Relational Goods and Endurance of Voluntary Associational Participation: The Mapuche Indigenous Case in Santiago de Chile.

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In this article, I analyse the reasons for sustaining membership in voluntary ethnic associations of Mapuche people living in Santiago de Chile. By following a relational goods approach, I suggest that the constructed nature of ethnicity leads the Mapuche to create and join ethnic associations in an urban milieu. This study reveals that the main motivations for sustaining an active associational engagement in Santiago are based on three accounts: identity recovery struggle, leaving an identity legacy and bonding with their ethnic peers; all of these identified as relational goods. This investigation is based on an eight-month ethnographic fieldwork conducted in Santiago.

Keywords: ethnic association; ethnic identity; Mapuche; membership; relational goods; urban environment.

Numerous ethnic-based voluntary associations are being created, joined and run by rural Mapuche migrants and their descendants living in the capital of Chile, with renovated strength since these collectives received legal recognition by the post-authoritarian Indigenous Law in 1993. Participation of the Mapuche in different urban socio-political collectives has been an ongoing phenomenon since the twentieth century. Even during Pinochet's regime, given the few spaces available for civil participation, Mapuche groups in cities organised different actions of resistance against the dictatorship. As Caniuqueo (2006) and Mallon (2014) express, throughout the twentieth century, different attempts of Mapuche organisations to defend an autonomous identity and political presence were developed with a different success. These organisations laid the foundations for a growing organisational experience, different to the traditional rural community form of social interaction, using different strategies in their interaction with the Chilean state. The promulgation of the Indigenous Law 19.253 of 1993 gave rural (communities) and urban (associations) collectives official recognition while establishing new organisational dynamics for the Mapuche people in Santiago. The Mapuche have been able to use this legal associational framework not only to support the survival and practice of Mapuche cultural, socio-political and organisational features but in turn to slowly de-invisibilise and re-ethnify the Mapuche who have made Santiago their city.

Association membership has been extensively identified by scholars as a positive asset as it allows individuals to create a sense of community for the equal protection of interests in public life (Scholzman, Verba and Brady, 1999) as well as offering a place where learning experiences, social interactions and identity reconfiguration occur between ethnic peers (Hunt and Benford, 2004; Olzak, 2004; Yashar, 2005). Notwithstanding the opportunities participation offers for individual

development, the reasons (or rationality) behind striving to conduct activities that are time consuming, non-resource producing and with an uncertain impact (e.g. Olson, 1965; Verba, Scholzman and Brady, 1995; Schlozman et al., 1999; Prouteau and Wolff, 2004; van Ingen and Kalmijn, 2010) have been widely discussed for decades in social sciences. However, fewer advances have been made to understand participation endurance in ethnic-based urban indigenous associations beyond social movements, let alone the impact of ethnicity, migration and city life on their participation dynamics.

To understand sustained and active Mapuche ethnic associational membership in a non-traditional urban milieu such as Santiago de Chile, I employ two conceptual frameworks. On the first hand, building upon the early constructivist conceptualisations of Fredrik Barth on ethnic groups as social organisational categories of self-ascription (Barth 1969; 1998), a constructivist approach assumes ethnicity as something non-fixed and non-given by birth categorisation. Consequently, ethnicity can be constructed and re-constructed through social interactions inside and outside ethnic communities (Nagel, 1994), given the permeable nature of ethnic boundaries that separate different ethnic groups (Chandra, 2006; Imilan, 2010). While social-ethnic relations become tangible in a geographical context in which individuals conceive sameness and otherness (Wade, 2010), the flexible nature of ethnicity leads individuals to conceive of the milieu beyond its physical dimension. In consequence, new environments, such as the urban one, can acquire symbolic meaning (Becerra et al, 2017) upon which to construct and reconstruct identity.

