Finding a Mapuche inside, in Australia

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Statement of originality

This is to certify that to the best of my knowledge, the content of this research paper is my own work. This research paper has not been submitted for any degree or other purposes.

I certify that the intellectual content of this research paper is the product of my own work and that all the assistance received in preparing this research paper and sources have been acknowledged.

Cecilia Castro Marín
January 8, 2018
For my great-grandfather and his Mapuche identity
Jose Nieves Torres Amariles.

In loving memory of my grandmother Angelina
who searched and found lost family.
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Preface

It was dark, the air was cold and the sky was beginning to change from that cold night full of extreme experiences that I could only hear and every so often a glimpse of the ritual was allowed for my eyes to see. I walked over to the circle of people waiting for the ceremony to begin once the sun showed its first rays of light. I stood in between the crowd and to my surprise and amazement, I was surrounded by women wearing their traditional Mapuche clothing. The black hair of the women was crowned with a series of rows of round medallions, and the numerous single round pendants tinkled as they moved to the sound of the trutuka, kultrun and trompe (musical instruments). At the centre of each forehead a satin flower, behind, numerous satin ribbons stitched together. The satin ribbons went over the top of the head and draped down their backs in red, purple, yellow, green, blue, and orange. Baffled and astonished, I followed the women as they began the Nguillatún at dawn.¹

In 2015, while participating in my second student exchange at Pontifical Catholic University of Chile, I attended a residency at a museum in Cañete, a small town in the south of Chile with a high population of Mapuche people. The museum is known as Museo Juan Cayupi Huechicura ² (Juan Cayupi Huenchicura Museum). At the museum, I was invited to attend a Mapuche ceremony known as Nguillatún and other activities where the Mapuche communities gathered at the museum. During my time at the museum, I had the pleasure of sharing my ceramic skills with the community in a two-day workshop in basic hand building techniques. It is important to mention that my participation in the Nguillatún was tremendously special because non-Mapuche people can only attend this ceremony with an invitation and at that time, I was not sure if I could call myself a Mapuche. I felt very fortunate to be able to participate in the Nguillatún because I was amongst Mapuche

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¹ A Nguillatún is a Mapuche ceremony where the Mapuche give thanks to their gods.
² Previously known as Museo Mapuche de Cañete (Mapuche Museum of Cañete)
people who continue to live like my ancestors lived and they practice the Mapuche way of life.

This research paper reflects on experiences that took place during the exchange to Chile in 2013 and in 2015.

In my first student exchange to Chile in 2013, I discovered that my maternal – great-grandfather José Nieves Torres Amariles identified as a Mapuche but only one of his parents was Mapuche. This information was kept from my mother and consequently having a Mapuche heritage was a family secret I am most grateful to have found. I do not know what our Mapuche surname was or why it was lost. My family does not practice the Mapuche culture or have any knowledge of Mapudungun, the language spoken by the Mapuche. My great-grandfather’s last surviving daughter does not consider herself to be a Mapuche, including her children, or grandchildren. In addition, one of the youngest grandchildren assisted me with information on the Mapuche, but this person never spoke about the Mapuche as something she was a part of. It is quite interesting to see this person’s photographs on Facebook, where she would be standing next to a Mapuche flag, or a Mapuche statue. Is she silently declaring to the world on Facebook that she is Mapuche.

It is quite problematic to find information on the Mapuche from the perspective of the Mapuche and written by Mapuche people in Sydney and far more difficult to find this type of information in English. The struggles I have encountered while searching for verbal information were quite significant because people are reluctant to speak about their heritage or their family history due to a number of discriminatory reasons. A common view is that now that Chilean families live in Sydney, their family history from Chile is now in the past and very far away from Sydney where they can finally distance themselves from the stigma of being a Mapuche or a descendant of a Mapuche.
All Spanish and Mapudungun words in this research paper were translated by the author.
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My loving and supportive family have enabled my rich education and eagerness to learn. I thank my mother Maria and my father Beltran for their wealth of valuable knowledge that helped me to realize my goals. My loving daughter Samantha and my husband Gerardo, who assisted with all my crazy endeavours that have made possible this research paper and more. The unconditional support, encouragement and your belief in me Cynthia, is incomparable. I thank you, Cynthia, for sharing your language skills with me and for editing this research paper. I love you all.

I am eternally grateful for all the support, encouragement and guidance from my incredibly patient supervisor Jan Guy. Jan was always willing to share her wealth of knowledge, which allowed me to grow as an artist and a productive member of Sydney College of the Arts and the visual arts community of Sydney.

I will be forever thankful to Sydney College of the Arts, The University of Sydney for granting me the Australian Postgraduate Award, a dream I never thought possible.

I have an enormous gratitude towards the Museo Juan Cayupi Huechicura Mapuche Museum and its staff for allowing me to join the museum in my residency and the community of Cañete for allowing me to participate in the Nguillatún ceremony.

I cannot thank enough my dear friend Isabel and Teresa for teaching me about the Mapuche culture and way of life.

I would like to acknowledge the assistance given to me by my university friends from Pontifical Catholic University of Chile who taught me to understand the Mapuche in Chilean society, Chilean colloquial language, idioms, and everyday survival in a city such as Santiago: Valentina, Nicol, Carmina, Paloma, Marjorie, Leandro and Eduardo.
To all the staff at Sydney College of the Arts, including Canbora, who were instrumental in my education and for granting me the privilege of participating in the Student Exchange Program twice to Chile. I thank you all for awarding me the scholarships that allowed my travel to Chile. This research paper would not have been achievable without the funding and the Student Exchange Program.
Thesis Abstract

The Chilean born artist who has lived in Australia for most of her life situated herself in Chilean society in 2015 and in 2013 found her lost Mapuche heritage. Finding a Mapuche inside was the artist’s constant search to find answers to the question ‘Am I Mapuche?’, leading her to ask others many times ‘Do you think I am Mapuche?’

With the use of four ceramic installations, the artist merges and manipulated the shapes of the *Aegorhinus servillei* insect into a human form to represent the prejudice attitudes existing in Chilean society towards the Mapuche and people with dark skin. The amalgamation of Australian and Chilean imagery in Xylography prints, and the use of insects from both countries, the artist was able to convey the displacement felt while living in Chile during the student exchange. The extensive explanation of Chilean colloquial language and the use of Spanish words in Chilean society, provide insight for English speakers and an understanding of the negative attitudes towards the Mapuche.

The search found that Chilean society is discriminatory towards the Mapuche and towards people who have a similar physical characteristic of the Mapuche, and in particular people with brown skin, similar to the artist.

Chilean idiomatic language and the use of words by Chileans was explained extensively, providing an insight into the discrimination that exists in Chilean society that is not understood by English speakers. There is vast evidence of the prejudice exerted onto people who do not look like the Western ideal and in particular the Mapuche.
Introduction

To perceive is directly associated with the perceiver, and how we understand the world around us, because ‘things can only present themselves from a particular angle and through a limited set of profiles’. Thus, when one is born in Chile and is educated in the Chilean educational system, an education system that celebrates the nation’s public holidays, that glorifies foreigners who have built the Chilean nation and belittled the indigenous people, an education system that censors and silences any indigenous contribution to the nation’s history, one grows up believing without question. One grows up without the capacity to even imagine that there might be something else because it has always been hidden and silenced in Chilean society.

In the 2017 Chilean Census, the Mapuche population was recorded to be 1,745,147 from an overall Chilean population of 17,574,003 people across the country and its territories. The 2017 Chilean Census also showed that 2,185,792 people identified as having indigenous heritage, and although the Mapuche are a minority group in Chilean society, they have the greatest population, followed by the Aymara 156,754, Diaguita 88,474, Quechua 33,868, Likan Antai 30,369, Colla 20,744, Rapa Nui 9,399, Kawésqar 3,448 and Yagán or Yámana 1,600 people. This research paper examines my trajectory of the discovery of my Mapuche heritage, a family secret that I assume is common in numerous Chilean families today.

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4 Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (National Statistics Institute), 5.1 Población que se considera perteneciente a un pueblo originario, por nombre del pueblo originario, según sexo (5.1 Population that considers to belong to an original town, by name of the original town, according to sex), Translated Cecilia Castro, (Chile Government of Chile, 2017), https://resultados.censo2017.cl/download/5_1_PUEBLOS_ORIGINARIOS.xls  May 12, 2018.
It is quite problematic to find information on the Mapuche from the perspective of the Mapuche and written by Mapuche people in Sydney and far more difficult to find this type of information in English. The struggles I have encountered while searching for verbal information were quite significant because people are reluctant to speak about their heritage or their family history due to a number of discriminatory reasons. A common view is that now that Chilean families live in Sydney Australia, their family history from Chile is in the past and very far away from Sydney where they can finally distance themselves from the stigma of being a Mapuche or a descendant of a Mapuche.

Chapter One, Things are Not Always as They Appear. The artworks you are about to discover in this research paper are an autobiography constructed from experiences encountered while studying in Santiago, during 2015, and a residency at Juan Cayupi Huechicura Museum in Cañete, in Chile.

A set of prints titled *Bicho Raro (Weird Bug)* 2015, were created during my student exchange. *Bicho raro* (weird bug) is a colloquial expression, which conveys the displacement associated with emotions experienced, and although the experiences are personal, the imagery and materials used in these works are suggestive of objects or events and feelings greater than my own.

Insects were used in these artworks to express feelings of displacement as they have various metaphorical roles. The first is a metaphor for the self; the second is for the emotional impact caused by the dramatic cultural encounter and experiences confronted during the period lived in Chile, and lastly for the anxiety provoked by the difference in language.

Insects from Chile and Australia are used to demonstrate the complex hybrid world I inhabit because I was born in Chile but have lived in Australia for most of my life. This hybrid world reflecting on past and present experiences of the two countries that have come to be my home. The *Cabrito* or *Aegorhinus servillei* is the insect most used in the series *Bicho Raro (Weird Bug)* 2015 and
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*Las Bichas (Female bugs) 2017. Cabrito* is the name given to these insects by the people living in the area of Maule and Valdivia, the place where my relatives and ancestors are from in Chile.

Fabric often used in a tablecloth, is used to express the complex social structure in Chile, and a black and white striped fabric represents the Australian way of life. Memories from any Mapuche ancestor are absent from these artworks as a result of the removal of the Mapuche culture from the collective memory of many Chileans due to colonisation in the creation of the Chilean ideal identity in which indigenous people had no place.

Are you Mapuche? is a question I often hear, possibly due to having the physical characteristics of a Mapuche, such as skin colour, facial structure and possibly my dark straight hair.

Bernardo Oyarzún, a contemporary Mapuche artist from Chile and his way of viewing Chilean society are parallel to mine, and his artworks give evidence and validity to the claims I make about Chilean culture, where the Mapuche are discriminated and judged. Using our artworks and through our own experiences, Oyarzún and I expose the hidden and unspoken truth about Chilean society and culture, where the Mapuche are unfairly treated.

