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Education for Indigenous Girls: Lessons from Wall  
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GRACE ELLEN GARSIDE

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**Towards a Decolonial, Intersectional, Intercultural  
Education for Indigenous Girls:  
*Lessons from Wall Mapu (Chile)***

Grace Ellen Garside

Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2020

Durham University  
Department of Geography

Y mi peñi usted tienes que saber  
Que aquí la rebeldía tiene cara de mujer.

And my brother you have to know,  
That here the rebellion has the face of a woman.

*Colelo Identidad Mapuche*

A otros le enseñaron secretos que a ti no  
A otros dieron de verdad esa cosa llamada educación  
Ellos pedían esfuerzo, ellos pedían dedicación  
Y para qué, para terminar bailando y pateando piedras.

They taught secrets to others but not to you  
To the others they really gave that thing called education  
They asked for effort, they asked for dedication  
And why, to end up dancing and kicking stones.

*El Baile De Los Que Sobran, Los Prisioneros*

## Abstract

This thesis examines the impacts of intercultural education policies on Mapuche girls' experiences and identities within the Araucanía region, Chile. In the late 1980s, following wider social and economic transformations in Latin America, intercultural education emerged as a new theory of critical education. However, for the most part literature on intercultural education has focused on the implications of intercultural policy on student's ethnicity, failing to acknowledge the lived differences between girls and boys and the different ways that ethnicity, class and gender intersect with the Chilean education system. In contrast, this thesis takes a decolonial intersectional approach to understanding intercultural education in order to ensure the experiences of Mapuche girls within municipal institutions are heard. It draws on fieldwork from 2018-2019 within a municipal boarding school in Temuco and ethnographic research with Mapuche girls. Utilising methods of participatory video and indigenous storytelling, I argue that whilst intercultural education initially grew out of indigenous desires for self-determination, it has been co-opted as a state tool that continues to perform a symbolic violence against Mapuche girls. The thesis shows that as intercultural education has moved from theory into praxis, the appropriation of discourses of intercultural education in municipal schools in Chile has reproduced folkloric understandings of Mapuche culture, whilst assimilating students into hegemonic Chilean state identities and citizenships. I argue that the colonial heteropatriarchal norms of the hidden intercultural curriculum encourage Mapuche girls into traditional service roles, whilst their enclosure in Chilean institutional spaces has caused an erasure of Mapuche knowledges, languages and practices. This thesis concludes by examining the ways in which feminist Mapuche activists are attempting to reclaim futures of intercultural education, through an engagement within the pluriverse in which the knowledges and powers of indigenous girls are valued and new ways of thinking about intercultural education emerge.

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## **List of Abbreviations**

CONADI - Corporación Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena / National Corporation for Indigenous Development

DAEM – Departamento de Educación Municipal / Department of Municipal Education

IBE – Intercultural Bilingual Education

IDB - Inter-American Development Bank

INE – Instituto Nacional de Estadística / National Institute of Statistics

ISETT - Instituto Superior de Especialidades Técnicas / Higher Institute of Technical Specialties

JUNAEB - Junta Nacional de Auxilio Escolar y Becas / National Board of School Aid and Scholarships

LOCE - Ley Organica Constitucional de Enseñanza / Organic Constitutional Act of Teaching

MIDEPLAN -Ministerio de Desarrollo Social y Familia / Ministry of Social Development and Family

MINEDUC – Ministerio de Educación / Ministry of Education

PAR – Participatory Action Research

PPPs - Public Private Partnerships

PSU - Prueba de Selección Universitaria / University Selection Exam

SIL – Summer Institute of Languages

SIMCE - Sistema de Medición de la Calidad de la Educación / System of Quality Measurement in Education

UEG – Unidad de Igualdad de Género / Gender Equality Unit

## List of Mapudungun to English Translations<sup>1</sup>

Ad Mapu – Laws and traditions that govern Mapuche society.

Afafan - Mapuche cry in which Wiño are bashed together, often done in ceremonies.

Alkutün – To listen.

Caupolican/ Kallfulikan – Toqui or leader of the Mapuche people against the Spanish. His name means blue quartz stone.

Chamal/ Kupam - Mapuche dress.

Chaway - Mapuche earrings.

Che – Person.

Choyke pürun - Mapuche dance based on the movements on the Ostrich bird.

Elchen – God or creator of the Mapuche.

Füta Chachai – Old Man.

Güam – Advice used to correct errors in the attitude of children.

Guneytün - Learning by observing.

Günezua - Learning to realise or to perform metacognition.

Güxam - Conversing with children.

Kamarikun - Mapuche ceremony similar to the Nguillatun, but it does not have a religious context, rather it is social in nature.

Kimche – Sage.

Kimeltuchefe – Teacher.

Kimeltuwün – Mapuche education.

Kimün – Knowledges.

Kuifke Zügu - Social memory.

Küme gün neggean ta zungu - Equilibrium within family, socioculturality and territoriality.

Kütral – Fire.

Lafkenche - People of the Coast.

Lamgnen – Sister.

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<sup>1</sup> All translations are taken from Maria Catrileo's (2005) Diccionario Linguistico-Etnografico de la Lengua Mapuche. The spellings for many of these words are multiple, due to the fact that Mapudungun is not a written language.

Lautaro / Lef-Traru – Toqui or leader of the Mapuche resistance against the Spanish. Personal Servant to Pedro de Valdivia won a series of victories against the Spanish. His name means swift hawk.

Lawen – Medicine.

Lewenchefe – Medicinal healer.

Llëllipun - Ceremony in preparation of an event.

Lof – Familial clan that share a Longko and territorial area. Distinguished by a Rewe.

Longko / Lonko / Lonco - Chief or political leader.

Machi – Shaman/ traditional healer/ spiritual leader.

Machitun – Healing ceremony led by a Machi.

Mapuche - People of the Land.

Mapuche Feyentun - The Mapuche Religious System.

Mari Mari- Mapuche greeting / Hello.

Mate – Caffine infused drink from south America, made from Hierba Mate.

Matetun – Ceremony of drinking Mate together.

Meli Pilun – Four ears.

Mongnen - Life

Nagche - People of the Plains.

Ngenechen / Ngunechen / Nguenechen / Guenechen / Guinechen– God or ruler of the Mapuche.

Nguillatun / Guillatún – Mapuche fertility ceremony used to thank the earth for its gifts, strengthen community ties or ask for a good harvest.

Ngutamchefe - Bone healer.

Ngütamtun - Advice giving.

Ñuke - Mother.

Ñuke Mapu - Mother earth.

Ñuke Papai – Old Woman.

Pebre - A spicy Chilean dip made with coriander, chopped onion, olive oil, garlic and grond aji peppers.

Pelantaro / Pelantarú – Toqui during the Mapuche uprising. Won the Battle of Curalaba. His name means shining Caracara.

Peñi – Brother.

Pentukun – The action of learning about a guest and his or her family and key concerns.

Pewenche - People of the Araucanía tree.

Pikunche - People of the North.  
Pilfilka / Pifilca / Pivilca / Pifüllka – Wind instrument, like a flute.  
Puelche - People of the East or the Pampas of Argentina.  
Püñeñelchefe - Traditional midwife.  
Rewe / Rehue – Sacred altar used in Mapuche ceremonies.  
Ruka - House.  
Sopapillas – Fried Bread.  
Tañ wirintukun - Our Mapuche writings.  
Trafkintu- Exchange of goods.  
Trarilonko - Mapuche head band.  
Trutruka – Wind instrument, like a trumpet with a horn.  
Ülcha Domo – Young Woman.  
Ulkantufe – Singer.  
Wall Mapu – Land/ Mapuche Territory.  
Wall Mapu Fün Kim Zomo- the Seeds of Knowledge of the Women of Wall Mapu.  
We Tripantu / Wiñoy Tripantu / Wiñol xipantu / Wvñol xipantu / Wiñol Txipantu / Wüñoy  
Tripantü – Mapuche New Year / Winter Solstice.  
Weche Wentru – Young Man.  
Weichafe - Warrior.  
Wenteche - People of the Valley.  
Wentru – Man.  
Williche - People of the South.  
Wingka – Non Mapuche / New Inca.  
Wiño – Curved stick used to play palin.  
Wiñolün - The principle of reciprocity, and the attitude of sharing goods with people and  
nature.  
Wüchuwüchui – Something that is totally different or new.  
Zomo – Woman.

## **Statement of Copyright**

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without the author's prior written consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged.

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## Preface

This thesis has been a long personal journey. It has travelled with me since it was originally born as an idea in 2014 when I first moved to Chile, through my masters at the University of Durham in 2015, through its conception as a project in 2016, to the present day in 2020. The thesis has been a source of many smiles and many tears. It has been an educational journey, in which I have learned new concepts and new theories, I have challenged my own ideas and the ideas of others, I have learned new ways of thinking and expressing myself. However, primarily this thesis has been a personal journey. I have re-emerged at the end of the thesis with a new way of seeing the world. It has been a process in which I have begun to question myself. I have questioned my womanhood, my feminisms, my many privileges, my whiteness, my education and my power to be heard. I have also questioned my many failings, both as an academic and as a being within the world, my knowledge gaps, my prejudices, my failed drafts. However, most deeply I have questioned why I chose to do this thesis. How I associated a PhD with success and how after finishing it, I now understand success very differently - not in terms of academic achievement but in being a kinder and happier person. Through the PhD I have come to understand the value of silence more deeply, in learning to listen to others and to nature. At the end of this thesis I ask myself would I do the same project again given the chance, after all that I have learned about the appropriation of knowledges and the damage of western academics in the Araucanía? I have to honestly answer that I am not sure.

In the four years it has taken me to write this thesis, my participants' lives have also irrevocably changed. In November 2018 Camilo Catrillanca, a Mapuche activist and farmer, was shot in the back by armed police as he was driving home on his tractor. In October 2019 Chile awoke to the largest and most profound social movement since the beginning of democracy, as protests shook the country over the increase in metro fares. Though, as protestors noted, the protests represented 30 years of inequality in Chile, not just 30 pesos. The protests saw Chilean women go viral across the globe, as their chant "a rapist in my way" was shouted out by women throughout the world. However, the Chilean protests came to an abrupt end with the arrival of COVID-19. Chile currently has one of the highest number of cases per population and Temuco is a COVID-19 hotspot, with the city in quarantine. Many of my participants have been victims of COVID-19, suffering in their homes as Chile's public healthcare system is increasingly overwhelmed. Similarly, many participants now find themselves unemployed or cannot finish their studies, with the government providing little or no economic support. The protests have

reignited as the police knock over the communal kitchens set up in Temuco to help those in need. And just a few days ago, another Mapuche activist, Alejandro Trequil, was shot under suspicious circumstances with his wife blaming the armed police. It is clear that Chile is not the same country it was at the beginning of this research, increasing inequality and social unrest suggests an increasingly difficult future for many of my participants, already positioned at the social margins of Chile. And yet, after finishing my thesis I have decided to stay in Chile, at least for the foreseeable future. In doing my fieldwork here I have found a home and even four years of thesis writing is far too short a time to really try to decolonise my mind. The friendships I have made with participants have been enduring and I wish to stay and to continue to learn from them and to continue this personal process of change. As a participant once said to me: “if at the end of your research you haven’t changed, you didn’t do it right”. So, I write this preface from my quarantined home within a Mapuche comunidad with the hope that this thesis brings to light the joys and struggles of what it is to be a Mapuche girl within the municipal Chilean intercultural education system and with hopes for a better future for Chile and all the participants of this thesis.

## Chapter 1 - Introduction

### Introduction

This thesis is, in part, a story told by 45 Mapuche girls who spend their week interned in the intercultural municipal education system in Temuco, Chile. It is not their whole story. It is not the beginning or the end of their story. It represents a few hours, days and weeks that they spent articulating their experiences, their loves, their worries, their hopes and dreams, their fears and their disappointments. It is a snapshot of their lives; it is one interpretation of their ever-changing truths. Here these 45 Mapuche girls ask you to listen to their truth, to practice *Alkutün (to listen)*. To hear their stories, to laugh and to cry, and to learn. They call upon you to change the way you understand the world, your world, their world. To change the way you view them. To change the way you view girlhood, indigeneity, education. To listen, not judge. Poor. Mapuche. Girl. Urban. It all matters. This story of Mapuche girlhood also includes interventions from policy makers, activists, educators, from people whose decisions and ideas influence this story. It is the result of a collective of Mapuche women and girls, Wall Mapu Fün Kim Zomo (*The Seeds of Knowledge of the Women of Wall Mapu*). But it remains a story of Mapuche girlhood. This thesis is a creative expression of Mapuche girlhood in which radically new ideas about Mapuche girls' lived experiences emerge.

This thesis focuses on the experiences of Mapuche girls within municipal intercultural educational institutions, and in doing so offers an analysis of the successes and failures of these institutions. It examines the ways in which intercultural policies impact the lived experiences and the identity formations of Mapuche girls, revealing the ways in which interculturality has changed as it has moved from theory, to policy and to praxis. It examines the birth of interculturality as an indigenous political project, one that grew out of indigenous desires for self-determination and the protection of indigenous cultures and languages. It follows the history of intercultural education into its appropriation by state led institutions, and the resulting policies that emerged relating to intercultural education in Chile. It argues that whilst intercultural education began as a revolutionary alternative that attempted to reposition political radicalism at the forefront of educational theory and praxis, like many theories before it, it has been appropriated and corrupted by neoliberal state power structures as it moves from theory to policy and practice. It argues that this appropriation has had negative impacts on the lives of Mapuche girls in these institutions as they become isolated from their indigenous

culture, assimilated into Chilean culture and citizenship, and oppressed by the continuing coloniality of Chilean state education systems. The thesis tries to reimagine intercultural education institutions as lived spaces, in which the performances of Mapuche girls' everyday lives are played out. These institutions are not innocent sites of education, rather they have a long-lasting impact on the constructions of Mapuche girls' identities.

In elevating the voices of Mapuche girls and highlighting the ways geographers of both education and indigenous studies can learn from their lived experiences and ways of knowing, this thesis reimagines existing theoretical frameworks in new ways. In acknowledging the complexity of indigenous peoples' lived intercultural lives and the political commitments needed to counteract discriminatory and exploitative social relations, the thesis follows important Latin American thinkers such as Escobar (2007) Mignolo and Walsh (2018) and Quijano (2007). It calls for a decolonial approach to understandings of intercultural education in which knowledges, lives and worlds from outside of the western academe are considered and respected. However, in engaging with Mapuche girls it argues that both decoloniality and studies on intercultural education have failed to acknowledge the intersections of gender, ethnicity and class on the lived experiences of Mapuche girls. As such, this thesis argues that the boundaries of decolonial thinking are limited within studies of intercultural education and, following Lugones (2010) and Salem (2014), calls for a decolonial intersectional approach in order to understand how intercultural education is lived by students across ethnic, classed and gendered identities. In doing so it attempts to reimagine the future of intercultural education within the Araucanía region.

### Colonialism, Education and Indigenous Peoples: A Brief Introduction

This research is situated within wider critiques of education in relation to indigenous peoples, in particular critiques of formal schooling<sup>2</sup>. The ethnocidal, oppressive and homogenising agendas behind the use of schooling of indigenous peoples have long been documented by both scholars and indigenous activists (Aikman, 1997; McCowan and Unterhalter, 2015; Mundy, 2005). In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, there remains a general consensus among politicians, development practitioners, leaders of transnational organisations and other representatives of the

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<sup>2</sup> To clarify, the term education encompasses both formal and informal knowledge creation, including learning from doing, life experience, reading and education through formal classes, whilst school refers specifically to the formal education system that takes place within the institution of the school. Schooling is just one branch within a wider system of education.

development sector that schooling is a universal good and an important target for development work globally. In 2015, education became an international target through the Millennium Development Goals and the Sustainable Development Goals (UN DESA, 2016; UN General Assembly, 2015). However, this acceptance of education within the field of development ignores a much longer, more brutal history of education that spans almost 500 years (Walsh, 2015). In the nineteenth century colonial powers, alongside Christian missionaries, began to promote schooling for indigenous children, rooted in an implicit trust in the ‘civilising’ nature of schooling (McCowan and Unterhalter, 2015). Whilst colonialism took many forms, obligatory education was one of its most successful systems of control. Schools, through “pedagogic torture”, became powerful tools for the state in which certain forms of knowledge were imposed as universal (Barron Pastor, 2015, p. 72). Formal education systems have played a large role in the loss of indigenous identity, culture and self-determination, with indigenous children experiencing less success on measures of schooling (Aikman, 1997; Bishop, 2003; May, 1999; Nicholls, 2005). Within this research it is important to immediately dispel the racist myth that masked educational action as non-violent and inaugurated its mythical status through the monologue of western reason (Adams, 1995; Bautista, 2009; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Walsh, 2015). In what follows, I briefly explain the history of indigenous people and schooling in order to understand the ways in which interculturality has developed as both a theory and a practice.

### *“Kill the Indian, Save the Man<sup>3</sup>”: Impacts of Colonial Education Systems on Indigenous Children*

Intercultural relations are always complex processes. However, the exchanges between indigenous peoples and white colonisers have been particularly one sided and devastating. The colonial threat to indigenous peoples came in multiple forms: small pox, missionaries, land reform and ethnocentrism, but the most enduring form of violence to indigenous peoples came in the form of schools (Adams, 1995). Schools were promoted by colonial powers as a non-violent way to ‘save the Indian soul’, but they quickly became a site of both implicit and explicit rejection of indigenous knowledges, languages and practices. Schools encouraged the hegemonic organisation of both “collective memory and forgetfulness” (Luykx, 1999, p. 40)

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<sup>3</sup> (Churchill, 2004)

in attempts to “assimilate and integrate indigenous people into a national society and identity” at the cost of their own identities and social practices (May and Aitken 2003, 143).

Indigenous peoples have consistently been seen as a threat to colonial western society, largely because of their cosmovisions that refuse to separate the material and spiritual realms, and the fundamental contradictions with western Newtonian science that this incurs. Because of this, in popular colonial discourse indigenous people, such as the Mapuche, were represented as a "horde of savages that should disappear for the benefit of humanity" (Altamirano 1859, 11 in Sepúlveda et al. 2016, 220). Colonial governments first attempted to eliminate indigenous peoples through genocide. However, in the nineteenth century, it was argued that, through schooling, indigenous children could become civilised in a complete transformation that would eradicate all vestiges of their former selves through the “self-directing power of thought” (Adams, 1995, p. 21; Luykx, 1999). Thus, colonisation moved to a new ideological and psychological warfare waged against indigenous children via a new “army of Christian schoolteachers” (Adams, 1995, p. 27). The first schools in Mapuche territories were led by Catholic and Jesuit monks and missionaries, and they aimed to introduce children to “the civilised branches” of knowledge (Fondo de Intendencia de Cautin, 1898). However, they quickly became the colonial state’s key mechanisms of control and assimilation against Mapuche students.

The ethnocentrism of Mapuche schools was manifested most clearly in the monolingualism of the teachers and monocultural basis of instruction (Durán and Ramos, 1988, p. 149). Through instigating Spanish as the main language in schools, colonial education attempted to assimilate Mapuche students into western ways of thinking and being. The secondary motivation of the monocultural school was the promotion of capitalist concepts of private property. Schools instilled into students the values of possessive individualism, the ideal of self-reliance and the accumulation of personal wealth, and rejected the shared community values of indigenous cultures (Adams, 1995). Similarly, Christian education taught indigenous children that indigenous religious practices were primitive and barbaric. Monogamous marriage highlighted fixed ideas of family responsibility, but most importantly provided clear lineages of inheritance of private property (Morgan, 1964). In short, the school became an instrument for the furthering of white political and ideological hegemony through engendering a deep devotion to nationhood, the duties of national citizenship, and the national myths attached to it.

Colonisers believed that indigenous and western cosmovisions could not prosper in parallel to one another and as such, indigenous peoples were presented with the choice of either assimilation or extinction. The effects of the colonial school in Mapuche territories were numerous, from the appearance of socio-competitive conflicts between individual and tribal identities (De Tezanos de Mañana, 1981; Paillalef Lefinao, 2003), the clash of the modernist logic formations and ancestral knowledges, the loss of land as a driver of identity formation (Quintriqueo Millán and McGinity Travers, 2009), the loss of indigenous languages, distancing from native culture and the contradictions between school knowledge and the oral knowledges of indigenous communities (Quilaqueo Rapimán et al., 2005). With the introduction of schools, indigenous societies lost much of their cohesion and social organization. Mapuche peoples were physically and socially ‘reduced’ to small territories within a fundamentally white society that became swiftly integrated into the processes of modernisation (Donoso Romo, 2006). These impacts were felt particularly by Mapuche girls. Schools offered a space of control and reconstruction over the “body, appearance, manners, skills and habits” of indigenous girls, in attempts to manufacture civilised, obedient souls and bodies (Lomawaima, 1995, p. 99). Patriarchal colonial societies envisioned the girls’ place as within the home and Mapuche girls thus spent their day in domestic training for labour within their own homes and as the employees of white settler women. Domestic training masked a hidden agenda of dispossession through developing a habitus of subservience and altering the relationship of indigenous peoples to their lands. Within this context, education became important for Mapuche peoples themselves, who were forced to survive in a society where the skills granted by the school were given progressive value. The education of indigenous children became a way to cope more competently in the new circumstances of modernisation, with school becoming a vehicle to integrate as industrious citizens within capitalist society (Donoso Romo, 2006).

### *Shifting Conceptions of Indigenous Education in Latin America: Bicultural Education*

Since the arrival of schooling in Latin America its ultimate aim has been to reproduce the hegemonic structures of colonial society, ignoring the institutions and the socio-economic, cultural and linguistic manifestations of the indigenous populations it claims to serve. The aspiration towards nation state formation had an early impact in Latin America as monolingualism and monoculturalism were “adopted as the ‘normal’ and desirable state” (López, 2009, p. 5). For such a project diversity was considered a problem that needed to be overcome or eradicated, as such educational systems were conducted only in the colonial

language of power. However, at the turn of the twentieth century, teachers working in indigenous communities in Latin America began to experiment with indigenous bilingual education. These first attempts at bilingual education were undertaken in Mexico, Peru and Ecuador, and initially proposed learning to read and write in the native language, alongside oral learning of Spanish as a second language, in an attempt to pass later into an education given exclusively in Spanish (Lopez and Küper, 1999). This first attempt at bilingual education was aimed at reducing the number of indigenous children who failed or were excluded from the monolingual school by increasing levels of assimilation of indigenous children into colonial societies.

The idea of bilingual education spread and in the 1930s the United States launched a Summer Institute of Languages (SIL) within the region. The SIL soon became a privileged actor within Latin America, signing contracts with various governments and providing technical and scientific support to aid nation building through transitional bilingual education and the written word. The SIL promised to incorporate indigenous communities that were isolated or who remained unassimilated in colonial society, bringing them into citizenship and at the same time consolidating state borders. However, the main aim of the SIL was to convert indigenous populations to Christianity through bilingual translations of the Bible (Lopez and Sichra, 2008). For over 50 years the SIL continued to develop “IBE projects emphasising language development and evangelization, from a perspective of planned cultural change” (Lopez and Sichra, 2008, p. 1732). However, SIL and bilingual education in Latin America remained an assimilatory practice, albeit “more enlightened” than previous educational practices (Hornberger, 2000, p. 177). SIL continued to maintain the hegemony of Spanish as the official language of writing and communication, and thus of power. Emphasis continued to be placed on the issue of language and not on cultural protection, as it was argued that education “had to trigger a profound cultural change amongst the indigenous population” (López, 2009, p. 7). As such, the SIL quickly became one of the Latin American states’ greatest allies in the consolidation of assimilation practices. However, whilst there are multiple and profound criticisms of the SIL, it must be noted that it was an important step in the consolidation of Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE) in Latin America.

Given such a historical background of assimilatory colonisation and the ongoing reticence of Latin American states to recognise its legacy, indigenous people could be forgiven for a

resigned acceptance of the current state of educational affairs. However, indigenous people have struggled for the articulation of their rights worldwide and for the recognition of greater self-determination within Latin America. Where nation states have ignored or derided their claims, indigenous people have participated in supranational actions. The struggles over education became enshrined within the 1993 Declaration of Indigenous Peoples, which states that “all indigenous peoples have the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning” (United Nations, 1993). It is to these indigenous movements for new forms of radical education to which I now turn.

### Decolonial Intersectionalities: Rethinking Interculturality

At the same time that the SIL was developing its bilingual assimilationist approach, Latin American intellectuals were beginning to articulate the explicit and implicit violences of colonisation on indigenous peoples and the need for a decolonial movement within the region. Decolonial thinking has a long developmental history in Latin America. It has been influenced both by thinkers from within Latin America (Bomfim, 2008; Fals-Borda, 1991; Freire, 1970; Zea, 1989) and from the Caribbean (Césaire, 2000; Fanon, 1990). Peruvian author, Jose Carlos Mariategui, was one of the first to highlight the colonial conditions of Latin America. In his interpretive essays on Peruvian reality he “drew attention to lacerating and wretched situations colonised minds were reluctant to accept, highlighted social injustice and inequality” (López, 2017, p. 4). Later, Fanon's (1990) negritude movement gave rise to the parallel Indianist movement, led by the Bolivian thinker Fausto Reinaga (1969) who proposed a renewed project of emancipation based on pre-Hispanic ideals, “the resurrection of consciousness, feelings and determinations of the autochthonous people of the Andes – an ideological movement of ethnic relocation and ideological rupture with the west and its theories” (López, 2017, p. 5). These ideas were later reimagined by Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui (2010), who argued for a new interdisciplinary area of inquiry which challenged official indigenous history, developing a “critical knowledge of the indigenous past and present... challenging the mainstream and decentring Bolivian hegemonic thought” (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018, p. 6). More recently, indigenous leaders and intellectuals in Latin America “recuperated the notion of decolonisation in their proposals of living well or life for the common good” (López, 2017, p. 300). Subsequently, many Latin American thinkers have developed anticolonial and decolonial rhetoric, with the uses of decolonisation growing exponentially.