As members of the urban landscape, the traditional dynamics of Mapuche associations have been influenced by the environment, conditioning the way their ethnicity is developed. This process has not meant an acculturation and replacement of their indigeneity by the Chilean-mestizo identity, but rather a constant process of

reconfiguration for which associations have been instrumental. The persistence of Mapuche identity in the city is then understood by its capacity for adaptability and transformation as a product of social interactions with ethnic peers (Eriksen, 2010) as well as the result of different stimuli within the urban environment in which indigenous individuals are inserted (Nagel, 1994; Chandra, 2012). Indigenous ethnicity has been acknowledged as having a dual role, that is, being the unifying engine that drives individuals from the same ethnic group to form organisations and social movements and being a dynamic product of social interactions that occur inside these collectives (Hunt and Benford, 2004; Olzak, 2004). Thus, indigenous organisations worldwide have declared, embraced and mobilised around their members' identity, challenging any anachronistic or ephemeral perceptions in regard to this process (Yashar, 1998). As Canessa (2006) maintains, they have returned to their ethnic identity and revitalised indigenous traditions and practices in the urban context. While ethnicity endurance has been amply studied from a constructivist perspective including the Mapuche case in Santiago de Chile (see, for example, Aravena, 2007; Imilan, 2009; Gissi, 2010; Durston, 2013), fewer academic advances have been made to understand self-identified Mapuche individuals' motivations for sustaining membership in a voluntary ethnic association in the city.

In this regard, drawing on the work of Uhlaner (1989, 2014) and Prouteau and Wolff (2004), who employ a relational good approach to understand the reasons behind rational individuals' engagement in collective action that involves high personal costs, I use a relational goods framework to comprehend the motivations for sustaining an active Mapuche associational engagement in Santiago. Originally conceptualised from the economic field to challenge rational choice approximations to association participation, relational goods are understood as 'intangible outputs of a communicative

and affective nature, produced through interactions' (Prouteau and Wolff, 2004: 436). Relational goods are non-rival and non-exclusive as people cannot enjoy them if they are not an active part in their production (Uhlaner, 1989, 2014; Prouteau and Wolff, 2004). A relational good approach acknowledges the relevance of inter-personal interactions over other accounts to explain associational participation durability. That is, acknowledging the impact of one person's behaviour on the welfare of others through a process of social interaction (Becchetti et al, 2008). As presented by Becchetti et al (2008) examples of relational goods include, among others, companionship, emotional support, solidarity, a sense of belonging, feeling loved and understood. When participating in an association, individuals engage in a series of activities that require interaction and cooperation with the fellow members. This communication is understood as a facilitator for the generation of bonds between members, which are strengthened as involvement continues over time (van Ingen and Kalmijn, 2010). For the gradual production of relational goods, a temporal perspective is crucial for individuals to develop sentiments that may evolve into an identification to the ethnic association and bonding with other members. Relational goods develop, thus, from the subjective representation that individuals make of their association and its membership over a period of time (Bello, 2011). In this regard, the individual's active participation needs of a minimum period of stability to be able to settle and acquire significant thickness (Cheuquelaf, 2012) for relational goods to be socially produced. Establishing a common margin of time for this process to unfold is a complicated task given that this depends on each individual in relation to factors such as the individual's frequency of participation, the level of emotional involvement both with the ethnic activities developed by the association as well as with the ethnic peers, and the regularity of associational meetings that allow social interactions. Eventually, relational goods are

produced as a result of social interactions framed by the ethnic association, being reinforced as interactions are maintained over time. The production of these goods would facilitate the participatory stability of an active nature in order to access more and better relational goods. However, the passage of time itself does not guarantee the generation of relational goods, as each of them ultimately depends on the discretionary production of individuals. Moreover, given the effort and time it takes to construct the social situations in which relational goods can be produced and collectively shared over time, these tend to be under-consumed by individuals.

Despite the recent developments on relational goods, most of the approaches to the individual's participation has relied on instrumental explanations that relate associational engagement with the intention of obtaining a personal benefit (Prouteau and Wolff, 2004; Becchetti et al, 2008). In the indigenous association system in Chile, few economic incentives are offered by the public sector to Mapuche associations that are registered as legal entities. Through a careful channelling and monitoring of competitive public funding schemes for the development of culturally-based and micro-entrepreneurial activities, these urban Mapuche associations are seen as subjects that can apply for specific social benefits addressing their inner complexities (De la Maza, 2010). Sustaining voluntary associational activity requires the investment of significant sums of money. This is particularly difficult for the indigenous population as it remains a constituent part of the poorest strata of Chilean society (CASEN, 2015). While the public funds facilitate the development of some ethnic-based activities, these are offered to the development of specific projects and not to sustain long-term associational work. A study requested by CONADI, the National Corporation for Indigenous Development – the state institution in charge of nation-wide indigenous affairs, from Universidad Arturo Prat (2015), recognised that the public fund application process is extremely

intricate and highly time-consuming. Moreover, the resources available were criticised for being inadequate for sustaining durable activities as public resources must be spent within a given timeframe previously stipulated in the scheme's terms and conditions. The pecuniary rewards from voluntary association work is zero as explicit money wage for volunteer work is not paid and access to public funds is restricted and subjected to an exhaustive accountability process. Therefore, it is the interpersonal interactions and camaraderie bonds within voluntary associations that really promote a sustained and active participation (Prouteau and Wolff, 2004).