In the self-portrait *Bicho Raro 10 (Weird Bug) 2015, I am the Other.* The Other, is a traditional Mapuche woman who wears a trarilonko across the forehead. The *trarilonko* and *trapelakucha* are jewellery pieces which have spiritual significance in the Mapuche cultural context, and it was appropriated to be used as a strategy to depict the self as a Mapuche woman and challenge the status quo regardless of not having a Mapuche Küpal. Küpal is the Mapuche identity concept, where both parents and grandparents are Mapuche, and the ancestral place where they lived in the Araucania (an area in the south of Chile, which used to be Mapuche territory) is known by their surnames.
Silver coins entered the Mapuche culture as a result of trading livestock. Silversmith skills were the collateral used between the Mapuche and the Spaniard prisoners of war as a bargaining tool for their freedom. The silver coins were transformed by the Mapuche into objects to decorate their bodies and to give spiritual protection to the people that wore them.

‘Do you think I am Mapuche?’ was a question I asked many people throughout my exchange and after speaking to some of the Lonkos, (the Mapuche leaders of the Nguillatún ceremony at the museum in Cañete), I had finally found the answer to my question, ‘Am I Mapuche?’.

Chile has begun its process of reconciliation with the indigenous communities and has introduced several strategies and laws, but a lot more needs to be done. Society in Chile has a long way to go to achieve an inclusive society where difference is respected, and indigenous cultures are appreciated.

Homi Bhabha, the postcolonial theorist, explains how a new cultural identity can emerge from the cultural encounter between two different fixed cultures. A hybrid identity is an in-between identity, which does not fit into the colonised or the coloniser’s identity. The meeting of two unique and separate cultures with their constructed and evolving identities; the Mapuche-Spanish, the Chilean-Australian have enabled a cultural interaction to occur and emerging from in-between these identities are a new hybrid identity that has developed, an identity that describes me.

The Headdress in the series Bicho Raro (Weird Bug) 2015 is an appropriation of a European lady’s headdress from the 17th and 18th Century. The headdress gives me status, because although I have brown skin I too, I am important. The headdress is solidified in the artwork Touching the Past (2017), but in this artwork the body under the headdress is absent. A series of cast objects that appear to look like insects represent my ancestors who are no longer here, they have been silenced by the denial of my Mapuche heritage in my family.

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7 Homi K. Bhabha, The Location of Culture (London, Routledge, 1994), 86.
Chapter 2  Who and How are We? Chapter two deals with language and identity by examining colloquial Chilean words used in the names of these artworks, and they describe feeling displaced, for being present in situations where the person does not belong.

Las Bichas (Female Bugs) 2017 are a set of sculptures which represent the self. La Negrita (Little Blacky) 2017 emerged from childhood memories and the damage caused by religion. Excluded 2017 reflects on the many areas where the Mapuche were, and still are, excluded from the initial instances when the conquistadors entered into Mapuche territory until the present day. Las Bichas (Female Bugs) 2017 and their anthropomorphic bodies are a mixture of the insect Cabritos or Aegorhinus servillei with a resemblance to a human and human body parts, with details of my own face.

Three artists have been used: Mapuche artist Bernardo Oyerzún, and his artwork Bajo Sospecha (Under Suspicion) 1998; Japanese artist Shigeki Matsuyama and her installation Narcissism: Dazzle Room 2016; and Eduardo Díaz with Zapatista Virgin 200. These works were selected to support my artworks because they deal with concepts of identity, social acceptance, and religion.

The term indio (indian), is extremely offensive to the Mapuche due to its discriminatory nature. It is the word most used to demean a Mapuche person for being Mapuche. Jose Bengoa, a Chilean historian and anthropologist, mentions in his book ‘History of the Mapuche’\(^8\), the word indio,\(^9\) but he uses the word in an ironic way. The irony is used to show that Chile has not entirely excluded the Mapuche from their decision making processes as he points out that ‘It’s been said that Chile, has been constructed opposed to the ‘indian’’,\(^10\) opposed to the Mapuche way of doing things.

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\(^8\) José Bengoa, Historia del Pueblo Mapuche (History of the Mapuche) 19 and 20 century (Chile, LOM Ediciones, 2000), 7.
\(^9\) Ibid., 7
These sculptures in the series *Las Bichas (Female Bugs)* 2017, aims to use a sarcastic approach and the notion of being savage, and primitive, as an empowering technique and attitude of ‘I am Mapuche, so what? Two significant factors in Chile have contributed to the erasure of my Mapuche ancestry, the first is religion, followed by Eurocentric Chilean society where indigenous cultures are demeaned.

My great-grandfather was Mapuche by only one parent, and I assume that he was rejected by other Mapuche for not having a full Mapuche lineage. In addition, my great-grandfather would have been rejected by his non-Mapuche relatives for having Mapuche blood.

Catholicism has been central to my strict upbringing causing me anxiety and extreme fear as a person who is not free to choose in life without the Catholic guilt always present in the back of my mind. Shame, the most powerful tool used by religion to control the behaviour of people, and a tool so hard to learn not to use. These factors contributed to the crucifixion of *La Negrita (Little Blacky)* 2017 who is firmly held in place with a rustic timber frame.

The silencing of the Mapuche culture in our family has ceased with the revelation that my great-grandfather’s self-identification as a Mapuche with the assistance of *La Negrita (Little Blacky)* 2017, Displaced 2017 and Excluded 2017. These artworks and my continual use of the Mapuche culture as a central part of my art practice are a form of resistance to the silencing of the Mapuche in our family and as a Chilean.
Chapter 1 Things are Not Always as They Appear

*Bicho Raro (Weird Bug) 2015*

The series of portraits titled *Bicho Raro (Weird Bug) 2015* (fig. 1) are diaristic in nature as they document an autobiography constructed from experiences encountered while studying in Santiago during 2015, and a residency at Museo Juan Cayupí Huechicura in Cañete.\(^{11}\) Similar to Gibbon’s account of Vincent Van Gogh’s self-portraits, which provide an account of his daily existence, I use the *Bicho Raro (Weird Bug)* 2015 series as a journal of events that occurred during my time in Chile.

The purpose of the student exchange was to research the Mapuche culture and to find the relationship between the Mapuche and myself. These portraits are mostly concerned with a state of mind, emotions and less concerned with representing a realistic image that resembles the face in minute detail, as does a photograph.\(^{12}\) *Bicho Raro meaning* weird bug, conveys the displacement associated with emotions experienced, and although the experiences are personal, the imagery and materials used in these works are suggestive of objects or events and feelings greater than my own.\(^{13}\)

![Fig. 1 Series - Bicho Raro (Weird Bug) 2015](image)

Relief prints, paper, fabric, ink, thread, glue
Photographs Cecilia Castro Marin

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\(^{12}\) Ibid., 9.

\(^{13}\) Ibid., 58-59.
The strangeness of these insects and their body parts were chosen to coincide with the idiom *bicho raro* (weird bug), and also for their aesthetic beauty when their small bodies are enlarged to be able to examine their external morphology up close. In Chile, *bicho raro* (weird bug) is an idiom used to describe displacement from a situation. The word *bicho* is the Spanish word for bug and *raro* translates as rare. However, when these words are used together in Chilean popular culture, they are referring to a person who is weird or is socially incompatible.

The feeling of not belonging was constant, particularly at the beginning of the student exchange. Sometimes people suggested that I purchase clothing from *Patronato* (a popular suburb where cheap clothing could be bought) to enable me to look similar to the people in the streets of Santiago. Others found the words I used and the way I used words was too formal and I needed to use colloquial words such as ‘*po*’\(^{14}\), to be more Chilean.

\(^{14}\) ‘*Po*’ is a colloquial word used instead of the word ‘*pues*’, meaning well. http://diccionariochileno.cl/term/po
The black and white artwork of the self was digitally made with a series of insects, where they were carefully arranged on the head to give the appearance of a headdress. The headdress is a crown, because crowns are worn by important people, and it has been used to symbolise that although I have brown skin and a Mapuche heritage, I am important as well. These images were carved onto an MDF board to be used as a matrix to print a series of prints on paper and fabric. Matrix A (fig. 2), has the headdress with a selection of insects from Australia: Redback Spiders, the Australian Walking Stick, and legs from caterpillars, Mole Cricket, Praying Mantis, and Honeybees (fig. 3).

Matrix B (fig. 4) has an array of insects from Chile including the Cabrito or scientifically known to be part of the American Aterpini, Aegorhinus servillei (fig. 5), Peorro or Ceroglossus chilensis (fig. 6), a fly’s eye, various body parts belonging to beetles, and praying mantis (fig. 7). The Australian insects

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are strange to Chileans, while the insects in the other headdress containing strange insects from Chile are strange insects to Australians. However, there is nothing strange about a fly’s eye or beetles’ legs because they are common insects, but when the insects and insect’s body parts are enlarged, they become strange because it is unfamiliar to see insects in a large scale and we take notice.

Figure 4 Matrix B
Headdress with Chilean Insects
Photograph Cecilia Castro Marín

Figure 5 Aegorhinus servillei
Photograph Peet Carr
Date unknown

17 Peet Carr, "Weevil," ed. 6470379815_b33148c254_b.jpg, (Picssr.com)
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Chapter 1, Things are Not Always as They Appear

Figure 6  Peorro or Ceroglossus chilensis\(^{18}\)
Photographed Mackenzie Flight, Date unknown.

Figure 7  Preliminary image of Headdress with Chilean Insects
Photograph Cecilia Castro Marín

Accessed on November 6, 2017.
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Figure 8  Bicho Raro (Weird Bug) 7 2015
Xylography
Paper, ink, thread, glue
Photograph Cecilia Castro Marín

Bicho Raro (Weird Bug) 7 2015 and insects from Australia

Bicho Raro (Weird Bug) 7 2015 (fig. 8) contains the insects from Australia, and are carefully arranged on top of a map of Chile, while a fabricated hybrid atlas has been used as a backdrop for Bicho Raro (Weird Bug) 9 2015 (fig. 9) displaying Australian insects. Images of Australia and Chile on maps were displaced from their global position while repeating their standard iconic map image. Cut, trimmed and bound carefully from different sized images, these maps create a new hybrid typography reflecting on past and present experiences of the two countries that have come to be my home, including the physical change from living in Australia and returning to live in Chile. The repetition of the images of Australia, the host country and Chile, the country of origin, are the journeys to and from these countries, with no possibility of going to any other place, but their own country of origin and the host country. These obsessive journeys are in the collective minds of every migrant that has been displaced from their place of birth, in search of a better life.
Jorge Bontes a Chilean born artist from Canberra explains his migration journey: ‘Chile is always with me. I think that physical distance increases our inner feeling of dependency in all of us. A longing is created. The home and the physical or material place where you live is replaced by the place you carry in your heart. And the heart is in Chile.’, ‘Australia is my second home. It is a country that has welcomed us as well, which has allowed us to educate ourselves, work and do many interesting things.’

