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René Orestes Leal Hurtado
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Leal Hurtado, René Orestes, Class, gender and state formation: articulation in Mapuchemapu and Chile 1400-1900, Doctor of Philosophy thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Wollongong, 1999.
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**CLASS, GENDER AND STATE FORMATION:
ARTICULATION IN *MAPUCHEMAPU* AND CHILE
1400 – 1900**

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
award of the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**from
THE UNIVERSITY OF WOLLONGONG**

**by
René Orestes Leal Hurtado B. A. Honours**

**SOCIOLOGY PROGRAM
1999**

Certificate of Originality

I hereby certify that this thesis is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge, it contains no material previously published or written by another person, nor material which to a substantial extent has been accepted for the award of any degree or diploma of a university or other institute of higher education except where due acknowledgment is made in the text of this thesis.

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Preface and Acknowledgments

This thesis is based mainly on library research, particularly of Spanish-language materials which make up over half of the 141 works cited. I translated all of these into English and simultaneously analysed them, a very difficult and time-consuming process. I have benefited greatly from the works of scholars such as Perry Anderson, Jorge Larraín, Maurice Zeitlin, Lorena Godoy, Elizabeth Hutchison, M. Soledad Zarate, Karin Roseblatt, José Bengoa, Alvaro Jara, Hernan Ramirez Necochea, Marcelo Carmagnani, Gabriel Zalasar, Fernando Ortiz (who disappeared from a secret prison during the military dictatorship in 1976) and Arnold Bauer, some of whom I met in 1997 when I returned to Chile for six months. I also talked with Edison Otero, Milka Castro, Luis Vitale, José Cademartori, Rolf Foerster, Oscar Azócar and Claudio Denegri, all of whom advised and helped me in my research. These conversations in particular reinforced my interest in showing how and why Chile became a capitalist society and the *Mapuche* were deprived of their land and sovereignty.

This interest began during the dark years of the dictatorship in Chile, in particular, during those 'estrane days' when the collapse of the Stalinist regimes in East Europe and the electoral defeat of *Sandinistas* in Nicaragua overlapped. The world did not become what some of us had wished for the winners were, once again, those who were and have been powerful. Social struggles did not produce the expected outcome - human emancipation. The picture of injustice, social inequality and impunity did not change. In order to deal with my own confusion, I began to think more about the contradictory nature of Chilean society. Although 'things' were more complicated and negative than we had originally thought, the desire and need for social change remained strong within me and many others.

Australia became, unthinkable for a Latin American like me, the place in which I had an opportunity reflect upon these issues and to study the conflictive history of the *Mapuche* and Chileans. I thought it was necessary to understand how and why Chile is characterised by a deep class contradiction, an hegemonic *machismo*, an influential Catholicism, an exacerbated racism against the *Mapuche* and other indigenous people, and a fascist mentality embedded in the army and in the conservative right wing sectors of the political spectrum. These class, gender and political

formations and de-formations had originated and were reproduced and maintained by individuals and institutions at different times. My concern was to study our history sociologically from a Marxist perspective. Marxism is a theory which, in the eyes of many people, has been damaged by its 'practice' in Eastern Europe. Paradoxically, this experience in turn validated Marx's thesis by highlighting the indivisible relationship between theory and practice. Through the study of our history, this thesis will contribute to the 're-integration' of revolutionary thought and practice in both the social sciences and in political struggle. I spent three years in Australia and six months in Chile researching and writing this topic.