Motivated by a shared ethnic identity, Mapuche from different generations, have looked for encounter spaces with their ethnic peers to express and recreate their ethnicity in the city through the development of multiple ethnic-based activities. Ethnic associations have presented a suitable space for this purpose, constituting encounter points in a large city such as Santiago de Chile. Since the amount of time spent with peers in ethnic-based associational activities goes hand in hand with the strengthening of bonding, friendship, solidarity and a sense of belonging, all understood as relational goods, the expectation is to remain in the association (Uhlaner, 1989; van Ingen and Kalmijn, 2010). To this end, I examine how the members of eleven Mapuche associations based in Santiago articulate their participation. In this sense, when the participants of this investigation considered the question 'what led you to join an ethnic association and persist in membership in Santiago over the years?', Mapuche interviewees presented three sets of explanations all of which recognised as relational goods: identity recovery struggle, leaving an identity legacy for future generations and the emotional bonds developed with the ethnic peers. In other words, the Mapuche participants of this study remain as members as a result of non-pecuniary and non-material benefits received from their active involvement in these ethnic collectives. In

this study, I aim to contribute to the flourishing literature on the identity construction process that Mapuche people have undergone in urban areas (Aravena, 2007; Imilan, 2009; Gissi, 2010; Durston, 2013; Becerra et al., 2017 – among others). From a socio-interactional perspective, I focus my investigation on the crucial role that ethnic associations, created by the Mapuche and for the Mapuche, have been having for this purpose in Santiago de Chile.

Methods

This paper is part of a comprehensive exploratory qualitative study on Mapuche associational structures and dynamics followed in the urban areas of Santiago de Chile. The methodology of this investigation is based on information gathered through an ethnographic fieldwork over an eight-month period in the city of Santiago de Chile from September 2015 to May 2016. Santiago is a large city divided into 52 municipalities (*comunas*), which correspond to the basic unit of local administration of the country. Of these 52 municipalities, 34 are urban (Regional Government, 2017). The qualitative strategy comprised participant observation of a wide variety of Mapuche associational-related activities of 11 associations located in eight economically and geographically diverse urban municipalities of Santiago: El Bosque, La Florida, Maipú, Macul, Peñalolén, Providencia, Puente Alto and Santiago Centro.

Participant observation was one of the main pillars of my data gathering process as it helped me to get a deep insight into the everyday organisational machineries of the 11 associations under study. The nature of this process entailed not only a passive observation of the urban Mapuche association dynamics, but also an active participation in all the associational activities in which I was invited to collaborate. Additionally, 34 in-depth, semi-structured interviews with Mapuche leaders

and members of the 11 associations were conducted. One of the main purposes of the interview process was to ask the Mapuche information about their different kinds of associational experiences and thus understand their reasons for participating in a voluntary ethnic association in Santiago. The Mapuche interviewees also emphasised the motives to persist with their membership over time in voluntary ethnic associations. The criteria for the selection of participants considered self-identification as Mapuche and membership of an ethnic-Mapuche association located in Santiago. Consideration was given to the inclusion of participants across different age ranges, gender and from different migrant generations, encompassing those rural-to-urban first migrants and their descendants born in the city. Both methods, participant observation and interviews, served to understand two distinct levels; the macro-associational by participant observation and the micro-Mapuche individual with in-depth semi-structured interviews. Thus, I was able to understand the meanings, symbolisms, expectations and general challenges that participation in an ethnic association implies in Santiago and consequently the interviewees' driving forces to remain in their ethnic collectives. The use of both methods was intended not only to increase validity by crosschecking the information received from one or the other method, but also to extensively comprehend different aspects of the associational structures and dynamics in Santiago.