### *Indigenous Decolonial Thinking and the Rise of Intercultural Bilingual Education*

In Latin America it is impossible to separate the decolonial struggle for rights and self-determination, from the struggle for indigenous educations. In fact, in Latin America the concept of decolonisation was first utilised in attempts to transform education “since emphasis was placed on mental decolonisation of the colonised and of the colonisers” (López, 2017, p. 300). Mariategui believed that Latin American education was colonial, consistently treating its indigenous peoples as inferior and from a paternalistic standpoint. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, indigenous leaders, intellectuals and teachers in South America began to argue that even after 150 years of independence from the Spanish, ideological and intellectual freedom remained elusive. Eurocentrism continued to prevail “to the detriment of multi-ethnic, multicultural and multilingual makeup of the region and particularly of its Amerindian heritage” (López, 2017, p. 299). Indigenous organisations and leaders began to raise their voices, calling for the rights of indigenous peoples to educate in their mother tongue and to have community control of their own education systems. Furthermore, indigenous peoples made connections with other subaltern groups, for example those living on the margins of western, urban spaces, as Paolo Freire's (1970) socio-educational movement began to transform educational thought and action throughout Latin America. Thus, indigenous leaders, some of them themselves former students of bilingual education and the SIL, began to demand “greater and improved attention to their cultures and languages” (López, 2009, p. 8). The political mobilisation of indigenous peoples in Latin America since the 1970s has led to educational reforms away from assimilatory bilingual approaches and towards what has been termed as intercultural education, an education that attempts to construct a future that challenges hegemonic coloniality and works towards indigenous social emancipation.

Interculturality was coined in the 1970s, “as a result of the interaction between anthropologists, linguists and indigenous leaders and intellectuals” (Lopez, 2018, p. 6), the earliest use possibly having been at Venezuela's 1979 Bilingual Intercultural Education Policy Conference. Interculturality however, did not develop homogenously across Latin America, and it is strongest and most controversial in centres of indigenous power, such as the Andes. Interculturalism “questions the nature and functioning of the nation state, structural inequality and inequity, and challenges the socio racial conditions that determine the unequal distribution of power, thus setting a useful conceptual framework for the decolonisation of education”

(Lopez, 2018, p. 6). Interculturality differs from the aforementioned biculturality in various ways. Firstly, interculturality implies the “capacity of indigenous culture to grow and change in contact with the national majority culture, rather than suggesting one culture’s conflict with, substitution by, or addition to the other” (Hornberger, 2000, p. 178). Similarly, it challenges the idea that an individual can be bicultural in the same way that they can be bilingual, as one cannot learn a culture in the way they can learn a language. Finally, López (2009) argues that interculturality arose as a political position within indigenous movements, as a way of distancing themselves from the aforementioned Summer Institute of Linguistics. Interculturality can be examined from both a theoretical and a political position, however within Latin America these two positions overlap as the social ideals and the political struggles of indigenous movements are intersecting. In this thesis I understand interculturality not to mean simply a “relationship between cultures” but as a “relationship between cultures in conflict” that occur within a colonial power structure (Lopez, 2018, p. 29). Supposed dialogues between cultures in Latin America are always undertaken within conditions of colonial power, thus interculturality calls for greater equity in social, cultural and economic relations. It implies the recognition of difference, rather than calling for assimilation through unequal parameters. Interculturality necessitates a total transformation of social relationships and new forms of generating knowledges. The concept of interculturality developed from within discussions of transformative education, or Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE).

The theory of IBE demanded a conceptual shift from bicultural teaching as a bridge to Spanish and assimilation to indigenous language teaching to strengthen and enrich the indigenous language and culture, implying “a new focus on indigenous languages themselves, what people use them for and how they are intimately embedded in distinct epistemologies and identities” (Coulby et al., 1997, p. 84). IBE is a pedagogy that should be rooted in the original culture of the students, but that is also open to the incorporation of elements of other cultures. IBE attempts to strengthen “indigenous cultural identity, self-esteem, respect and understanding of different cultures” (Coulby et al., 1997, p. 84). The implementation of IBE programmes in Latin America are wider than pedagogical and language issues; rather, the adoption of IBE is considered essential for social, economic and cultural transformation. IBE inscribes indigenous education systems into the political arena. In doing so “the orientation and structure of the national curriculum is questioned and new indigenous curricular demands and educational proposals are put forward” (Coulby et al., 1997, p. 84). IBE has also encouraged a reorientation

from top down to bottom up education and language planning, challenging government interpretations of education as a technical process, and reimagining education as a political process.

Interculturality is a process that grew out of decolonial thinking. It is decolonial praxis, both an ideological principal and an epistemic struggle. Mignolo and Walsh have argued that

if decoloniality is the process and project of building, shaping and enabling coloniality's otherwise, interculturality – as defined by social movements in Abya Yala<sup>4</sup> – is both a complimentary political, epistemic and existence-based project and an instrument and tool of decoloniality's praxis (2018, p. 57).

Interculturality is inherently decolonial because “it points to the building of radically different societies, of an “other” social ordering, and of structural economic, social, political and cultural transformations” (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018, p. 59). It calls for a deconstruction of the dominant hierarchy and its foundations within capitalism, western modernity and colonial power. As described above, its conceptualisation within indigenous movements aims to make visible the histories of “domination, oppression, exclusion and colonial difference ... and the manifestations of these legacies in social structures and institutions, including in education and the state” (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018, p. 59). The challenge of intercultural education within indigenous communities is to transform and reconceptualise education in a way that makes equal, whilst not ignoring the historic conflicts, relations, diverse cultural logics, practices and ways of knowing, thinking, acting, being and living (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018). In this sense, interculturality calls for a permanent and active negotiation between interrelating cultures in which difference is not erased, but rather it is affirmed and understood as contributive “to the creation of new comprehensions, coexistences, solidarities and collaborations” (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018, p. 59). This (re)creation, reconceptualization and transformation is part of a decolonial process in which interculturality, as an epistemic and existence-based praxis, has interrupted the modern colonial design. In this sense, interculturality and its possibilities and praxis for an otherwise, are significant in the formation of a decolonial project.

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<sup>4</sup> Abya Yala is the term for mother earth in the Guna language of the Guna people of Colombia and Panama. It is commonly used by various indigenous peoples and decolonial authors to refer to the Americas.

However, intercultural education as it has been described above, is an indigenous utopian project, it is not the everyday reality of intercultural education within indigenous communities in Latin America. Since the early 1990s, IBE has expanded to more than 17 countries in Latin America, however it is often limited to formal primary education (Lopez and Sichra, 2008). Whilst governments in Latin America have committed themselves to educational projects in indigenous territories, created new laws and regulations recognising the rights of indigenous peoples to be educated in their own languages and in some cases,<sup>5</sup> reformed political constitutions to recognise indigenous rights, IBE does not function as effectively when it is interpreted by a government directorate than it does under the influence of indigenous peoples themselves. There is a contradiction between indigenous intercultural theory and state-led intercultural policy and praxis. This thesis begins to question who the ideological shift from assimilatory to intercultural education has really served. It assesses the ways in which intercultural education has been interpreted by the Chilean state and how these interpretations have been negotiated into state policy and then again into practice within municipal schools. The thesis examines the impacts of state policy and practice on the lives of indigenous girls and their identity formation. It contrasts intercultural practice with the decolonial aspirations of Mapuche indigenous leaders and activists. In order to do so, the thesis is firmly grounded within decolonial theory, but attempts to create a new framework for understanding intercultural education by addressing the limitations of decolonial theory as it currently stands and invoking an intersectional approach to address the influences that class, gender and ethnicity have on intercultural experiences.

### *Engaging with Interculturality through Decolonial Intersectionalities: Theoretical Contributions*

Whilst interpretations of decoloniality are extensive both theoretically and geographically, this thesis is not a comprehensive review of decolonial discourse in its entirety. Rather, it focusses specifically on a particular branch of decolonial thinking that that was first advanced by the Peruvian sociologist Anibal Quijano (2007). The thesis also takes into account the many inferences and interpretations surrounding the work of Quijano, in particular, the critiques made by Escobar (2007) and Mignolo and Walsh (2018). Quijano's (2007) decolonial thinking argues for a delinking from the epistemic assumptions that are associated with the west,

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<sup>5</sup>Mexico, (1992) Paraguay (1992), Peru (1993), Bolivia (1994) and Ecuador (1998) (Coulby et al., 1997)

assumptions that have been present since the European enlightenment. In his writings, Quijano details the complex project of Modernity/ Coloniality/ Decoloniality, each concept linked and at the same time unique. He argues that the colonial project attempts to renegotiate knowledge, being and communal relations within multiple spheres in an attempt to reframe global society as universally western (Quijano, 2007). This reframing enforces Christian cosmology, white ethnicity and Eurocentric science as the only possible knowledges and lifeways, necessitating a political and economic design that entrenches a patriarchal/masculine imaginary. Thus, coloniality attempts to control life in all its aspects, including both human and non-human. Decoloniality cannot be understood without understanding the “modernity/coloniality that engendered it. Without modernity/coloniality, there would be no need for decoloniality, because there would be nothing to decolonise” (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018, p. 108). Thinking from outside of coloniality, according to Quijano, is the main decolonial challenge, and in order to end coloniality it is necessary to think outside of the fictions of modernity (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018; Quijano, 2007). Decoloniality as understood in this thesis is not part of the discipline of geography, or indeed any discipline, but has developed “from the lived experiences in South America, from the 1960s to the late 1980s” (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018, p. 108). Thinking decolonially makes visible coloniality, and by seeing coloniality decolonial thinking emerges. Quijano's (2007) decoloniality calls for a new way of thinking, living, doing and sensing; an undoing, a delinking. In undoing we are also “doing something; delinking presupposes relinking to something else. Consequently, decoloniality is undoing and redoing; it is praxis” (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018, p. 119).

Whilst I understand Quijano's theory on the coloniality of power to be an important contribution to discussions on interculturality within Latin America, this thesis also attempts to highlight the ways in which the concept of decoloniality is limited in the contributions it can make to intercultural futures. The main limitation of Quijano's argument within this context is the way in which he openly rejects race as a biological construct, and yet he defines sex as unproblematically biological. In Quijano's coloniality of power, he understands racialisation and exploitation as “constitutive of the capitalist system of power as anchored in the colonisation of the Americas” (Lugones, 2010, p. 745), however his understandings of colonial relations to gender are limited, as he seems to accept unquestioningly the patriarchal and heterosexual organisation of gender. In Quijano's model, gender appears to be part of a natural existence, what he understands as “sex, its resources, and products”. At no point does Quijano

critique this narrow and biological account as it presupposes “sexual dimorphism, heterosexuality and patriarchal distribution of power” (Lugones, 2016, p. 4). In failing to critique colonial patriarchal heterosexuality, Quijano’s framework serves to reproduce the ways in which colonized women have been subjected and disempowered. However, this thesis argues that gender constructs have not always been, nor must they always be patriarchal or heterosexual. Instead the thesis expands Quijano’s thinking, whilst accepting his ideas about the coloniality of power, it also acknowledges Lugones' (2016) theory of the coloniality of gender and, in doing so, attempts to construct a decolonial feminist form of thinking about interculturality. The thesis interrogates the coloniality of gender, attempting to account for the oppressions and resistances of Mapuche girls who have been subalternised through the combined processes of “racialisation, colonisation, capitalist exploitation, and heterosexualism” (Lugones 2010, p. 746). It argues that the gender system is not only patriarchal but also differentiated by race, and similarly that racial differentiation is also defined by gender. Gender is a colonial imposition, imposing itself on the lives of those “with cosmologies incompatible with the modern logic of dichotomy” but also in the way it challenges the possibilities of other worlds and lifeways associated with those cosmologies and those in resistance to colonial difference (Lugones, 2010, p. 748).

This thesis makes a clear contribution to geographical theory by placing theories of decoloniality alongside feminist theories, particularly those concerned with intersectionality. Whilst feminists in the global south (Mohanty, 1988; Spivak, 1988; Trinh, 2009; Tyagi, 2014) have long commented on the relationship between gender, race and colonisation, it is only recently that feminist thinking has been explicitly linked to the concept of coloniality of power (Lugones, 2016, 2010, 2007, 1992). In linking these two theories the thesis expands on understandings of the colonial gender system, showing the ways in which the colonial system oppresses women of colour in distinct and recurring ways, but also the ways in which coloniality disrupts alliances between men and women of colour. It acknowledges the fact that in many decolonial projects indigenous women and girls are silenced both by colonial institutions and by indigenous men. Only through understanding this gender system is it possible to imagine a transformative communal future.

Whilst decolonial feminisms are not new, having been advanced by thinkers such as Maria Lugones and Sara Salem, this theory has not been applied as of yet to studies of intercultural

education. In calling for a reimagining of intercultural education policy and praxis through the lens of intersectional decoloniality this thesis contributes new ways of thinking about IBE and feminist geographical studies of education. Intersectionality is an influential paradigm within feminist theory that has centred on the “subaltern experience to rethink conventional understandings of identity oppression and to reveal dynamics of privilege and subjugation within otherwise progressive formations” (Tuğçe and Adams, 2016, p. 2). Intersectionality centres on people who hold marginalised identity positions in an attempt to rethink the ways in which we understand oppression; for example Crenshaw (1991) first utilised intersectionality to rethink the ways in which class, race and gender influenced the lives of black women. The standard narratives produced within the hierarchy of colonial power suggest that the everyday oppressions of indigenous women are the “benign product of a steady march of human cultural progress” (Tuğçe and Adams, 2016, p. 2). However, a decolonial intersectionality allows emphasis to be placed on “the inclusion of marginalised voices from majority world perspectives in discussions of identity, oppression, power and privilege” and the ways in which multiple identity markers intersect to create complex and multiple experiences of oppression. In doing this, I follow Salem's (2014) hope that

rather than contributing to the ongoing domination of the marginalised many for the benefit of a privileged few, a decolonial intersectionality draws upon silenced perspectives of people in majority world spaces to propose sustainable ways of being consistent with global social justice (in Tuğçe and Adams, 2016, p. 2).

This is of particular value when working through theories and practices of intercultural education because it elevates not only the traditionally centred voices of the policy maker, the academic, the teacher or even the indigenous activist, but also that of the Mapuche girl student, whose voice has long been silenced both in academic research and in education policy.

In prioritising the experiences of Mapuche girls within intercultural education, this thesis adds a new dimension to studies of intercultural education, highlighting experiences, successes and failures that have previously been ignored or silenced. It understands intercultural education not as a project solely relating to ethnicity, but also as always inherently linked to gender, class and other identity markers, and thus needing always to be interpreted as such. Intersectional decolonial thinking allows a move away from an individualistic liberal framing of feminism.

It challenges taken for granted solutions to gender inequality, such as formal education, as value free. Instead, it questions

what we mean by education, which types of knowledges this understanding privileges and how providing education to women in the global south also has multiple structural effects that often remain understudied, most notably that it ties them into a global capitalist economy of production and consumption in which they face a new set of oppressive relations (Salem, 2014 n.p.).

In utilising an intersectional framework this thesis challenges the development myth that schooling will always improve the standard of life for indigenous girls. Instead a decolonial intersectional approach allows for the examination of the effects of intercultural policy and praxis on indigenous girls' lives and explains "how specific structures are implicated in the production of particular ways of knowing and surviving in the global economy today" (Salem, 2014).

The contributions of this thesis are not only theoretical but also practical. In calling for a decolonial intersectional approach to intercultural education, the thesis engages with Moraga and Anzaldúa's (1983) border thinking, "where the liminality of the border is a ground, a space, a borderlands... not just a split, not an infinite repetition of dichotomous hierarchies among de souled spectres of the human" (Lugones, 2010, p. 735). Border thinking argues that theories developed within academic spaces also have a lived dimension. Through the subaltern epistemology of critical border thinking, the epistemic positionality of the subject is not ignored, but instead difference becomes central. Border thinking is a response to modernity and is part of an existing struggle against coloniality, it is an outside thinking created from the inside, that uses "alternative knowledge traditions and alternative languages of expression" (Mignolo and Tlostanova, 2006, p. 206). This thesis is an active call to engage in border thinking in relation to the intercultural school, to acknowledge the possibilities of Other ways of thinking about and being within the intercultural school. As decolonial theory and IBE all developed from within Latin American contexts, the thesis returns to Latin America in order to assess the ways in which a feminist decolonial theory can help to reinterpret experiences of

intercultural education. The case study for this thesis is Chile/ Wall Mapu and specifically, one intercultural school and one internado<sup>6</sup> within the city of Temuco.

### Introducing the Case Study: The Mapuche peoples in Chile

The Mapuche are an indigenous group located in the Southern Cone of Latin America, both within the South of Chile and Argentina. The history of the Mapuche people is not well known, even within Chile, primarily because history has been written by the colonisers. However, it is thought that indigenous peoples have been inhabiting the Southern Cone for as long as 15,000 years. The term “Mapuche” should be understood as a collective noun that refers to a wider range of ethnic groups who, whilst varying in some cultural respects, share the common language of Mapudungun, as well as similar social, economic and religious structures (Cayuqueo, 2018). The term Mapuche can be considered to incorporate the Puelche (*People of the East or the Pampas of Argentina*), the Pikunche (*People of the North*), the Williche (*People of the South*), the Pewenche (*People of the Araucanía Tree*), the Lafkenche (*People of the Coast*) the Nagche (*People of the Plains*) and the Wenteche (*People of the Valley*) (Bengoa, 1985). Their territories spread from the Aconcagua River in the North to Chiloe in the South (Gavilan, 2011; see Figure 1).

Prior to colonisation the Mapuche were an agricultural people, however they also traded goods such as textiles with other indigenous groups (Cayuqueo, 2018). The Mapuche political structure was divided into extended family groups, as the family was the only permanent Mapuche social institution. The political leader of the family group was the Longko or Chief, and the religious leader was the Machi or Shaman, who inhabited both the earth and the spirit world (Bengoa, 1985). The Mapuche are a pagan people, whose cosmology includes spirits that coexist with both humans and animals within the natural world. Mapuche cosmology, like all other cultures, is complex and profound and centres around the ‘creator’ of the Mapuche, Elchen, and the ruler of the Mapuche, Ngenechen (Huaiquinao, 2003).

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<sup>6</sup> A municipal run boarding house for girls from the countryside to stay in whilst they are at school in the city.



Figure 1 Map of Mapuche Territories (Copyright Stratfor, 2017)

### *Wallmapu, Spain, Chile: Colonialism and its Impacts on Mapuche Peoples*

The first Spanish arrived in Chile in 1535, however it was the arrival of Pedro de Valdivia in 1539 that began the intense 500 year process of violent colonisation of the Mapuche people (Bengoa, 1985). de Valdivia arrived in Chile with the intention of bringing it under Spanish rule and in 1540 he declared Chile a colony of the King of Spain (Cayuqueo, 2018). In 1550 he headed south to found the cities of Concepción, Valdivia, Imperial, Villarica and Angol, all in Mapuche territory (Bengoa, 1985). However, the Spanish faced a consistent resistance from the Mapuche people, who were skilled warriors from their years of war with the Inca and whose complex social structures and connection with the spirits, made them difficult to conquer. Whilst what have become known as the ‘Wars of the Arauco’ were mostly low intensity conflict, Mapuche warriors such as Caupolican and Lautaro led the Mapuche to great victories against the Spanish. The greatest defeat against the Spanish came in 1598 at the battle of Curalaba when the Mapuche, led by Pelantaro, launched an ambush against the Spanish army (Bengoa, 1985; Cayuqueo, 2018). This defeat resulted in a Mapuche uprising that destroyed all the cities the Spanish had founded south of the Bio Bio river (Cayuqueo, 2018). The Arauco

wars lasted around 350 years, but after the battle of Curalaba the Spanish became less interested in conquering the south of Chile and instead focused on the central region of Chile (Bengoa, 1985). In 1810 the Chilean army gained independence from the Spanish and reached a treaty with the Mapuche that the land south of the Bio Bio would remain under Mapuche control (Bengoa, 1985).

In the late eighteenth century the Chilean state began to buy up Mapuche lands south of the Bio Bio, but the land purchasing process was for the most part a fraudulent procedure, which resulted in a Mapuche uprising in 1859 (Cayuqueo, 2018). The uprising led to a new phase of violence in the south of Chile, as the Chilean state launched a series of military campaigns which they termed the ‘Pacification of the Araucanía’ (Bengoa, 1985). The twenty yearlong pacification led to the death of many Mapuche through war, disease and famine, and many more were displaced from their homes (Cayuqueo, 2018). In the aftermath of the Araucanía wars, the Mapuche territory was reduced significantly, from all land south of the Bio Bio to only 500,000 hectares of land. This land was divided into around 3,000 reductions or ‘títulos de merced’ (Bengoa, 1985). The Chilean army re-established the cities once burned by the Mapuche and protected them with forts and in the countryside, the Chilean government invited European immigrants to occupy Mapuche land (Bengoa, 1985). The effects of such a reduction are still felt today and are the underlying cause, along with the cultural and social oppression of the Mapuche, of the continued conflict in the Araucanía region (Richards, 2013). Since the Mapuche were defeated in 1883, the Chilean state’s attitude towards Mapuche people has remained largely unchanged; however, the concept of the state itself has undergone significant restructuring.

### *Pinochet, Neoliberalism and the Mapuche People*

The military coup in 1973 launched Chile into the first experiment with neoliberal state formation. Following his rise to power, Augusto Pinochet and a group of right-wing Chilean economists, the ‘Chicago Boys’, restructured the Chilean economy making it the most open in the world (Harvey, 2005). This led to an inflow of foreign direct investment (FDI) and a surge in primary product exportation, largely controlled by the same elite European families that were established in colonial times. However, the ‘Chilean miracle’ came at large “social, political and environmental costs” (Murray, 2009, p. 2). Chileans now live within two separate

worlds, one that has benefited from economic growth and enjoys the institutions that were designed for them, and one of poverty and uncertainty in which the state has become a weapon in order to deny the rights of its citizens (Kingstone, 2011). Critiques of neoliberalism maintain that the Mapuche have been incorporated into a larger national proletariat that ignores the racialised politics of neoliberalism; it is through relationships with the Mapuche that neoliberal policies represent the continuity of the Chilean colonial condition even as it changes form (Quijano, 2007; Richards, 2013). The domination of the Mapuche has not only happened through genocide, but also through the establishment of social and political systems that naturalise domination.

The Araucanía has become the forefront of the battle for neoliberal domination against alternative indigenous lifeworlds, as Mapuche and local elites enter into a struggle for legitimacy over land rights. Neoliberal legal and institutional structures have created an epistemic privilege for European elites to continue the colonial assault on the Mapuche people through the perpetuation of racist tropes that exclude Mapuche by categorising them as Other and make way for neoliberal development in ancestral Mapuche territory (Richards, 2013). Within Mapuche ancestral and sacred territories, corporations now own three times more land than the Mapuche (Richards, 2013). Indeed, in the Araucanía region neoliberal development “that enriches the state and elites is built on the appropriation of Mapuche lands and resources, facilitated by the pacification, and laws and policies instituted since then” (Richards, 2013, p. 74). Alongside the timber industry, industrial agriculture, hydroelectric dams, corporate fisheries, urban development and rubbish tips are some of the many neoliberal state projects that the Mapuche are struggling against. Government representatives and neoliberal agents speak of the necessity of integrating Mapuche into development as if they were opposed to it. However, Richards, (2013, p. 76) argues that “to many Mapuche the question is not one of rejecting development but of resisting a model in which they always seem to lose”. In many ways it is this material and symbolic violence of the Chilean state and neoliberal society that has led to some of the most extreme Mapuche-state-elite conflicts that are occurring in the Araucanía region today. The land dispossession, stripping of natural resources, the privileging of national development over indigenous rights, institutional discrimination and the repression of nonviolent indigenous protests has led to a conflict that seems unlikely to be halted anytime soon.

## *The Mapuche Peoples' Continued Struggles Against Coloniality*

The end of the military dictatorship and the long-awaited return to a democratically elected government in Chile in 1990 was celebrated as a triumph of civility and democracy over the violence of the dictatorship. The return to democracy saw the rise of the central left coalition government, popularly known as the Concertación, which promised to bring “growth with equity; reducing inequality while supporting market led, globally integrated growth” (Haughney, 2012, p. 201). The Concertación promised to bring poor and marginalised sectors of the Chilean population into marketized citizenship and to promote the integration of the Mapuche into the national economy whilst protecting cultural identities. However, for many Mapuche people a reserved optimism towards the Concertación government quickly transformed into disillusionment as the state chose to shun indigenous rights when national development was at stake. Neoliberalism has continued to be both ideologically and institutionally the guiding framework for the Concertación government, as a legal structure has been developed to benefit corporate projects and the ‘national interest’, whilst the Mapuche have found their collective interests reframed as individual, and less important, concerns. The Mapuche people have been reimagined by the Chilean state as “a marginal sector of the Chilean nation with distinctive cultural traditions, not as separate distinctive peoples with collective rights” (Haughney, 2012, p. 201). Despite this, issues surrounding indigenous people have not been stagnant since the return to democracy. In 1993, after years of negotiations between Mapuche people and government institutions, a new indigenous law that recognises the existence of indigenous people within Chilean territory was set up. Through this, a new state institution, The National Indigenous Development Corporation (CONADI) was also created. The 1993 reform was characterised by the government as “development with identity” (Haughney, 2012, p. 203), however, interventions tended to focus on poverty alleviation, rather than any real reassessment of land claims or self-governance. Furthermore, consecutive CONADI presidents have often openly supported mega projects on Mapuche lands, “characterising the Bio Bio river hydroelectric projects as necessary for national security and development” (Haughney, 2012, p. 203).

The material and symbolic violence of the state against indigenous peoples has led to extreme conflict in the South of Chile, to which Mapuche people have responded through both violent and non-violent action and protest. “It is important to see Mapuche protest not just as reaction

but also as action. Even as their options are extremely limited, Mapuche communities and organisations have chosen strategies, they have made decisions and asserted their agency” (Richards, 2013, p. 83). The response of the government to Mapuche protest has been the ideological construction of the ‘red zone of Mapuche conflict’, “creating the image of an internal enemy now presented in the form of ‘ethnic Mapuche terrorism’” (Mansilla Quiñones and Pehuen, 2019, p. 46). The state resolution to the conflict has been to re-establish the anti-terrorist law, set up by the Pinochet government to facilitate the crushing of political dissidence. The anti-terrorist law is now controversially and almost exclusively applied to Mapuche leaders in times of democracy, whose actions and demands for collective rights to territory are seen as a security threat to the integrity of the Chilean state. Mapuche who are accused of committing civil crimes are now facing judicial prosecution<sup>7</sup>. Furthermore, state sanctioned police violence against Mapuche has led to the death of multiple *Weichafe (Warriors)*<sup>8</sup>. However, “rather than opposing state violence against their fellow (Mapuche) citizens, local elites benefit from it because it allows them to maintain their place at the top of the social hierarchy” (Mansilla Quiñones and Pehuen, 2019, p. 46). Thus, in Chile the long-term structural violence against the Mapuche characterises the continued internal coloniality of the nation state against its indigenous peoples. The continuation of the colonial rule is imposed through symbolic and material borders that separate the Mapuche from colonial society. As Mansilla Quiñones and Pehuen (2019, p. 48) argue “the borders of the Chilean and Argentine nation states form a “geopolitics of death”, which through violence promotes the denial of Mapuche territorial claims and their ways of being and existing in nature.” The violence against the Mapuche people doesn’t just relate to land dispossession, but “rather to a form of territorial existence denied by the hegemonic imposition of modern western society” (Mansilla Quiñones and Pehuen, 2019, p. 42). The Mapuche have shouldered the burden of neoliberalism, having the highest poverty rate in Chile, with 17.2% of people living in poverty in the Araucanía compared to 8.6% nationally (in Mansilla Quiñones and Pehuen, 2019). This is coupled with land encroachment, water scarcity, poisoning from pesticides, forest fires and the erasure of medicinal plants. Furthermore, Merino et al., (2009) have shown that within Chile, more than 85% of non-Mapuche exhibit prejudice and negative stereotyping towards Mapuche in their

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<sup>7</sup> The most famous case being Alberto Curamil, whose actions against the hydroelectric plants in the Curacautin territory in 2013, which paralysed the plants’ construction, mean he is now in jail facing sentencing.