The Cabrito or Aegorhinus servillei

The Aegorhinus servillei is known as Cabrito in Chile, and it translates to little goats. This is the most bizarre and interesting insect used in these works as a result of its weird body shape, resembling armour (fig. 10) and its thorax similar to a helmet (fig. 11).

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The Cabrito is a pest and native to the south of Chile, and it includes a few other American Aterpini very similar in shape and colour. Cabrito is the name given to these insects by the people living in the area of Maule and Valdivia, the place where my relatives are from, Arauco where the Mapuche Museum is located in Chile where these insects are found and where I first came in contact with the insect.

The insects have various metaphorical roles in these artworks; the first is a metaphor for the self; the second is for the emotional impact caused by the

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20 Roig-Juñent, “Synopsis and cladistics of the American Aterpini (Coleoptera: Curculionidae, Cyclominae)”. 428.

dramatic cultural encounter and experiences confronted during the period lived in Chile in 2015, and lastly for the anxiety provoked by the difference in language. Fear, to differing degrees, is a common response humans have towards insects. There are people who are extremely fearful of insects, causing them anxiety from a possible encounter. Insects were placed on the head as the symbol for the location of the brain, where fear and anxiety take place. An enormous amount of anxiety was invoked by the fear of the inability to write in Spanish at an academic level while studying in Chile. As a consequence of learning to read, write and to think in the English language from the age of 12, when our family migrated to Australia. After arriving in Australia, all learning in the Spanish language ceased, resulting in a basic level of Spanish language both written and spoken.
**Bicho Raro (Weird Bug) 10 2015 and a Table Cloth**

A faint recollection of a tablecloth used in a kitchen table echoes the background fabric (fig.12) used in *Bicho Raro (Weird Bug) 10 2015* (fig. 13). A trace hidden in the memory is triggered when this fabric is viewed as it conjures feelings of happiness while visiting relatives as a young girl in Chile.

![Floral Fabric with Checkered Design](image12.png)

*Figure 12*  Floral Fabric with Checkered Design  
Photograph Cecilia Castro Marín

![Bicho Raro (Weird Bug) 10 2015](image13.png)

*Figure 13*  *Bicho Raro (Weird Bug) 10 2015*  
Xylography  
Paper, fabric, ink, thread, glue  
Photograph Cecilia Castro Marín
My confidential memories of my life in Chile are evoked by the checkered fabric, and the artwork *Bicho Raro (Weird Bug)* 10 2015, which was shown to an unrestricted audience connect the ‘private to the public’. However, memories from any Mapuche ancestor are absent from these artworks as a result of the removal of the Mapuche culture from the collective memory of many Chileans due to colonisation in the creation of the Chilean ideal identity in which indigenous people had no place. Any recognition of a Mapuche ancestry has been erased or silenced for myself and many other Chilean people through the oral histories of their own families.

The printed fabric has been used as a metaphor for the Chilean society and the way it functions in comparison to the Australian culture. Australian social standards are familiar to me because I have lived in Australia since the start of my teenage years. I was slowly conditioned to the way Sydney society functions, for example, catching a train, knowing the operating hours of banks and shops, what number to call in case of emergencies and so on. Whereas, in Chile these common knowledge facts were unfamiliar and I had to learn these very quickly when I lived in Chile in 2015.

Scattered red roses similar to roses found on teacups and a strange infrequent brown and grey checkered design (fig. 12), make the pattern on the fabric a hybrid design, because the designer combined dainty and feminine floral motifs with hash straight lines masculine grey lines. The organisation of the design on the fabric belongs to the designer; however, the method is unknown and incomprehensible to other people. The unfamiliar fabric design is the metaphor for the unrecognisable procedures in Chilean society or the way society functions as a result of the many years I have lived in Australia and away from Chile.

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Are you Mapuche?

It is very common for people in Chile and for Chileans who live in Australia to ask me ‘Are you Mapuche?’, ‘I can tell that you are Mapuche’, ‘I always knew you were Mapuche’ and so on. My physical characteristics, for instance, skin colour, the structure of the face and hair are similar to the physical characteristics of a Mapuche. Above are two photographs of two descendants of the Mapuche, Bernardo Oyarzún (fig. 14) contemporary artist from Chile and a photograph of me (fig. 15). However, when the accent, pronunciation and choice of words were heard by people in Chile, they were confused because I look similar to a Mapuche, but I do not speak like people in Chile.

This is currently not an uncommon reaction in Chile and studies have been conducted to clarify this archaic attitude left behind by colonisation. It is often perceived by Mapuche that the discrimination towards them is based on

25 Dr Maria Eugenia Merino and Dr Daniel Quilaqueo from Temuco Catholic University, in Temuco, Chile, conducted a study titled ‘Ethnic Prejudice Against the Mapuche in Chilean Society as a Reflection of the Racist Ideology of the Spanish Conquistadors’. Prof David John Mellor from Deakin University in Victoria, Australia has published several articles with Dr Maria Eugenia Merino on the discrimination of the Mapuche.
their ‘dark skin, shortness, straight hair, [...] and their incorrect way of speaking Spanish’.²⁶

Recently, a contemporary artist with Mapuche descent, Oyarzún (fig. 14) exhibited his installation Werken 2017 (fig. 16) in the 57th International Art Biennale of Venice. His installation consisted of 1000 Mapuche masks used in rituals by the Kollon, the men who safeguard the religious healer and leader of the Nguillatún and other ceremonies, known as Machi. As I read about Oyarzún and his anecdotes in an article with the headline ‘Mapuche Artist Bernardo Oyarzún Unmasks Chile’s Truth’, my eyes filled with tears as his experiences and views were so similar to my own and are rarely spoken in public,²⁷ or shown in major contemporary exhibitions such as a Biennale.²⁸

Figure 16. Werken 2017 & Artist Bernardo Oyarzún²⁹
Photograph Dominique Godrèche

Through our artworks, Oyarzún and I expose the hidden and unspoken truth about Chilean society and culture, where the Mapuche are discriminated, judged and ostracised. Oyarzún states that ‘When you look Mapuche like me’, Oyarzún demonstrates that dark skin people are prone to be rejected when applying for work, bullied at school for having dark skin or more emphatically, being arrested in a mistaken arrest where police presumed that Oyarzún had committed a robbery.

The masks, a metaphor for the Mapuche face, similar to *Bicho Raro* 10 (fig. 13) gives evidence to the discrimination and prejudice the Mapuche are subjected to for having ‘dark skin like an *atacameño* (a person from the Atacama desert), straight stiff hair, thick lips, prepotent, wide chin, narrow forehead – brainless’ as stated on the bottom of Oyarzún’s photograph’s *Bajo Sospecha (Under Suspicion)* 1998 (fig. 17). Oyarzún and I have chosen to use our own faces in *Bajo Sospecha (Under Suspicion)* 1998 (fig. 17) and *Bicho Raro* (fig. 1) series to denounce through our own experiences the unspoken discrimination towards the Mapuche and people who look like Oyarzún and me.

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When the face in the artwork *Bicho Raro (Weird Bug)* 10 2015 (fig. 13) is viewed in Chile, the cautious gaze is directed at the viewer and waits for the viewer to make its classification. Will the Chilean audience classify the portrait as Mapuche or as a non-Mapuche and if the classification is Mapuche, will they discriminate against the artist whose portrait is in the artwork? It is my assumption that the viewers in Chile will discriminate, however, if this artwork is exhibited outside Chile, where people do not know the Mapuche, it will not have the same impact. It is also fair to say that in Sydney I too have experienced perceived discrimination, but it is not the same as being a Mapuche in Chile where people have to change their surnames to remove the Mapuche surnames, so they have a chance gaining a job interview.

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The condition of the red eye in *Bicho Raro (Weird Bug)* 10 2015 (fig. 18) is understood as ‘*Tengo sangre en el ojo*’ (I have blood in the eye). It is an expression used in Chile not to describe a medical condition, but instead, it describes a feeling of resentment. The gaze in *Bicho Raro (Weird Bug)* 10 2015 (fig. 13) which is a portrait of myself as the Other, refers to the resentment felt by me and possibly by other Mapuche, for the discrimination endured and for passing judgement purely based on physical appearance.

A representation ‘made through the indexicality of the photograph’\(^{32}\) was made when the picture used in the making of the relief print for the MDF

board, was taken (fig. 19). The image was frozen in time and was fixed in the memory. That is, the selfie or the photograph taken in the apartment in Chile captured the exact instant the picture was taken, encapsulating the feelings and emotions felt at that time. This memory can be seen by the image on the photograph, the trace of that moment, an index of that time. However, the image on the photograph is not a spontaneous image in time, it was preconceived by myself to project a gaze that can be interpreted as mistrust, caution or suspicion.\textsuperscript{33}

Self-representation or the association of myself as a Chilean or as an Australian is perceived with difficulty as a result of living between these two cultures and constantly shifting between the two. There is no specific identity for either country because an identity is not forced, nor unitary. The typical symbology used in Chilean or Australian societies, such as using the colours of the flag, are absent from these portraits, because although I have lived in Australia for most of my life I do not feel Australian and because I have lived in Australia for so long, I do not feel Chilean either. Seeing oneself as the Other is an estrangement from the self, a paradox that I have always accepted but it is a part of me that I have come to accept through my research into the Mapuche.

Bicho Raro (Weird Bug) 10 2015 and the Other

In the self-portrait *Bicho Raro (Weird Bug) 10 2015* (fig. 13), I am the Other. The Other, in this instance, is a traditional Mapuche woman who wears a *trarilonko* across the forehead and is depicted in the artwork as a series of insects known as *Peorro* or *Ceroglossus chilensis*34 (fig. 6). The *Peorro* are closely aligned on the front of the headdress (fig. 20), similar to the round silver objects on the *trarilonko* (fig. 21). The *Trarilonko* also written as *Trarilongo, Trarilongko* or *Xarilogko* is a headdress worn by Mapuche women, and it is worn during religious ceremonies, such as the *Nguillatún.*

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34 Benítez, “Left-right asymmetries and shape analysis on Ceroglossus chilensis (Coleoptera: Carabidae)”. 
The Mapuche metallurgy foundation was first introduced into the Mapuche territorial boundaries when the Incas unsuccessfully tried to invade Mapuche territories in the 15th Century. In the post-Hispanic period of Chile, the Mapuche had acquired silversmith skills from Spanish prisoners of war. The Mapuche began to utilise precious metals to make brooches and earrings. In the 18th century, the Mapuche began to create new silversmith pieces worn by women, including the Trarilonko. Initially, the Trarilonko was a simple cloth strap with silver pendants and in the 19th century, the Trarilonko had evolved into a complex connection of silver chains that surround the head, with silver pendants in the form of medallions that hang over the forehead, and the circumference of the head (fig. 21).

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36 Ibid., 24.
The *trarilonko* has a spiritual significance in the Mapuche cultural context, and it was appropriated to be used as a strategy to depict the self as a Mapuche woman and challenge the status quo regardless of not having a Mapuche *Küpal*. *Küpal* is the Mapuche identity concept. If a person has *Küpal*, the person is said to have the genetic characteristics inherited from a Mapuche ancestry, with both parents being Mapuche and knowing the place where my ancestors lived, known as *Tuwün*.