From the Community to the Association: Characterising Mapuche Associational Development in Santiago

According to the Socio-economic Characterisation Survey of the Ministry of Social Development (2015), the indigenous population in Chile currently constitutes 9 percent of the country's total population, of which 83.8 percent consider themselves Mapuche. Nowadays and together with the Maori in New Zealand, the Mapuche are one of the

most urbanised indigenous peoples in the world (Yescas, 2008) where 37.4 percent of the whole Mapuche population is congregated in the city of Santiago (Unrepresented Nations, 2012).

Rural-to-urban Mapuche migration, however, is not a new phenomenon. Until the late decades of the nineteenth century, the Mapuche were mostly living in rural areas of southern Chile. After various processes of forced state dispossession of their lands and being relegated to just the five percent of their former territory (Crow, 2013), the combined scourges of poverty and marginalisation began to take a severe toll. Following the limits imposed on Mapuche land ownership, the natural increase of indigenous population that demanded more productive lands for their survival, the lack of economic incentives existing in the area and the consequences of a strong capitalist system that has favoured forestry projects in indigenous areas, social and economic conditions worsened over time leaving rural-to-urban migration as one of the only real alternatives to escape immediate misery (Bengoa, 2000; Aravena, 2003; Pairican, 2014). In this way, rural-to-urban migration has been an ongoing phenomenon during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries and has determined that currently nearly the 70 percent of the Mapuche live in cities (Barrientos, 2014; Pairican, 2014). Santiago is one of the main attraction centres for low- and medium-skilled workers, including rural Mapuche migrants. In addition to this economic-motivated migration, in the last decade Santiago has seen Mapuche students coming from the rural territories in search of better education possibilities.

Far from disappearing as a people, the Mapuche showed their historic capacity for adaptation in the presence of diverse challenges and aggression from the environment and resisted the acculturating centripetal forces towards the creation of an imaginary unique national being; the Chilean-mestizo. By taking advantage of the

political conditions established in the early 1990s by the newly elected democratic government of Patricio Aylwin, the Mapuche have developed dozens of urban ethnic associations which have been acknowledged by the post-authoritarian Indigenous Law since 1993. The writing of an Indigenous Law and acknowledgement of urban indigenous organisational manifestations during Aylwin's administration were not a mere coincidence. In 1992, for the first time in Chilean history, a national census included a question about indigenous peoples: 'If you are Chilean, do you consider yourself belonging to any of the following cultures? 1. Mapuche; 2. Aymara; 3. Rapanui; 4. None of the above'. The results of the census presented a new social panorama in the country: more than ten percent of the Chilean population considered themselves as part of an indigenous 'culture'. Of this proportion, 93 percent considered themselves Mapuche. This census also uncovered another fact: the Mapuche population was eminently urban as a main consequence of migration, absorption of the rural population by the growing city and new births in the urban zones.

The 1990s also started with a remarkable event with the commemoration of the fifth centenary of the 'discovery of America'. Latin America experienced the so called 'indigenous emergence', marked by a series of indigenous demonstrations of cultural resistance and identity reconstruction (Yashar,1998; Bengoa, 2009). As Bengoa (2000) expresses, indigenous peoples in the region started to question the bases of their relationship with their corresponding Latin American state. Over the years, the demands have increased in complexity and vary widely from people to people encompassing areas such as self-determination, autonomy, territoriality, self-government and a wide range of indigenous rights. As a response, several states included the indigenous issue in their laws, institutions and constitutions. Chile was not the exception. A group of the most active indigenous organisations in the country presented a series of demands to the

newly elected democratic government, including the legal protection of their land and water rights, the restoration of stolen territory, the participation of indigenous leaders in nation-level political affairs and the establishment of a new relationship with the Chilean state. As a result, in 1991 the government established a Special Commission for Indigenous Peoples with the clear task of creating a comprehensive document outlining measures on indigenous policy to be adopted in the next few years. After the evaluation of the National Congress, this document was shortened, simplified and transformed into the current Indigenous Law that created CONADI and the legal framework for urban indigenous associations (Universidad de La Frontera, 2003).