<sup>8</sup> On November 18, 2018, the Mapuche *Weichafe*, Camilo Catrillanca was shot in the back and murdered by the Chilean military police unit in his own territory of Temucuicui. Catrillanca joins a longer list of murdered Mapuche, including Alex Lemun (November 12, 2002), Jaime Mendoza Collio (August 12, 2009) and Matias Catrileo (January 3, 2009).

everyday discourse. The Mapuche suffer from cultural domination as the dominant society purposefully misrepresents the indigenous culture, but also fails to “accept its points of view or understandings in domains such as education, legislation, language, and health services” (Merino et al., 2009, p. 815).

The Mapuche have resisted neoliberalism in varying ways. In the 1990s a new cycle of Mapuche social protest began, “characterised by land recovery through direct action and sabotage against the means of capitalist production” (Mansilla Quiñones and Pehuen, 2019, p. 46). Young Mapuche began to react violently to state dispossession, occupying native territory and destroying private businesses and homes that were found on those sites. However, there has also been a cultural resistance from the Mapuche as the semantic shift from land to territory brought Chilean territory into contestation and began the “recuperation and re-elaboration of historical memory and a rewriting of official Chilean national history” (Boccaro, 2002, p. 287). These actions are part of a wider struggle to achieve autonomy for the Mapuche people through socio-territorial reconstruction, “avoiding the traps of traditional state paternalism, and above all trying to remain as local as possible by re-establishing their own authorities at the very centre of the political arena and processes of decision making” (Boccaro, 2002, p. 287). However, not all Mapuche youth are visibly resisting state coloniality, with many Mapuche youth trapped inside an acculturating education system that works to erase Mapuche identity and reform Mapuche youth as neoliberal citizens. Whilst intercultural education has been in practice in Chile since 1993 (Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional de Chile, 2019), this thesis argues that intercultural education remains an assimilatory part of the Chilean national state project.

### Thesis Aims and Objectives

The thesis has both theoretical and practical aims. Firstly, it attempts to renegotiate the way in which intercultural education is understood by insisting on a decolonial intersectional approach, one that acknowledges the complexity of identity and thus the multiplicity of experiences of intercultural education. It highlights the need to theorise intercultural education within Chile through the lived experiences of girls within state led intercultural institutions, listening to their stories of indigeneity, gender and class. The thesis aims to highlight the necessity for Mapuche girls to have more influence on intercultural policy interventions that are directly affecting their lives, and that their experiences, identities and discourses are all a

necessary part of understanding and developing intercultural education. Secondly, the thesis attempts to develop new possibilities and futures for intercultural education that are borne out of the experiences of Mapuche girls and women, grow from decolonial feminist interpretations of intercultural education, and challenge the universality of western knowledges. These desires are reflected in the four overarching objectives of the thesis:

1. To evaluate how the concept of intercultural education has been interpreted within policy documents and discourses in the Araucanía region of Chile;
2. To assess how these policies have been experienced by Mapuche girls within municipal education institutions in the Araucanía region of Chile and the extent to which this is influenced by their gendered and classed identities;
3. To explore critiques of intercultural education policy from within the Mapuche community and examine alternative decolonial indigenous approaches to education in the Araucanía; and
4. To address what the future possibilities of educating indigenous girls in the Araucanía might look like if the experiences of Mapuche girls and women were prioritised.

In order to achieve these aims and objectives, this thesis takes an approach that is both participatory and centred around indigenous methodologies. The knowledge created during this research was constructed as a result of creative methodologies, mainly participatory video and also through extensive experiences of *alkutün* or profound listening and storytelling. The research understands the participants to be coproducers of knowledge in an attempt to make their voices heard and their experiences valued. Through participatory methods, indigenous girls are able to reflect on their lives within two municipal institutions - the school and the *internado* - and examine the impact of these institutions on their constructions of self, their hopes, their disappointments and their possibilities. Beyond this, the thesis also makes recommendations for possible approaches to the future of intercultural education in Chile.

### Thesis Outline

The rest of the thesis is divided into seven chapters, within which the following themes are explored. Chapter 2 expands on the conceptual framework that has been outlined above. It highlights the importance of both decolonial and intersectional theory within the context of intercultural education and suggests that in uniting these two theories a more complete picture

of the experiences of Mapuche girls within municipal education can be formed, one in which the voices of these Mapuche girls are elevated. Chapter 3 details the methodologies used in carrying out the fieldwork in Temuco, Chile. It examines the importance of both participatory and decolonial methodologies when working with indigenous peoples in the global south. The chapter not only describes the research process, but also its limitations and the ways in which my positionality as a white, western researcher influenced the process. Chapter 4 explores the histories of intercultural education within the Mapuche context and explains the multiple discourses of intercultural education arising from both the Mapuche themselves and the state. The chapter then situates this research within its political context, describing both the ‘Chilean spring<sup>9</sup>’ and the rising feminist movements within Chile and the Araucanía. The following three chapters go on to examine the findings of the research informed by the theoretical frameworks previously outlined. Chapter 5 lays out the ways in which intercultural education has been interpreted within Chilean state policy, and the ways in which national curricula undermine IBE policy to reproduce a colonial assimilatory policy based on discourses of citizenship and traditional gender roles. Chapter 6 proceeds to explain the ways in which these policies are lived by Mapuche girls within the school and internado. It shows that Mapuche girls live intersectional lives, and their experiences of education are affected by their ethnicity, gender, urbanity and poverty. Chapter 7 examines the ways in which Mapuche activists resist state appropriations of their utopian intercultural project, and their hopes for a decolonial intercultural future. However, the chapter also highlights the ways in which Mapuche decolonial projects appropriate colonial interpretations of gender in order to elevate the voices of Mapuche men, whilst silencing the experiences of Mapuche girls. The chapter concludes with an exploration of hope-filled decolonial, intersectional, intercultural projects led by Mapuche lesbians and feminists. The final chapter of the thesis reflects on the analysis of these research findings. It places them within the wider context of intercultural education in both Chile and Latin America and advocates a more hope-filled future in which intercultural education policy and practice is at once decolonial and intersectional.

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<sup>9</sup> The social uprising that took place in October 2019.

Queremos una educación que no sea clasista, sexista y racista, en la cual nos tomen como sujetos y no como objetos. La educación debe construir al hombre y a la mujer nuevos, sin explotación, marginación, opresión o desprecio, y reconociendo todos los derechos que merecemos como pueblos. Debe ser una educación en donde se hable de la situación real que vivimos, y no debe ser alienante, explotadora o abusiva en contra de nuestras culturas  
*(Fichas de Trabajo de la Escuela Secundaria Rebelede Zapatista).*

We want education that is not classist, sexist or racist, in which they treat us like subjects and not objects. Education must build new men and women, without exploitation, marginalisation, oppression or contempt, and recognise all the rights we deserve as peoples. It must be an education where we talk about the real situation we live in and it must not be alienating, exploitative or abusive against our cultures  
*(Worksheet from the Zapatista Rebel High School in Gomez Lara, 2011).*

## **Chapter 2 - Reimagining Geographies of Intercultural Education through a Decolonial Intersectional Framework**

### Introduction

Interculturality is one of the newest areas of study in the field of education. It was first conceptualised as a form of resistance within indigenous societies to the dominant modes of schooling that have acted to reproduce systems of coloniality and white supremacy. It was argued that a form of education was needed in which students not only learned about the languages and cultures of other peoples, but indeed about the socio-political landscapes within which those cultures exist and the forms of oppression that are used against the people of those cultures on a daily basis. Within Latin America, intercultural education became a challenge to the dichotomy that has been maintained between modern and traditional, mestizo and indigenous, and civilised and uncivilised. In this chapter I argue that whilst intercultural education grew out of indigenous desires for self-determination and the protection of indigenous cultures and languages, within the context of coloniality and neoliberalism intercultural education has been co-opted as a state tool to perform symbolic violence against indigenous peoples. Intercultural education has been appropriated as a new neoliberal buzzword to distract from the hidden systems of colonial oppression that enact on the lives of indigenous people in the global south.

Within academia, discussions of alternative educations have been dominated for almost four decades by the work of critical pedagogics (Freire, 1974, 1970; Giroux, 1983; hooks, 1994; Illich, 1971). The discourse of critical education has arguably been limited for some time by a fixation with these texts. Whilst the work of critical pedagogics opened conversations for a new way of doing education, its long supremacy within geographies of education has led to the domination of a Marxist, western and anthropocentric epistemology. These pedagogies remain

rooted in the western paradigm and therefore in tension with indigenous knowledge and praxis. In particular, the root constructs of democratization, subjectivity and property are all defined through Western frames of reference that presume the individual as the primary subject of “rights” and social status (Grande, 2004, 238).

This chapter, in contrast, argues that reimagining alternative education systems demands a movement away from such dominant praxis. Instead I argue for a decolonial approach to understandings of intercultural education. The chapter begins by highlighting the history of intercultural education as a specifically indigenous project, one that attempts to recentre indigenous ways of knowing and being within education systems that have traditionally been assimilatory and destructive. The chapter argues that intercultural education is inherently decolonial in its origins because it attempts to destabilise universalising epistemologies. However, the chapter continues by describing the ways in which intercultural education as policy and praxis has been appropriated by neoliberal states in order to reproduce colonial structures of education. I argue that intercultural education has been used discursively to show a commitment to equality, whilst colonial education structures continue to reproduce power hierarchies, now hidden behind intercultural discourse. The chapter calls for a decolonial framework, one that centres indigenous pedagogies and non-western knowledges in an attempt to reconceptualise intercultural education. However, the chapter also argues that decolonial perspectives can fail to acknowledge the multiple oppressions that manifest themselves in different ways upon distinct subaltern subjectivities. The thesis thus calls for a decolonial intersectional approach that recognises the distinct ways that multiple identity constructions can manifest within intercultural education systems and argues that this is necessary to make sure the experiences of indigenous girls within these systems are heard. In doing so it brings into dialogue the thinking of decolonial scholars such as Escobar (2007), Grosfoguel (2007), Mignolo and Walsh (2018) with feminist scholars, such as Crenshaw (1991), Lugones (2016) and Spivak (1999). Finally, I argue that in adopting a decolonial intersectional approach new ways of thinking and being emerge from what Anzaldúa (2007) has termed the borderlands, or what other thinkers have termed the pluriverse (Escobar, 2018; Querejazu, 2016), opening up new possibilities for the future of education.

### Intercultural Education as Decolonial Praxis

The history of assimilatory, monolingual education in relation to indigenous peoples in Latin America was explored in depth in the Introduction (see also Adams, 1995; Hornberger, 2000; Lopez and Küper, 1999; Lopez and Sichra, 2008; López, 2009; May and Aitken, 2003). Since the arrival of the Spanish in Latin America, numerous and diverse strategies have been employed to indoctrinate indigenous children into formal schooling and to ensure effective assimilation into national identities. The colonial school's central mission was to incorporate

not only indigenous children but also “the communities to which they belonged to a new way-of-life: civilized, Christian, productive, industrious, in urban-like lodging patterns and in general integrated into the modern social and economic world” (López, 2009, p. 5). However, after 150 years of formal education in indigenous territories, indigenous peoples, cultures and languages continue to survive, although many remain under severe risk of extinction (López, 2009). In response to this, indigenous peoples have advanced alternative ways of teaching, educating and learning that take into account multiple ways of being and living, and are centred on indigenous epistemologies. Here I outline the rise of intercultural education as an indigenous alternative to assimilation and its place within decolonial thinking.

### *The Rise of Indigenous Intercultural Educations*

Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE) arose as a theory within the 1970s within the context of wider social and economic transformations (Coulby, 2006). Shifts in global geopolitics, including the increased neoliberal interference of western powers in Latin American affairs, led to grassroots initiatives to counter epistemological forms of domination, to foster new social relations and to protect diverse cultural knowledges and indigenous identities (Walsh, 2015; Webb and Radcliffe, 2016). In the 1970s and early 1980s, increasingly powerful and vocal indigenous movements meant that governments were forced into renegotiating their positions with respect to their indigenous populations (Lopez and Sichra, 2008). A discursive shift in policy meant that most countries in Latin America moved away from “transitionally oriented programs to adopting the maintenance and development model” (Lopez and Sichra, 2008, p. 1733). One of the main influences regarding this shift was the Barbados II meeting in 1977 where Latin American anthropologists, indigenous leaders, and linguists called for a change from top down state Indigenism to “a more grass roots and critical approach” (Lopez and Sichra, 2008, p. 1733). In many Latin American countries, this new orientation led to the active participation of indigenous organisations in decision making, including constitutional reforms that acknowledged the “multicultural and multilingual nature of their societies as well as the right of indigenous peoples to education in their mother tongue” (Lopez and Sichra, 2008, p. 1732).

IBE has been an active response to both social and economic exclusion, as indigenous organisations and academics in Latin America have pressed forcefully for its implementation. Intercultural educational theory thus cannot be separated from its indigenous roots, as it has

become intertwined with struggles for rights and self-determination, but also political injustices. The desire for a new intercultural education system within Latin America, but also globally, has been influenced by three main debates, outlined by Nicholls (2005). Firstly, intercultural education was promoted as a tool for strengthening indigenous identity, which through a variety of ethnocidal processes, including genocides and monolingual schools, had been suffering from a process of erosion. In comparison, intercultural education encourages children to be taught in indigenous languages and fortifies indigenous ways of life by reinforcing cultural traditions that differ from those of the “national culture” as valid and respected. Secondly, intercultural education is said to benefit indigenous children by using the child’s prior knowledge as the educational starting point. Indigenous children slip behind in school when they do not understand the language the teacher is speaking, or the cultural norms and practices of the classroom. Finally, supporters of intercultural education programmes in indigenous communities perceive the monocultural school as a denial of human rights, arguing that indigenous children should be given the right to “acquire their initial literacy in their own languages” and have their ways of life respected and reinforced (Nicholls, 2005, p. 165).

Intercultural education has been promoted by many indigenous leaders within Latin America as the solution to the marginalising practices of the monocultural school, explored in the introduction. Its exact meaning was outlined by indigenous leaders, theorists and practitioners at the Cusco Seminar in 1995, as

a process of social negotiation which aims to construct dialogical and more just relations between social actors belonging to different cultural universes on the basis of recognition of diversity... it is a notion which encompasses the global society and helps to overcome dichotomies, particularly that of indigenous/ non-indigenous (in Aikman, 1997, p. 469)

In essence, indigenous leaders acknowledged that intercultural relations remain structured within the colonial framework of power relations; however, interculturality attempts to restructure these relations in favour of the excluded and oppressed sectors of society, promoting a greater equity in social, cultural, and economic relations (Lopez, 2018). Furthermore, following definitions by indigenous leaders and academics, interculturality implies the recognition of difference and rejects attempts at assimilation through parameters of inequity.

Instead, interculturality attempts to promote social, economic and cultural democracy within the field of collective rights, whilst at the same time highlighting the inequities brought about by such differences (Lopez, 2018). Coulby (2006) argues that these transformative changes to pedagogical practice cannot be reduced to just one subject matter, rather interculturality is a cross timetable theme that must inform the teaching and learning of all subjects. He goes so far as to argue that if education is not intercultural, “it is probably not education, but rather the inculcation of nationalist or religious fundamentalisms” (Coulby, 2006, p. 246).

It is important to note that Intercultural Education is inherently different from other pedagogical practices that have arisen relating to national plurality. In the introduction I highlighted how Intercultural Education in Latin America arose from critiques relating to bicultural education. Here I want to make clear that Intercultural Education has distinct origins and objectives from that of the multicultural education project that is increasing in popularity within Latin American states, particularly Chile (Coulby, 2006). Discourses surrounding multicultural education emerged during the African American civil rights movements in the 1960s (Gorski, 2006a). Multicultural education attempts to develop student awareness to cultural differences, whilst at the same time combating discriminatory attitudes. However, it has been critiqued for its tokenistic understanding of non-dominant knowledges, “denigrating cultural difference to the study of samosas, saris and steel bands” (Coulby, 2006, p. 246). Furthermore, it has been argued that multiculturalism ignores the deep asymmetries in the power relations between cultures, ignoring the domination and oppression of certain cultures (usually those in the global south) by others (usually those in the global north) (Gomez Lara, 2011).

In contrast to multicultural education, which teaches about other cultures, intercultural education teaches about interaction within cultural borderlands (Bleszynska, 2008). Gomez Lara (2011, p. 274) describes intercultural education as a “utopian model” that aims to teach people of different cultures to relate to each other on equal levels, erasing the power relations between them. Whilst a pedagogic shift to intercultural education may not have entirely erased these power relations, its emergence from within Latin America created a challenge for the “previously dominant and self-contained theory and practice emancipating from the USA and the UK” (Coulby, 2006, p. 246). Furthermore, it has meant that previously ignored ethnic

identities, particularly those associated with indigenous peoples, are beginning to be appreciated and perceived as an essential part of the cultural milieu of a particular society.

The term intercultural education has been increasingly used to label local and international educational projects led by and for indigenous peoples. Academic literature, correspondingly, has provided numerous examples of the implementation of intercultural education within indigenous spaces. Aikman (1997) has described the 1994 Bolivian educational reform that established IBE for the whole country; she also describes the recognition of Peru as an intercultural country that “allows its citizens to affirm themselves culturally and socially on the basis of their own paradigms and sociocultural matrices” through the creation of an intercultural curriculum (Aikman, 1997, p. 5). Outside of Latin America, work by Nicholls (2005) shows that the IBE school programme in the Northern Territory of Australia has wide support from within the aboriginal community as an important tool for the self determination of indigenous Australians. Within the higher education context, Cupples and Glynn (2014) explore how intercultural universities in New Zealand, Canada and more specifically Nicaragua take an inclusive approach towards indigenous cosmologies and epistemologies that are rooted in political and social struggles and aim to reduce the alienation of indigenous students. Intercultural education programs are under constant scrutiny from indigenous organisations and leaders, and many counterhegemonic IBE programmes have had wide successes. Hornberger and King (2001) found that after two years of schooling Quechua children in Chiapas developed a more complex use of language than in Spanish-only schools; Francis and Hamel (1992) determined that in Mexico, bilingual children were able to transfer skills learned in their mother tongue back to Spanish; and in Peru, Jung (2003) noted higher grammatical and oratory ability in Aymara children in IBE than in their monolingual classmates.

Given the political, social and cultural contributions that IBE has made, it is fair to say that it is one of the most important pedagogical innovations that has emerged from within Latin America (Lopez and Küper, 1999). This is not only because of the coverage of the system to include a sector of society that has previously been excluded or purposefully harmed by formal education, but also because of its aims towards the comprehensive transformation of both pedagogies and institutions from within the indigenous communities it hopes to serve. Intercultural education has become a key demand for indigenous groups, who petition for a

freedom from state oppressive education to rebuild their cultures, which have been disrupted and have deteriorated after five centuries of impositions, marginalisation and forced forgetfulness. Thus in this thesis, I understand intercultural education, as it emerged from indigenous thinking, to be part of a wider utopian, radical decolonial praxis. Here I attempt to place intercultural education theoretically within both decolonial praxis and thinking.

*Framing Intercultural Education as a Utopian Decolonial Project: Engaging with Indigenous Pedagogies*

Decoloniality is not an academic discipline or methodology, rather it is an option for a way of living that favours conviviality, peace, imagination and abundance. Whilst here I utilise academic writings to conceptualise decoloniality, decoloniality itself is a *praxis*, not a theory. Within Latin America an early wave of decolonisation arose as a liberatory movement against the Spanish church and crown. However, this thesis refers to a specific later decolonial movement that has been led by Latin America's indigenous population, and not by the creoles and mestizas of the first wave. In this decolonial movement, the previously neglected indigenous Other reinvigorated the praxis of liberation by demanding their rights to live and thrive within their own cultures, economies and politics (Dussel, 2012). Through an affirmation of their exclusion, indigenous peoples reject the rationality of their domination, interrupting the systems of exclusion with decolonial praxis. Thus, decoloniality is not a movement to form independent nation states out of the ashes of former colonies, but a wider movement of liberation beyond state borders.

Since Descartes disregarded God as the creator of knowledge, universal truth and the capacity to produce scientific knowledge has been placed solely in the hands of western man (Grosfoguel, 2007). Descartes produced a dualism between body and mind, where body comes to stand in for nature, creating an egocentric understanding of knowledge in which through modern western science one can gain access to a god like view of the laws of the universe. This god like view of the world, creates what Castro-Gómez (2003) has termed the “point zero” perspective, in which western knowledge is able to hide its localism under a curtain of abstract universalism. Thus, historically

this has allowed western man (the gendered term is intentionally used here) to represent his knowledge as the only one capable of achieving a universal consciousness, and to

dismiss non-western knowledge as particularistic and thus unable to achieve universality (Grosfoguel, 2007, p. 214).

In contrast, decolonial thinking calls for a delinking from the epistemic assumptions that became dominant in the European renaissance associated with the power of knowledge from the western world. Once this delinking has occurred, it is necessary to “relink” or to (re)imagine multiple ways of living and knowing (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018). Thus, decoloniality is praxis, an active process of delinking from coloniality and relinking to alternative ways of living, doing, knowing and feeling. A decolonial epistemic perspective deconstructs the abstract universal of western epistemologies, arguing for a broader canon of thought that requires a critical dialogue between “epistemic perspectives/cosmologies/insights of critical thinkers from the global south, thinking from and with subalternised racial/ethnic/sexual spaces and bodies” (Grosfoguel, 2007, p. 12). It asks what the world could look like if power hierarchies were unsettled and dominant paradigms of thinking were shifted from white, western men. It calls for a deep and sincere engagement with alternative knowledge movements including, among others, the southern, the indigenous and the female, and with forms of life that are celebrated and preserved rather than enslavement to the designs and demands of modernity.

Within this context interculturality can be understood as “both a complementary political, epistemic and existence based project, and an instrument and tool of decoloniality’s praxis” (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018, p. 57). When understood through a decolonial perspective we can visualise interculturality as a radical change in the dominant order of education, capitalism, modernity and coloniality. Through its decolonial reconceptualization it makes visible the legacies of colonialism on the lives of oppressed peoples and the manifestation of these legacies within the social institution of education. Interculturality as viewed through a decolonial perspective can be understood as an active process set to transform and reconceptualise “structures and institutions in ways that put in equitable (but still conflictive) relation diverse cultural logics, practices and ways of knowing, thinking, acting, being and living” (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018, p. 59). Interculturality, in this sense, comes to reaffirm difference and contributes to the creation of new forms of co-living, solidarities and cooperation. It is more than just a dialogue between cultures but can provide the foundations for the building of radically different societies, of an Other way of living outside of modernity through the

restructuring of political, social and economic orderings. However, interculturality, like decoloniality, is not a project that has an end point. It is a utopian imagining – a constant praxis and action towards transformation. In the same way that Mignolo and Walsh (2018, p. 59) posit that decoloniality is a verb, interculturality is thought of as a continued project that was conceived at the margins and contributes to the continued process of constructing coloniality's otherwise. Through a decolonial lens, interculturality can simply be understood as “the possibility of life, of an alternative life project that profoundly questions the instrumental irrational logic of capitalism in these times” (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018, p. 75). Thus decoloniality and interculturality are interwoven projects and must be considered in respect to one another.

In its decolonial form, intercultural education encourages us to engage with education systems that emerge from outside of contemporary western societies. Intercultural education was borne out of an indigenous desire for self-determination and thus calls for a re-engagement with indigenous pedagogies. Indigenous pedagogies include knowledges otherwise that western critical theorists do not consider, including “cosmology, spirituality, wisdom, knowledge, land, nature and life” as interweaving with self-determination, decolonisation, mobilisation and transformation (Walsh, 2015, p. 13). In his extensive analysis of indigenous pedagogies, Cajete (1994) contrasts indigenous and western pedagogies, arguing that the former are always creative and holistic, designed so that each member of indigenous society can become a contributing member of the community. Indigenous education situates itself in the pluriverse (see p. 70) as a wholesome lifelong process that “unfolds through mutual, reciprocal relationships between one's social group and the natural world” (Cajete, 1994, p. 25). This reciprocal relationship involves developing all dimensions of one's being, through a “communally integrated expression of environmental education” (Cajete, 1994, p. 25). However, such a positive and enlightened understanding of the possibilities of intercultural education within indigenous societies does not tell the whole story of intercultural experiences. There are also multiple examples within academic literature that cite the problems associated with Intercultural Education for indigenous peoples. In order to understand these failings, it is first necessary to situate the concept of decoloniality firmly within the modernity/coloniality matrix.

### Intercultural Education as Colonial Appropriation

The coloniality of power, or the modernity/coloniality matrix, is a concept that grew out of work in postcolonial, decolonial and subaltern studies. It was advanced most prominently by the Peruvian sociologist Anibal Quijano (2007), but has become the focus of the modernity/coloniality group that includes other Latin American scholars such as Castro-Gómez (2003), Grosfoguel (2007), Maldonado-Torres (2007), Mignolo (2007), and Walsh (2007). The coloniality of power acknowledges the legacies of European colonialism in Latin America in relation to both social discrimination, cultural domination, accepted knowledges and valued economic practices. The coloniality of power prescribes value to western European society and practices, whilst disenfranchising those of indigenous or Afro Latino populations.

It is important to note the difference between Quijano's (2007) coloniality and the European practice of colonialism. Coloniality is not equivalent to colonialism, nor is it limited to the presence of colonial administrations and structures of power (Grosfoguel, 2007). Rather, coloniality was conceived with 'race' as the key category behind social classification.