However, *Küpal* is related to the physical appearance of the person constructed by others, but would this make me a Mapuche? If people assumed that I am Mapuche, simply by looking at my face, and then ask ‘Are you Mapuche?’ meaning that I have the physical characteristics constructed by others, then it can be said that I am a Mapuche. However, if people assume that I am Mapuche, could it be possible that they ask the question ‘Are you Mapuche?’ to see if I am one of those people who denies the Mapuche heritage.

**Denial of the Mapuche identity**

These associations made by strangers suggest a relationship between the Mapuche and myself, despite having no Mapuche surnames or Mapuche parents. The denial of knowledge of an identity and the rejection of the identity based on a preconceived prejudice idea will undermine and stereotype the person who was asked ‘Are you Mapuche?’ when this association is made. Homi Bhabha argues that the denial of knowledge of an identity is to refuse to recognise that the person has a different identity, quite different to the preconceived idea of the stereotyped individual, or the colonised, Mapuche. The oppressor continues to stereotype the Mapuche as black, short, lazy, dirty and so on, while simultaneously situating itself on the opposite side of the scale. The oppressor cannot exist alone and the oppressed Other, has to be present for the two to exist. That is; I am the

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colonised Mapuche, but they are not. Suggesting that the oppressor is the dominant white, ideal European, educated, hard working and so on. Stereotyping is a mere distraction for the mainstream person in power, an anxiety that has to be reaffirmed constantly to secure an imagined identity of the signified Other and the stabilised image of the self. On the other hand, an individual must be a descendant of Mapuche parents by birth or adoption or be the spouse of a Mapuche to obtain an Accreditation of Indigenous Quality from the Chilean Government. However, while talking to many Mapuche people during the course of my stay in Chile in 2015, the question ‘Do you think I am Mapuche?’ was put forward after I had told them my story that my great-grandfather identified as a Mapuche and was Mapuche by only one of his parents. To my amazement, all of the people confirm that I too was Mapuche, and only one person said ‘No, you are not Mapuche’. I was surprised to hear the Lonkos, (the Mapuche leaders of the Nguillatún ceremony at the museum in Cañete, Museo Juan Cayupi Huechicura) say at the end of the ceremony that they understood that all the people present at the ceremony were Mapuche, and that was the reason for all of us being present at the Nguillatún. Hearing this from the leaders of the Mapuche communities from around Cañete was very reassuring and I had finally found the answer to my question, ‘Am I Mapuche?’.

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I drew an image of the *Lonkos* (fig. 22) deep in conversation, during the *Nguillatún*. Were they discussing how they were planning to move forward and how to make the Mapuche culture grow and include people like me as part of the Mapuche of the future?

![Figure 22 Lonko Sketch 2015](image)

Photograph of the sketch Cecilia Castro

The *ikülla*, sometimes also written as *iculla o iquila*, is a black cloth worn by adult Mapuche women. It is given to women by women as a sign of maturity when a woman marries, and once obtained the young woman is then welcomed into society as an adult. I was not given any Mapuche heirlooms as this was taken from me when my Mapuche ancestry was silenced in my family. Adulthood is represented on the cape by a coloured stripe, either blue, green or fuchsia.  

Traditionally the *ikülla* are made by Mapuche women using a loom with wool they have stained from organic material and spun from their wool. To the Mapuche, the loom is known as *Witral* and it means ‘upright’. Women in the Mapuche culture are the operators of the *witral*, for the Mapuche woman, this task is executed parallel to her domestic shores. A privileged position is held by the *witralfe domo* (female weaver), in the

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43 Pedro Mege Rosso, *Arte Textil Mapuche (Mapuche Textile Art)* (Santiago, Chile, Ministerio de Educación, Departamento de Extensión Cultural y Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino, 1990), 35-36.

44 Angelica Wilson, *Textileria Mapuche, Arte de Mujeres (Mapuche Textile, Women's Art)* (Santiago, Chile, Ediciones CEDEM, 1992), 13.
Mapuche culture. Unlike Western culture where weaving is considered a craft, and it is associated with negative connotations of weaving as ‘women’s work’ and ‘the boring, mundane...tasks beneath the dignity of a man’.\textsuperscript{45} The \textit{witralfe domo} (female weaver) educates her children with social moral concepts, sacred cosmology, storytelling traditions, language, and most importantly the history of their ancestors, which is orally passed from generation to generation.\textsuperscript{46} The language, knowledge, cosmology and family history is preserved by Mapuche women.

Fabrics were used in some of these artworks because I come from a line of seamstresses and sewing skills were passed onto me when I assisted with these tasks in my teenage years. Similar to the Mapuche women who are the conservationists for their family and the community’s history, I am reconstructing a lost family history and preserving this history in the form of these artworks and this research paper. In addition, apart from reconstructing our family history using academic methods and historical information to validate it, I have ensured that my offspring speaks Spanish, my first language; knows the skill of sewing that was past onto me by my relatives; and has an active participation in the discovery of our history, ensuring that our history is secure for subsequent generations. This was important because I felt that I had no family history and I had always questioned my background.

\textsuperscript{45} Elissa Author, \textit{String, Felt, Thread: The Hierarchy of Art and Craft in American Art} (Canada, University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 21.

\textsuperscript{46} Amalia Quilapi and Eugenio Salas., \textit{Witral Tradicional de Arauko (Traditional Loom of Arauko)} (Cañete, Chile, Imprenta Austral, 1990), 25.
Finding a Mapuche inside, in Australia

Cecilia Castro Marín

A simple red stitching was employed in the headdresses of *Bicho Raro (Weird Bug)* 8 and 9 2015 (fig. 23 and 24), to represent the trajectory made to find the hidden Mapuche culture in our family. In the last four years, the secret Mapuche history in our family was found at different intervals and as a consequence of this disruption, the path made with the red stitching was cut and continued several times, but in different parts of the artworks.

![Figure 23 Red Stitching detail, *Bicho Raro (Weird Bug)* 8, 2015](image)
Photograph Cecilia Castro Marín

![Figure 24 Red Stitching detail, *Bicho Raro (Weird Bug)* 9, 2015](image)
Photograph Cecilia Castro Marín

The application and appearance of the red stitching were sewn in a plain and orderly manner, to reflect the positive perception one has towards the discovery of the Mapuche culture in our family. Although the Mapuche history in our family is painful for some members of our family, thus the red thread, it is not considered shameful in any way for me. In fact, the connection to
the Mapuche culture through my great-grandfather I regard with respect and see as a privilege, while it fulfills an element of belonging for myself.

The Headdress

The position of the head and body similar to an antiquated photograph was deliberately made to mimic a European lady with a headdress from 17th and 18th Century, with feathers and embellishments, resulting in an appropriation of a European imaging in the series *Bicho Raro (Weird Bug)* 2015. The fancy hat with feathers is where the European Spanish influence with that of Australian, which mimics English society, are fused. The purpose of the headdress is not to copy a European lady, but to draw attention to so many people in Chilean society who believe themselves to be descendants of Europeans and they fail to see the significance and the richness of the Mapuche culture. One can read the headdress of both as signs of status and identity.

The use of insects in the headdress both fascinates and repulses, as we believe in our minds that the insects will infect or contaminate our bodies possibly due to thinking that insects are dirty. 47 Along the same lines is the fascination people had with me when I was in Chile. People were curious to know why I spoke with a strange accent, and why I was a little different, and they wanted to know me and talk to me to find out more. However, there were other people in Chile who I believe I repulsed, possibly for having the same facial characteristics of a Mapuche. For example, on two occasions I was not served in a restaurant at *Costanera Centre*, a shopping mall in an affluent part of Santiago close to where I was living. Another incident occurred when I attended a Mapuche presentation in a museum in Santiago and while stating that I had no idea if I had Mapuche descent, one of the men conducting the presentation said ‘I just have to look at you to know that you are Mapuche’.

Reconciliation is needed
We can learn to live with each other’s differences and still keep our beliefs. We must respect and value the history, and recognise that before Spanish arrival to the country we now call Chile, people were living there, who had their own civil and economic structures, sacred beliefs, who lived in harmony with the land and most importantly, they had and continue to have their language. Although Chile has begun the long process of reconciliation, for example, the first Indigenous Law No. 19253 was published in 1993, a lot more needs to be done. Perhaps this process could continue by saying sorry for the children taken under false pretences by the Capuchin Franciscan Friar, from Mapuche communities with the backing of the state. This could be similar to the apology offered from the Commonwealth of Australia to the Indigenous people of Australia in 2008. Maybe look at the Australian or New Zealand model and consider short and long-term changes in consultation with minority groups such as the Mapuche, Rapa Nui o Pascuense, Atacameño, Aymará, Collas, Quechua, Diaguita, Kawashkar, Alcalufes, Yámana, or Yagán. Chilean society could begin today by including all those other indigenous groups that are not recognised by the state, for example, Changos, Picunche, Pehuenche, Huilliche, Lafkenche, Nagche, Caucahues, Chonos, and Onas.

Where do I come from? What did my grandparents do? Who were my ancestors? These questions I could not resolve, and my relatives could not

50 Antinio, “CHARU: Sociedad y Cosmovisión en la Platería Mapuche (Charu: Society and Cosmology in the Mapuche Silversmith).”
52 Ibid., Congreso Nacional de Chile
answer either. Living away from Chile, made the task of finding answers to these questions almost impossible. As a teenager growing up in Australia, I did not fit into society, and one of the major differences, I have come to understand is not my appearance but my accent.

**Hybrid identity**

The meeting of two unique and separate cultures with their constructed and evolving identities; the Mapuche-Spanish, the Chilean-Australian have enabled a cultural interaction to occur and emerging from in-between these identities a new hybrid identity has developed. The new identity is not one, and it is not the other. Instead, it is an entirely new identity originating from the space in-between, known to Bhabha as the Third Space. In other words, in the new hybrid identity, there are traces reminiscent of where the new identity has come from, but it is not the same, it is ‘different, new and unrecognisable’.  

The postcolonial theorist, Bhabha explains how a new cultural identity can emerge from the cultural encounter between two different fixed cultures, and he labels this identity as a hybrid identity. A hybrid identity is an in-between identity, which does not quite fit into the colonised or the coloniser’s identity. As it was stated earlier, the headdress was appropriated from a picture of a European lady, and it is using mimicry as the strategy to enable the Other to develop ‘as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite’. For mimicry to continue to be successful, it must be repeated to generate its difference. The repetition is not evident in the artwork; however, it is present in the production of the print. The silver image was produced using a wood carving technique employed in print media, allowing the image that was carved into the MDF board to be used numerous times resulting in a new image that is a representation of the original image that was on the MDF board. The silver image (fig. 25) is the indexical sign of

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the MDF board, but it is not the original image, it is a different picture altogether. It is a mark that gives evidence to the MDF board that was once there but it is now absent, similar to the facial appearance, giving evidence to the Mapuche heritage that was once in our family, but until now, it was absent. The silver print, as well as all the copies that were made with the carved image on the MDF board, have retained fibres that were removed from the MDF board when the image was transferred from the MDF board onto the paper using the tight compression of the printing press. The fibres represent the trace of the fixed identities, which are now part of the new hybrid identity. A new hybrid identity has emerged into a Third Space and it contains traces of the MDF board. The new hybrid identity is clearly different from all the other *Bicho Raro (Weird Bug)* 2015 (fig. 1), in its distinctive silver colour, visible in *Bicho Raro (Weird Bug)* 21 2015 (fig. 25).