The Indigenous Law 19.253 contemplates two types of indigenous organisations: communities and associations. Mapuche communities are broadly understood as a modern form of rural indigenous reservation based on extended family ties (common ancestry) linked to a particular plot of land located in the ancestral homeland. To legally establish a community one or more of the following situations must be present: come from the same family trunk; recognise a traditional leadership; own or have owned indigenous lands in common; and come from the same old settlement (Article 9, Indigenous Law). Rural-to-urban migration has broken traditional organisational dynamics and hierarchies based on family bonds and land ties that are still present in rural areas. Nevertheless, the Mapuche in Santiago have been able to maintain a spiritual connection with their lands and communities of origin. Mapuche individuals in Santiago have demonstrated a common desire 'to collectively (re)create the homeland through the emblematic practices' (Brown, 2011, p.229) they identify as fundamental of their ethnicity in the city. As Curivil maintains, 'today, the Mapuche identity is no longer territorial, which does not mean that currently there is no Mapuche territory. This rather means that inhabiting a certain territory is no longer decisive in the

construction of the identity of a people' (Curivil, 1997, p.5). The Mapuche in the capital of Chile have been actively creating ethnic associations in which to recreate practices and traditions perceived as distinctive of their rural homeland, helping them to maintain an active symbolic connection with it. In this regard, the Indigenous Law considers the possibility of registering 'urban indigenous associations' with CONADI. These are understood as voluntary groups formed by, at least, 25 indigenous people which provide a space for social organisation, cultural development, support and mutual protection and assistance among indigenous in the city (Article 76, Indigenous Law). While several Mapuche groups have decided to maintain a distance from any public service given a historical mistrust towards the state, others have opted to register their collectives only with their local municipality. In practice, the decision of where to legally register an association affects the number of possibilities to qualify for restricted public funds. Therefore, those associations registered only at the municipality level are excluded from the funds offered by CONADI.

Whilst the number of formal participants in urban Mapuche associations is still low at the macro-urban population level, the number of associated Mapuche is clearly increasing every year. Official data from the Metropolitan Regional Government (2016) indicates that there has been a sharp increase from nineteen associations with a valid legal entity in 1999 to 83 seventeen years later in Santiago. Urban Mapuche associations have been key in the rescue, exercise, reinterpretation and maintenance of Mapuche practices in the city, acting as bridges between urban Mapuche life and what is conceived as the ideal rural collective practices of cultural, political and social character (Warren, 2017). The creation of opportunities for social interaction for the rescue, exercise, recreation and maintenance of Mapuche practices has been closely intertwined with the generation of relational goods. According to the interviewees, these

non-pecuniary goods have been critical for the decision to uphold active membership with the ethnic associations despite the costs involved in participation. In this way, the three areas identified by the Mapuche members of voluntary ethnic associations were: identity recovery struggle, leaving an identity legacy for future generations and the emotional bond developed with the ethnic peers. All of these ideas are discussed in the next section.

Ethnic Identity Recovery and Endurance Struggle

Especially strong among the leaders and those Mapuche with a solid identity consciousness, identity recovery and reproduction in the city is expressed as one of the main engines for an associational membership durability. Faced with the threat of loss of identity and absorption by the non-indigenous dominant society, the Mapuche decided to mobilise themselves through the formation of urban associations 'in the name of the defence of their identity' (Aravena, 2007: 50). Six years after the recovery of democracy in the country, Simón (anon.), a Mapuche *lonko* (chief), created an association whose internal structure and dynamics resemble a rural southern community. Nowadays, Simón's association is one of the main urban association models of inter-cultural health identity recovery in Santiago. Here he discusses its origin and purpose:

> Our association is an organisation born out of the basic need to recover and put into practice what we are, the language, the ceremonies, the rites. This is why we were born twenty years ago (…). We are still standing because we have a mission, which is to work in the area of health and Mapuche spirituality. We are here to encourage the Mapuche to participate in all the work that has to do with human, social and cultural development. You cannot live in the city unaware of that. You are no longer in your community and no one is going to fight for you. That is why we have been working all these

years: to mark a space, to join forces and to work strongly in the area of Mapuche health. (Simon)

Simón's association has offered a space for nearly twenty years in which to actively recreate practices and traditions that are perceived as distinctive of their identity such as Mapuche health and spirituality. The collective work of Simon's association over years, has helped to revitalise their ethnicity in the city and to maintain an active symbolic connection with their rural homeland. In this way, Simón stresses the relevance of the collective rescue and exercise of their identity in the city for a sustained associational participation in the capital over years. While being far from their communities of origin, urban associations have presented the space in which this identity recovery and endurance in the city can be materialised though a sustained collective work. As a result, Mapuche associations have been transformed into scenarios of collective indigenous cultural re-signification.