Unlike in any other previous experience of colonialism, the old ideas of superiority of the dominant and the inferiority of dominated under European colonialism were mutated in a relationship of biologically and structurally superior and inferior (Quijano, 2007, p. 171).

Coloniality necessitates a hierarchical system that privileges Europeans over non Europeans, males over females and western knowledges and cosmologies over indigenous knowledges and cosmologies (Mignolo, 2007; Quijano, 2007). In Quijano's (2007) conceptualisation of coloniality, coloniality is constitutive of modernity, they are two sides of the same coin (Escobar, 2007). Modernity is a temporal moment in which the "constructs of reason, the individual, expert knowledge, and administrative mechanisms linked to the state" come together (Escobar, 2007, p. 181). In modernity, metaphysics triumphs over all other knowledges, as man's ability towards reason becomes the foundation for both equity and freedom (Giddens, 2013). Modernity's success lies in its universality, as radical alternatives are excluded from the realm of possibility and all world societies are brought under the umbrella of European histories and cultures. As Escobar laments, "from now on, its modernity all the way down, everywhere until the end of times" (2007, p. 183). However, behind modernity's salvationist rhetoric lies coloniality, which Mignolo defines as "the logic of expression and exploitation" (2007, 162). In essence, modernity and coloniality are interlinking

projects, that together exert their domination over the realms of the economy, gender and sexuality, and knowledge and subjectivity.

Within this colonial/modernity rhetoric lies decoloniality. Decoloniality itself is a construct of coloniality, the main aim of which is to illuminate the devastating effects of modernity. As the concept of coloniality emerged not from the west, where academics were focused on modernity, postmodernity and globalisation, but in the global south, where the damage from the darker side of modernity was being lived, it does not aim to account for European needs and wants, but rather it responds to the needs of those in the global south whose lived experiences are enmeshed in local histories of coloniality (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018). It is from within this colonial thinking that decolonial thinking, doing, living and being emerged as decoloniality attempts to undermine the forms of power that work within coloniality to keep systems of oppression in place. Decolonial thinking is a consequence of the concept of coloniality, but at the same time, coloniality is also a consequence of decolonial thinking. As Mignolo and Walsh (2018, p. 112) show, “thinking decolonially made it possible to see coloniality and seeing coloniality materialised decolonial thinking”. Decolonial thinking calls for a delinking from coloniality and the underlying structures of eurocentrism that control the production of knowledge and subjectivities within the global south. As Mignolo and Walsh argue, “if coloniality is all over, decolonial praxis shall be all over as well” (2018, p. 125). However, what many intercultural theorists have failed to address is the incessant power of coloniality and its ability to reform radical practices in order to advance its universalising desires. Here I argue that despite its utopian decolonial aspirations, interculturality has been appropriated by colonial state practices in order to recreate assimilatory and nationalising education.

### *Contradictory Intercultural Encounters: Depoliticising Interculturality*

As argued above, within Latin America, intercultural education “developed out of concern and respect for indigenous knowledge and practices, but primarily in response to the exploitation, oppression and discrimination of indigenous peoples” (Aikman, 1997, p. 466). Following this, indigenous authorities began to lobby governments to incorporate intercultural education into state curricula and obligingly, states began to codify their commitments to intercultural education. However, Gorski (2008, p. 7) has described these state commitments as “candy coated versions” of intercultural education. He argues that intercultural education swiftly

became a state tool to maintain the marginalisation and forms of control that it ought to dismantle, reinforcing relations of internal colonialism and ethnic hierarchies, and supporting at a systematic level “the interests of the powerful at the expense of the oppressed” (Gorski, 2008, p. 7). Jones (1999) reiterates this, showing that in many state-led cross-cultural dialogues the experiences are controlled in ways that promote the assumption that all participants are equal power holders and hold equitable access to cultural capital; those who are oppressed are encouraged to show empathy to those who represent their oppressors. Jones asks us,

What if “togetherness” and dialogue across difference fail to hold a compellingly positive meaning for subordinate ethnic groups? What if the “other” fails to find interesting the idea of their empathetic understanding of the powerful, which is theoretically demanded by dialogic encounters? (1999, p. 299)

Similarly, Jones (*ibid*: p. 303) explores how intercultural education experiences act to reinforce colonial and oppressive hegemony as disenfranchised people are forced to render themselves more vulnerable to the powerful. He describes the “imperialist resonances” in processes which, in the name of justice and attempts to realign power into the hands of the margin dwellers, oppressed peoples are forced to “open up their territory” and welcome in the powerful. Thus, the powerful regain control over the rules of engagement within intercultural educational experiences, leaving unacknowledged the reality that “the marginalised voices they invite into these dialogues do not need, either educationally or spiritually, organised opportunities to hear and consider the voices of the powerful” (Gorski, 2008, p. 8). In fact, Vasques Scalera (1999) shows that those from within the dominant group gain a higher level of personal fulfilment from intercultural education, than those from within the dominated group. Indeed, Gomez Lara (2011) argues that interculturalism can enact to further marginalise oppressed groups simply by the act of identifying them as in need of inclusion.

Despite these obvious contradictions of intercultural education, it still dominates discourses of indigeneity, decoloniality and education. The moral potential of interculturality has served to distract from and disguise the violent historical realities of most inequitable cultural interactions that have “commonly been characterised by conquest, slave trades, imperialism and genocide” (Coulby, 2006, p. 247). In policy and praxis interculturalism does not capture the complexity within which cultural interactions take place, particularly those infused by the

logic of domination and assimilation, such as those between indigenous peoples and settler societies. Indeed, for Pozo Menares (2014, p. 40) the term interculturality has become a “passport” that allows the user to diplomatically indicate their good intentions, whilst failing to challenge and in many cases perpetuating, the institutionalised racism and symbolic violence of schooling. He argues that the term interculturality, has been reimagined as a noun, thus infusing it with a life of its own, in which indigenous students are reduced to the homogenous category of “other” and the privileged white norm is reaffirmed. What is worse, increasingly indigenous cultures and languages are being excluded from practices of intercultural education that were meant to serve them.

Intercultural education practices are tending alarmingly towards an arbitrary selectiveness on which cultural groups are included in intercultural education and generalisations about those cultures. Much intercultural education focuses solely on

immigrant groups that have recently settled in the country... minorities that are not distinct in their external appearance ... groups politically disadvantaged ... and/or not very much liked (Bleszynska, 2008, p. 542).

In comparison, indigenous peoples who have both competing land claims and vastly different knowledges and cultures are ignored within intercultural policy, as their cultures and knowledges are not considered as valid or necessary additions to intercultural education policies. When indigenous groups are included in the discourse of intercultural education they are included as one subdivision of a wider discussion of the increasing tendency towards violence, distrust, xenophobia and racism (Coulby, 2006). Within Latin America, discourses of intercultural education fail to recognise the nuances of history, power and domination that underpin fixed cultural identities “often forged through notions of difference and the Other” (Salter and Maxwell, 2018, p. 16). All too often, national intercultural curricula aim to foster a sense of cohesion within the nation, creating within the curriculum what Anderson (1983; 2006) terms an “imagined community”, supplanting existing cultural roots in an attempt to make a more homogenous national culture. Apple (1979) argues that not all knowledges are equal in the construction of this cohesion, with indigenous peoples being expected to integrate into a global society as their knowledges are left out of the “official knowledge” of the state. Interculturality that lends itself to assimilation does not respect the capacity of indigenous

people's agency to act on their own behalf. As indigenous peoples are encouraged to integrate into state culture

they must learn not only their own language, but also the language and codes of the dominant culture. But up until now, no one has suggested the need for the majority or the elites to learn indigenous languages and the cultural codes of subaltern groups (Schmidt-Welle, 2004, p. 33).

The place is made for indigenous cultures within intercultural policy only if it does not threaten the process of "cohesion". Policy does not recognise the distinct histories and forms of oppression that have underpinned the unequal relationships between indigenous peoples and settler cultures, with educationalists failing to question the use of the term interculturality in a political climate in which intercommunication based on mutual understanding between indigenous peoples and settlers rarely exists. Whilst in other parts of the world intercultural education has different histories and origins based on studies of migration and population movement, in Latin America indigenous societies remain embedded in relations of internal coloniality, "where relations between social and ethnic groups are characterised by the domination of one ethno-cultural group by another, largely through economic coercion" (Aikman, 1997, p. 468). I argue that in order to fully understand intercultural encounters, it is first necessary to recognise the unique and specific historical violences and oppression that indigenous people continue to suffer. Intercultural relations are not performed in the same way in occupied lands that they are with migrant diasporas, nor are they performed in the same way in the global south as they are in the global north. Thus, this thesis calls for an acknowledgement of specific distributions of power and forms of control in indigenous societies, which perpetuate hierarchical relations and cause unique intercultural relationships that cannot be translated outside of the indigenous context.

### *Dispelling the Myth of an Educational Utopia: A Continuous Indigenous Struggle*

In its tokenistic approaches, its failings to acknowledge power hierarchies and localised histories, its limitations to performances within state borders, and its rejection of indigenous knowledges and languages, decolonial intercultural educational theory has not developed in praxis. Aikman (2012) has contrasted the ways in which intercultural policy has been interpreted in practice. She shows that the Council of Europe's intercultural policy replicates

understandings of indigenous cultures as static and as perpetuating deep disadvantages, particularly for girls. She argues that within policy, culture and ethnicity begin to delimit and define certain groups through racialisation. “Being ‘ethnic’ or ‘indigenous’ for example ... becomes synonymous with economic poverty, geographical remoteness and lack of political power” (Aikman, 2012, p. 250). Therefore, intercultural policy is not the utopian decolonial possibility that was first imagined in 1977 in Barbados. Such a contradictory discourse collapses the complexity and diversity of intercultural education, transforming it into another buzzword and erasing the messy encounters of indigenous peoples’ lived intercultural lives and the political commitments needed to counteract discriminatory and exploitative social relations. Consequently, following Coulby, this thesis rejects the

assumption that the ideal educational policy or curriculum is known and that stubborn policy makers are the ones who refuse to implement it. The problematic of the analysis of educational policy formulation in highly diverse areas requires more than exhortation about what should be done (2006, p. 247).

In fact, indigenous organisations and leaders themselves have begun to reject intercultural education policy, arguing that it has little relevance to their daily lives (Aikman, 2012). Many of the hopes of indigenous peoples for a just intercultural education system have been lost as energy is spent fighting the symptoms rather than the conditions of larger oppressive hierarchies. As Gorski, puts it

the powers that be are thrilled that we host taco night instead of engaging in authentic anti-racism; that we conduct workshops on the so-called culture of poverty instead of holding corporations and governments responsible for the growing economic inequities that inform systemic educational inequalities (2008, p. 6).

The terrain of intercultural education is clearly multiple, fragmented and complex, located in a discourse that has developed differently across time and space, within different social movements and political struggles. This thesis attempts to address the paradox intercultural education has created in policy and praxis in the context of Chile. This paradox “is a fundamentally ideological one about roles and possibilities for multiple languages and their speakers”, indigenous peoples and their cultures within colonial societies (Hornberger, 2000, p. 173). I argue that two understandings of intercultural education have emerged. The first is

borne out of a constant struggle to challenge oppressive hierarchies by those who are marginalised daily through their ethnicity, language and lifeways; the second is an attempt by policy makers to utilise a global blueprint which aims to make the school a place in which diversity is celebrated, whilst masking a more exploitative attempt to reinstate discriminatory and oppressive practices. Even if the first interpretation of intercultural education is accepted, it remains an ideological paradox as attempts to transform standardising education into a diversifying one, and rejecting a national identity into a pluricultural one, remain complex within state formal institutions that have historic ties to assimilation and oppression. This thesis questions whether intercultural education in Chile has become a “new guise for the “same old’ enlightened assimilationism” that maintains the hegemony of European colonialism, or whether it reflects “a genuinely new intercultural ideology that seeks to incorporate indigenous languages, cultures, and ways of knowing into a new national identity” (Hornberger, 2000, p. 177). I explore this question by examining both policy and practice of intercultural education in municipal schools in Chile.

In this thesis, I argue that intercultural education can offer new ways to think about the values of schooling. However, I also argue that it cannot be a one solution fits all, or a simple policy prescription to realign historically and socially embedded inequalities. Instead it must adapt to the “messy, changing and often violent nature of indigenous people’s intercultural lives and the discourses of minoritized and ethnicised learners and users of schooling” (Aikman, 2012, p. 254). I argue that if intercultural education is to avoid falling into the trap of becoming just another development buzzword, its advocates must offer a more nuanced, politically and historically informed understanding of how and why it is being used. In 1988, Collins argued that,

language based explanations for educational achievement... fail or succeed to the extent that they confront the tension between relativity and uniformity, that is, between claims about linguistic or cultural variability in ways of learning and linguistically and culturally centralised ways of transmitting and evaluating knowledge (Collins, 1988, p. 299).

Over 30 years later, this tension between pluralism and assimilation remains just as relevant. I argue that in ignoring this tension educators and policy makers are failing to accomplish the decolonial utopian aims of intercultural education. In contrast, I argue that in acknowledging

it and working through it, intercultural educators can reimagine the decolonial project. I argue that in the face of such appropriation by dominant and oppressive powers, the intercultural educational project should not be abandoned, rather the aim is to reclaim the struggle for interculturality. Following Gorski (2006), I argue that for those who work on/within systems of intercultural education, it is no longer enough (if it ever was) to simply understand intercultural education as an engagement between two cultures or celebrating the joys of diversity. Intercultural education is not a politically neutral, neoliberal buzzword, rather it is about identifying and eliminating the ways in which the educational system recreates structures of colonial oppression. Advocates of intercultural education can no longer be comfortable with inconsequential shifts that aim to help oppressed groups fit into a dominating system. Instead there ought to be consistent questioning of how it contributes to the deconstruction of inequity and the reconstitution of justice. Thus I argue that the task now is to reconceptualise intercultural education through a decolonial perspective of resistance and relearning. However, intercultural theory and praxis should not just be about eradicating racism, but also about eradicating sexism, classism, heterosexuality and all forms of oppression. It is within this context that the limits of the colonial/modernity paradigm and related decolonial thinking become apparent, as gendered experiences of intercultural education are invisibilised or ignored.

#### Acknowledging the Colonial Gender System: A Call to Decolonial Intersectional Feminisms

Whilst I seek to advocate a decolonial approach to intercultural education, I am also aware of the limitations of current decolonial discourses. Whilst Mignolo (2012) and Dussel (2012) have paid some attention to the work of Chicana feminists, the potential contribution of feminist theory within the modernity/coloniality framework has been left largely unexplored. Decolonial discourse portrays colonial oppressions as an undifferentiated gender-neutral subject, ignoring the masculinity of modernity and the ways in which distinct subaltern groups are formed differently as objects of power and subjects of agency. Modernity/coloniality and feminist theory share a distrust of universalism and a united call for situated knowledge. However, an acknowledgement of the masculinity of modernity is necessary, particularly in Latin America where sexism continues to be one of the most pervasive problems. Thus, within decolonial theory a politics of representation that acknowledges multiplicity and addresses themes that have until now been absent from the discussion, “such as violence against women,

reproductive rights and sexuality, and giving complete visibility to the agency of women”, is necessary (Vuola 2002 n.p.).

This thesis draws on work by the Argentinian philosopher, Maria Lugones (2016, 1992, 2007, 2010), who unites theories of feminism and intersectionality with Quijano's (2007) theories on the coloniality of power. Whilst both bodies of work imply links between coloniality and gender, neither explicitly articulate the reach of coloniality and modernity within relations of gender. In placing these two strands of work together, Lugones (2016) details the “modern/colonial gender system”, outlining the ways in which modernity and coloniality interweave with oppressive gender relations. She calls for scholars to go beyond postcolonial analyses and adopt a decolonial position in both theory and praxis. By acknowledging colonial/modern complicity within gender relations, scholars are awakened to the possibility of disruptive solidarities and the transformation of communal relations. Whilst Quijano (2001) argues that race has remained the “deepest and most enduring expression of colonial domination”, Lugones (2007) argues that the modernity/coloniality paradigm operates by controlling gender and sexuality. She posits that colonialism constructed the male/female gender binary that dominates western subjecthood. Similarly, Smith (2005) argues that coloniality can be reduced to multiple dichotomies of white/racialised other, male/female, heteronormative/otherwise and capitalist/indigenous, thus limiting understandings of personal subjectivity. She shows how colonial policies aim to disenfranchise women from their indigenous status, leadership, lands and employment. Indigenous women are re-framed as property in an attempt to justify colonial violence, which persists through “disproportionally high rates of sexualised violence, criminalisation, trafficking and murder of indigenous girls and women” (de Finney, 2014, p. 16). The colonial/modern gender system is continually reproduced and normalised through a governance of denial and the continued construction of indigenous girl’s bodies as “exploitable and their trauma as un-grievable and thus acceptable” (de Finney 2014, 16; see also the Final Report MMIWG 2019).

Lugones (2010), however, is not calling for a non/pre-colonial construction of gender, as she understands gender to be non-existent outside of colonial modernity. Thus, any resistance to it can only be historically complex and specific. Instead, she calls for a “third way”, a decolonial option, in which

knowledges and cosmovisions that have been actively produced as backward or “subaltern” by hegemonic forms of understanding “the international” and “global politics” become politically visible (Icaza, 2017, p. 28).

Lugones (2010) utilises Anzaldúa's (2007) borderlands (see pg. 70) in order to reconstruct border thinking as an embodied consciousness of dualities and to re-centre the racialised woman's body, which has been dehumanised in the colonial encounter. For Lugones (1992 n.p.), the idea of the borderlands “captures both an everyday history of oppression and an everyday history of resistance”. She encourages us to think from the ground up, to focus on the body which as a site of oppression and resistance becomes multiple, evading the essentialisms born from within colonial thought. She names this possibility of overcoming the colonial agenda as ‘decolonial feminism’, arguing that the task of the decolonial feminist is to recognise colonial difference. In

seeing it, she sees the world anew, and then she requires herself to drop her enchantment with “woman”, the universal, and begins to learn about other resisters at the colonial difference (Lugones 2010, 753).

She utilises Crenshaw's (1991) theory of intersectionality to reveal what is not seen when race and gender are conceptualised separately and to make visible those who are both dominated and victimised within both categories. Lugones argues that it is “only when we perceive gender and race as intermeshed or fused that we actually see women of colour” (2016, 4).

### *(Re)centring the Mapuche Girlchild: Engaging with Intersectional Feminisms*

A decolonial feminist perspective is especially necessary within the discourse of intercultural education, in which many critiques are often restricted to discussions of ethnicity and ‘race’, failing to acknowledge the multiple other oppressions that take place within spaces of coloniality (see Webb and Radcliffe, 2016, 2015). Discussions of interculturality are particularly blind to debates on gender and girlhood and how these identities play out within an educational context. The literature fails to acknowledge the ways in which intercultural education is experienced differently by boys and girls. This is particularly true in the case of Chile, where academics such as Ortiz (2009) and Webb and Radcliffe (2016) ignore the fact that Chile is a highly unequal country in which binary assumptions of gender are perpetuated,

Machista culture is maintained and in which schooling and labour divisions occur on the basis of both ethnicity and gender (Barozet and Fierro, 2011; Berdegué et al., 2001; Díaz, 1993; Guttman, 1996). Scholarship that does acknowledge both the gendered and ethnic inequalities of Chilean society (see Richards, 2005, 2003), tends to do so outside of the space of the school and does not intersect with discussions on interculturality. In comparison, this thesis explores the ways in which the intercultural schooling system is experienced by Mapuche girls, acknowledging that the system is not only systematically racist, but highly gendered. In acknowledging the limited interpretations of the intersections of both gender and ethnicity on schooling experiences, this thesis calls for an intersectional approach to studies of work on Mapuche girls' experiences of schooling, making a timely contribution to interpretations of intercultural education through a decolonial feminist framework.

To make this contribution and to unite discussions of ethnicity and gender within interculturality this thesis attempts to rethink intersectionality. First as set out by Kimberlie Crenshaw (1989), intersectionality challenges the historical constitution of gender and race as separate fields of inquiry. Crenshaw (1995) argues that by studying each of these fields in isolation, academics were actually marginalising large sections of the communities they claimed to represent. With roots in black feminism (Davis, 2010; hooks, 1984), critical race theory (Crenshaw, 1995), postcolonial critiques (Mohanty, 1988; Spivak, 1988) and queer scholarship (McDowell, 1999), intersectionality questions the concept laid out by white, western feminists, such as Friedan (1963) and Morgan (1984), that there is a universal sisterhood between women who share a “common worldview” based on the “common conditions ... experienced by all human beings who are born female” (Morgan, 1984, p. 3). These white, western feminist minorities silence the voices of the majority of women through their insistence on a shared consciousness through a unified feminist subjectivity, erasing the voices and histories of non-white, non-straight and poor women. The result has been that feminist writings “from the women who are most victimised by sexist oppression, women who are daily beaten down, mentally, physically and spiritually” are marginalised, becoming the “silent majority” (hooks 1984, 1).

In contrast, intersectionality challenges feminist theory to ensure that the differences between women have a place within the feminist movement, deconstructing the presumptions of “the whiteness of women, the maleness of people of colour, and the heterosexuality of everyone” (Risman, 2004, p. 442). However, intersectionality cannot be reduced to what Glenn (1999, p.

3) has described as the “additive model” in which women of colour were portrayed as suffering from “double” the discrimination. Rather women do not experience gender as separate or additive, but as “simultaneous and linked” (Glenn, 1999, p. 3). Gender and race form each other across time and space

for example, a woman who is black, (white), Spanish (English) speaking and a doctor (waitress) does not experience herself in disjointed segments of gender, race, ethnicity and class, rather all these elements are produced and reproduced within the same everyday experiencing of her life (Ferree et al., 1999, p. 51).

This research follows Crenshaw (1991) in taking an intersectional approach to express the simultaneity of ‘race’, gender and class, viewing them as interconnecting social categories. Crenshaw

exposed and sought to dismantle the instantiations of marginalization that operated within institutionalised discourses that legitimized existing power relations (e.g. the law) and at the same time, she placed into sharp relief how discourses of resistance (e.g. feminism and antiracism) could themselves function as sites that produced and legitimised marginalization (Carbado et al., 2013, p. 303).

Thus, intersectionality attempts to incorporate the voices of the dispossessed.

This thesis attempts to rethink both the conceptual and political borders of intercultural education by utilising Crenshaw’s theory to generate new frames of thinking, theories, aporias and inquiries from terrains outside of the disciplinary borders of intercultural education, in an attempt to understand how and with which effects “gender is racialised and race is gendered” (Carbado et al., 2013). An intersectional approach allows me to address the multiple, multi-sited and layered social inequalities of intercultural education as a gendered and ethnicised experience. While incorporating race into studies of intercultural education has been considered as a radical gesture and a challenge to colonial legacies, gender has been ignored or incorporated lifelessly as a heuristic device to support the assessment of the non-western “other’s limits of tolerance and integration” (Gregoriou, 2013, p. 187). This thesis reframes intercultural encounters as sites of intersectionality, arguing that an understanding of the complexity of social relations is necessary to attempt meaningful research into intercultural

education. By examining the ways in which gender and race intersect in intercultural contexts it becomes possible to explore how systems of oppression articulate with one another and poses the question of how these articulations implicate resistance, acceptance, transgressions or obedience.

*Uniting Decoloniality and Feminism: A New Framework for Understanding Interculturality*

This thesis views intersectionality as an influential paradigm within feminist scholarship and acknowledges the possibilities it holds for reframing discussions surrounding intercultural education. Intersectionality helps us to rethink conventional understandings of identity formation and oppression, by focusing on subaltern experiences and revealing dynamics of privilege and oppression within what would otherwise be considered as progressive formations. However, despite adopting an intersectional approach, it is prudent to acknowledge the deficits of intersectionality. Following feminists such as Lugones (2010); Salem (2014) and Tuğçe and Adams (2016), I argue that whilst intersectionality is an important concept within which to frame intercultural education, as it currently stands it is falling short of its transformative potential.

Tuğçe and Adams (2016, p. 7) show that discussions of intersectionality have focussed narrowly on experiences within the global north, particularly by positioning black women as the “prototypical intersectional subjects”. By focussing on black women in the global north as the holders of intersectionality, the colonial violence of Euro-American domination is reproduced and silence on other racialised positions is maintained, including that of the indigenous woman. Such a focus contradicts one of the foundational concepts of intersectionality, the desire to move the voices of the marginalised to centre. Instead it silences and pathologizes the experiences of those in the global south, by continuing to embrace the “individualist models of person associated with Euro-American coloniality” (Tuğçe and Adams, 2016, p. 2). A counter critique has been made by Bilge (2013, p. 405) who argues that the increasing focus on class, sexual orientation, immigrant status and religion has led to the “whitening of intersectionality”. She argues that white feminists have ignored the origins of intersectionality from within black feminist thought, leading to the sanitization of intersectionality and the reduction of its revolutionary potential in the aid of hegemonic feminism. Thus, intersectionality’s primary agenda of confronting the racist positionalities within white feminism is erased. Such appropriations of intersectional feminisms “carry traces of domination that limit their liberatory potential” (Tuğçe and Adams, 2016, p. 2). Abuses of

intersectionality reveal a reproduction of the coloniality of power, in which narratives surrounding social, economic and cultural discourses are subsumed under the everyday realities of the modern global order (Grosfoguel, 2007; Mignolo, 2012; Quijano, 2007, 2001). What is necessary then, is a union between decolonial and intersectional feminist perspectives, which more aptly serves the interests of women in the global south.

This thesis aims to bring decolonial and intersectional feminist perspectives into dialogue in order to voice the experiences of Mapuche girls within Chilean schools and explore their experiences and resistances, with the aim of contributing to wider discourses of intercultural education. As noted, intersectionality has been a useful approach for bringing to light power dynamics; however, for many women concepts that have developed within imperial centres “are seen as unlikely to act as tools for meaningful change” (Salem, 2014 n.p.). Many of the writings on intersectionality have arisen from within western academic spaces, which Salem (2014) argues maintains the hegemony in a colonial world, ensuring the decolonial never materialises. For this reason, I argue that the intersectional framework needs to be combined with a decolonial approach in order to move from theory to activism and “truly transform the liberal western underpinnings of much feminist activism today” (ibid. 2014, n.p.). A decolonial intersectional approach challenges scholars to write critically about gender oppression in distinct spaces, whilst also acknowledging the diversity of women’s experiences and revealing the impact of the global coloniality of power on these women. A decolonial intersectionality would deconstruct theories of women in the global south as homogenous, instead calling for an interrogation of the forms of oppression that have become entrenched. Salem argues that,

rather than assume that we know what harms women, we should let the intersectional categories emerge from the cases and contexts themselves, bearing in mind global structures of inequality (2014 n.p.).