Silver and Jewellery

River. However, trading with the Mapuche was based on a barter system known as *trueque*. The exchange of the silver coins with the Mapuche begun partly as a result of trading livestock. Silversmith skills were the collateral used between the Mapuche and the Spaniard prisoners of war as a bargaining tool for their freedom. The silver coins were transformed by the Mapuche into objects to decorate their bodies and to give spiritual protection to the people that wore them.\(^{57}\) The image in *Bicho Raro (Weird Bug) 21 2015* (fig. 25) depicts the new hybrid identity, which is completely made from the colour silver, elevating the status of the hybrid identity as a precious and spiritual being borne of the exchange, and transformation of great differences.

A Headdress Without a Body

The headdress from the series *Bicho Raro (Weird Bug)* 2017, has been solidified in the artwork in *Touching the Past* 2017 (fig. 26), but in this artwork the body under the headdress is absent. A series of cast objects that appear to look like insects (fig. 27 and 28) and dolls hands (fig. 29) in *Touching the Past* 2017 are copies of the original objects which represent my ancestors who are no longer here, they have been silenced by the denial of my Mapuche heritage in my family.
Finding a Mapuche inside, in Australia  Cecilia Castro Marín

Figure 27  Insect sculpture (work in progress)
Stoneware clay, stain, and glaze
W 5cm x H2.5cm
Photograph Cecilia Castro Marín

Figure 28  Insect sculpture (work in progress)
Terracotta clay, stain, and glaze
W 5cm x H5cm
Photograph Cecilia Castro Marín

My Mapuche ancestors, the same as many other ancestors of Chilean families, cannot speak about the injustice and hardship they endured for being Mapuche and their descendants have learned to deny their Mapuche heritage to avoid discrimination, hence erasing the Mapuche heritage through subsequent generations.
The doll’s hand (fig. 29) is an object that triggers memories from my past as a young girl, but it is also a reference to an absent body\textsuperscript{58} that was shielded by family to prevent discrimination from affecting me for having the physical traits of a Mapuche, dark skin, round face, straight black hair. This means that now that I have become aware of my Mapuche heritage and my family’s efforts to protect me, I cannot see what they saw at that moment in time when it was evident to them that I would be discriminated against because that moment in time is in the past, it is absent now.\textsuperscript{59}

\textsuperscript{59} Ibid., 14.
Similar to the incidental origin of *My Hands My Heart* 1991 (fig. 32) by Gabriel Orozco, where he ‘took up a piece of clay’ in his hand without planning it and formed the gesture which bears a resemblance to a heart, the insects in *Touching the Past* 2017 emerged while I unconsciously played with a lump of clay in my hand and pressed it against my clenched fingers (fig. 30 and 31). Rather than comparing my clay insects to a symbol of resistance, and solidarity often represented with a clenched fist, my insects are a connection to my past, which allowed me to question concepts of identity and belonging.

Order in the Black and White Stripes

The vertical black and white striped fabric (fig. 33) used in *Bicho Raro* (*Weird Bug*) 16 2015 (fig. 34) is the metaphor for the orderly Australian society in which I currently live, where the social order comes from understanding the Australian system and way of life. It could be said that the stripes are synonymous to the convict history Australia has and the strips on the convicts’ uniforms\(^2\) or it could be interpreted as the stereotyped white and black society Australia seems to have. Australia’s original inhabitants were and always will be Aboriginals and migrants like myself and others from all over the world have made this country their home and have contributed to the array of different people who live here.

Bicho Raro (Weird Bug) 16 2015 (fig. 34) has two images printed on the surface of the black and white fabric. The first image is a silver print (fig. 35), using a Tetra Pak container as the matrix (fig. 35), with no facial features.

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63 Antinao, “CHARU: Sociedad y Cosmovisión en la Platería Mapuche (Charu: Society and Cosmology in the Mapuche Silversmith).”
or insects on the head instead it has a line drawing of an upside-down *Trapelakucha* (fig. 37). The second image is a black ink print (fig. 38) of the image that was carved on Matrix B (fig. 4), and it was printed on top of the silver print (fig. 28). Both the first and second image are partly visible on top of the striped fabric, but neither one is more prominent than the other.

The *Trapelakucha* or *Keltatuwe* is a silver jewellery piece (fig. 37), worn by Mapuche women on their chest and it gives the person wearing the *Trapelakucha* spiritual protection. The Mapuche’s spiritual philosophy, including the origin of life, can be explained with this ornament, and it is worn during ceremonies such as *Nguillatún*. The *Trapelakucha* has an upper and lower section, and they are connected by a series of three chains. In the lower segment *Naüg Mapu*, human life on earth is explained. The lower segment of this jewellery piece has been used in the artwork as a line drawing of the *Trapelakucha* (fig. 36).

![Figure 38 Black Ink Print of Matrix B](image)

*Figure 38* Black Ink Print of Matrix B  
Xylography  
Paper and ink  
W20cm x H45cm  
Photograph Cecilia Castro Marín

The upside down *Trapelakucha* is the metaphor for my Mapuche ancestors and their life on earth when it was violently assaulted and disjointed from their accustomed way of life as a result of the Spanish invasion. The combined images of the silver print with the *Trapelakucha* and the portrait of the self as

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a Mapuche were printed on top of the striped fabric to enable a completely different identity to emerge (fig 34). Identities evolve and change entities and in *Bicho Raro (Weird Bug)* 16 2015 (fig. 34) a new hybrid identity has developed. A hybrid identity that has traces of my ancestors and traces of previous hybrid identities; it is a unique new hybrid identity of myself in Australia.
Chapter 2 Who and How are We?

A play of words is used to describe the series *Las Bichas (Female Bugs) 2017* to explore concepts of elimination in *Excluded 2017*. A racial expression used in Chile was the catalyst for *La Negrita (Little Blacky) 2017*, where religion and a Eurocentric Chilean society have contributed to the erasure of my Mapuche ancestry. The shame of being a Mapuche is explored, while the artwork *Displaced 2017* puts a stop to the silencing of my heritage.

*Palabras are Words*

The Spanish word *palabras* is the English term for ‘words’\(^65\). Translations are part of everyday discourse not because they assist in understanding situations encountered during the course of the day, but to comprehend the different nuances of languages I work within the study of the Mapuche culture and the creation of the artworks. The works titled *Bicho Raro (Weird Bug) 2015* and *Las Bichas (Female Bugs) 2017*, use Spanish words for their identification because Spanish is my first language and in turn, I am excavating the origins of my unfolding identity.

‘Bicho’ and ‘raro’ are both Spanish words that translate as a bug for the former, and rare, less common or unusual, can explain the meaning of the latter. The word *bicho* is not a formal term, it is a dialectic word used in colloquial language to indicate a male insect.\(^66\)

In the English language alone, words can be formal and informal and can have a variety of different meanings. The Spanish language is no exception and in fact, it can be more complex due to its grammatical gender system for nouns. A common example of this system is nouns ending in either the letter ‘o’ being masculine and words ending with the letter ‘a’, are designated


feminine.\textsuperscript{67} The word \textit{bicho} refers to a male bug as a result of having the letter ‘\textit{o}’ at the end of the term. However, in the series of artworks \textit{Bicho Raro (Weird Bug)}, the words \textit{bicho raro}, refer to me as an artist and I am the \textit{bicho} but also a female, establishing a displacement between the word \textit{bicho} and my female gender. As a consequence, I cannot be a \textit{bicho} because a \textit{bicho} refers to a male bug, not a female bug and I cannot be a \textit{bicho} because a \textit{bicho} refers to an insect and I cannot be an insect because I am a human.

A metaphor is a term used in linguistics to imply the significance of a phrase or a word that has been used in a way contradictory to its literal sense, commonly known as a figure of speech.\textsuperscript{68} For instance, in the artworks \textit{Bicho Raro (Weird Bugs)}, the term \textit{bicho raro} is a metaphor for feeling displaced, for being present in a situation where the person does not belong.

\textbf{Las Bichas (Female Bugs) 2017}

![Las Bichas (Female Bugs) 2017](image)

Figure 39. \textit{Las Bichas (Female Bugs) 2017}, preliminary sketch
Sketch Cecilia Castro

In the series of sculptures titled \textit{Las Bichas (Female Bugs) 2017} (fig. 39), the anthropomorphic bodies are a mixture of the insect \textit{Cabritos} or \textit{Aegorhinus servillei} (figs. 40, 41, & 42) with a resemblance to a human (fig. 43) and

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human body parts, such as the neck and collarbones (fig. 44) shoulder details (fig. 45) and my own face (fig.46).

Figure 40  Cabrito or Aegorhinus servillei  
Photograph Fernando Calvo Fuenzalida

Figure 41  General Morphology of Curculionidae aegorhinus servillei  
Top and Abdomen view

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70 Lanteri, “Key to higher taxa of South American weevils based on adult characters (Coleoptera, Curculionoidea)”. 67.
Las Bichas (Female Bugs) 2017 is a set of five sculptures, each representing the self. La Negríta (Little Blacky) 2017 (fig. 43) emerged from childhood memories and the damage caused by religion.

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Figure 44  *La Negrita (Little Blacky)* (detail)
Neck and collar bone detail
(work in progress)
Stoneware clay and coloured underglazes
W30cm x H30cm x D45cm
Photograph Cecilia Castro Marín

Figure 45  *Excluded* 2017
Shoulder detail (work in progress)
Stoneware clay
W40cm x H60cm x D50cm
Photograph Cecilia Castro Marín
Chapter 2, Who and What are We?

Figure 46  Detail of artist’s face and high cheekbones (work in progress)
Stoneware clay
Head W35cm x H35cm x D50cm
Photograph Cecilia Castro Marín

Figure 47  Displaced 2017 (work in progressed)
Photograph Cecilia Castro Marín
Experiencing displacement while living in Chile in 2015 after living outside of Chile for over 30 years and lacking common knowledge of Chile, and the colloquial language used by the people led me to create the sculpture titled *Displaced* 2017 (fig. 47). I used the idiom known to Chileans as ‘*bicho raro*’ (weird bug) to create the series *Bicho Raro (Weird Bugs)* 2015 (fig. 1) for one of my subjects at university in Chile. After asking a friend for the names of strange insects known in Chile, he suggested several insects, but encourage me to choose the most beautiful insect he knew, the *Peorro* or *Ceroglossus chilensis* (fig. 6). In addition to his most beautiful insect, he recommended staying away from ‘*El Cabrito*’ as it was the least beautiful because the main colour of the insect was black and not colourful like the others he had suggested. Therefore, I chose ‘*El Cabrito*’ because it was rejected for the colour of its skin, like me.