The Mapuche in Santiago have used their associations for the articulation of a network of cultural-based workshops which has been crucial for identity creation and re-creation in the city. These workshops have represented an opportunity for teaching and learning relevant features of Mapuche culture and idiosyncrasy in the city, keeping their indigenous identity alive. Fieldwork data suggests that those Mapuche who were able to acquire the cultural tools for their upbringing in rural communities have adopted a commitment to educate and reinforce identity in Santiago. In this way, they have helped those members who did not have the same access as they did because of the effects of rural-to-urban migration and discrimination to acquire these tools. When Carmen, a fluent Mapuzungun speaker who was born in the heart of a rural Mapuche community, decided to create a new Mapuche association in the peripheral municipality where she lives, she was clear about the objectives that this collective had to have. She

wanted a space to get together to talk about their own stories and experiences with her Mapuche peers as well as a nucleus for teaching Mapuzungun and developing religious ceremonies. Carmen's association has effectively been able to form a solid group organising social events, language workshops and traditional Mapuche ceremonies. In this sense, Carmen's association has adopted a commitment throughout its five years of associative life, for the rescue, revitalisation and maintenance of traditional Mapuche practices in Santiago. She discusses its origin and her role in the association:

> At the beginning, we formed this association to have contact with our Mapuche brothers, that was the main thing for me. To know how many people are interested in talking about our lives. Then I noticed that there were Mapuche people who did not know anything about their culture but now they are learning with the help of the association. I work hard to recover and maintain my identity and the identity of my people here in the city. That is what we have been doing these last five years (…) I am a leader, I am a housewife, I am a mother, I am a worker. I do not have the time and money. I spend the year too tired. But here I am. My challenge is to continue with the teaching of worldview, spirituality and language in our association. (Carmen)

As suggested by the cases of Simón and Carmen, when they started to appreciate the value of identity revitalisation in their corresponding association's memberships over years, their commitment with the association remained even when the costs of participation are high. The broad variety of ethnic-based activities has helped to make 'traditional' Mapuche culture and idiosyncrasy operational in the city by actively recovering, appropriating and preserving the culture, traditions and worldview. For an important group of Mapuche, this has resulted in a long-term commitment to educate

and reinforce 'Mapucheness' in the city, serving the indigenous membership to move towards a more conscious identification. Ethnic associations have then facilitated a process of ethnic identity construction by presenting the space where cultural features can be freely taught, learned and exercised in the city.

Leaving an Identity Legacy for the Future Generations

Closely related to the previous explanation, the passing on of identity to future generations was transversally presented as a crucial factor for joining and persisting in an ethnic association in the city. As is not uncommon for indigenous peoples, the Mapuche culture is traditionally based on the oral transmission of knowledge (Relmuan, 2005) in which the elders have occupied a prominent position, being responsible for ensuring the preceding generations' learning of customs and wisdom. This oral transmission of knowledge, in the form of spending long and quality time together, has been primarily developed within the Mapuche family. Traditionally inserted into a rural community conformed by various families, different interactions take place between them creating new learning experiences for the Mapuche individual.

These social paradigms have been affected by migration, impacting the way knowledge is transferred from one generation to another. Now separated from their family and communities, the identity construction process is affected given that individuals usually feel linked to their identity through family ties. As Aravena (2007) expresses, the idea of consanguinity (or myth of common origin), one of the main pillars to construct identity is altered, making the process of ethnic adscription harder. If we add to this years of sustained socio-economic and racial discrimination that led people to conceal their ethnic identity and not to share it with their descendants as a way of protecting them against social harassment, the result is a younger Mapuche

generation deprived of their ethnic origins' referents from which to start understanding their own ethnicity. Participation in associations has become one of the most effective ways for this initially hidden and unexplored identity to be asserted in the city.

> Frequently expressed among those Mapuche who were not able to have a first-hand experience with the rural culture is the issue of leaving an identification imprint to their descendants. Convinced about the importance for their children to learn about their origins, self-identified Mapuche with limited knowledge of their culture have persisted in membership, hoping that associations can give their descendants the necessary cultural tools that they themselves are not able to transfer. As with many other women, Marisol has been the mainstay of her family in terms of seeking external support to reinforce ethnic identity for her two daughters. Admitting a lack of basic Mapuche cultural knowledge and supporting her husband who still feels uneasy speaking about Mapuche-related issues as a consequence of years of sustained racial discrimination, Marisol and her family joined Carmen's association becoming one of her most committed members. Marisol discusses her reasons as follows:My husband and I joined the association because we needed our daughters to know their roots. I also feel that I have to support my husband; it is what I feel the most because I feel sorry for him when he tells his story and when he starts to cry, that he had a bad time for being a Mapuche (....) I also want my daughters to get on with their lives and that they know that they have Mapuche blood. (Marisol)