A decolonial approach to intersectionality would mean a move to reject the individualist ontology that has been consistent within colonial western feminism, rejecting the concept of universal knowledge and engaging with border thinking in which the subject is moved to the forefront of the analysis, allowing for a decolonial interpretation that challenges western notions of universality and neutrality. Unless decolonial and intersectional approaches are united, the privileging of western feminist assumptions will continue, and feminism will

continue to be riddled with contradictory notions of a western universal project and the complexity of local particularities. A decolonial approach to intersectionality that is also

unapologetically subaltern will allow us to approach the intersections of categories that emerge from the given context and that are defined by those who experience the realities of those intersections (Salem, 2014 n.p.).

Without this approach, intersectionality will continue to reproduce identity politics, rather than destabilising categories such as race, class and gender. By decentring Eurocentric theories and moving towards multiple notions of knowledge production, a decolonial intersectionality creates space for listening to, rather than the silencing of women in the global south<sup>10</sup>.

### *Justifying the Framework: The Place of Feminism within Indigenous Studies*

As has been noted in this chapter, within intercultural education theory and praxis, the experience of the female student is often silenced. However, research tends to focus on the story of the intercultural teacher (Aikman, 1997; Ortiz, 2009; Rother, 2005) or the student's parents (Aikman, 2012), with few researchers actually engaging with the intercultural encounters of the student within the school space. Those that do engage with the student (Webb and Radcliffe, 2015), as mentioned above, ignore the distinction between the experiences of female and male students, thus the boy child's experience comes to stand in for all intercultural students, silencing the voice of the female student. Spivak (1988) describes those whose "voices cannot be heard or that are wilfully ignored in dominant modes of narrative production" (McEwan, 2018, p. 16) as the subaltern. She argues that colonial history and the ideological construction of gender has worked to keep the male dominant and thus "if you are poor, black and female you get it in three ways" (ibid. 1988, p. 104). Thus, Spivak concludes that the female subaltern cannot speak, meaning more explicitly that they have been silenced by both coloniality and heteropatriarchy. McEwan (2018, p. 70) clarifies that this is not "because they are unable to speak but because they are both denied space in which to speak and when they do speak, they are not listened to". As the stories of subaltern women are silenced, they become replaced with what Spivak (1988) terms 'epistemic violence', as academics form

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<sup>10</sup> My position as a white, non-indigenous woman of course brings contradictions and tensions to this work, however I deal with this in more detail in chapter 3.

representations of the subaltern through their practices of ‘speaking about’ (describing) and ‘speaking for’ (representing politically).

Mohanty (1988) has outlined how within such representations, ‘third world’ women are often depicted as a coherent group with “identical interests, experiences and goals” (in Tyagi, 2014, p. 49). She argues that framing women as a stable category of analysis assumes ahistorical universality and ignores the way attitudes towards “reproduction, the sexual division of labour, family, marriage, household and patriarchy” are forged within specific local cultural and historical contexts (Mohanty, 1988, p. 75). Mapuche women are not exempt from these homogenising discourses. Western coloniality necessitates the construction of European male supremacy as universal and the re-imagining of indigenous femininity as other (Said, 1978). Bacigalupo (2003) has shown how Mapuche women are reduced to competing categories of Otherness, including “native, ‘third world’, Hispanic, colonised, witch or shaman” (Bacigalupo, 2003, p. 37). Such constructions reduce Mapuche identities and mask the complexity of Mapuche women’s lives. Western research attempts to fit Mapuche women into one Othered identity to fulfil existing research agendas and create hierarchies of categorisations in order to fit particular purposes (Bacigalupo 2003). Spivak (1988) asks whether the subaltern can speak, and in Bacigalupo's (2003) eyes, for Mapuche women, the answer is still a resounding, no.

Recently academics with “split selfhoods”, such as white women, indigenous men and women and queer researchers, have begun to challenge these homogenising, sexist and ethnocentric categorisations (Bacigalupo, 2003, p. 34). However, despite these contributions many indigenous people continue to see feminist scholarship as colonial and in conflict with their own perceptions of self. Whilst academic texts attempt to reframe indigenous people as “hybrid, changing, inventive, and self-determining”, global power formations remain intact, with the stories of Mapuche women being retold, edited and controlled by academic writers (Bacigalupo, 2003, p. 34). In many Mapuche writings and public discourses feminist identities have been rejected as non-Mapuche. According to Cuminao (2009), many Mapuche women have trouble identifying as feminists because of the marginalised and unequal situations in which they find themselves. Many Mapuche women in Chile are forced to migrate from rural to urban spaces in order to work as nannies for rich, white, Chilean women. This domestic service is linked to low salaries and a working day that is extended to the needs of the

employers. The violent racism under which Mapuche women live, means that often Mapuche women choose to unite with Mapuche men rather than separating to form a women's movement (Cuminao, 2009).

Thus the choice of a feminist framework might be considered problematic. Green (2008) notes that many indigenous women and girls, even those who organise their lives around activist movements, decline to identify as feminist. Despite the importance of organising around gender in indigenous contexts, indigenous feminism remains a contentious politics because of its links to white middle class movements and the notion that it is anti-traditional (Suzack et al., 2011). McIvor (in Green 2008, 16) has described the indigenous feminist movement as a “very lonely place to be”. However, it has also been argued that indigenous feminism can bring about decolonisation and the healing that is needed for indigenous women and the world through its genuine care for humanity (Green, 2008). Hernandez Castillo (2010, 539) understands her role as an indigenous feminist to be “criticising what I don't like about my culture, while proudly saying that I belong to that culture”. Simpson (2011 n.p.) illustrates how indigenous girls negotiate and contest the trauma of colonial violence that has seeped into their bodies, spirits, places and relations, through the messy, contradictory and inherently divisive practices of “avoiding, protecting, contesting, laughing, hoping, dreaming, connecting, documenting, imagining and challenging”. However, de Finney (2014) has shown how colonial states view indigenous girls' bodies as insignificant and dispensable and calls for a more critical and politicised reconceptualization of indigenous girlhoods. She calls for scholars to support indigenous girls' efforts to make themselves heard through disrupting the dominant narrative of girlhood, opening possibilities for transformative girlhood praxis. Indigenous feminism is proposed as the structure under which this political and social organisation can take place, particularly along the lines of gender, race, class and sexuality (Suzack et al., 2011). In utilising a feminist framework, this thesis problematises the ways in which indigenous girlhoods have been conceptualised under the powers of western colonial states, in which indigenous girls have been a continued target for colonial violence.

Recent years have seen Mapuche writers begin to reframe historical and contemporary moments through a feminist framework, challenging historical conceptions of gender within the Mapuche culture (Cuminao, 2009; Montalva, 2017; Reuque Paillalef, 2002; Vásquez, 2012). Many Mapuche voices have begun to emerge to mark the discontent of Mapuche women

with the Machista values of Mapuche men. Mapuche men have reinforced the complementarity between men and women in Mapuche cultures, however in the colonality of everyday practice the opposite often arises, as machismo paralyses women's freedom, denominating women as the property of men (Cuminao, 2009). Thus, Cuminao (2009) describes the "triple exclusion" of Mapuche women, as indigenous, poor and female. However, Duquesnoy (2017) shows the ways in which Mapuche women are reluctant to utilise the theory of western, white feminists, who have traditionally played a role in their oppression. Instead she argues for a rejection of the existence of a singular feminism and describes the emergence of a sui generis Mapuche feminism. Therefore, Mapuche women must be understood as subjects with "their own theories, epistemologies and ways of constructing gender", as they actively (re)frame their own (non)feminisms (Bacigalupo, 2003, p. 50). Mapuche women construct themselves in relation to both local and global models of gender and hierarchy, and these representations are complex, mobile and contextually specific.

It is clear that a monolithic indigenous feminism is impossible to construct, as the circumstances of indigenous women's lives vary greatly throughout colonial societies. Whilst an ethnic consciousness may in some ways unite indigenous women, they, like women across the world, are constituted through complex interactions between class, culture, religion, 'race' and other ideological institutions. The (re)birth of indigenous feminisms reveals that many indigenous feminists identify gender and 'race' as social constructions that are intrinsic to each other, each expressing hierarchical organisation and inequalities of power. Thus, in an indigenous context it is appropriate to utilise an intersectional feminist framework, one that is consistently sensitive to and in constant dialogue with indigenous feminisms. Intersectionality aspires to challenge hierarchies and "their devastating assumptions of master narratives, deeply indebted to racism and colonialism" (Haraway in Sandoval 2007, 377). Instead, it aims to create a "new story to explain the world" (Anzaldúa, 2007, p. 102), which understands the intersections of colonality, gender, nation, class, race and sexualities in different contexts of the lives of women. Intersectionality conceptualises difference as "that raw and powerful connection from which our personal power is forged" and encourages women to live fearlessly with those differences (Lorde, 2018 n.p.). This thesis acknowledges these differences, rejecting the tendency to focus on ethnicity as the key constitutor of Mapuche identity without considering how intercultural experiences are also refracted through understandings of gender.

An intersectional framework allows an understanding of the complex realities of Mapuche girls' lives as lived through, what Anzaldúa (2007) has termed, the borderlands.

### Imagining New Educational Futures: Educating in the Pluriverse

Whilst indigenous women have been concerned with the use of feminism in indigenous contexts, Tuck and Yang (2012) have similarly warned about the use of decolonisation as a metaphor for “social justice, critical methodologies or approaches which decentre settler perspectives” (2012, p. 1). Tuck and Yang take opposition to the use of decolonisation within educational advocacy projects, arguing that it is impossible to ‘decolonise our schools’ or student thinking and using these terms ignores the ways in which decolonisation requires something different to educational justice. Tuck and Yang (2012) argue that decolonisation demands the return of indigenous sovereignty over all indigenous lands and any alternative calls to decolonisation allow for its appropriation as an empty signifier with no hope for liberation, extending settler innocence and futures and re-centring whiteness. However, I view an engagement with alternative pedagogies as part of a wider decolonial project that works towards an acknowledgement of the pluriverse and a (re)engagement with indigenous lifeways, cultures and languages that have previously been marginalised. Whilst Tuck and Yang’s (2012) proposal might initially appear to be insurmountable and thus render decolonisation as an immaterial utopian project, in accepting total indigenous sovereignty as the only ethical outcome of decolonisation, their argument does open up the possibility for more radical processes and outcomes to emerge, enacted in the name of decolonisation. For example, here I explore the possibilities that a decolonial feminist framework can bring for an education ‘Otherwise’, which focuses on relationships within and between nature. Walsh (2015, 17) argues that decoloniality has created cracks in the colonial order; she believes that these cracks should be used as “the place and space from which action, militancy, resistance, insurgency, transgression and/as pedagogisation are advanced, alliances are built and otherwise is invented, created and constructed”. Walsh argues that pedagogy is a verb not a noun which should be understood as something that is alive through action in resistance and opposition. Decoloniality requires understanding pedagogy as both a socio-political struggle and the pedagogical nature of socio-political struggles.

*Educating from the Borderlands: Educations Otherwise*

In focusing on the subaltern, a decolonial feminist approach encourages a call to move beyond the categories generated and imposed by western epistemology, and instead to think otherwise within a multiplicity of possible epistemologies (Mignolo 2007). This type of feminist decolonial thinking resituates Anzaldua's metaphor of the border within the concept of coloniality, to argue for a border thinking that reengages with subaltern forms of knowledge that have been relegated to the exteriority of the border and reimagined as traditional, folkloric or spiritual/emotional forms of knowledge (Mignolo, 2012). Anzaldua (2007, p. 109) explores the contradictions of being neither one, nor the other; neither western, nor indigenous. She describes the borderlands as

una herida abierta (*an open wound*) where the Third World grates against the first and bleeds. And before a scab forms, it haemorrhages again, the lifeblood of two worlds merging to form a third country—a border culture.

Anzaldua writes that the Otherness that emerges from the borderlands is socially and culturally constructed from within colonial and heteropatriarchal spaces, through which indigenous, Latin American, border peoples have emerged. Her border thinking, instead, theorises from the exteriority of the border and engages with coloniality from the perspective of multiple subaltern epistemologies. To do this she argues that we need to understand the dominant culture and its effects. She writes “the dominant white culture is killing us slowly with its ignorance... Awareness of our situation must come before inner changes, which in turn come before changes in society” (Anzaldua, 2007, p. 109). We need to heal the open wound through border culture. However, rather than replicating coloniality for another dominant epistemology, Escobar (2018, p. 8) argues that we should be changing “our entire way of life and a whole style of world making”.

A total rejection of colonial modernity requires revolutionary alternatives and Escobar (2018) draws on indigenous relational worldviews - in which the natural world is connected to the spiritual world and the earth is a whole living being - to argue for the existence of multiple worlds that are interconnected, terming this the ‘pluriverse’. The pluriverse can perhaps be best understood in the words of the Zapatista Liberation Army, who believe that

many words are walked in the world. Many worlds are made. Many worlds make us. There are words and worlds that are lies and injustices. There are words and worlds that are truthful and true. ... In the world we want, everybody fits. The world we want is a world in which many worlds fit (in Cadena and Blaser 2018).

Within this research I take the pluriverse as the ontological starting point from which to ‘think decolonially’. The idea of the universe is a powerful colonial project that has assimilated all other worlds by presenting itself as exclusive, making the possibility of alternative worlds and knowledges hopeless. Western knowledge has (re)constructed the world we are taught to imagine, by distinguishing those who ‘know’ from those who are deemed to ‘believe’. Thus, those whose knowledges cannot be proven in terms of western science are erased (Cadena and Blaser, 2018). However, I acknowledge that reality is constituted by multiple kinds of worlds and within those worlds, by “many ontologies, many ways of being in the world, many ways of knowing reality, and experimenting those many worlds” (Querejazu 2016, p. 3). This thesis is not a call to conceptualise the pluriverse, rather an acknowledgement that within many indigenous societies the pluriverse is already active. In order to engage with indigenous societies, it is first necessary to recognise that within Andean regions

indigenous and non-indigenous, city and countryside, (indigenous languages) and Spanish emerge in each other forming a complex hybridity in which the different elements composing it cannot be pulled apart for they are both distinct and parts of each other (Cadena, 2015, p. 187).

Whilst the pluriverse has only recently been conceptualised within academia, it has been embedded for over two decades in the philosophies of the Zapatistas of Chiapas, in Buen Vivir in Bolivia and in other popular struggles in Latin America. Whilst scholars from within Latin American contexts (Escobar 2007; Mignolo 2007; Grosfoguel 2007; Quijano 2007; Walsh 2015) have been quick to call for a decolonial epistemic perspective to education, within geography postmodernist and poststructuralist projects have dominated, limiting understandings of “sexual, gender, spiritual, epistemic, economic, political, linguistic and racial hierarchies” to Western epistemologies and practices of coloniality (Grosfoguel, 2007, p. 219). This thesis aims to rethink the concept of intercultural education from the perspective of the excluded other. My engagement with decolonial thinking and particularly with the

concept of the pluriverse is an attempt to reimagine spaces and forms of education within alternate worlds and ask, what could education(s) look like if reimaged from specific sites within the pluriverse? Within this context this means a deeper engagement with indigenous pedagogies. Engaging with indigenous pedagogies affirms the value of knowledges that are produced from without western science. Traditionally indigenous pedagogies have made space for alternative ways of knowing and teaching, particularly in the ways in which land has been understood as a vital component to indigenous teaching and knowledges. Whilst indigenous pedagogies have been around for thousands of years, they are now being interwoven into a decolonial intercultural education project, one in which multiple knowledges, cultures and spiritualities are valued and learned and in which both indigenous and non-indigenous peoples “work together towards a social and cultural emancipation” (López, 2017).

### Conclusions

A decolonial intersectional framework is pivotal to understanding the future of intercultural education. As I have shown, the transformative power of intercultural education has been threatened by the colonial appropriation of intercultural logics. Whilst the theory of intercultural education was borne out of an indigenous aspiration towards self-determination and the desire to teach indigenous cultures and language, neoliberal state structures utilised the opportunity to reaffirm systems of oppression. As argued above colonial appropriations of intercultural education have whitewashed the oppressive histories of coloniality and their impacts upon indigenous peoples and ignored their claims for land, sovereignty and reparations, whilst replicating discourses of indigenous interculturality. However, intercultural education in its origins is an inherently decolonial project that seeks to destabilise coloniality. I argue that to achieve this, there is a need for a decolonial feminist framework that engages with knowledges that emerge from outside of western science. It argues that multiple knowledges, ways of living, being and understanding exist within the world and that engagement with these knowledges can delink from the oppressive and violent histories of coloniality. A decolonial perspective allows a reimagining of systems of learning and education that take into account indigenous ways of knowing and being, such as relationships with nature and land. In taking a decolonial intersectional approach to studies of intercultural education it is also possible to think not only about race, but also the multiple oppressions that exist within modern society, since intersectionality acknowledges the simultaneity of race, gender, sexuality, class and other forms of subjectivity. By engaging in decolonial feminist praxis, this

thesis attempts to hear the stories of indigenous girls within an intercultural education system and to (re)imagine a world where Mapuche girls are at the centre of their own narrative. This research presents the frequently marginalised Mapuche girl at the centre of the study and utilises specific Participatory Action Research and indigenous methodologies of storytelling to do this, to which I now turn in the following chapter.

The ways in which scientific research is implicated in the worst excesses of colonialism remains a powerful remembered history for many of the world's colonized peoples  
*(Tuhiwai Smith, 2012, p. 1).*

For some members of privileged groups, involvement in supporting struggles for justice begins to reconstruct their subjectivity. This can be permanent, such that a new sense of self makes it impossible not to remain committed to supporting struggles for justice  
*(Land, 2015, p. 223).*

### Chapter 3 - Learning to Listen: White Researcher, Decolonial Methods

#### Introduction

The previous chapter called for intersectional, decolonial thinking, or a move away from the rationalist, materialistic paradigm of western science (Deloria, 2002; Kovach, 2010). The epistemological conflict between western and indigenous knowledges arose from the paradigmatic way in which each interprets what knowledge is – western science is rooted in positivistic neutrality, with an emphasis on externality and generality, whilst indigenous knowledges are more holistic, integrated and contextualised (Kovach, 2010). In colonial structures, because of their ‘exoticism’ indigenous knowledges have been interpreted as something to be “discovered, extracted, appropriated and distributed” (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012, p. 21). Colonial researchers set out on a project of what Tuhiwai Smith (2012) calls culture stealing or “research through imperial eyes”. In this western scientific paradigm indigenous knowledges and peoples were researched through what was deemed to be an ‘objective’ and ‘neutral’ gaze, but which actually resulted in a reframing of discourses and attitudes towards them. Clifford (1988, p. 231) describes how “diverse experiences and facts (were) selected, gathered and detached from their original temporal occasions and given enduring value in a new arrangement” (Clifford, 1988, p. 231). However, this form of research and knowledge extraction has led “to a totemic understanding (and exploitation) of the more visible aspects of indigenous culture without due consideration of the knowledges upon which these traditions are based” (Kovach, 2010, p. 78).

As indigenous epistemologies have been marginalised, indigenous peoples have also found themselves the subjects (and at times the objects) of western science. The discipline of geography has had a particularly destructive history in relation to research with indigenous peoples. Said (1989) has argued that geographical research has constituted a critical axis of the colonial process in the way in which it has contributed to racist, imperialist and heteropatriarchal ideologies. His concept of Orientalism details the ways in which these racist colonial representations of indigenous peoples have become accepted as regimes of truth (Said, 1978). These accepted truths have continued to marginalise not only indigenous knowledges, but also indigenous self-understandings as Other, through what Thiong’o (1992) describes as the colonisation “of the mind”. Tuhiwai Smith (2012; 58, emphasis in original) shows how it

has now been left to indigenous peoples to “research the fragments of (them)selves which were taken, catalogued, studied and stored”.

The organised and systematic way in which western research methodologies appropriated indigenous knowledges has led the Maori educator, Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012; 1), to declare that “research is probably one of the dirtiest words in the Indigenous world’s vocabulary”. She believes that western knowledges, academics and universities are still “beneficiaries” of the colonisation of indigenous peoples (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012, p. 91). This chapter explores the ways in which I, as a non-indigenous researcher, struggled to implement a research process that endeavours to deconstruct such dominant discourses of the Other (following Wilson, 2001). It explains and examines the two main methodologies that were used in this research - participatory video and indigenous storytelling - and how, through these methodologies, I attempted to challenge the politics of knowledge enquiry by destabilising western knowledge privilege and centring alternative ways of knowing. However, the chapter also discusses the challenges and contradictions associated with utilising these methodologies, particularly as a white researcher. It engages with the ethics of the practice of a white, European, doctoral student participating in research in the global south with indigenous, poor, girls. In order to do this, I include some reflections on my positionality, power and privilege within the field space. The chapter attempts to both explain and to some extent justify the methodology utilised in the research, but also to theoretically reflect on the possibilities of decolonising research as a non-indigenous researcher in an indigenous space. It concludes by arguing that this research process was inherently contradictory, simultaneously empowering the participants and re-establishing colonial power structures.

### Situating Methods within a Decolonial Epistemology

Choosing an appropriate methodology was a long process that involved many months of reflection; it was a process that lasted throughout my time in the field and was subject to various changes. Knowledge construction is a political process that “involves editing in and editing out, holding in abeyance, choosing and reflecting, connecting and disconnecting, all part of the process of theorising” (Ranghram and Madge, 2006, p. 278). Thus, choosing a methodology is also a political act. Boyd (2005) asks researchers to consider what knowledges they are privileging and how this is carried into their methodological practice. Researchers often dismiss their methodology as if it were an innocent and objective choice, whereas I interpret

methodology as epistemology in practice. The choice of methodology reveals the researcher's belief system and how they want to be understood as researchers. Kovach (2010, p. 42) argues that this intentionality is present in research from day one, not emerging only when the thesis is presented, but rather "throughout the research via motivations, critical reflection, engagement with others and overall research choices." My choice of a mixed methodology of indigenous storytelling and participatory action research is therefore a reflection of my own politics, my own epistemology and my own positioning in the world.

### *Reflecting on Feminist Methodologies: Unlearning Ideologies*

There is a long history of critical methodologies within feminist geography and it is one within which my own research has been placed for several years. I have long identified as a feminist, and my academic career has been shaped strongly by feminist geographers, and it is thus unsurprising that most of my methodological training has been shaped around feminist thinking. Whilst Reinharz and Davidman (1992, p. 240) have argued that "feminism is a perspective not a method", it is a perspective that has encouraged me to rethink the process of knowledge creation. Since the 1970s feminist geographers have been challenging the pretence of neutrality within scientific research methods, arguing instead for an understanding of research as a political process. There is a broad agreement among feminists both within and without geography that methodologies should be consistent with feminist values, aims and activism (Reinharz and Davidman, 1992). More specifically, Butler (2011) has called on feminists to address the gender blindness of western scientific methodologies and unbalance the power relations between researcher and informants. The Australian feminist Elizabeth Grosz has challenged the assumption of the researcher as objective or value free, arguing that the concept of a researcher as a "disembodied, rational and sexually indifferent subject, unlocated in space or time" is a status that is normally "attributed only to angels" (1987, p. 199). Instead, McDowell argues that in feminist research "commonalities of experience should be recognised and become part of a mutual exchange of views" (1992, p. 405). Beyond these broad aims however, there is less agreement on whether there are any particular feminist methodologies or whether traditional methodologies can be utilised critically for feminist purposes. However, some feminist researchers have argued that certain methods, such as quantitative approaches "are *in themselves* masculinist" and should instead be replaced by "qualitative, unstructured methods that lead to empathy between the researcher and her subjects" (McDowell, 1992, p. 411).

Whilst both feminist theory and methodologies have guided me for many years, as I began to engage more and more with postcolonial theories I began to have reservations about the ethical possibilities of feminist methodologies, and the ways in which they can continue to exploit their participants and recreate the global power hierarchies that they try to evade. Whilst feminist research has been dedicated to representing diversity, Fine (1994) has shown that this has often focused on those who are Other in some way. In this way the western feminist researcher recreates unequal power hierarchies between her middle class, academic self and the poor working-class subject in the global south whom she has chosen to study. Mohanty (1988) has shown how western feminist researchers often construct women in the global south as a homogenous monolithic subject who is at once poor, uneducated, sexually restricted and traditional. As such, Radcliffe (1994, p. 29) has argued that in undertaking such research projects and representing women from the global south, even with the help of feminist methodologies, we remain “inextricably bound up with questions of authority, communications and representations”. She argues that even after the numerous critiques that have emerged from within postcolonial theory, feminist geographers continue to claim authority about women in the global south, contributing to their colonisation even when their intentions are altruistic.

In engaging with postcolonial debates, it became increasingly clear that the notion of non-exploitative research, even with feminist methodologies, is a utopian ideal and that, whilst I imagined myself as a radical researcher, there was a possibility that my research could cause irrevocable harm to my participants. Although I may be a feminist and a woman, the knowledge of my participants is socially situated not only through their gender but also their race, class and sexuality. hooks suggests that “women and people of colour cannot possibly be immune from hegemonic notions of knowledge. There is no position outside the social construction of knowledge where an unsullied “other” might speak from” (in McDowell, 1992, p. 411). Instead hooks (1991) argues that researchers need to decolonise their minds in order to construct new alternatives for research.

### *Incorporating Difference: Decoloniality as a Methodological Starting Point*

Spivak (1988) has criticised the politics of knowledge production, or the ways in which “western university researchers, armed with personal/institutional interests, go to the south to do fieldwork and collect data” (Kapoor, 2004, p. 632). She likens the process of research to

imperialism, as the global south continues to produce both “the wealth and the possibility of the cultural self-representation of the first world” (Spivak, 1988, p. 271). It is through research that the global south becomes a “repository of an ethnographic cultural difference” (Kapoor, 2004, p. 632). Consequently, the question for researchers becomes one of how to acknowledge this difference without Othering their research participants, “exploiting them, or leaving them voiceless in the telling of their own story” (Liamputtong, 2007, p. 165).

My attempt to decolonise my own research began with an acknowledgement that traditionally non-western forms of knowledge have been excluded from western research paradigms, and as such indigenous voices and epistemologies have been marginalised within research. It was necessary to recognise that many research books and papers that I greatly respect, and indeed much of my own prior research, have in some ways been exploitative of the participants. Furthermore, decolonising research necessitated an acceptance that coloniality has played a large part in the “scripting and encrypting of a silent, inarticulate and inconsequential indigenous subject” and that this scripting has legitimised new and old ways of oppression for indigenous peoples (Denzin et al., 2008, p. 33).

