in Mapuzungún, and Mapuche music videos stream over YouTube, along with documentaries and independently produced videos. Facebook is also populated by individuals, artists, collectives, and groups that self-identify as Mapuche and use the social network to denounce mistreatment, educate viewers on Mapuche culture, and issue calls to action.

Support for these initiatives is far-reaching and transnational; Mapuexpress pioneered as an autonomous site supported by the Mapuche FOLIL Foundation in the Netherlands and sends out weekly electronic newsletters worldwide from all Wallmapu, linking remote locations and allowing anyone to replicate and amplify their news. It also acts as a news agency for other free and independent media agencies. A small team of editors works with a wide spectrum of Mapuche organizations and efforts, aspiring "to remain an open, independent, and pluralistic forum from and for Mapuche concerns, consciously avoiding divisiveness or rivalry between different Mapuche tendencies, as a contribution to maintaining unity in action."[21]

For a decade, *Azkintuwe* was a widely-circulated Mapuche newspaper and news agency reporting from Wallmapu with a multicultural perspective through a bimonthly printed newspaper, special supplements, and an online news portal updated daily. A nonprofit media organization headquartered in Temuco, *Azkintuwe*'s network of journalists critically addressed social, cultural, economic, and political developments of the Mapuche Nation in particular and of Indigenous peoples in general. Launched in 2003, *Azkintuwe* was the first Mapuche media outlet with coverage beyond borders, with correspondents in Chile and Argentina. The Azkintuwe News Agency began operating in June 2008, to encourage "media pluralism, tolerance of ideas and solidarity among peoples, considering that communication, facilitated by new information technologies, should play a social role."[22]

In 2009, Pedro Cayuqueo, journalist and founding director of Azkintuwe, was invited to cover a European tour of Indigenous film from Latin America.[23] Seeing the potential of transnational circulation of Indigenous media, in 2010 he added a cultural supplement in the printed edition and online of *Azkintuwe*

called "Yekintún," one of the first Indigenous-produced critical spaces for Indigenous media in Latin America, covering both Indigenous media and productions by non-Indigenous filmmakers. Efforts to consistently cover Indigenous-made media have since taken root, as seen with the launch of the government-funded independent website Yepán (*www.yepan.cl*), which offers news, calls for entries, trailers, and reviews of Indigenous film and video (in Spanish), driven by a collective including Mapuche journalist Elías Paillán of Jvken Mapu.

In a joint effort with the human rights and civic advocacy organization Observatorio Ciudadano, Azkintuwe launched the first Mapuche youth media training initiative, Taiñ Azkintun / Nuestra Mirada (Our view). Funded by the Embassy of Canada and the Catholic University of Temuco, the first workshop gathered Mapuche youth from the regions of Araucanía and Los Ríos to create short videos about their communities. The response was enthusiastic, surprising even the organizers; roughly an equal number of men and women, representing a range of localities, participated (Vargas 2010a). Cayuqueo said that he sees a new generation of Mapuche youth who are using and consuming new forms of mass media—Facebook, Fotolog, Vimeo, and YouTube—and interested in more than just denouncing the abuses toward the Mapuche, "not because it's not still relevant, but because it has stigmatized what we are."[24] The workshop's first phase trained youth on location in May of 2010, drawing on committed communicators such as Guido Brevis, a film and television director, and Elías Paillán to train twenty youths. Cayuqueo refers to the next phase as "version 2.0," which will offer a greater degree of specialization by sending some of the youth abroad for further training.[25]

What the Mapuche face daily is what so many Indigenous peoples across the world face: a discriminatory state policy of repression that seeks to protect the interests of powerful extractive industries. The Mapuche activists and supporters of the Mapuche cause—including media makers—have also been caught in the crossfire. In such a landscape, a self-determined, Indigenous-controlled media becomes a critical tool to save lives and seek justice. Edgardo Collinao (Mapuche), a Taiñ Azkintun workshop participant, says this is just the beginning of a process that must continue:

> I hope we're able to get there, since personally I'm training to become a communicator not to profit off my people but to contribute to them in any capacity I have. . . . This should be the beginning of a greater project of our own Mapuche Nation, so that, for example, we can control our own media communications—radio, television, journals—so that when the time comes we have the right people trained to work. (Vargas 2010b)

Conclusion

Aesthetically original works such as Paillán's *Punalka* and Mapuche hip-hop videos such as *Newen* attest to the creative possibilities unleashed through Indigenous audiovisual resistance. Through diverse channels and formats, Mapuche media are being used to rethink history, critically and creatively countering foundational narratives on indigeneity that have emerged from the official historical record. Produced since first contact and captured in footage, photos, and written accounts produced with Western technologies and usually from a European or Eurocentric point of view, these narratives persist and are replicated in fictional renderings emanating from Hollywood and beyond, and are present in the day-to-day reportage of political and social movements in Chile.

Through each of their works, Indigenous filmmakers and communicators in Wallmapu are exploring how video-making can serve as a tool for advocacy, cultural affirmation, and creative expression; to document alternate histories and project their concerns and visions toward future generations; to strengthen contemporary community identity, traditions and language; and to help dispel the myths of the "noble savage" and "disappearing native." In producing innovative experimental and hybrid works, including music video clips, Mapuche media practitioners adapt new and evolving media technologies to give voice to multiple expressions of contemporary identities.

Notes

1. Durán was released ten months later, on August 5, 2016, with all charges dismissed due to insufficient evidence. When arrested, he faced charges that could have resulted in an eleven-year prison sentence (Medrano and Fuentes, 2016).
2. According to the 2002 national census, 4.6 percent of Chile's population self-identifies as belonging to an Indigenous group, of which 87.3 percent is Mapuche (INE 2003).
3. *Wallmapu* is the most widely-used and culturally accepted name for the entire Mapuche territory. In the Mapuche language, Mapuzungún, it translates as "surrounding land" (surrounding—*wall*, land—*mapu*). Different geographical Mapuche sub-regions receive geographically specific denominations, such as Ngulumapu for the territory west of the Andes mountains (central and southern Chile), and Puelmapu, for the territory east of the Andes (southern Argentina). All translations by the author except as noted.
4. For an excellent overview on this process see Juan Francisco Salazar (2004) and his documentary *De la tierra a la pantalla / From Land to Screen* (2004).
5. Such has been the case of the longstanding documentary festival of Belo Horizonte, forumdocBH, that not only screens Indigenous works fairly regularly but also presented Indigenous documentary retrospectives in 2011 and 2015.
6. "Misión Institucional," CONADI, *www.conadi.gob.cl/mision-institucional*.
7. Temucuicui's website can be found at *comunidadtemucuicui.blogspot.com*.