The insect sculptures are portraits of the self, striving to be the perfect idolised image Chilean society pushes women to have, and referring to the strategies a close relative employed to make me look less Mapuche. Long neck, high forehead, and high cheekbones are qualities known to be ideal Western standards and in my works, *La Negrita (Little Blacky) 2017, Displaced 2017* and *Excluded 2017*, these qualities are exaggerated to emphasise the stereotypical qualities used to discriminate against the Mapuche and the self (fig. 48 and 49).

![Sketch for Las Bichas (Female Bugs) 2017](image)

**Figure 48 Sketch for Las Bichas (Female Bugs) 2017**
Sketch Cecilia Castro
Several times, I have had conversations with Chileans who have assured me that by looking at people’s feet, they can determine if a person is of Mapuche descent. When I was on exchange in 2015 and participated in a Mapuche ceremony at the Museo Mapuche de Cañete, Ruka Kimvn Taiñ Volil - Juan Cayupi Huechicura, the cold temperature in the air did not deter some Mapuche from participating in the ceremony barefooted. Later while talking about my experience with a Mapuche friend, I told her that I had heard that people could determine if a person is Mapuche by looking at their feet. She took off her shoe and showed me one of her feet and told me ‘You can tell that I have Mapuche feet because I started wearing shoes when I came to Santiago, when I was 17 years old’ and she quickly put her shoe back on, so I could not look at her foot anymore and as a sign of shame.

In a song titled *Latinoamérica* 2011 by a popular music group from Puerto Rico, called *Calle 13*72, the word *Latinamerica* is the metaphor for the people...

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of Latin America who appear to be indigenous and belong to the oppressed minority, living in a less favourable hybrid social class, who are the majority.

Every verse describes a positive attribute to describe the people of Latin America, followed by a negative quality of the oppressor, for example ‘I am what was left behind, all the leftovers from what they stole [...]’ ‘Mi piel es de cuero por eso aguanta cualquier clima’\(^{73}\) (My skin is like leather, this is why it endures any weather) and it follows with other topics such as human exploitation, illness, people who have disappeared, the land worth fighting for, yo canto porque se escucha (I sing because it is heard), government operations invading their homes.\(^{74}\) The satirical lyrics denounce the negative reality of the people of Latin America, whom despite all that has occurred to them throughout history, they continue to be standing, to be there in their land. Un pueblo sin piernas pero que camina (a village without legs but still walks). The word pueblo refers to the common people of Latin America. Although the legs of the common people were cut down by the oppressor, they continue to stand. Having the legs cut off or cut down refers to the oppression that has been inflicted on the Latin American people, first by the conquistadors then followed by the State, and large corporations. The people from Latin America get up and rebuild what has been damaged and continue with their lives, the resistance and struggle, clearly stated in the song ‘Y si se derrumba, yo lo reconstruyo’ (and if it collapses, I will rebuild it).

‘Mi piel es de cuero por eso aguanta cualquier clima’\(^{75}\) (My skin is like leather, this is why it endures any weather), refers to poverty. Mapuche people living in small villages away from the major cities (like many disadvantaged people in Latin America) have very little money, and shoes are dispensable whereas food is more necessary for their survival. A Mapuche friend’s feet were conditioned to withstand the cold weather by walking with no shoes, her skin became hard like leather and the shape of the foot became

\(^{74}\) BuenaMusica, "Calle 13 (Street 13)."
\(^{75}\) Ibid., Calle 13, "Latinoamérica (Latin America)."
wide. The footprints under the feet of the insects refer to the footprints of my Mapuche friend’s feet and the feet of many Mapuche children who grow up without shoes.

Steel prosthetics was given to *Las Bichas (Female Bugs)* to allow them to stand as they rebuild their lives after so much injustice has been inflicted on them, such as discrimination, poverty, and usurpation of their land. Barely visible is an imprint of a foot under each steel leg, suggestive of an absent body, and the footprints of a foot that once walked in a life of my ancestors’ past.

After talking to a friend about her feet, I finally understood my relatives’ actions towards me as a child. My relative’s feet are wide, and she began to wear shoes when she was enrolled in a boarding school from the age of eight years old. On one of my relative’s foot, she has a faint scar from a time when her foot was burnt in an open fire and her grandmother, treated her wound with *matico* (*Piper angustifolium*), a Mapuche herbal medicine, leaving her foot with minimal scars. The strategy used by my relative on me had a hidden agenda as her interest was not so much to prevent my feet from becoming wide, but she did not want my feet to look wide with hard, thickened skin similar to impoverished Mapuche or my friends’ own painful experience prior to migrating to Santiago when she was 17 years old when she started to wear shoes for the first time in her life. My Mapuche friend and my relative display similar attitudes towards having wide feet. They feel shame to show that their feet are wide because the shame they feel is from other’s knowing that they were poor and they once lived in impoverished conditions while growing up.

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Excluded

The inclusion of the Mapuche history into the ‘History of Chile’ was non-existent and ignored by Chilean historians prior to 1985, when Jose Bengoa a Chilean historian and anthropologist publish his book titled ‘Historia del Pueblo Mapuche’ (History of the Mapuche).\(^7^7\) Bengoa’s book was the first book in the history of Chile that published oral histories from common people as a historical source of evidence in the history of the Mapuche and Chile. The exclusion of the active participation of the Mapuche in the many confrontations since the arrival of the Europeans and in the national political stage is extensively documented in Bengoa’s book.\(^7^8\) The artwork titled Excluded 2017 (fig. 45) reflects on the many areas the Mapuche were, and still are, excluded from the initial instances when the conquistadors entered into Mapuche territory until the present day. Excluded 2017 (fig. 45) is set aside from the group, to clearly represent the exclusion of the Mapuche.

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\(^7^7\) Bengoa, Historia del Pueblo Mapuche (History of the Mapuche) 19 and 20 century. 8.


The 70,000 Mapuche surnames in Oyarzún’s installation Werken 2017 (fig. 50), highlighting the walls of the gallery. These Mapuche surnames are a testimony that the Mapuche culture is alive and growing with people like myself who are discovering their Mapuche roots and re-introducing it into our family’s histories. The masks stand on a metal pole giving the illusion of having countless people standing and waiting to be counted as a Mapuche, never to be excluded again. The metal pole, strong and firm, like the determined Mapuche who have stood up for their beliefs and rights, who have maintained their Mapuche surnames despite the numerous attempts to exterminate the Mapuche culture and its people. There are 1000 Mapuche masks, a metaphor for the Mapuche living in Chile, who are determined to keep their surnames, language, culture, and way of life.

An example of the exclusion of the Mapuche and all other indigenous communities that lived on the land now known as Chile is the allocation of names to geographical areas by disregarding any terms used by the people who lived in those areas. In a letter from 1562 written in Valdivia by Baltasar de Leon states that he was ‘discovering and conquering’ the land and he named the areas with names of places he was familiar with from Spain or names of Christian saints.

Frantz Fanon had this to say about language and any person who was non-European: ‘The black man speaks with a European language. He becomes proportionately whiter in direct ratio to his mastery of the French language; or indeed, any western language, nowadays most particularly English. So, almost immediately, the black man is presented with a problem: how to posit a ‘black self’ in a language and discourse in which blackness itself is at best a figure of absence, or worse a total reversion?’

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80 Godrèche, “Mapuche Artist Bernardo Oyarzún Unmasks Chile’s Truth.”
81 Jose Bengoa, Conquista y Barbarie. Ensayo Crítico Acerca de la Conquista de Chile (Conquest and Barbarism. Critical Essay Concerning the Conquest of Chile) (Chile, Ediciones Sur, 1992).
82 Frantz Fanon, Black Skin White Masks (London, Pluto Press, 2008), xv.
Another example, on a more personal level while looking through the pages of old newspapers in a classroom during the student exchange to Chile in 2013, a girl approached and asked ‘What are you looking for?’ and I explained that I had an idea of taking back to Australia newspaper clippings on Mapuche articles from the newspapers. The girl became very angry and said that I would not find anything in the newspapers. I continued to look through the pages and once again she approached and said ‘You will not find anything about the Mapuche in the papers because they only publish what they want us to see and read’. After looking through pages and pages of newspapers I did not find any articles relating to the Mapuche. Later on, the girl opened up to me and told me that she was Mapuche, while she cried and narrated the many times she had been discriminated against at the supermarket for looking like a Mapuche, or the times when she was not served when buying something, or when she was asked if her credit card was hers and not stolen, or the times when people read her surname and laughed at her for having a Mapuche surname and other times when she was excluded at university. I remember asking her to be more specific, but her reply was ‘You just know that they are excluding you for being Mapuche’.

Oyerzún, has interpreted his own discriminatory and prejudice experiences in his artwork Bajo Sospecha 1998 and more recently in the Venice Biennale with his artwork Werken 2017 (Fig. 16). By reflecting on Chilean society and culture, Oyerzún and I question our own identities.

The term indio (indian), was inherited from the Spanish colonial era, and it was used to refer to the indigenous population when the conquistadors accidentally arrived in the Americas as opposed to India.83,84 In Chile, the term indio is extremely offensive to the Mapuche due to its discriminatory

nature because it is the word most used to demean a Mapuche person for being Mapuche. The feeling of being a victim of discrimination is known as perceived discrimination, and it can be experienced in name-calling such as indio or a negative description of skin colour as in blacky.\(^{85}\)

A relative recalls being called an india by family members and others. But what is india? India is a country in South East Asia, but in Chile the term india is used to demean people in a very cruel way. People’s self-identity as being an indio and when the term is used, sometimes people say with pride ‘Soy indio y que?’ I am an indian, so what?

Non-Mapuche Chilean historians have referred to the Mapuche as indians throughout the history of Chile, to glorify the people of Chile and to humiliate the indigenous people. In saying this, Bengoa, mentions in the Prologue of his book Historia del Pueblo Mapuche (History of the Mapuche), the word indio, but he uses the word in an ironic way. For example: ‘Chile, se ha dicho, se ha construido en la oposición a ‘lo inidio’ (‘It’s been said that Chile, has been constructed opposed to the ‘indian’’)\(^{86}\), and he elaborates by giving examples of the origins of the Chilean nation with the use of European colonies. Bengoa goes further and mentions the humiliating name given to a military campaign known as ‘Pacificación de la Araucania’ (Pacification of the Araucanian land), where the State aimed to ‘pacify’ the savage Mapuche by converting them into Chilean citizens.\(^{87}\)

The artwork Excluded 2017 (fig. 45), and the other sculptures in the series Las Bichas (Female Bugs) 2017, aims to use a sarcastic approach and the notion of being savage, and primitive, as an empowering technique and attitude of ‘I am Mapuche, so what?’ The sculptures have been made to have a primitive appearance by the use of numerous oversized insect antennae.