Thinking about decolonial methods has been advanced greatly by indigenous scholars including Caxaj (2015), Hingangaroa Smith (1997), Kovach (2010) and Tuhiwai Smith (2012). The main aim of decolonial methodologies is to challenge power differences between researcher and researched, revealing the degree to which research processes have marginalised indigenous practices, whilst also providing a means for structural and personal transformation. Whilst decolonial methodologies are influenced by the work of postcolonial scholars, such as Eze (1997), Gandhi (1998), Shohat (1992), and Spivak (1988), Tuhiwai Smith (2012, p. 99) rejects their interpretation of “colonialism as a finished business”, arguing that this has allowed researchers to ignore the colonial history of their research site and thus maintain colonial reproductions of indigenous peoples. In contrast, a decolonial approach to methodologies attempts to destabilise western ways of knowing, questioning western methodological and epistemological imperialism by centring indigenous knowledge forms (Rogers and Swadener, 1999). It rejects the idea of a fixed indigenous subject with a static history, instead making possible the reframing of the research site as a liberatory space in which counterhegemonic accounts of indigenous experiences are possible (Mutua and Swadener, 2004; Rogers and Swadener, 1999).

There is not one specific decolonial methodology that can resolve all the issues of anti-oppressive research. In fact, Kathy Absolon (2010, n.p.) has described the “complex internal gymnastics” that one must go through in order to attempt a decolonial methodology within a colonial academic site. However, while decolonial research is not specifically methodologically unique, it is epistemologically unique. Following Brown and Strega (2015, p. 282), I argue that in order to create anti-oppressive research the epistemological underpinnings of the methodologies rather than the methodologies themselves are critical, for example the “relationships of the knower, the known and those who want to know”. However, even when one attempts to incorporate a decolonial epistemology into their research, a white researcher cannot engage with the subaltern from a position of equality

Our interaction with, and representations of the subaltern are inevitably loaded. They are determined by our favourable historical and geographical position, our material and cultural advantages resulting from imperialism and capitalism, and our identity as privileged westerner or native informant (England, 1994, p. 631).

Indeed, despite a researcher’s attempts to materially improve the situation of indigenous peoples, Alcoff (1998, p. 26) argues that if the researcher fails to reflect on their own position the effects of her discourse can be “to reinforce racist, imperialist conceptions and perhaps also to further silence the lesser privileged group’s own ability to speak and be heard”. Thus, part of the decolonial epistemological orientation of this project has been to attempt to dismantle the impartiality and objective neutrality of my position as researcher and to re-emerge within the research as a subject in my own right.

### *Thinking through Self: Positionality and Privilege*

Each moment of the fieldwork was influenced by my positionality and the explicit and implicit differences between myself and the participants, which influenced both mine and the participants’ experiences of the research and the research outcomes. Stuart Hall (1990, p. 18) has argued that “you have to position yourself somewhere in order to say anything at all”, so here I attempt to position myself within this research. This should not be confused as narcissistic “navel gazing”, but rather as an “analytical scrutiny” of myself as researcher (Farrow et al. in England, 1994, p. 244). My history with the field site is a relatively short one, though one that is bound up with deep emotions. I first travelled to Chile in 2011 for a holiday

as an 18-year-old and I returned to Chile in 2014 because of my interest in Latin American socialist movements. I worked in La Serena as a translator and made my first friendships with Mapuche people. I returned to the UK in 2015 to pursue my masters by research and since 2016 I have been returning to Temuco frequently to partake in fieldwork. In 2018 whilst undertaking fieldwork, I met my partner and I moved from Temuco city to a rural Mapuche comunidad, where I have been living ever since.

It is difficult to create an exhaustive list of my “long line of adjectives” in order to position myself within the field (McCorkel and Myers, 2003, p. 203). I am white, I am a woman, I am heterosexual, and I am middle class. These positionalities intersect, they are simultaneous, interrelated and sometimes contradictory (Crenshaw, 1991). Furthermore, my identity changes with context, in some contexts certain characteristics of myself emerge and in other contexts these same characteristics are silenced. Spivak (1990) reproaches western academics for uncritically positioning themselves as an outsider, arguing that in doing so “they duck their own complicity in North South politics, often hiding behind naïveté or lack of expertise, all the while congratulating themselves as the “saviours of marginality”” (in England, 1994, p. 631). Therefore, in order to understand the way my positionality affected the research, it is important to understand the way this positionality changed across time and space.

The research was a shared space between me and the participants, and so my positionality was also influenced not only by myself identification, but also the way the participants viewed me. In other words, my identity was “constructed externally and not simply elaborated internally” (Breakwell, 2010, p. 6). It is not difficult to imagine how the participants would view me in distinct ways. For some participants our differences did not seem too great: some (for example Guacolda and Catalina) were, like me, postgraduate women in their late twenties who identified as feminists and were childless. For other participants the age gap was greater (the students) or my heterosexuality (Karen) or gender (Jorge) created a space of difference between us. Of course, within this context, often the greatest differences between myself and the research participants was our ethnicity. Some participants (Machi, Longko, Jorge, Carolina) were pleased to work with a white researcher, saying that they were happy that someone from so far away was interested in their lives. Some other participants (Ricardo, Catalina) had worked with white researchers before and, although cautious, believed that working with a white researcher could bring greater visibility to their personal or community projects.

In some cases, however, my whiteness was a bigger barrier to the research, some potential participants declined to work with me because they had had negative experiences with other researchers with whom they had shared their knowledge and then never heard from again. Interestingly, however, my whiteness became more problematic when it became common knowledge that I had a Mapuche boyfriend. Whilst I believed this would make me more of an ‘insider’, as I began to live in the countryside and on occasion was invited to Mapuche ceremonies, it in fact largely had the opposite effect. Many Mapuche were not happy that one of their Weichafe (*Warrior*) was dating a Wingka (*Non-Mapuche*) and my shifting positionality from researcher to girlfriend caused increasing tension within certain communities. The tension that I felt relating to my whiteness often caused long periods of discomfort and anxiety throughout the research process<sup>11</sup>. My whiteness forced me to question whether I should be doing this research at all. I consistently feared that I was complicit in reproducing colonial research practices through a hierarchical gaze and also, I began to fear that I would lose valued friendships either because of my research or my relationship. Throughout my research process I would often blame my whiteness for rejections for participation or even friendship, sometimes failing to note the discomfort that my whiteness also brought to potential participants. This extract from my research diary notes the discomfort I felt.

Today we were at Simon’s house. JP went around the room greeting everyone with a kiss, when he got to me, he turned around and went back the other way. He hates me because I am a Wingka.

I had no evidence that JP hated me because I am a Wingka, or even that he hated me. However, this extract reveals the constant discomfort I felt because of my position as an outsider. Throughout the research period I had dark moments of loneliness. Of course, when I reflect on my research now I understand that, as Stanley and Wise (2002, p. 157) have argued, “whether we like it or not, researchers remain human beings complete with all the usual assembly of feelings, failings and moods...Our consciousness is always the medium through which the

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<sup>11</sup> It’s important to acknowledge here that there is a long history of white people exploiting indigenous people, not only through investigative processes but also researchers becoming romantically involved with ‘natives’ in the process of extracting data that furthers their career (see Cupples, 2002 on relationships and desire in the field). These historically rooted, but still potent, power relations are likely one of the reasons why I met with some hostility.

research occurs”. Indeed, Pease (2012) has argued that discomfort is the only ethical position for a white researcher engaging with indigenous research and it is only through discomfort that the researcher finds the willingness to change. Throughout the research process, I experienced a tremendous process of change, particularly in the way I began to understand myself and my privilege.

Feminist research training has taught me to understand my whiteness as privilege and, of course, in many ways I was much more privileged than my research participants. I was able to come and go as I pleased, I was not struggling economically, and I had a high level of education that allowed me to express my views and be respected by institutions and participants alike. I was able to easily enter spaces such as the school and internado to do research that my participants were not. However, in the later stages of my research I began to renegotiate what I understood and indeed what my participants understood to be privilege. Coloniality is not the only world view that can grant privilege, rather Mapuche communities and cosmovisions have their own interpretations of what it means to be privileged. For example, many times when I went to rural Mapuche communities I was seen as less of a woman because I was 28, unmarried and without children. Furthermore, on occasion I struggled to do simple household tasks like chopping wood and building a fire, at which Mapuche women would laugh and say, “these European women only know how to study and nothing else!”.

Through the research experience I also began to reimagine myself as unprivileged in some senses. I began to respect and envy the deep connection that many Mapuche women have with the land, the way in which they know all the plants and the animals, the ways in which they can prepare *Lawen (plant-based medicine)*. When I first went to a Mapuche ceremony I envied the ways in which the Mapuche women could connect so deeply with the spirits, whereas I felt scared. I began to understand what Spivak (1990) meant when she asks us to reconsider our privilege as loss. As a Wingka through my relation to modernity I have lost any ancestral connection to my Land and to my own ancestors and their knowledges, whilst many of my Mapuche participants have maintained and protect their connections with their Land and ancestors. One of my participants challenged me on how she felt I interpreted her as lacking privilege because of her ethnicity and gender.

When you look at me you see lack of privilege? Because I am black? Because I am a woman? Being a woman is a privilege. I have a tremendous spiritual power. I am the Land (Conversation with Karen, April 16<sup>th</sup>, 2018).

Within the context of this research, however, it is important to note that I retain my position of power and privilege by virtue of my ability to “name the categories, control information about the research agenda, define interventions and come and go as (a) research scientist” (Rose, 1997, p. 307). Even so, over time my position towards the field site has changed, I have become a part of the community which I have been ‘studying’. As Dorothy Smith (1987, p. 142) has put it, “like Jonah (I am) inside the whale. Only of course (I am) one among the multiplicity of subjects whose coordinated activity constitute the whale... (I am) of and inside the cosmos (I) seek to understand”. This repositioning of self through a life-changing research process challenged my own assumptions and taken-for-granted views of the world, alongside my research practice; this necessitated a choice of methodology that fit with a decolonial epistemology. Whilst there are no inherently decolonial and anti-oppressive methodologies, there are certain methodologies that support the political agendas of both empowerment and emancipation. Participatory Action Research (PAR) is a potential ally for decolonial research as it draws on feminist and Freirean emancipatory research practice to encourage collaboration and co-authorship. Similarly, indigenous methodological paradigms also provide a decolonial approach to research and knowledge that rejects the positivism of western science. In choosing such methodologies that are critical of existing hierarchies and committed to the transformative agenda of a more just society, researchers are called “to practice in their empirical endeavours what they preach in their theoretical formulations” (Brown and Strega, 2015, p. 281). In this research I utilised a mixed methodology of document analysis, PAR and indigenous methodologies in order to best attempt to decolonise my research and also to most effectively complete the aims and objectives of the research.

### The Participant Recruitment Process, Research Location and Ethics

This project is based on research that took place between August 2017 and July 2018. The particular site for this fieldwork was Temuco, a city in the south of Chile and the capital of the Araucanía region. It was chosen because it is the centre of the traditional Mapuche homelands, known as Wall Mapu. One third of the region’s population is ethnically Mapuche, and 13% of

Temuco's population are Mapuche<sup>12</sup>, the largest percentage of any city in Chile. There were three main groups of participants for this research: firstly, Mapuche girls that were studying at an intercultural school or a municipal boarding house; secondly municipal intercultural education policy makers and finally Mapuche educators and activists. Initial contact was made with policy makers at the Municipal Department of Education (DAEM), Temuco. This contact was made with the help of the 'Institute of Indigenous and Intercultural Studies' at the University of La Frontera, Temuco, where I was based as a visiting researcher and who maintained an effective working relationship with DAEM. The Department of Education is the institution that runs all the municipal schools and boarding houses within Temuco and surrounding rural areas and also designs and implements the Intercultural Education programme that these institutions follow.

Through my contact with the Department of Education I was able to secure permission from the head of department to access an intercultural school and a municipal boarding house in order to conduct my research with Mapuche girls. Though I had initially wanted to work within three schools in order to get more of a comparative understanding, DAEM would grant access to only one school and one boarding house and they never made their reasons for this clear. They chose the Instituto Superior de Especialidades Tecnicas<sup>13</sup> (ISETT) as the fieldwork site because it was the pilot school for their intercultural education programme and because it was majority female students. Having explained that I wanted to study experiences of ethnicity and gender within schools, DAEM felt that this school seemed like the perfect fit for my research. The Internado Gabriela Mistral was chosen by the head of department because it was the largest all girl internado. The internado Gabriela Mistral had around 200 full term boarders at the time of research. Around 90% of the boarders come from rural areas and around 80% of the boarders are Mapuche<sup>14</sup>. Within many codes of research, anonymity of the research site is key to ethical practice. However, these research sites are not anonymised in the thesis because their particular geographical locations are of vital importance to the analysis of the research; anonymising these research sites would mean they become "dislodged from their histories and geographies"

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<sup>12</sup> This is out of a total population of 264,642 people.

<sup>13</sup> More commonly known as Liceo Tecnico and for this reason in the text it is sometimes referred to as Liceo Tecnico.

<sup>14</sup> This particular internado is attached to the Liceo Gabriela Mistral but accepts girls from all Liceos in Temuco. It is one of the oldest internados in Temuco, having been open since 1905. The current headmistress is not Mapuche and neither are any of the Tias who currently work there.

(Nespor, 2000, p. 550). The importance of the research sites will be discussed in more detail in chapters 6 and 7.

The final research participants were Mapuche activists and educators who work or had worked within the city of Temuco within intercultural educational institutions, both formal and informal. These participants were accessed both with the help of the Institute of Indigenous and Intercultural Studies, my translator (see below) and through personal networks. For the most part the research took place within their homes or workplaces, however an extensive list of participants' backgrounds and research information can be found in the appendices. All of the participants in this research have been given pseudonyms. My initial feeling was against anonymising my participants because the research aims to provide a space for traditionally silenced groups to elevate their voices. I felt that anonymising their experiences and life stories could undermine their autonomy (Giordano et al., 2007) or make participants feel that they are losing ownership of their data (Grinyer, 2002). However, in October 2019 a social revolution began in Chile that led to widespread violent oppression of those who were outspoken about, or participated in actions against, the Chilean government. This experience caused me to reflect on the necessity to anonymise participants because of the complex and controversial nature of the topics under discussion. I felt that while participants may have currently felt able to openly critique the government, the ever-changing political situation in Chile, and the specific risks to Mapuche people might mean this may not always be the case. For this reason, their responses were anonymised. The anonymisation process was relatively difficult because names can often have a big impact on identity. For this reason, whilst I have changed participants' names, I have tried to replace them with names of similar origins, for example if the participant has a Mapuche name I have replaced it with another Mapuche name, likewise for a Christian name and so on.

In previous research projects on Mapuche youth, participants were selected because of their Mapuche surname, which indicated their indigeneity (see for example, Radcliffe and Webb, 2014). In contrast, I did not select participants based on surnames because a history of intermarriage and sexual assault between colonisers and the colonised has left a complex set of identities that cannot be reduced to surname. Similarly, it was also not necessary for students to self-identify as Mapuche because a history of discrimination has meant that many no longer

openly identify as Mapuche.<sup>15</sup> In Chile, “indigenous identity is a truly complex and somewhat controversial topic. There is little agreement on precisely what constitutes indigenous identity, how to measure it and who truly has it” (Weaver, 2001; 240). Instead, in agreement with the headmistress, all female students were invited to participate in the workshops. However, I quickly realised that putting restrictions based on gender was also problematic, as one non-binary student wanted to attend the workshops. In the end, I found that leaving the participatory recruitment process deliberately open made for a more meaningful, liberatory action in which multiple, perspectives and connections were valued (Torre and Ayala, 2009).

Gaining consent for this research was a complex and multiple process. Firstly, before the research project began, I sought consent from a Mapuche Longko (*Political Leader*) and Machi (*Spiritual Leader*), in order to recognise not only the political institutions of Chile, but also those of the Mapuche. As the Mapuche have an oral political structure it was decided that verbal consent would be sufficient. Participants above the age of 16 were provided with a consent form that they signed prior to participating in the research. It was made clear to the respondents that they could withdraw consent without penalty and that the data provided by them would be returned to them. However, this research process was long, and as consent is a continual process throughout the research, I was aware that if the participant felt awkward or lacked motivation this could represent a withdrawal of consent. In these cases, I asked the participant if they wanted to continue with the process and reiterated their ability to withdraw at any time. There were also times when exchanges were disclosed in confidence, in these cases the responses were not used as data and were maintained in confidentiality, even at the expense of valuable insights.

In relation to participants who were under the age of 16, firstly I sought consent from DAEM and the headmistresses of both the school and internado (*boarding house*) to enter the institutions. Secondly, it was necessary to gain consent from the participants’ parents or care givers. As Valentine (1999; 143) suggests this is a complex issue because there is an important distinction between

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<sup>15</sup> All of the educators/activists self-identified as Mapuche or Mapuche Champurria, a mestiza between Chilean and Mapuche.

when a researcher gains “consent” where someone voluntarily agrees to participate in a research project, based on a full disclosure of pertinent information, and “assent” or permission whereby the parent or guardian agrees to allow a minor ward to participate in a research project and the child assents or agrees to be a subject in the research.

In order to resolve these issues, I first approached the participants through a leaflet that was to be shared with students and parents. Once students showed an interest, I read them a consent form in the presence of the headmistress in order to make sure they understood, this consent form was then signed by both the student and the parent, and a register was kept and submitted to the headmistress after each session. None of the participants were remunerated economically for this research, however food and drink were provided at each of the sessions. This research process was reviewed by the University of Durham’s Research Ethics Geography Sub-Committee (REGS) and followed the ethical guidelines set out by the Economic and Social Research Council and Durham University. Furthermore, the research within the school was subject to the ethical guidelines of both DAEM and ISETT.

#### Interviews with Government Representatives and Document Analysis

One of the key aims of this research is to evaluate how the concept of intercultural education has been interpreted within policy documents and discourses in the Araucanía region of Chile. In order to achieve this objective, I interviewed Susana, a representative for the Municipal Department of Education, Temuco. I met Susana in August of 2017 for an informal chat about my research and then conducted a semi-structured interview with her in January 2018 (see Longhurst, 2003). In this interview I asked Susana questions about the history of intercultural education discourse and law within the Araucanía, DAEM’s interpretations of intercultural education, about intercultural education policy nationally and locally, about how intercultural education has been interpreted in practice within intercultural schools in the region and about how she views the future of intercultural education. I chose the format of semi-structured interview to engage with Susana because as a government representative it was a format with which she was used to and comfortable with, having engaged in interviews with other researchers previously. After the interview Susana gave me access to five documents relating to the intercultural curriculum: the ‘General Curriculum for Secondary Education’ 2015; the ‘Education for Gender Equality’ 2015-2018 policy document; the ‘Program for Intercultural Bilingual Education’ 2016; the ‘Program of Study for Indigenous Language in Mapudungun’

2016; and the 'General Curriculum for the Formation of Technical Professionals' 2013. I analysed these texts using Nvivo software (see below) to code each of the documents into themes and then analysed the ways in which these themes intersected between documents (see Doel, 2010). The interview with Susana and an analysis of policy document and curricula texts allowed me to better understand the educational landscape of both the school and the internado and the curricula within which the girls were educated.

### Participatory Action Research

The second aim of this research is to assess how the impacts of such policy documents have been experienced by Mapuche girls within municipal education institutions in the Araucanía region of Chile and the extent to which this is influenced by their gendered and classed identities. This aim was achieved by utilising a PAR methodology. PAR can be summarised as “a participatory, democratic process concerned with developing practical knowing in the pursuit of worthwhile human purposes” (Reason and Bradbury, 2001, p. 1). PAR in its emancipatory form has three key aims, “first a commitment to liberationist movements; second a commitment to honouring the lived experience and knowledge of the people involved; third a commitment to genuine collaboration within the research” (Reason, 1994, p. 328). PAR calls on researchers to reject the western notions of objective, value free knowledge construction and instead acknowledge that their research is socially constructed and enmeshed in a system of values. It encourages researchers to commit themselves to a form of research that challenges epistemic violences and unjust systems and practices (Brydon-Miller et al., 2003). Thus, the PAR researcher is a scholar-activist hybrid who chooses to “investigate reality in order to transform it” (Fals Borda, 2006). In comparison to the disempowering forms of geographical research, which have been described above, PAR “takes grassroots knowledge as a starting point and then systematises it and amplifies it through action in collaboration with external agents of change” (Fals-Borda, 1988, p. 33). As such, PAR has been particularly useful within this research because of its ability to prioritise the perspectives of marginalised groups (Pain, 2004). This methodology is critical in amplifying the voices of children who have traditionally been silenced within research by unequal age power relations, but also has been fundamental to protecting indigenous knowledges and rights, and encouraging change on the terms of local communities (Pain, 2004).

### *Participatory Workshops and Designing the Research*

On my arrival in Temuco I had already formulated some loose research aims and objectives relating to education and indigenous girls however, the thesis that I planned to write is entirely different from the one you are reading here. This is because the participants of this research already carry “deep knowledge and analysis about the conditions of their lives and should lead in determining meaningful research questions” (Torre and Ayala, 2009; 388). Thus, the first six months of research in the school were spent trying to discover what the participants thought were the most important questions that affected their daily lives. At the same time, I tried to develop relationships with the participants talking about things that were not necessarily related to the research, but important to their lives. This six month period was important as Brown and Strega (2015, p. 263) have argued that you should not begin to “collect data in a community until all the dogs know (you)” – in other words, that you are sufficiently well known and accepted in the community that even the local canines are friendly.

For the first six months of the fieldwork I attended both the school and the boarding house once a week for a two hour after-school workshop. In total, 45 girls, between the ages of 13 and 18, attended the workshops in the school and the boarding house. In these workshops we discussed the girls’ everyday lives, their hopes and dreams, their daily routine at school or at home, their relationships with each other, or their relationships with their own identities. Sometimes these sessions began with questions led by me, for example, “what does it mean to be Chilean?” or “what would you do if you could improve this school?” or “where have you heard about gender before?” among others. And sometimes the conversations were led by the students, for example when they asked me “how do you know about the Mapuche?” or “I heard that women are treated better in your country, is that true?” or “can you give me some advice?” Through these extensive discussions it became clear that indigeneity and gender are both complex and important topics within the girls’ lives. Furthermore, in informal discussions with the headmistress, it became increasingly obvious that the intercultural programme is of the utmost importance to the institution and something they wanted to be reflected within the research. Thus, after the first six months it was decided that the relationships between gender and ethnicity within the context of the Intercultural School would be the main focus of the research.

The structure of the workshops was relatively informal, I often entered with a subject in mind, however I was not concerned if the workshops were diverted into a different direction by the

participants. Nevertheless, I often found that students desired more direction, as schoolchildren are often used to following directions or being instructed, especially within the formal school space. In response, I utilised various participatory diagramming methods to structure the workshops:

- 1) Body Mapping (Crivello et al, 2009): the participants drew themselves and were asked to document their emotions, what makes them feel good or bad and what is unique to them. This activity was repeated three times, focusing on their experiences of gender, their experiences within the school and their experiences of their ethnic identities. Some of the participants chose to contrast these body maps with their idea of the “perfect” woman, student or Chilean/ indigenous subject.



Figure 3 Isabella's Body Mapping Project



Figure 2 Students at ISETT participating in body mapping

- 2) Rivers of Life (Crivello et al, 2009): girls drew a timeline from birth to death in the shape of a river, it showed their experiences of their past and how they see their future. Some girls wrote their good and bad memories on the timeline.
- 3) School and Home Mapping: The girls mapped their school and home spaces and added both their experiences within and their feelings towards these spaces, including how their presence within these spaces was affected by their gender/ ethnicity.

These particular methods were chosen because they are useful ways for children to tell us about their well-being, as they are highly visual, include the ‘fun factor’ and mirror activities that are

part of their daily lives in school and home (Crivello et al., 2009)<sup>16</sup>. For those participants who were uncomfortable with visual methodologies, there was also a written alternative.

- 4) Poetry: participants expressed their experiences and emotions through poetry. Poetry is a valuable tool in research, as it documents social phenomena and “poetry can be viewed as a vehicle through which to communicate powerful and multiple truths about the human experience” (Furman et al. 2007).



*Figure 4 "My Mapuche People" a poem written by a participant*

At the end of the workshop, the participants and I would come together over drinks and snacks to talk about what they had created. Some participants chose to show the group their work and explain its meaning, whilst others chose to keep their work private. These conversations allowed for a time to expand on their own thoughts, listen to the thoughts of others and sometimes create a space for discussion around the disagreements between the participants.

### *Participatory Video*

Whilst the first six months of the research were a reflective period, the new school year in March 2018 brought with it a more active period of investigation. With the help of the

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<sup>16</sup> There are some limitations to participatory workshops as a methodology, specifically the tendency towards consensus between participants, the effects of this are discussed in more detail in chapter 6 from pg.183.

participants, the final research aims<sup>17</sup> were agreed and participatory video, suggested by me and enthusiastically accepted by the participants, was chosen as the main methodology for the rest of the research. Participatory video can be understood as “a scriptless video process, directed by a group of grassroots people, moving forward in iterative cycles of shooting and reviewing” (Johansson et al., 1999, p. 35). It was chosen as a method because of its revolutionary emancipatory possibilities. Participatory video attempts to reimagine a practice of looking that does not recreate the colonial, masculinist, hierarchical power of the gaze, nor partake in voyeurism through distant and disembodied claims towards knowledge (Kindon, 2003). Rather, participatory video can destabilise power hierarchies and create spaces of transformation “by providing a practice of looking “alongside” rather than “at” research subjects” (Kindon, 2003; 142). Participatory video was chosen as it grants participants whose voices are often silenced an opportunity to be heard in public through the medium of video (White, 2003).

In the new school year, I continued to run two-hour workshops at the school and boarding house once a week, the difference was that this time the sessions were more structured around the research aims and were filmed by the participants. The participatory video project followed the guidelines set forward by Lunch and Lunch (2006): the first phase began with some training sessions for the participants in how to use the equipment and edit the video footage. This was followed by a phase of storyboarding, in which the participants outlined some possible ideas for content and style for the video. The girls envisioned a documentary exploring life within their school and boarding house. The participants first filmed the institutional spaces that they believed important to understanding its functioning, for example classrooms, bedrooms, eating spaces, playgrounds and so forth. They then went on to interview the key actors within those institutions, specifically teachers, fellow students, dorm mistresses and so forth<sup>18</sup>. Finally, the participants wrote, performed and filmed plays relating to the topics that had come up through the participant diagramming sessions (see chapter 6). The students also filmed any major events that happened at the school including *We Tripantu (Mapuche New Year)* and on one occasion

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<sup>17</sup> To theorise intercultural education within Chile through the lived experience of girls within state led intercultural institutions and to attempt to address new possibilities for futures of intercultural education in Wall Mapu – see chapter 1 for more details.