8. The earliest Chilean documentary on the *Mapuche, Nutuayin mapu: Recuperaremos nuestra tierra* (1971), collectively created by Antonio Campi, Luis Ararneda, Samuel Carvajal, Guillermo Cahn, and Carlos Flores, with participation of the Mapuche community of Lautaro, is also an experimental work on the struggle for land recovery. See "El indígena en el documental chileno," Memoria Chilena, *www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-3389.html* for a chronology of the ethnic documentary in Chile.
9. Original text in Spanish: "la difusión de culturas indígenas en diversas instancias internacionales, permitiendo que los pueblos originarios expongan su propia visión del mundo, especialmente a la hora de proteger la Madre Tierra y reivindicar los derechos y libertades de los indígenas." "Jeannette Paillán: 'Los jóvenes comunicadores serán el futuro de CLACPI,'" *clacpi.org/observatorio/?p=4045*, accessed July 7, 2014.
10. The festival was called FICWallmapu 2015. The festival's website is *www.ficwallmapu.cl*.
11. A classic example is the daily *La Tercera*, a major media outlet that as recently as 2015 called for further investigation into the alleged links between Mapuche organizations and terrorist organizations. For example, see Paula Comandari, "Los correos que muestran el vínculo entre las FARC y el PC," *La Tercera*, July 31, 2015, *www.latercera.com/noticia/los-correos-que-muestran-el-vinculo-entre-las-farc-y-el-pc.*
12. In August 2009, Jaime Mendoza Collío (24) was shot in the back during the police intervention of a peaceful land occupation in Angol, adding to a string of Mapuche young men killed by state military police: Matías Catrileo (22) and Johnny Cariqueo (23), shot in 2008 while taking part in a land occupation, Rodrigo Cisternas (26) shot in 2007, and Alex Lemún (17), shot during a land occupation in Malleco in 2002.
13. More than thirty-seven Mapuche leaders have been imprisoned under these laws, suffering excessive use of force by the police, particularly at land occupations (Dean 2009).
14. Varela's case is not unique. Mapuexpress reported the arrest of two French journalists, Christopher Cyril Harrison and Joffrey Paul Rossj, on March 17, 2008, in Collipulli, while they were interviewing a *werkén* (a traditional Mapuche authority). The police confiscated their camera, equipment, and tapes. Two days later, along with the werkén, they were attacked in the street by a group of twelve people. On May 3, 2008, Italian documentarians Giuseppe Gabriele and Dario Ioseffi suffered similar treatment while shooting a demonstration taking place on a plot owned by lumber company Mininco, claimed for almost two decades by a Mapuche community.
15. I first learned of JAAS in Brooklyn in 2005, where I met a film producer who was assisting in the development of a Chilean hip-hop documentary, *4 Ramas, 4 Armas*, a project directed by Katherine Ross, originally from Chicago and living in Santiago. I was curious if any women were in the documentary, and if there was any Indigenous content in the artists' work, and learned of JAAS. Katherine and JAAS co-directed *Newen* with Freddy Treuquil, producer of the collective Kerruf Newetwaiñ.
16. The video clip is available online at *www.youtube.com/watch?v=MzmdiOCsg_c*, accessed 4/31/2016.
17. Translation by author. Original text in Spanish: "Cuántos años en agresión? Más de quinientos de opresión. . . . El pueblo mapuche sera resucitado, persistentes en la lucha . . . el letargo no calma al guerero . . . el viento arrastra todo lo dormido."

18. *Wixage anai* is the subject of the documentary *Wixage anai: Despierta y levanta* (2005), directed by anthropologist Anthony Rauld.
19. Jose Luis Vargas, "Comunicadores mapuches entregan al Gobierno antecedentes sobre persecución a periodista" *Azkintuwe* online edition, April 9, 2010, *www.azkintuwe.org/abri1091.htm*. Azkintuwe emerged from the Lientur Counter-Information Collective, a web portal created in 2000 in Temuco by journalists covering abuses suffered by Mapuche communities and organizations in Chile. The journal *Azkintuwe* ceased publication in 2013 but maintains an active social media presence on Facebook and Twitter. Back issues can be read at *issuu.com/azkintuwe*.
20. Richard Curinao, personal communication, October 4, 2016.
21. Quote is from *www.mapuexpress.net/?act=presentation*, accessed August 28, 2012. The current URL for Mapuexpress is *www.mapuexpress.org*.
22. "Quienesomos," *Azkintuwe*, *www.azkintuwe.org/quienesomos.htm*, accessed August 28, 2012.
23. Cayuqueo is an active social media networker: his Twitter account has 138,000 followers, and he regularly publishes columns in the press in Chile, has authored four books and since 2014, and hosts *Kulmapu*, the first show on Mapuche culture, for the private television network VTR. *Kulmapu* is rebroadcast by eleven regional channels and CNN's Chilean affiliate, CCNChile (*www.cnnchile.com/noticia/2014/12/04/kulmapu-la-serie-documental-sobre-la-cultura-mapuche*). Episodes also stream on the VTRChile channel on YouTube.
24. Pedro Cayuqueo, personal communication, June 7, 2010, Santiago, Chile.
25. Pedro Cayuqueo, personal communication, June 7, 2010, Santiago, Chile.

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