Thus, this thesis was born and grew up in a particular historical conjunction at an international and national level. It travelled across the Pacific Ocean and integrated the lessons of people who had shown me the importance of principles, justice, freedom and also and significantly, of knowledge. They were my grandfather Abraham, my father Hugo, and those people with no name but who were sisters and brothers of the same cause: the *compañeras* and *compañeros* of the popular rebellion, the *Mapuche peñis* of *Lumaco*, *Dibulco* and *Ñancucheo* in *Mapuchemapu*, the student movement of the 1970s and 1980s, the workers, unemployed and students of the poor suburbs

of Santiago who every day fought fascism in any way they could and who helped me to ‘become invisible’ so many times during those cold, grey winter mornings in Santiago. My deep acknowledgment and admiration goes out to those who fought for the freedom of others and made it possible for me to write this. Unfortunately, they are no longer amongst us; many of them disappeared from Pinochet’s secret prisons and many others were assassinated by the fascist repressive forces. “*Ni perdón ni olvido*” (nor forgiveness nor forgetting). Forever with us Cecilia Magni, Tatiana Fariña, Elizabeth Escobar, Patricia Quiroz, Victor Díaz, Juan Orellana, Lincoyan Berríos, Vicente Atencio, Julio Santibañez, Raul Pellegrín, the *hermanos* Vergara and so many, many other sisters and brothers of the struggle against fascism.

If I was lucky in Chile during the 1970s and 1980s, in the 1990s, on the other side of the Pacific Ocean, my fortune continued. In Australia I verified that to fight capitalism in the academy and in the streets makes a lot of sense, even, in the so called ‘first world’. Thank you Doctor Mike Donaldson for being one of the “indispensables” of B. Brecht’s brilliant poem. Your generosity, fraternity, wisdom, patience and help in this work will be forever appreciated by my family and I.

My gratefulness also to the Sociology Program at the University of Wollongong in Australia, the *Facultad de Ciencias Sociales de la Universidad de Chile*, the *Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional de Chile*, and the *Instituto de Ciencias Alejandro Lipschutz (ICAL)* en Santiago, where conducted research during the last three and a half years. I would also like to thank Doctor Lenore Lyons and Brian Cox for reading the last draft of this thesis and advising me on ways I could improve it. Persistent problems are my own exclusive responsibility.

My infinite gratitude and love for my *compañera* María Angélica and our three wonderful children Daniel, Milena and Fabian, whose patience, support and encouragement have made this study possible. My love also to my mother and father who have always supported me, materially and spiritually. Many thanks to my brother Hugo and my sister María Elena and their respective families; thanks too to Hernán and Mindy for their help. My appreciation goes out to my friends Julia Urquieta, Christine Hicks, Checho Durán, Rubén Vásquez, Eduardo Vega, David Escanilla, Ximena, Roberto and Patricio Villaseca, Rebeca and Osvaldo Alfaro, Sergio and Checho González, Scott Pointing, Lautaro Carmóna, Luis Salinas and Nelson

Espinosa, for being such good people and making life more interesting, fun and happier every day.

Para mi compañera María Angélica y mis queridos hijos

Danielito, Milenita y Fabito

Abstract

This thesis is about the articulation of a multiplicity of modes of production over five centuries and the intertwined processes of class, gender and state formation in Chile and *Mapuchemapu*. These included the seigniorial mode of production which resulted from the articulation of feudal and indigenous modes and was consolidated in the seventeenth century in the colonial social formation and manifest in the *encomienda* and the *hacienda*.

This articulation meant for the *Mapuche* a significant but not total transformation of their communal mode into a new social formation of patriarchal *cacicazgos* containing embryonic classes of non-producers and producers. It weakened *Mapuche* social solidarity and political unity and consolidated patriarchy such that polygamy became, as never before, exclusive to powerful men who in this way concentrated political power, accumulated wealth and secured control of the land, when industrial capitalism was entering its monopolistic and imperialist phase in the industrial centres in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Patriarchal capitalism emerged as the dominant mode of production in the Chilean social formation even though seigniorial relations continued in agriculture until the 1960s and despite the resistance of the *Mapuche* nation which still struggles to recover its expropriated land and suppressed traditions. The study aims also to demonstrate the salience of historical materialism as an efficient instrument of social analysis useful in the revolutionary transformation of capitalism. It contributes to the reconstruction of historical materialism by showing that history and social processes cannot be understood without the study of gender formation and that they are not even, teleological or pre-ordained.