<sup>18</sup> The extracts within chapter 6 from interviews with teachers at ISETT are therefore not included here as a separate methodology, as they were part of the participatory video and teachers were interviewed by the students and not by me. However, more background information on each of the teachers interviewed can be found in the appendix.

we went on a field trip to a sacred Mapuche site because the students wanted to record a roleplay of a Mapuche myth.

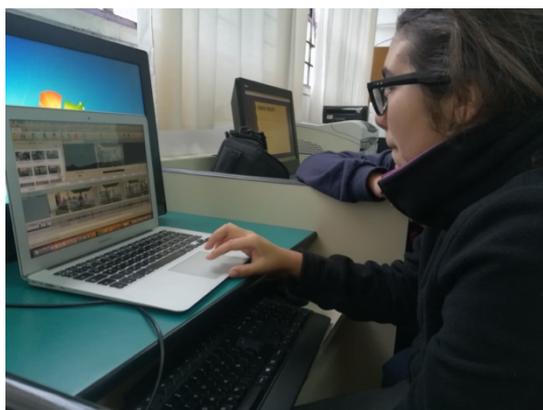


*Figure 6 Storyboarding the Participatory Film at the Internado*



*Figure 5 Interviewing classmates for the Participatory Film at the Internado*

The participants in the school decided to switch between the roles of director, editor, camerawoman and presenter constantly so that everyone would have the opportunity to learn each skill. However, some girls were shy and decided that they only wanted to be behind the camera and so roles were chosen based on what activities the participants preferred. While I mainly played the role of facilitator and supported the participants in any questions they had about the video, in contrast to similar research projects I also occasionally appear in front of the camera discussing the project or the research questions. This was because we felt it was important not to invisibilise my presence and, in doing so, we were avoiding reproducing colonial concepts of the neutral researcher. Once the filming was complete, the participants began to edit the footage. However, it became clear that two-hour sessions per week did not provide enough time for students to edit the video. Our solution was that they would begin to edit a scene and, when the time ran out, I would take the scene home and edit it under their instructions. Whilst this was of course not wholly participatory as we had all hoped, it was the only possibility given the time constraints. It is important to note that within this context, the actual process of creating the participatory video is much more important than the actual end product. The content of the participatory video does not always directly map onto the aims of this research. It provided important insights and informed other findings, but the participatory video explores a wider range of issues including everyday life within the school and internado, teachers' experiences of working in the school, and examples of Mapuche cosmivision, dance, music and ceremonies.



*Figure 7 Editing the Participatory Film at the Liceo Tecnico*

### *Doing Decolonial Research? The Limitations of Participation*

On arriving at the research site, I naively believed that through utilising a PAR methodology I would be able, at least to some extent, to decolonise my research. However, as Spivak underlines, all research encounters are unavoidably invested in colonialism, so that research in the global south “already means reproducing various forms of western hegemonic power over the third world” (Kapoor, 2004; 628). PAR is, of course, not outside of these criticisms and one of the most important realisations in the field was that whilst PAR attempts to value each voice equally, it does not necessarily mean that participants are going to speak openly and without fear of reprisal. Kapoor (2004, p. 639) has argued that “even if subalterns speak, they may perform the roles they think are expected of them”. This became obvious when girls would reproduce state constructions of gender or indigeneity that they had been taught in the school or even when they would refuse to answer certain questions because of a fear of what the headmistress might say (see chapter 6 for full details of these experiences). Thus, theoretically PAR adopts a panoptic position in which it encourages participants to leave power imbalances outside of the PAR space, but of course in practice this was an impossibility as the state, headmistress, parents and other teachers all continued to have an invisible influence on what girls would do or say. It is for this reason that Spivak et al. (1990, p. 134) have argued that PAR can “reproduce the subalternity of people at the very moment that it seems to let them speak”. Whilst I do recognise that in some ways the students did not feel completely open in expressing their opinions, the benefits of PAR, however, meant that the participants had multiple opportunities to express their opinions in different ways. They were also able on

occasion to invert the hierarchy when they themselves interviewed their teachers or headmistress and challenged them on their beliefs.

Truly participatory research would disrupt all hierarchies, including those of the academic, however in this research disrupting centuries of colonial practice was, of course, an impossibility. The participants consistently viewed me not as a co-researcher, as I had hoped, but as a teacher. The idea that an adult in the school, especially one that came from the university, is a teacher was something that had been ingrained into the students within formal education. Adding to this, the introduction that the headmistress provided when I was first introduced to the students – that I was someone to be respected and listened to – did not help to undermine the age and power hierarchies that were present between the participants and myself. At the beginning of the research I tried to convince participants to call me Grace, but they would revert to calling me Tia<sup>19</sup>, and it became clear that it was uncomfortable for them to break these power hierarchies within the school and in the end I gave up trying to convince them otherwise.

The final challenge that affected the participatory nature of the research was related to which voices or opinions were heard. As noted above, participatory research aims to elevate all voices and give equal value to each voice. However, during this research there were several moments when students expressed explicitly anti-Mapuche feelings (see chapter 5 for more details). One of these moments upset one Mapuche participant, Mailen, so much that she walked out of the classroom saying that she refused to listen to “ignorant” people. McDowell (2001) has written about the discomfiture of political or ideological differences between participants and researcher, but participatory research can open up the possibility for participants to belittle or Other fellow participants. This situation was incredibly difficult for me as I did not want Mailen to leave the project with the feeling that it had provided a legitimate space for anti-Mapuche feeling, and yet I did not want her other classmates to feel that their voices or opinions were not as valued as Mailen’s. The personal distress I felt after this moment was acute.

Today was the worst day of the whole project. Yessica and Anushka were making fun of Mailen again. It’s been a constant problem; they are best friends but if she talks about the Mapuche they mimic her behind her back. Today she was telling us all about

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<sup>19</sup> A term of endearment that is used commonly to refer to female teachers.

Mapuche ceremonies and why they should be taught in the school, Yessica laughed at her and she walked out, she was mad. Esteban went after her, but she didn't want to talk about it with him. I didn't know what to do. I felt so stupid and helpless. I told the girls that in these sessions we don't talk like that. That they are spaces for learning and respect. But they gave me an attitude back. I felt like a teacher. It was so uncomfortable. We ended the session early. I went home and cried. Am I just opening these girls up to being bullied even more? (Extract from field diary, November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2018)

I felt incredibly uncomfortable having to control what could be said in the research space and I did not like having to reinstate power hierarchies and position myself as the teacher as it felt this betrayed the participatory aims. However, within this context I believed it was necessary because valuing all voices does not mean that participatory research should become a space in which racist beliefs should be elevated and I felt a responsibility to protect Mailen. I struggled for many months revisiting this situation in my head, until I went to see Mailen perform her Mapuche rock music at a festival in front of thousands of people. I realised in that moment that I was naïve to think that Mailen needed my help in that situation; she had been bullied for most of her life for being Mapuche and yet she remained proudly Mapuche. In my own head I had reimagined myself as her protector and yet it was clear that Mailen, in walking away and condemning her classmates as ignorant, had exercised agency and did not need me to speak for her.

The complexity of the three situations I have described here help to destabilise the “quasi-religious” position that participatory rhetoric and practice has been granted within the academy as explored by Cooke and Kothari (2001, p. 13). It is important to note, that whilst with humility, empathy and preparation researchers can attempt to decolonise their research through participatory methods, the hierarchies established by coloniality are impossible to deconstruct through participation alone. Furthermore, it is inappropriate to assume that everyone wants to participate in a PAR project, even one that is centred on emancipation and justice. This became clear to me as I began to work with Mapuche activists, political and spiritual leaders in the later stages of my research. Whilst they wanted to be a part of the research they wanted to do so on their terms, utilising their own methodologies. The following extract from my field diary explains my surprise and embarrassment when Daniel told me he did not want to be part of a PAR project.

We went to visit Daniel at the library today. I went to ask him to be part of the project. I sat there awkwardly and tried to sell it to him. Telling him about all the exciting things we were going to do. Art, video, poetry. I showed him examples of the girls' work. He liked it, but after a while he stopped me and said: "Lamgnen (*Sister*) I know about PAR, it's nice, you don't need to explain it to me. But this is for school children, I don't want to paint my feelings. With all respect, it's a little patronising. Just stop. And listen to me. I will tell you what you want to know. You can film it for the girls. I know what I need to tell you. If you listen, you will learn it all. If you just listen, you will learn a lot more than if I painted". I felt a little embarrassed. But he's right. So, I think we need to have a change of plan!

*(Extract from field diary, October 11<sup>th</sup>, 2017).*

It was under the guidance and instruction of Daniel and other Mapuche activists and academics, that I learnt about Mapuche methodologies and began to incorporate them into my own research.

### Indigenous Methodologies

The two final aims of the research are interrelated, they focus on exploring critiques of intercultural education policy from within the Mapuche community and examine alternative decolonial indigenous approaches to education in the Araucanía, particularly focussing through the lens of gender. In order to achieve these aims it was necessary to include the opinions of Mapuche activists and educators in the research, therefore the research includes the experiences of 15 Mapuche educators and activists, a Longko and a Machi all explored through indigenous storytelling. While it may seem strange to mix western and indigenous methodologies within one research project, Kovach (2010, p. 91) has made clear that both sets of methodologies are valuable. She argues that "we need to use all the very best theoretical and methodological tools, and where necessary develop new approaches when these tools are inadequate". Indigenous methodologies have often been overlooked within formal western research spaces. The incorporation of "narrative, story and self-location" is often understood as indulgent within the academe, rather than being perceived as a methodological "necessity, flowing from a tribal epistemology" (Kovach, 2010, p. 81). Research that is overwhelmingly narrative can be rejected as too subjective by those within the academy who subscribe to empirical

quantification or even qualitative generalisations. However, my focus on indigenous methodologies is an attempt to decolonise the research project and outcomes by utilising a context specific analytical tool, while attempting to “make visible contradictions and bringing indigenous approaches out from the margins” (Kovach, 2010, p. 82).

A universal definition of indigenous methodologies is impossible because by their very nature they are socially constructed and locally situated. As Battiste and Henderson (2000, p. 36) have argued, the knowledge that originates from indigenous methodologies is “deeply personal and particular”. However, within the literature there are aspects of indigenous epistemologies that consistently remerge. Wilson (2008) has described the cyclical nature of an indigenous research paradigm, arguing that indigenous methodologies can be understood only in direct relation to indigenous ontologies and epistemologies. Indigenous ontologies are relational, thus, within indigenous research, knowledge is not shared just between the researcher and the research subjects, but it is “with the cosmos, with the animals, with the plants, with the earth that we share this knowledge.” (Wilson, 2008, p. 78). In this sense, an indigenous methodology is one that adheres to relational accountability.

Pulani Louis (2007) has attempted to lay out some guidelines for creating a decolonial relational indigenous methodology. Firstly, relational accountability ensures all parts of the research process are related “from inspiration to expiration” (Pulani Louis, 2007, p. 133). Secondly, it necessitates a respectful representation that ensures the researcher considers how they are representing the people and phenomena they are researching. Finally, it incorporates a reciprocal appropriation that acknowledges all research is appropriation and, as such, the benefits must be felt by the researcher and the researched while attempting to shift the power of control over the research process and outcome from the researcher to the participant. A powerful method for achieving these aims, and one that is historically intertwined with the Mapuche people, is the use of storytelling or oral history, which allows the participant to share their knowledges and experiences on their own terms. Choosing such an inductive research method is “congruent with indigenous epistemologies and decolonising methodologies” (Kovach, 2010, p. 82).

*Story Telling through Matetun and Learning to Listen through Alkutün*

The majority of the meetings with participants were done at their homes, with a few done at their spaces of work. First, we shared some personal details and pleasantries and then I presented the objectives of my research. In these meetings I was attempting to establish the participants' backgrounds within intercultural education, what they felt about current state intercultural education policy, how they believe other identity markers such as class and gender influence experiences of intercultural education and intercultural policy and what their hopes are for intercultural education in the future. Before I could ask any questions, participants would usually open into long narratives about their own experiences of teaching and learning in relation to gender and ethnicity within intercultural spaces. This is a common practice within an indigenous, oral culture and is related to the indigenous methodology of storytelling.

Storytelling as an indigenous methodology focuses on emancipatory justice seeking, indigenous self-determination and truth telling (Brown and Strega, 2015; Cornthassel et al., 2009). It can help to develop rich and locally relevant insights grounded within a unique history of multiple value systems and diverse ways of knowing. Storytelling allows for multiple meanings and truths to be heard and can redefine what knowledge is valued and created (Bishop, 1999). Within the Mapuche context, storytelling was practiced through the traditional performance of Matetun. Matetun is the ceremony of meeting to converse while drinking Mate<sup>20</sup> and is a very common practice within Mapuche communities in Chile. The practice of Matetun recreates traditional practices

of gathering around the fireplace (*kütral*) in the ruka (*house*), which, according to traditional Mapuche rites, is characterised by gregarious, relaxed, affectionate, and empathetic gatherings that involve discursive practices such as pentukun (*learning about the guest and his or her family and key concerns*) (Becerra et al, 2019; 13).

Matetun was the primary sphere of encounter for the Mapuche participants and me, encouraging us to share a moment of sociality and to create communal ties. Within these encounters I would bring the participants a gift of Mate, my Mate cup and straw and some snacks. Often in return they would share sopapillas (*fried bread*) and pebre (*a spicy dip*)<sup>21</sup> with me and the conversations would begin. More often than not this involved a summary of the life

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<sup>20</sup> Yerba Maté a caffeinated drink, popular in Latin America.

<sup>21</sup> Made with coriander, chopped onion, olive oil, garlic and ground aji peppers.

of the participant, in which they would reference their life experiences back to the themes of my research. Throughout this process the one Mate and straw would be passed between those present, going to the right and always going back to the person whose role it was to serve the Mate. Occasionally, we would drink Mate con Malicia (*Mate with alcohol*) and more stories would flow. Most of the storytelling would take place in Spanish because participants could not speak Mapudungun, but some participants would tell their stories in Mapudungun and my translator (see below) would intercede. With consent, all participants except the Machi and Longko let us film the storytelling process and three participants helped edit the film in order to incorporate these story sessions into the participatory video. It is important to note that where we were left with questions after the story telling sessions, we would add additional questions and the experience would proceed in the form of an unstructured interview (Longhurst, 2003).

As the participants would tell their stories I began to learn the value of silence. As researchers we are taught to take the lead in our investigation, to ask questions and move the interviews in the direction that we see fit. In this investigation, the research was guided by the participant through their stories and I remained silent. Initially, I found this process incredibly frustrating as I had to sit for long periods of time listening to life stories that I often felt had little relevance to my research. However, as the process continued, I began to see the ways in which these stories could relate to my research or see ways in which the stories could take my research in new directions which I could have never imagined had I interrupted my participants. Often when we maintain silence whilst others speak, we are not really listening. At the beginning of this process I would continuously lose concentration, sometimes my mind would simply drift off, other times it would be thinking of an anecdote that I could have shared in the conversation had I been permitted to interrupt. Smith (2000, p. 242), however, advises non-indigenous researchers that learning to listen deeply and hear what is being said is part of the indigenous research process, and that we need to show respect by “exhibiting a willingness to listen, to be humble, to be cautious, to increase knowledge.” As I became more and more accustomed to listening, I found myself fully engaged in what the participants were saying, many hours could go by and I would still be concentrating on the stories of the participants. In Mapuche this is referred to as Alkütun or the practice of listening, of observing the balance and unbalance of the world, of listening to stories, dreams, voices, identities and silences. It is learning to interpret the messages within these stories (Bascopé Julio et al., 2016). However, Alkutün is a lifelong learning process and I often still found myself wanting to talk and not to listen. My

desire to talk comes from a lifetime of being listened to. My whiteness and education have given me a constant platform that is difficult to unlearn, but within this process of unlearning I was always aided by my translator, Esteban.

### *Why use a translator? Decolonising the Language of Research*

Colonisation has had a destructive impact on the number of Mapudungun speakers in Wall Mapu, with only 260,000 Mapuche identifying as native speakers. In Chile, all Mapuche now speak fluent Spanish, with Spanish being the language of formal education, government institutions and daily life in the Araucanía. For this reason, I had initially chosen not to recruit a translator and I planned to undertake the research in Spanish and then translate it into English myself. I believed that the role of both researcher and translator would allow me opportunity to play closer attention to “cross cultural meanings and interpretations” within my research (Giroux, 1992). However, after a few months in the field I began to struggle with the research process and the demands of translation.

After having held a few interviews I began to question the erasure of Mapudungun within the research process. As noted above, it was necessary to gain permission from Mapuche political and spiritual authorities to conduct the research and this had to be done in Mapudungun, a language with which I am not familiar. However, beyond this, in choosing to only hold the research in the Spanish language a language hierarchy was created. In Wallmapu, Spanish is the language of the coloniser and a presumption towards Spanish and translating into English writes out the colonial terms upon which the conversation was produced. Spivak (1988) links language and identity, arguing that identity is both constructed and ascribed through language. She argues that “language is not everything. It is only a vital clue to where the self loses its boundaries” (Spivak, 1992 in Temple and Edwards, 2002, p. 3). Thus, it is not only words that are inscribed value within research, but also the language in which research is conducted. In choosing to conduct the research only in Spanish and denying participants the possibility to speak in their native language I imbued the colonial language with power, repeating colonial practices of language erasure.

The second issue I encountered in the field was when it came to translating across cultures. Within this research project three very different cultures were present, my own British culture,

the national Chilean culture and the Mapuche culture, each having distinctive languages, cultural practices and meanings. Research has traditionally understood translation as if it were a tool for the neutral transmission of meaning across languages (Temple and Edwards, 2002). However, Spivak (1993, in Temple and Edwards, 2002) has shown that meaning does not move easily across cultures. She argues that translation “is not a matter of synonym, syntax and local colour” rather, she sees language as “rhetoric, logic and silence and the relationships between these” (Temple and Young, 2004, p. 165). In the process of translating my interviews, I discovered that translating was not a simple task of moving meanings across language, but that both Chilean and Mapudungun are languages rooted in local realities and changing identities. In translating these languages, it was necessary to make decisions about the cultural meanings behind each of these languages and recognise the differences behind each of these cultures. I found this task increasingly difficult as my own British identity and the related views I held about the world framed my understanding of the possible meanings my participants were trying to share with me. This hierarchy of meaning was particularly problematic within this research, as the English language and cultural meaning replicates a dominant colonial perspective, erasing alternative ways of meaning.

Within this research, in order to access Mapuche communities it was necessary to first approach the Longko of that community (in Mapudungun) and observe the required specific cultural practices. Academics must request permission to enter Mapuche communities, observe cultural norms and bring appropriate gifts. Violations of these cultural norms can do irreparable harm to the research and can undermine the core principles of PAR. Spivak asserts that “bicultural translators can help negotiate different perspectives and cultural understandings, which she argues is an advantage from the point of view of the research process, both in protecting participants from harm, and maintaining research integrity” (in Berman and Tyyskä, 2011, p. 181). After making some cultural errors during the research process (for example, not returning the mate to the person serving the mate, or passing it in the wrong direction) I realised that a translator would be key for providing knowledge of both the Mapudungun language and the Chilean and Mapuche cultures and community practices. Once I decided to hire a translator the issue then arose of who to hire and what their role would be.

At first my intention was to hire an ethnically Mapuche, Mapudungun speaker as I assumed that only a member of the Mapuche cultural group could be considered an insider and have the

necessary insight into Mapuche cultural practice and language. However, I could not find an ethnically Mapuche Mapudungun translator, as those I approached either wanted to guard their language, seeing it as sacred knowledge and were not willing to share it with a Wingka, or they were simply far too expensive for my budget. However, being an insider does not necessarily mean being the same ethnicity, class or gender as participants, as this research shows that identities are fluid and ever changing. Indeed, Berman and Tyyskä (2011, p. 182) have argued that “insiders do not necessarily have to be a part of the cultural group, but can offer important insight through their presence in a particular local neighbourhood”.

The translator I chose was Esteban Saez. Esteban is not ethnically Mapuche, in fact Esteban is not sure where his descendants are from, though he is affectionately referred to by his friends as “the Arab”. Esteban grew up in Pedro de Valdivia, a poor sector of Temuco which he referred to as the “ghetto”. Pedro de Valdivia has a very large population of Mapuche residents. He is referred to by many Mapuche as ‘peñi’ (*brother*) and was widely trusted within the urban Mapuche community of Temuco. In my search for a translator Esteban was recommended to me by the Rupu programme at UFRO<sup>22</sup>. Prior to working with me, Esteban completed his undergraduate degree in social work at the Universidad of La Frontera in Temuco. He then worked as the only man in the Observatorio de Genero at UFRO, during which he created a puppet show for children about sexual consent. He then went on to work on an intercultural medicine programme in psychiatric wards, teaching doctors the symptoms of transitioning to a Machi that are often confused with schizophrenia. After the fieldwork ended Esteban went to work for DAEM in Perquenco and because of the threat of potential critiques towards DAEM that came out of the research, Esteban did not participate in the dissemination of the research.

Employing a translator raised questions around how it was possible to translate concepts across three languages and also how to convey the difference between the cultures of participant, researcher and translator. Whilst Esteban spoke Mapudungun, he was not able to unproblematically translate meanings nor speak for the participants. As Spivak (1988) has shown, speaking for participants is always a political issue and Esteban’s translations were always influenced by his own perspectives, experiences and interactions. Despite his role as a translator and a cultural broker, Esteban was unable to neutrally represent the words and meanings of the participants or the Mapuche culture. Both mine and Esteban’s histories,

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<sup>22</sup> An intercultural programme for Mapuche students at the University of La Frontera, Temuco.

positionings and cultures were always woven into our interactions with the participants and our translations were always influenced by the way we saw the world. Whilst we did our best to convey the meaning of the participants' comments, it's important to recognise that the translations found in this thesis are interpretations imbued with our own cultures, meanings and experiences. Both Esteban and I recognise the responsibility we have for representing the Mapuche participants and their language, however it is important to note that the translations found in this thesis are not necessarily the only way that the dialogues could have been translated. Despite this, we have tried to be honest and replicate the participants' dialogues, whilst acknowledging that there is not always one truth within translation.

Whilst positivist research has tried to “control for the ‘effects’ of the interpreter/translator, to treat them as a threat to validity, and to make them invisible in the process and product” (Berman and Tyyskä, 2011, p. 179), feminist PAR research tries to highlight the role of the translator and the associated issues of power and representation. Within this research, Esteban is understood to be a co-constructor of knowledge in this thesis. Esteban played many roles during this research beyond that of translator and it's important to highlight his hybrid role and its impact on the research. Here I briefly outline some of the ways Esteban influenced this project and the ways in which this thesis has been marked by his presence. Firstly, because of his history within the social sciences and his deep presence within the research, Esteban would often offer his own interpretations of the participants' dialogues or what he felt were important questions that the research should be addressing. Furthermore, Esteban was important in the process of recruiting participants. Because of his role as a gatekeeper to the community and the trust that many participants had in him, I was able to gain access to many participants who had previously rejected participation in the project. Often I felt that Esteban's presence turned the research into a moment of sociality, losing the initial focus of the research, and I sometimes became frustrated at the amount of time that was spent on socialising. However, I later realised that Esteban's moments of sharing with the participants were an incredibly important part of the story telling process, blurring the lines between research and Mapuche cultural practice. In this sense, Esteban translated not only language but across intimate cultural moments of sharing, making him at once a cultural broker and translator. Whilst the majority of the research was carried out in Spanish, occasionally the participants would talk about particularly painful or intimate moments and sometimes when Esteban felt my presence was causing unease or embarrassment to the participants he would switch to Mapudungun so I couldn't understand

and this often resulted in laughter and a lightening of the mood, during which he would switch back to Spanish. Sometimes he would translate these moments back to me and sometimes he wouldn't. This exclusion from the research would occasionally frustrate me, as I felt that I had lost control of my research or was having to share my role as researcher with Esteban, however reflecting back on the research process I realise that Esteban was able to create intimate connections with participants of different genders, ethnicities and class, during which participants felt comfortable to share personal experiences whilst we all moved across the boundaries of three cultures. Hiring Esteban as a translator had important epistemological and ontological consequences for this research, as longstanding colonial relationships between researcher and participant were partially subverted and the space of research re-emerged as a space of cross-cultural relationships.

#### Analysing the Research: Coding through NVIVO

Once all of the research had taken place and all of the data had been collected it was necessary to analyse the data. Data analysis is an attempt to bring order, structure and meaning to all of the data that has been collected. It attempts to find relationships between the categories and themes that emerge from within the data in order to more accurately represent the experiences and interpretations of the participants. Whilst qualitative data can be characterised by its “subjectivity, richness and comprehensiveness... analysing qualitative data is often a muddled, vague and time-consuming process” (Keim et al., 2006, p. 9). In order to overcome these obstacles, rather than being a controlled and rigid process my data analysis process was a flexible and enveloping process that necessitated a positive and deep interaction with the data. Having spent a year in the field, I already had some concept of the main themes of the research and what the relationships between these themes might be, however after taking some time away from the data in order to limit any prejudices that might have arisen due to personal relationships with the participants, I began to code the data using NVIVO software.

The majority of the data for this research was based around oral accounts (including storytelling, interviews, participatory video) and once I returned to the UK, I began to transcribe these oral accounts, in their original language of Spanish, into a word document. Once I had transcribed all of the spoken accounts, I then watched the original video (if the interview had been recorded visually) and added any movements, facial expressions, gestures

or pauses that I felt were particularly significant to the storytelling to the transcription. Once the data had been converted into a textual account, I uploaded each transcription to NVIVO and began to code the text. Codes are

tags or labels for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study. Codes often adhere to chunks of words, phrases, sentences or the entire paragraph. Coding involves pursuing related words or phrases mentioned by the interviewees or in the documents. These words or phrases are then combined together in order to realize the connection between them (Keim et al., 2006, p. 181).