\(^{85}\) Mellor, “Perceived discrimination in Mapuche discourse: contemporary racism in Chilean society”.

\(^{86}\) Bengoa, Historia del Pueblo Mapuche (History of the Mapuche) 19 and 20 century. 7.

\(^{87}\) Ibid.,7.
The *Cabritos* or *Aegorhinus servillei* have long antennae projecting out from their nose (fig. 51).

![Nose and Antenna detail](image)

Figure 51  Nose and Antenna detail  
*Aegorhinus servillei*88

The purpose of the antennae is to provide a tactile sense of the environment and antennae act as an alarm system to alert the insects of predators, obstacles in their path, tracking of moving or stationary objects and ‘surface textures’89. In *Excluded* 2017, the oversized antennae are located on the back of the sculpture to protect the insect from predators or anyone who wants to cause harm to the self for being Mapuche (fig. 45).

![Excluded 2017 (preliminary sketch)](image)

Figure 52  *Excluded* 2017 (preliminary sketch)  
Photograph Cecilia Castro Marín

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88 Lanteri, "Key to higher taxa of South American weevils based on adult characters (Coleoptera, Curculionoidea)".

Concealed in the black and white stripes of *La Negrita (Little Blacky)* 2017 is a section of a *trarilonko* (fig. 53) with its distinctive round medallions. In camouflage, objects can appear to be invisible, if the correct design and colour are used to hide the object.⁹₀ If the incorrect colour and or design is used to hide the object, it can be detrimental for the success of camouflage. A similar experience took place when I was in Chile. My camouflage was the features and skin colour of my face because these features are similar to people who live in Chile. These characteristics enabled me to walk around the streets of Chile without revealing to strangers that I was from Australia. However, my camouflage was revealed when people recognised me as a Mapuche. On the other hand, in Australia, my camouflage would have been effective because although people might recognise that I am Chilean or from somewhere in South America, they do not know that I am Mapuche.

The artwork *Excluded* 2017 and the other sculptures in the series *Las Bichas (Female Bugs)* 2017 have been painted with black and white lines (fig. 53), firstly as a symbol of the conflict experienced by me for living in a predominantly white society and having dark skin and secondly for the way in

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which the artist is able to blend into a society like Chile and stand out in the same society for not speaking the same way as Chileans do, and for having a language accent foreign to other Chileans in Chile.

Blending-in is a characteristic of camouflage used by animals as a protective mechanism that enables the animal and in particular, insects, to disappear amongst leaves, and tree branches. Mapuche symbols have been concealed in the work *La Negrita (Little Blacky)* 2017, in between the black and white pattern as a form of camouflage (fig. 46). Although the *Cabritos* or *Aegorhinus servillei* insect I have chosen to work with do not display colourful patterns on its body as a form of camouflage, the form of the insect or the way in which the insect ‘hold themselves’ can be said that it falls into the category of camouflage. The latter is interestingly similar to the way in which I was able to be amongst Chilean people in Chile and unless I spoke out loud or with other people, no one would have known that my speech was different due to my pronunciation, choice of words and accent. However, a similar occurrence is experienced in Australia when I am able to speak fluent English with an Australian accent, but sometimes it is said that I speak with a Chilean accent.

On the other hand, as a migrant who arrived in Australia just before becoming a teenager, adapting to the Australian way of life was a must for my survival and a new camouflage had to be adopted. The camouflage I had adopted in Chile, was not effective in Australia and just like an insect, evolution, and adaptation had to take place to enable myself to blend in with the new surrounding and survive. The clay used in these works allowed me to mould it and shape it into any form I wished, similar to the new identity that was formed growing up in Australia.

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92 Ibid., 84.
93 Ibid., xi.
Similar to the artwork titled *Narcissism: Dazzle Room* 2016 (fig. 54), by Japanese artist Shigeki Matsuyama, where a person is covered in black and white lines and concealed by a room surrounded by black and white camouflaged patterns, *Excluded* 2017 was painted in black and white lines on the surface of the body of the insect sculpture. Both artworks use camouflage to hide a body that is visible on some occasions and becomes invisible depending on the situation because identities are fluid and have the capacity to be changed and transformed to enable the body to blend with its surroundings.

Unlike the woman in the dazzle room who takes photographs of her self and uploads the photographs to social media for ‘recognition’ from the public in the form of likes and follows, the artwork *Excluded* 2017 highlights the invisibility of the Mapuche by their exclusion and alienation in Chilean society and the history of Chile.

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Finding a Mapuche inside, in Australia

Cecilia Castro Marín

**La Negrita (Little Blacky) 2017**

At first glance, it is difficult to see that the sculpture of *La Negrita (Little Blacky)* 2017 (fig. 55) is heavily encrypted with signs that suggest the body of a strange insect and at the same time it gives evidence of metaphorical connotations relating to religion and the Mapuche culture.⁹⁶

![La Negrita (Little Blacky) 2017](image)

A metamorphosis takes place in *La Negrita (Little Blacky) 2017* as she changes from the body of a young girl to a young insect, while at the same time it is partially autobiographical. The toxic oppressive influence of the Catholic Church was instrumental in my upbringing and its objective was to erase the Mapuche culture from my existence and any recollections of extreme poverty and discrimination.

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⁹⁶ Nicholas Mirzoeff, *Body Scape. Art, Modernity and the Ideal Figure* (London, Routledge, 1995),
Tatting

The numerous tatting (fig. 56) imprints heavily pressed into the clay body are traces of a relative’s hands that interlocked cotton threads through her fingers to create the delicate tatting piece used in the decoration of the mantilla, (fig. 57). The forceful and strict upbringing while growing up is symbolised on the sculpture by the deep imprints of the delicate lace that was made by my relative.

There are two major factors in Chile that have contributed to the erasure of my Mapuche ancestry, the first is that my evangelical ancestors, as well as many evangelical families in Chile who are strictly religious, adopt a rigorous
.way of teaching their offspring to comply with the intolerant teachings of the evangelical church towards the Mapuche. The second is the Eurocentric Chilean society where indigenous cultures are demeaned. These factors have conditioned my relatives and many Chileans to become ashamed of their Mapuche heritage.

In contrast to the colonised people who were forced to renounce their culture and beliefs during colonisation and the building of a Chilean nation, many of my contemporaries choose to follow the status quo, to hide their Mapuche heritage and avoid the stigma of being a Mapuche.

While Eduardo Díaz is humanising the traditional image of the Virgin Mary in his artwork *Zapatista Virgin* 2002 (fig.58), with clothing worn by indigenous women on the Virgin of Guadalupe, *La Negrita (Little Blacky)* 2017 (fig. 59) moves away from the human body and metamorphosis into an insect with

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Eduardo Díaz, *Zapatista Virgin with Child*, 2002, Width 76.2 cm x Height 76.2 cm
human qualities to denounce the burden, pain and psychological suffering I have endured for having the physical traits of a Mapuche. The insect does not wear traditional clothing worn by the Mapuche similar to the Zapatista Virgin 2001, instead the insect is wearing a ruffled dress (fig. 59) reminiscent of a Spanish flamenco dress worn by the Catholic driven country, Spain,\textsuperscript{99} as a result of being born and raised in a society that mimics the Spanish culture up to the age of 12. Thus metamorphosing from a savage insect into a real human being.\textsuperscript{100} The upbringing of one as a person, one’s genetic trace and the physical Mapuche traits visible on one’s face and body are the subtle, exposed, coil construction between the ruffles (fig. 60).

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{figure59.jpg}
\caption{Dress detail (Work in Progress) \textit{La Nigrita} 2017 (Little Blacky) Stoneware clay and coloured underglazes W40cm x H80cm x D45cm Photograph Cecilia Castro Marín}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{99} María del Mar Pérez-Gil, “Undressing the Virgin Mary: Nudity and Gendered Art,” \textit{Feminist Theology} 25(2) (2017): 208-221. SAGE.

\textsuperscript{100} Op. cit., Fanon, 8.
As a young girl, I was not allowed to have a fringe and my hair was pinned away from my forehead to keep my hair away from the skin on my forehead and to prevent my forehead becoming smaller by the overgrowth of hair. These memories manifested in *La Negrita (Little Blacky)* 2017 in the form of the old rusty nails holding the mantilla and projecting out from the head of the insect in (fig. 61).
The rusty old nails that replaced the rays of light or halo often seen in images of the Virgin Mary are the ‘ethical clash’ in my mind, and the symbol for my straight hair, which is known in Chilean’s popular culture as ‘mechas de clavo’ (hair made out of nails). This discriminatory description of someone’s hair was not isolated to one person, on the contrary, these views are common within Chilean society where women’s bodies are commonly viewed as an object for society to look at. The ‘societal standard of beauty’ and ‘self-objectification’ in Chile is focused on ‘body monitoring’ and immense pressure is placed on women to comply, as they are judged and evaluated by society for not meeting the ideal image. The insect’s eyes in La Negrita (Little Blacky) 2017 are closed from the shame and embarrassment caused by knowing that society is constantly evaluating her, knowing that she does not meet those standards and she is seen as ugly.

In an unpleasant prankish act at a biennale where Oyarzún was exhibiting, a spectator asked Oyarzún ‘You must be Bernardo Oyarzún because you are the ugliest’, a cruel inspiration for his artworks *Cosmetica (Cosmetics)* 2008 (fig. 62). Oyarzún and I critique Chilean society by using our own personal experiences because we both grew up in a society where *blanquito* (whiteness) is preferred over ‘the autochthonous features of the physiognomy of Chileans’ and the denial of Chilean’s brown skin, and the denial of a country who was founded in the mixing of two cultures from different parts of the world, leaving behind its own physical characteristics as evidence of this hybrid culture we know as Chileans. Oyarzún changes his hair colour from black to blonde, his eyes to green and lightens his skin colour using Photoshop in a series of photographs, while I concentrated in highlighting the negative feelings that affected me, in *La Negrita (Little Blacky)* 2017.

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104 Ibid.
By making these superficial cosmetic changes, Oyarzún became the stereotype he is criticising, as he ‘sacrificed’ himself in front of his audience by using his own face and body, while I literally sacrificed La Negrita (Little Blacky) 2017 (fig. 63) who is representing me, in the old timber torture device. Although Oyarzún’s reasons to have these superficial changes are a critique of the media in Chile where western models sell products for the masses and have conditioned him and I as well as a lot of Chileans to feel ugly\textsuperscript{106}, it is important to point out that most Chileans in Chile, particularly the Mapuche do not have the financial stability to buy these products without putting themselves into financial debt and having to pay enormous fees that place these people into further financial ruin. Chileans want to live the fantasy television and the media portrays because most Chileans do not have those opportunities, for example, they can’t wear Zara clothing, or go on a

\textsuperscript{106} Albornoz, “Bernardo Oyarzún ‘Los Chilenos No Son Feos, Los Chilenos Se Sienten Feos’” (Bernardo Oyarzún ‘Chileans Are Not Ugly, Chileans Feel Ugly’).
trip to Europe and the Chileans that do have the opportunities are the elite few who look like the stereotype figures Oyarzún is criticising. In Australia, I have the choice to lighten my hair, however, in Chile, society pushes people within that society to have cosmetic changes such as changing the colour of one’s hair to be able to advance in that society, particularly in television and minimise the criticisms of being called ugly.