The experience of Marisol reveals the search that some Mapuche in Santiago have undergone for the rescue and preservation of identity traits perceived as salient. Despite

being born in a rural area of southern Chile, Marisol migrated when she was very young to Santiago, so it was not possible for her to acquire identity tools such as the Mapuche language and worldview. Although her husband was able to grow up in the heart of a rural-Mapuche family, the difficult migratory experience and racism he faced in the city have prevented him from passing on his family history and life experiences to his daughters. Identifying blood ties as an inescapable element of the Mapuche ethnicity that would bind her daughters to a common ancestral past, Marisol sought support from her ethnic peers. Through the active participation in several ethnic workshops, Marisol hopes that her daughters can learn important cultural traits and thus develop an open and conscious Mapuche identification.

In many cases, the educational task has been coupled with an intense debate with public authorities with the hope of improving the urban indigenous panorama for the future Mapuche generations. Susana, a former Mapuche associational chair and current active member of the same association, summarises her determination as follows.

Susana: In the association, one always wants to improve, improve, improve, so that one day there will be more advances. Perhaps, today one is working, enduring whole mornings in these blessed indigenous consultations and meetings with the authorities, so that perhaps our grandchildren will receive the benefit of this.

In this sense, Susana explains her active participation over the years has given her a commitment to facilitate associational work for the younger Mapuche generations in Santiago. Perceiving associational work as a key for the rescue and maintenance of Mapuche identity in the city, Susana decided to invest her time in multiple negotiations

with public authorities to influence public policy and ensure associational work for the future. Participation in associations has thereby represented a space for collective action in which the Mapuche, by working together as an ethnic association, can help their descendants' initially hidden and unexplored identity to be affirmed in the city.

Emotional Bond Formation

Finally, emotional and psychological benefits were also identified by Mapuche members of urban associations as a main reason for sustaining an associational membership. Mapuche living in Santiago have not followed a clear territorial distribution beyond having a greater presence in the most deprived areas of the city. Associations have been transformed into the main gathering points in a large city such as Santiago, giving place to the development of feelings towards the ethnic group, their ethnic association and the ethnic peers that constitute the collective.

The effects of migration and discrimination have posed a series of economic, political and social transformations to the Mapuche population, affecting their traditional ways of life and conditioning their descendants for generations. As expressed by the interviewees of this research, once they understand discrimination as a phenomenon that not only affects them as individuals but that also has an impact on all other members of their ethnic group, looking for places to meet up with their ethnic peers for collective support was a common reason to join and stay in an ethnic association.

The collective experience of regular gathering with ethnic peers and the realisation that one is not 'the only Mapuche in town' has been presented as an emotional healer of the wounds left by the migratory experiences of uprooting and racial discrimination. The deep immersion into cultural traditions, practices and values

that active participation in an association implies, helps build confidence and a strong sense of belonging to the group, all of which are acknowledged to facilitate associational stability. The case of Lorena and her association is a clear example of this. Having worked with vulnerable Mapuche migrant women in Santiago, she has closely appreciated the healing effect that association participation generates. The simple possibility of having a space to talk in Mapuzungun and collectively remembering their rural lives helps to make them feel accompanied in a predominantly non-indigenous city, as she discusses below.

Lorena: It is important to participate because organisations heal wounds. In these groups, you speak about things that in other places you cannot talk about, it is like a necessity of encounter or re-encounter among the Mapuche. And talk about issues that are not and will not be spoken in other places either. Because it is not the same in a group, I do not know, a self-help group, if I say look, I am depressed because I have carried this for a long time, uprooting, discrimination, it has affected me, it makes me feel bad, I feel out of balance, I feel locked up, for me the land is important... Nobody is going to understand. In addition, the association is important for knowing more and talking about our daily life, but our indigenous daily life.

The collective experience of freely expressing one's own ethnicity in a protected and encouraging space offered by the ethnic association has in turn served to build and re-build a collective memory in the city, cemented on a rural imaginary yet embedded in an urban environment that conditions the traditional ways of organising. This is not only an intellectual exercise of elaborating what it means to be indigenous

with other peers, but it is also an affective connection with them that ultimately defines a feeling of belonging (Huenchuñir, 2015). This affective connection was crucial for Rosa, a 65-year-old Mapuche who has lived in Santiago for nearly 50 years. Suffering from discrimination for decades, her self-esteem was affected, which made her hide her Mapuche origin even to her two daughters. After casually meeting the chair of a Mapuche association at a fair who invited her to join, she decided to attend a meeting. As a result of a five-year sustained collective interaction, a new revalorisation of Mapucheness has been growing in Rosa, in opposition to previous discourses based on ethnic shame, as she expresses below:

> I felt more Mapuche when I joined the association. I lost my sense of shame because before participating, you felt ashamed because you were discriminated against and you were alone. (Rosa)

In this way, relational goods are enhanced when the individuals involved in their production and enjoyment share meaningful characteristics such as common experiences of uprooting, alienation and discrimination in the urban environment. As maintained by Uhlaner (2014), relational goods such as solidary and sociability are usually enjoyed by individuals who feel connected to certain others, in this case, by their common ethnicity, helping to alleviate feelings of loneliness. The common identification between individuals is linked to a commitment, solidarity and loyalty to other members as well as to the associational activities, based on the interactions generated inside the associations. Spending time together seeking the fulfilment of common aims collectively promotes the development of durable social relationships and a widening support network of indigenous people in an urban non-traditional milieu. All

these relational goods generated as a result of social interactions cannot be enjoyed alone and without actively participating in their production. In this way, the individual and collective wellbeing is appreciated as better with the association than without it, encouraging individuals to remain in their ethnic collective.

Conclusion

This study has revealed the relevance of relational goods for a sustained Mapuche voluntary associational membership in Santiago de Chile. These non-pecuniary and dependent-upon-interaction-goods were appreciated as fundamental by the Mapuche interviewees included in this study for a durable engagement in voluntary ethnic associations in the capital of Chile. Motivated by a shared ethnicity, Mapuche have created and joined an increasing number of voluntary ethnic associations since their legal recognition in 1993 by the post-authoritarian Indigenous Law. Mapuche associations have provided a protective and culturally familiar environment to exercise Mapucheness in the city. Through the organisation of ethnic-based activities, urban associations help to de-invisibilise and re-ethnify Mapuche migrants and their descendants in Santiago. Today, urban Mapuche associations hold a prominent position by offering a space for the cultural, psychological and, in certain cases, political development of substantial numbers of Mapuche in the capital city. In this way, Mapuche people are not only creating and joining voluntary ethnic associations but also giving cause for a durable membership. Given a sustained active participation over time, identification with the ethnic group increases, serving ethnicity as an especially salient group identifier. Sustained participation with ethnic peers in ethnic-based activities in a protected and familiar environment such as the one offered by the ethnic association, promotes the emergence of relational goods as a result of doing something with a

valued other person (Uhlaner, 2014). Thus, as argued by Ulhaner (2014), relational goods provide a theoretical basis to understand sustained participation in ethnic-based associations by emphasising the importance of inter-personal interactions over other accounts to explain participation endurance.

Three areas of relational good were presented by the Mapuche interviewees when asked about their reasons for joining and persisting with their membership in Santiago over the years: identity recovery struggle; leaving an identity legacy for the future generations; and the emotional ties developed with ethnic peers. The first two accounts were identified as relational goods linked to the desire to maintain and exercise an identity in a predominantly non-indigenous milieu such as Santiago by practising, teaching and learning relevant cultural traits. On the contrary, the third response included other aspects of sociability which included the development of friendship, solidarity and a sense of belonging to the group. When participating in an association, the Mapuche engage in a series of activities that require interaction and cooperation with the fellow members. This communication is understood as a facilitator for the generation of social goods for the members, which are strengthened as their involvement continues over time. All of these goods depend upon the social interaction of associational members and are enjoyed when shared with other individuals. In turn, the amount of time spent in associational activities is relevant as relational goods are strengthened through social interactions over time. That is to say, in order to practise the Mapuche culture, to educate other Mapuche in the relevant cultural and idiosyncratic traits, to learn and transfer these features to the younger generations, and to develop emotional ties with ethnic peers, the Mapuche have to be an active part in their production within the margins of their voluntary ethnic associations.

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