**Little Blacky: the title**

The title of this artwork emerged from the memory of being called *mi negrita* (my little blacky), by relatives as a child, but I could not comprehend or associate it with the colour of my skin at such a young age. The negative description of skin colour as in little blacky is known as ‘perceived discrimination’\(^{107}\) and it is a verbal remark used to imply discrimination by race in a subtle manner such as a general remark or a joke, with the intent to demean the person\(^{108}\) \& \(^{109}\) In the Spanish language the word *negrita* is said to be used to express feelings of affection and endearment\(^{110}\) due to the use of the diminutive and the incorporation of a suffix such as *-ita* to the adjective *negra*. In minimising the word *negra* (*black woman*), the ferocity of the racial meaning of the term black is displaced of its racial significance and replaced with a warm and friendly name such as *negrita*\(^{111}\). These contradicting attitudes give an insight into Chilean culture, and its racist, discriminatory attitudes inherited from colonisation and the building of a nation where it has become ‘normal’ behaviour to use racial discriminatory words such as *negrita* to refer to a person.

Silencing arguments such as this have and will continue to arise because racial discrimination is embedded in society for both the victim and the

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\(^{107}\) Mellor, “Perceived discrimination in Mapuche discourse: contemporary racism in Chilean society”.

\(^{108}\) Ibid.,


\(^{111}\) Ibid., 135-157.
perpetrators.\textsuperscript{112} It is hidden away in the victim’s deepest secrets because it causes the victim to feel shame and to acknowledge that having dark skin colour is considered ugly in Chile and in Western Culture.\textsuperscript{113}

Furthermore, being a victim of racist acts could reveal an individual’s association to the Mapuche, in particular, if the person’s skin is lighter in colour\textsuperscript{114}, permitting the person to live amongst the dominant group, rejecting their Mapuche identity by hiding it. For example, my great-grandfather, who was said to be tall, white-skinned and have light eyes, identified as a Mapuche to his family, however, his children and grandchildren did not.

\textsuperscript{114} David Mellor, "Responses to Racism: A Taxonomy of Coping Styles Used by Aboriginal Australians".
The black and white pattern on the surface of the face and body of La Negrita (Little Blacky) 2017 is the continual conflict, firstly for being a dark coloured skin person who was brought up in a country that glorifies white people, and secondly for being a dark-skinned person and living in a country that welcomed migrants like myself, but continues to treat Aboriginal people unfairly.

My Mapuche Family
Almost all the Mapuche had been assimilated into Chilean society around Temuco, where most of my great-grandparent’s children were born. During this time, the Mapuche were referred to as ‘suicidal belt’. The term ‘suicidal belt’ was racially motivated as the Mapuche were seen as an obstruction to the development of the region. It is ironic that although my great-grandfather was Mapuche by only one parent, he would have been rejected by other Mapuche for not having a full Mapuche lineage, that is, having all four Mapuche grandparents and for not having the physical characteristics of a Mapuche. My great-grandfather would have been rejected by his non-Mapuche relatives for having Mapuche blood. He might have distanced his family and himself from his immediate relatives possibly because his Mapuche relatives were still practising the Mapuche culture and he was not, and he did not want to be known as a Mapuche and an obstruction to society, and he might have feared harm and discrimination towards his children.

I visited my great-grandparents’ descendants who still live in Chile and to my surprise, some of his descendants did not have any knowledge of any aunties or uncles as well as not knowing that their grandfather identified as a Mapuche. As mentioned earlier, religion and the State ensured that all my ancestors’ history, as well as any ancestors that would testify to any association with the Mapuche culture, were silenced. In addition, the implicit

116 Patricio R Ortiz, Indigenous Knowledge, Education and Ethnic Identity: An Ethnography of an Intercultural Bilingual Education Program in a Mapuche School in Chile. Foreword by Douglas E. Foley (USA, VDM Verlag Dr. Muller Aktiengesellschaft & Co. KG, 2009), 157-159.
discrimination towards the Mapuche is silently well known in Chilean society either in the privacy of the home or in the public sphere. This silencing is possibly due to several reasons such as embarrassment for acknowledging the reasons for their discrimination, or possibly because younger generations do not want to ask questions or talk about discrimination out of respect for their elders because they know it cause distress and anxiety.

The silencing of the Mapuche culture in our family has ceased with the revelation that my great-grandfather’s self-identification as a Mapuche with the assistance of La Negrita (Little Blacky) 2017, Displaced 2017 and Excluded 2017. These artworks and my continual use of the Mapuche culture as a central part of my art practice are a form of resistance to the silencing of the Mapuche in our family and as a Chilean.

Religious colonisation

A documentary titled *Diosito el huinca* 118 (*God the non Mapuche*) 2014 119 (fig. 65) provides an insight into the process of religious colonisation that took place for Macaela, a Mapuche woman from the Araucaria area in Chile around 2014 when the documentary was filmed. The process of religious colonisation used threats, intimidation, usurp, and degraded the Mapuche way of life and belief to successfully convert Mapuche people into Christian Chileans.

![Diosito el Huinca](image)

Figure 65 Still image from Video *Diosito el Huinca* 2014 120

Macaela’s first language was Mapudungun when she joined the Evangelical religion. Now she speaks broken Spanish and lives in extreme poverty, but she believes that the Christian God has saved her children from dying and this is her reason to stay in the Christian religion. She gives an account of the tactics used by the church and school to forcefully and with intimidation to convince the Mapuche to give up their Mapuche belongings to stop them from continuing practising Mapuche rituals.

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118 The word ‘huinca’ is a Mapudungun term (Mapuche language) used by the Mapuche to refer to non Mapuche or foreigner. https://www.interpatagonia.com/mapuche/dictionary.html Accessed August 8, 2017.
120 Ibid.
The blue colour mantilla and the tilt of the head in *La Negrita (Little Blacky)* 2017 are signifiers associated with Mary Mother of God \(^{121}\) while the crown of nails and the upright position of *La Negrita (Little Blacky)* 2017, held in place by the timber, suggests the crucifixion of Jesus on the cross (fig. 66). These religious references are also associated with the unnecessary pain and burden I had to endure from a severe antiquated religious upbringing.

![Figure 66. La Negrita (Little Blacky) (work in progress)](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D7kFmX8oAC)

**Catholicism**

Catholicism has been central in my strict upbringing; where I was trained to follow without question the rules and doctrines of the Catholic Church. As a Catholic, I was named Mary and was expected to grow up a good woman and a mother, in complete submission to God and a perfect copy of Mary Mother of God. As a young girl and well into my adulthood, a frightening feeling of being bad surrounded me. Unlike many Catholic females who idolise Mary and

\(^{121}\) Catholic Online, "Mary, the Blessed Virgin Mother HD," Catholic Online, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D7kFmX8oAC, July 24, 2017.
see *Mary Mother of God* as a symbol of empowerment,\(^{122}\) I was consumed by shame, well after I became a mother.

### Shame and religion

Shame is a powerful tool used by religion to influence people’s behaviour and to keep people under control.\(^ {123}\) The body is the object that makes up the self and it is made up of material, or matter, just like any other object. A material, such as clay can be moulded and formed into any shape desired by the artist. Similarly in religion, Christianity has shaped and formed the body using shame as its tool to form the devoted Christian person.\(^ {124}\)

Unlike Jesus who sacrificed his body for the salvation of humanity in the crucifixion of his body, the body of *La Negrita (Little Blacky)* 2017 is firmly held in place with a rustic timber frame (fig. 63). The rustic timber frame is a symbol for the archaic rules and regulation of the Catholic Church, while the frame is the church. The rusty frame serves as a restraint and as a guide to keep the body of *La Negrita (Little Blacky)* 2017 in a straight line and in the correct path chosen by the church.

The construction of *La Negrita (Little Blacky)* 2017 has caused me to feel depressed due to a confrontation with hurtful memories and the reliving of experiences that have been buried deep within my self. However, by going through this process I have come to understand the actions of my elders, but I continue to feel a great deal of resentment towards religion for its way of manipulating vulnerable people.


\(^{124}\) Ibid., 38.
The series, *Las Bichas (Female Bugs)* 2017 has been a cathartic release for me but they are also a critique of Chilean society. The exclusion of the Mapuche has been extensive and discrimination has been a major tool used to exclude the Mapuche but the Mapuche continue to struggle to be recognised by the state.

To be able to survive in different situations in Chile and in Australia, a camouflage was developed to allow me to look similar to my surroundings disguising my origins and my identity. *La Negrita (Little Blacky)* 2017 helped me confront painful memories from my childhood but now I understand that religion was the driving force behind my upbringing and the erasure of the Mapuche culture from our family.


**Conclusion**

It has been a long trajectory of discovery completing my Master of Fine Arts project. This research paper gives evidence of my struggles and personal encounters with discrimination for having physical traits of the Mapuche. These artworks have enabled me to deal with the negative impact of having a Mapuche heritage, and the difficulties many Mapuche have while existing and surviving in Chilean society. These artworks have been therapeutic and a healing tool that has left me with a new identity that had been silenced in our family.

The displacement felt during the time I spent in Chile, subsided as time went on. Family and friends adapted to my way of talking, and although I never changed the way I dressed, my closest acquaintances became accustomed to seeing me, and they did not suggest any further changes, they accepted me, and I accepted them.

These artworks have enabled me to discover a family history that otherwise would have been lost, but most importantly they allowed me to accept myself and the colour of my skin and that underneath the pigment of my skin, there is a proud history that I can now call my own.

Similar to the armour on the *Cabrito* or *Aegorhinus servillei*, the knowledge I have acquired on the Mapuche and the Mapuche culture will be my armour for the future, because I will be able to articulate and defend the Mapuche when I encounter negativity towards them again.

The negativity towards the Mapuche comes from the fear of not knowing because there is not enough education on the indigenous cultures of Chile, in schools. Now that the Chilean state is introducing new programs in their reconciliation process, the new generations will not be ashamed to be known as a Mapuche or any of the other indigenous cultures existing in Chile. The older generations have experienced first hand the discrimination, alienation
and judgements that have caused them so much anguish, distress and anxiety and have opted to protect their children by hiding their Mapuche heritage.

This journey has enabled me to accept my self as a Mapuche and recognise that although I do not have a Küpal, detailing my ancestors' surnames, Mapuche leaders understand this predicament and accept people like me who have a hybrid identity consisting of some Mapuche heritage, Chilean and Australian amongst others.

The painful and violent circumstances experienced by my family lead them to protect me by hiding our Mapuche ancestry. I now understand that this process was taken by many people in Chile and there are many other people like me who have no idea they came from a rich culture, one that we can be proud of, the Mapuche.
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