I coded the data by creating nodes of text that were related to a particular coding stripe, for example the main codes for this research were Ethnicity, Gender and Intercultural Education. These codes were then separated into many sub-codes that sometimes intersected between the three main codes, for example “Gender Identity in the National Curriculum”; “Critiques of government implemented IBE”; “Experiences of ethnic discrimination within the school”, among many others. The relationships between these codes were then made clear by utilising NVIVO cluster analysis, a visual representation that links categories and terms that are often found in relation to each other. However, not all of the data collected in this research was an oral account (video, body mapping, rivers of life, school and home mapping) and so this data was more difficult to code.

Although image-based research has become accepted as an effective way of elevating the voices of children and students and for creating rich and profound data, it does create analytical difficulties for visual researchers. Whilst there have been some attempts to establish a suitable analytical framework for visual research, “these generally relate to specifically situated work” and are not comparable across research projects (Bland, 2012, p. 2). Where visual data has been analysed, it has been argued by Bland (2012) that there is a potential for ambiguous and subjective data. In order to avoid these complications, I interpreted my visual data as a text that could be read (see Keim et al., 2006), allowing “analytic techniques to be borrowed from more traditional research” (Bland, 2012, p. 2). Furthermore, as noted above, the visual data was also accompanied by conversations with students which allowed students to emphasise the meanings behind their drawings and explain their drawings to the rest of the group. Thus, the PAR data used in this project combined both the visual and the oral, as the visual data was

strengthened by the oral commentaries made by the students. However, the visual data was always given primacy over what was said or written. This created a system of triangulation that gave authenticity to the analysis of the visual data.

The drawings and their commentaries were coded through NVIVO in much the same way as the oral data. Once an image was uploaded to NVIVO drawings were analysed individually, giving most emphasis to what was highlighted by the artist both orally and visually and then common features across drawings were compared or contrasted. Through NVIVO sections of the image or the image text could be coded into the same nodes as the oral data and oral and visual data could be directly compared through analysis of the same coding stripes. The codes that emerged most frequently across both the oral and visual data were then selected and the organised in such a way that they reflect the chapters and chapter sections of this thesis. The data that was then selected to be included in this thesis as quotes was only translated into English once it was situated within the thesis. As in most research projects much of the data collected has not been included in the final thesis and so the thesis should be understood as a partial representation of a much larger research project.

### The Construction of the 'Wall Mapu Fün Kim Zomo' Cooperative

During the research process there was a separation between the students and the Mapuche educators, however both sets of participants were interested in the work that I was doing with the other group. For this reason, the participants wished to make contact with each other and share their experiences of the research process and intercultural education, consequently the decision was made with participants to form a cooperative. The cooperative would mean that students could keep in touch with the project and other participants over the summer holidays, those who were graduating from the school could still follow the project and there would be communication between students and educators. The students decided to name the cooperative "Wall Mapu Fün Kim Zomo<sup>23</sup>" and two of the participants at ISETT designed the logo. At the end of the project the cooperative had over 40 members (all female, almost all Mapuche, straight, bisexual and lesbian, children and adults). Participants kept in touch through a WhatsApp group and there were occasional get-togethers. The cooperative had few stated aims,

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<sup>23</sup> Translated as - Las Semillas del Conocimiento de las Mujeres de Wall Mapu / The seeds of knowledge of the Women of Wall Mapu, named by students at Liceo Tecnico with the help of the intercultural teacher to reflect the specific knowledges of Mapuche women, with particular reference to nature and Mother Earth.

although the main objective was to carry on the discussions around gender, ethnicity and education that the workshops had started and to create an emancipatory space where these themes could be discussed through the promotion of creativity and imagination. In this way the cooperative was one of the outcomes of this research project and an ‘action’ of the participatory action research, meaning that the research has lasting effects beyond the yearlong investigation.



Figure 9 Members of the Cooperative at a get together.

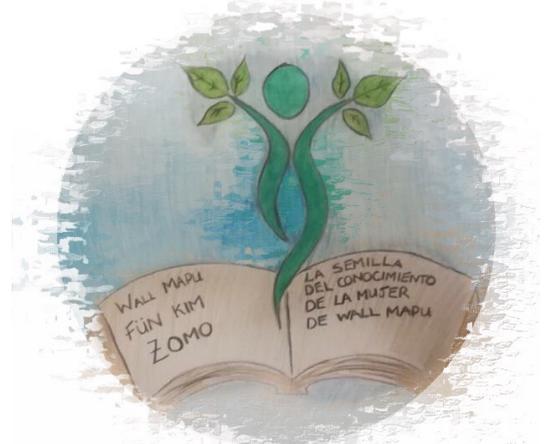


Figure 8 Wall Mapu Fün Kim Zomo Logo

### Completing the Cycle: Returning Knowledges to the Mapuche

England (1994, p. 82) has determined that “research is a *process*, not just a product”. That process does not end when the fieldwork stage is complete. For research to be valuable the process must continue beyond a sense of completion into a phase of reflection (Bourke, 2014). One of the aims of PAR is that those who have conventionally been researched are present from the definition of the problem to the final stages of dissemination and action and therefore are able to offer reflections on the research process and outcomes. This is particularly important when researching within indigenous communities, as the international declaration on the cultural and intellectual property rights of indigenous peoples has argued that indigenous people are the exclusive owners of their cultural and intellectual property and should have the right to “protect and control dissemination of that knowledge” (The Mataatua Declaration, 1993).

Against this context, following PAR guidelines, the last month of the fieldwork was spent disseminating the research findings and holding screenings of the participatory video made by

the participants. Dissemination of the research findings began with me attending a follow up meeting with DAEM and relevant staff from the school and the boarding house. The results of the research were provided to each of these institutions in a summary document and whilst there was some brief reflection from each of the institutions on what could be changed, as far as I know at the date of writing, the research has had no impact on local policy. We then held a final event at the school where the participatory video was shown, accompanied by Mapuche foods cooked by the students. Finally, video screenings were held. I tried to host these video screenings outside of western knowledge spaces, such as the university, and instead opted to host them in Mapuche spaces (Swadener and Mutua, 2008.). The first video screening was a woman-only event and took place at the 'Espacio en Konstrucción' (*Space in Construction*) collective. The space itself is woman-only and so the decision was made to respect this, but the benefit of a woman-only screening meant that questions and comments could flow more freely. It was an intimate video screening, with mulled wine and sopaipillas and the majority of attendees were women who had participated in the research project. The second screening took place at La Biblioteca Mapuche Kimün (*The Library of Mapuche Knowledge*) and was a much larger event open to all members of the public. The event was advertised on Facebook, Twitter and through the universities in Temuco. It was attended by various participants and afterwards attendees directed questions towards me and the participants.



ESTRENO DOCUMENTAL

**LAS SEMILLAS**

MUJERES DEL WALLMAPU

**RESUMEN**

Las Semillas (2018) es un proyecto participativo que explora las relaciones entre género, identidad y educación. Es el resultado de un año de trabajo con estudiantes y activistas del wallmapu. Este material expone la realidad de las jóvenes en liceos municipales, critica el sistema intercultural y propone alternativas educativas.

**9** Jueves  
Agosto  
19:00 Hrs

BIBLIOTECA MAPUCHE MOGELEAM KIMVM  
SAN FRANCISCO 0923

*Figure 10 Poster made by a participant for the film screening*



*Figure 11 The Film Screening at Biblioteca Mapuche Kimün*

This dissemination process was planned and agreed in conjunction with the members of Wall Mapu Fün Kim Zomo collective and other participants. Whilst some members did want to disseminate the video more widely it was decided that the film would remain only in the hands of members and not be uploaded to the internet, as there was a fear that the film content could be manipulated within public space and the anonymity of the participants would also be at risk. However, the cooperative did take the video on a small ‘tour’ around the rural communities, with the aims of educating people on the importance of gender and sex education for girls. The research also had some more practical impacts as Espacio en Konstrucción have begun to run their own PAR workshops within their space, they also hope to run workshops in inner-city schools and have also mentioned a Mapuche summer camp in rural spaces.

During the screenings of the participatory video I also asked participants to reflect on a few final questions:

- What changes are needed to improve participants’ everyday experiences within the Chilean education system?
- How do we want to share and promote the findings of the research?
- Who can help us to disseminate the findings of the research and stimulate change?

(Adapted from Kindon et al., 2007)

The answers provided in these screenings have in some places been incorporated into the thesis as reflections on the research. Similarly, I asked participants for some feedback on their experience of the research process. Their answers caused me to reflect on how the decolonial epistemologies that shaped the research methodology had been translated into practice.

### Reflecting on Power and Empowerment

The feedback that emerged from within the school and the internado from the students who participated in the research project was overwhelmingly positive. When we asked the participants what they felt they had gained from the research, some of the answers included “learning how to use video technology”, “getting to know my classmates better, developing friendships and working with them in a team”, “learning leadership skills and other useful tools that I can put on my university application” and “learning more about who I am, my identity, my gender and not being ashamed of being Mapuche”. The most important benefit, perhaps, of the participatory research process was the feeling of value that girls felt having participated in the project. For example, on one feedback form it stated, “it was nice that someone was interested in my life and that she wanted to know the little things that I do, not just ask about nguillatun (*Mapuche fertility ceremony*) and stereotypical Mapuche things”. The participatory video project allowed each participant’s voice to be heard with equal validity regardless of their age, gender, class or ethnicity. This was a particularly important outcome within the context of this research, because, as discussed in chapter 7, Mapuche urban girls are so often silenced. In comparison, participatory video is an inclusive and involved process, in which the camera picks out each individual and values them equally (White, 2003).

One of the goals of participatory research, particularly when combined with a feminist framework, has been for the empowerment of the participants (Ristock and Pennell, 1996). It is difficult to say whether the participants really felt empowered by their experience with this research, whilst they may have learnt new skills, made new friends and even discovered new ways to think about themselves, there was of course no formal “redistribution of power” as a result of this research (Batliwala, 1994 in Ashraf and Farah, 1994.). However, the participants did begin to assert control over certain factors of their lives, even if only temporarily whilst the research was in process. They began to name themselves and resist labels put on them, they began to challenge what they were learning in school curricula and they began to reimagine new possibilities and futures for themselves.

Even when claiming empowering outcomes of the research I am still often troubled when I reflect on the research process. I am aware that even though I still live in the field site, I no longer attend the school or internado on a regular basis and have very limited contact with the majority of the student participants. Work commitments and thesis writing put an end to the regular workshops, even if I had wanted to continue with the project. In some ways it feels as though the fieldwork process was ruptured and along with it the relationships and experiences that I shared with my participants. England (1994, p. 248) has explored the symbolic violence of fieldwork as it relies on the creation of human relationships and engagements that are always controlled or manipulated by the researcher. Fieldwork is always an intrusion and intervention into participants' lives and even if participants welcome the researcher's presence, the researcher is always freer than the researched to leave (Stacey, 1988). In this sense, though I never physically left the field, I emotionally withdrew from the research in a way that many of the participants might not have chosen to do had there been a possibility to continue (see Caretta and Cheptum, 2017 on leaving the field). However, it is important to note that Mapuche people have experienced centuries of anthropological study and they are not naïve to the ways in which research can be appropriation. Many of my adult participants were well practiced in making sure their points were heard and in some cases participants would demand something in return for their participation, once or twice this involved sharing what was happening in La Araucanía via social media, but more often than not it was a free translation of a document, lyrics to music or an academic paper.

I have reflected on whether or not my research left my participants better off, if it mattered, or in the words of Brown and Strega (2015, p. 277) if this research had "soul". In truth I do not know the answer to this, however, I do know that I have benefitted immensely from the research process. It's important to note that my desire to undertake this fieldwork was not about altruism, which Land (2015) has highlighted can never be a reliable basis for ally work within indigenous communities, and more about a collective wish to change the world in which we live for the better. But the research has also served my own interests, firstly because it has helped me towards my own personal desire to get a PhD, but also because, as Barker (2010, p. 318) has shown, the colonial system "which does its most violent work on indigenous people – is also not in our (enlightened) self-interest". To be a reliable ally and to improve my own

conditions, necessitates that I “critique the system, attempt to change the system, and reduce (my) level of colonial involvement, to undermine its logics” (Barker, 2010, p. 318).

In short, it is true that research can be a powerful emancipatory tool, but it can also reproduce oppressive power hierarchies “just as easily – maybe even more easily – than it can be used to respect, empower and liberate” (Brown and Strega, 2015, p. 260). Whilst I believe that my research had some empowering moments for the participants that helped them to see the world and themselves in new ways, the research also contributed to existing power hierarchies of researcher/ participant. Does this mean I failed in translating a decolonial epistemology into practice? I do not think so. The research has shown that the researcher/ participant relationship is inherently hierarchical, no matter the lengths to which one goes to reduce these hierarchies. As researchers we “cannot escape the contradictory position in which we find ourselves, in that the lives, loves and tragedies that fieldwork informants share with a researcher are ultimately data grist for the ethnographic mill” (Stacey, 1988, p. 23). This does not mean that my attempts to counteract these hierarchies were in vain, rather “reflexivity *can* make us more aware of asymmetrical or exploitative relationships, but it cannot remove them” (England, 1994, p. 250). Even so, reflecting on this experience I believe that cross cultural research is still possible, wherever there is true communication, respect and willingness to listen and learn and that research need not be ‘life changing’ for participants for it to still have an impact.

### Conclusions

This chapter has attempted to provide an account of both the methodological tools used within this research and the research process itself. Methodologies are always situated within and guided by our own epistemologies. My personal histories and experience within and without academia have led me to engage with feminist and decolonial epistemologies which have intertwined to influence the methodological process of this research. A mixed methodology of PAR and Indigenous Storytelling was adopted as an attempt to reinvert colonial hierarchies and elevate the voices of those who are often silenced through colonial forms of knowledge construction. My whiteness, gender and class influenced both my understandings of the project and my relationships with the participants. I have tried not to erase the problems that my positionality brought, rather I have explored the contradictory and sometimes violent ways in which my positionality impacted the research. Despite a desire to produce decolonial research, the unequal power relations between myself and the participants could not be erased and at

times this caused emotional distress. However, despite the deep challenges of this research, many of the participants left the project with positive experiences and memories, which may not be as 'empowering' as PAR research demands, but nonetheless were beneficial. Exploring the role of positionality, power and empowerment in the research does not provide a guarantee that colonial forms of knowledge production will not be replicated, however this chapter has highlighted the possible issues and reflected on them in the context of the possibilities of decolonial methodological futures. Finally, it is important to note that decolonial research can never be generalised and should always be situated within space and time. For this reason, the following chapter addresses the context of the research in more detail.

Taiñ wirintukun se plasma al pie de la letra  
Con nuestra historia mapuche que nadie se entrometa  
Trazando nuestro escrito trizamos su teoría  
Sus libros wingka tienen contenido pero no sabiduría

Our Mapuche writings are stamped at the bottom of your letters  
With our Mapuche history no one can meddle  
Guiding our writing, we break their theory  
Your Wingka non-Mapuche books have content but not wisdom

*(Waikil - Taiñ Wirintukun Mapuche)*

## **Chapter 4 - Contextualising Intercultural Education through Histories of Mapuche Resistance, Oppression and State Intervention**

### Introduction

As noted in chapter 1 the Mapuche people are the largest indigenous group in Chile, representing 87.3% of the national indigenous population and 4% of the total population (Becerra et al., 2015). The Mapuche are mainly located in the Araucanía region, and more specifically rural Araucanía, where 71% of the region's Mapuche are based (Becerra et al., 2015). The rural Mapuche have the lowest human development index in Chile and “conditions of marginality and social vulnerability are commonplace” (Becerra et al., 2015, p. 96). However, urban Mapuche are also subject to a system of cultural domination and social discrimination as they are often restricted to poblaciones (*ghettos*) and low paid service work (Gissi, 2004).

This chapter addresses the rise of a colonial matrix of power that through a “model of evangelization and education” influenced an institutional racism within Chilean education policies, leading to deep social and economic inequalities with regard to indigenous peoples (Lepe-Carrión, 2015, p. 62). The chapter aims to contextualise the ways in which this historical and contemporary discrimination and economic marginalisation has had an impact on the development of intercultural education discourse in the region. The chapter examines the ways in which the concept of Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE) is situated between indigenous communities and the state. Intercultural education in Chile has both emerged as a state-led project to design educational policies for indigenous groups and as an indigenous social movement that attempts to redress historic and contemporary injustices. Thus, in Chile, “to paraphrase Paulo Freire, IBE does not have a political character, it *is* political” (Montecinos et al., 2010, p. 324).

The chapter is organised into three parts: in the first part I attempt to expand on discussions from chapter one, outlining the historical processes of subjectification through schooling that reimagined the Mapuche as both citizen and worker. In the second part of the chapter I contextualise the rise of bilingual intercultural education discourses in Chile, both as a form of resistance to the oppression of the Mapuche culture and language and in the ways it has been adopted by the state and developed into an essential part of the Chilean ethno-governmental

paradigm. I examine the history of the institutional legislative that has led to the incorporation of IBE education across the region and the ways in which this legislation contradicts with Mapuche discourses of IBE. Finally, I examine the contradictory ways in which intercultural education has been incorporated into an inherently neoliberal education system and the ways in which Chilean students have reimagined education as resistance.

### Colonialism, Schooling and the Loss of Mapudungun: Perceived Impacts on the Mapuche

In order to analyse the rise of intercultural education in Mapuche society, it is first necessary to return to the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a period of time in which the newly created Chilean state was attempting to consolidate its power through the transmission of western knowledges, Castilian monolingualism and cultural homogenization (Loncón Antileo, 1997). The penetration of the Araucanía was achieved through diverse mechanisms, including the expropriation of land, the installation of state bureaucracy, the presence of the army and the founding of cities. However, education was conceived as the key instrument to shape the future of the Chilean state. Through its “path of freedom, happiness and progress”, education acquired a utopian character, as the hopes for the regeneration of both the individual and the nation were placed on it (Serrano, 2019). Loncón Antileo (1997, p. 13) notes that in many ways the Chilean education system does not differ in its creation from other systems in Latin America and the rest of the colonial world that were noted in chapter 1; “from that perspective, state organised education during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, constituted one of the main pillars to radiate to the rest of society the values and contents selected by the elites”. López (1994, p. 37) argues that Latin American republics designed an education system that looked outwards to Europe, rather than focusing on the internal realities of the countries to which they belonged, “promoting a cultural homogenization of the population”.

The first schools in Mapuche territories appeared on the records in the early nineteenth century. They quickly became the key power mechanisms used by the state to create a new Chilean society of “free and rational men, emancipated from their traditional beliefs and belongings” (Sepúlveda et al., 2016, p. 222). Whilst the sons and daughters of peasants, servants and slaves were not considered worthy of education, it was seen as a priority to bring the Mapuche into national citizenship and quell any remaining liberatory struggles (Donoso Romo, 2006; Durán and Ramos, 1988). This early indigenous education was led by the church and continued well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Education was religious in its contents and practices, and sought to

“extend the Catholic religion, to introduce a resignation in the face of exploitation, to obtain the submission of the natives before the conquerors and to make use of their indispensable labour force ” (Jobet, 1970, p. 25). The Mapuche population were taught the basic elements of “agriculture, artisan work and manual trades, such as carpentry, ceramics, weaving, tanning, boat building, ironwork, and construction” and occasionally rudimentary reading and writing skills (Lepe-Carrión, 2015, p. 70). This method of selective education racialised or segmented service workers according to indigenous origin, and “introduced a sui generis mode of compassionate domination” where indigenous peoples became labourers for the school and state (Lepe-Carrión, 2015, p. 70).

In 1870, missionaries became inherently concerned with educating Mapuche girls, who were thought to be more tenacious in their customs than men, but “if converted from childhood would be more preserving in both their faith and citizenship” (Serrano, 2019, p. 450). In 1889, the first boarding house for Mapuche girls was opened and in that year 103 Mapuche girls were interned in a school with the aim of teaching them how to “read, write, do handywork and in general all the trades that a woman must know to be a good housewife” (Durán and Ramos, 1988, p. 38). The education of Mapuche children was enshrined in 1920 with the Compulsory Schooling Law for all children between the ages of 6 and 13, under which parents were forced to enrol their children in primary schooling. This system caused an increasing divide between the knowledge developed in Mapuche communities and the knowledge taught in schools, where what was considered as useful and valid knowledge was imposed by the Chilean state (Quintriqueo Millán and McGinity Travers, 2009). This homogenizing education continued from 1920 until the 1960s, with a centralized, nationalised and positivist educational project, that became one of the pillars of western cultural hegemony and the loss of Mapuche culture and identity (Quintriqueo M, 2012). From the 1980s education was confronted with the context of a dictatorship that encouraged a loss of fundamental freedoms that reduced Mapuche educational rights even further, deepening the educational, social and cultural discrimination of the Mapuche peoples.

One of the most significant impacts of Chilean dominant education was the loss of the Mapuche mother tongue – Mapudungun. As Mapuche bodies and subjectivities were colonised, so too was the Mapuche mind, as Castilian became the hegemonic language of Chile (Loncón Antileo, 1997). The exclusion of Mapudungun from schools and public life and its progressive

disappearance, “unleashed disastrous effects” on Mapuche children and culture (Loncón Antileo and Chiodi, 1999, p. 23), including the “partial abandonment of sociocultural practices in Mapuche communities” (Quilaqueo Rapimán et al., 2005, p. 32). Durán and Ramos (1988) argue that the forced rejection of Mapudungun had economic, territorial and cultural effects, as Mapuche cosmovision was rejected and traditional ways of life were replaced by those of the colonisers. This Castilianisation began “practically when the child was born, provoking the disvaluing of the use of Mapudungun, and a shame and denial of the Mapuche cultural identity” (Quilaqueo Rapimán et al., 2005, p. 166). At the same time, Spanish became both the means of communication and a necessary skill for acquiring paid work in colonial society. In this context, education became important for the Mapuche who needed to adapt to a new society where the Castilian language of the school was imbued with more worth than Mapudungun. Consequently, Mapuche families began to send their children to school so that they could survive more easily in the state of Chile, and many Mapuche children began to abandon their communities in order to settle in modernised towns or cities and become “industrious citizens” (Serrano, 2019, p. 461). Thus, both the Chilean state and the Catholic Church were complicit in the creation of the monocultural school, which – supported by methods of evangelization and Castilianisation – failed to consider Mapuche knowledges and indeed became mechanisms for control, subordination and negation of the Mapuche culture and language. Within schools racism and discrimination became rampant, and children were forced to hide who they were, not speak their language and to forget their history (Loncón Antileo and Chiodi, 1999). As a result, schools became one of the most effective spaces of assimilation of Mapuche youth.

The history of colonial education in the Araucanía has had several perceived impacts on Mapuche students. As Lepe-Carrión (2015, p. 71) has shown, “the paradox of the entire colonial education system in Chile is that ‘educating’ (or ‘civilising’) the Indian turns into a violent process of ‘inferiorisation’”. In Chile the lowest national SICE test scores at both the primary and secondary level are in the south, where the largest percentage of the Mapuche population live (Webb and Radcliffe, 2015). Furthermore, a large gap remains between Mapuche and non-Mapuche students in terms of schooling levels. In rural Araucanía, the average years of Mapuche schooling is 6.2 years of study, which is well below the national average of 9.8 years of study (Quilaqueo Rapimán et al., 2005<sup>24</sup>). At the national level, “only 69.5% of Mapuche people under the age of 39 have attained an average of 8.5 years of formal

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<sup>24</sup> The most recent statistics available on the educational situations of indigenous children in Chile are from 2002 because of the failure of successive Chilean governments to carry out a complete census.

schooling” and this is also reflected in the school dropout rate, as 30.4% of Mapuche students “never graduate and often leave school before 8<sup>th</sup> grade” (Ortiz, 2009, p. 97). Dropout rates are associated with feelings of exclusion and social inequality related to discriminatory and exclusionary practices in the school. Work by Becerra et al. (2015) and Webb and Radcliffe, (2015) has shown that within the school teachers continue to hold discriminatory attitudes in relation to Mapuche students and assume that Mapuche children are not as intelligent as non-Mapuche students. In this way colonial geographies of failure are reproduced and projected onto rural Mapuche, as “rural areas become linked to histories of manual labour (implicitly contrasted with urban professional and office based employment), and as areas where academic achievement is low” (Webb and Radcliffe, 2015, p. 129). Thus, the hegemonic discourses in the Chilean school reproduce racialized constructions of learning, as children’s achievement is naturalised and a whitened normative value is upheld. These schooling inequalities are reflected in the wider social and economic inequalities of the Araucanía region. The Araucanía is characterised by “high levels of unemployment, poverty associated with low rates of human development, high school dropout, significant ethnic density and the permanent presence of conflicts between the state and the Mapuche communities” (Sepúlveda et al., 2016, p. 215). The continued historical legacy of colonial education has consigned the Mapuche to “discriminatory experiences, neo assimilationist interventions and inequitable outcomes”; this is combined with a wider culture of whiteness “which rejects broader indigenous claims to self-determination” (Webb and Radcliffe, 2015, p. 148). It is within this context that the Mapuche began to struggle for a more equitable education in which their own knowledges, histories and language were considered and valued.

### A Brief History of Intercultural Education Discourse and Practice in The Araucanía

Intercultural education in Latin America has its origins in Guatemala, Ecuador, Peru, Colombia and Bolivia (Chiodi and Citarella, 1990; Moya, 1996). The discourses surrounding intercultural education in Chile grew out of these wider regional discourses and from Mapuche people’s own demands for better opportunities and access to a better quality of education (Quintriqueo M, 2012). Intercultural education in Chile developed from a Mapuche critique of educational policy - first by colonial organizations and the church and then later by the state - and a framework for more equal interethnic relations between Mapuche and non-Mapuche. However, the intercultural movement has not had the same impact in Chile as it has in the rest of Latin America. The Mapuche constitute less than 5% of the Chilean population and as a result “the

political situation of the Mapuche people ... is quite different from that of indigenous populations in countries in which high percentages of these populations are enabling the indigenous movement to become an important political voice” (Ortiz, 2009, p. 93). Here I outline the ways in which multiple discourses surrounding intercultural education have emerged in Chile within both state and Mapuche discourse and practice. I explore the ways in which the education system in Chile continues to privilege the dominant culture and erase Mapuche original knowledges, whilst appropriating Mapuche intercultural discourse.

### *Mapuche Led IBE Discourse: 1979-1992*

Discourses surrounding intercultural education in the Araucanía began to take hold in the 1980s. It is important to note that this was not an entirely new discourse, as discussions on IBE had been around within Mapuche communities for decades. Mapuche families who lived within communities had never abandoned efforts to educate Mapuche children in traditional ways outside of schools. Rapimán et al. (2016) have shown that families who lived in Mapuche communities continued to deliver Mapuche educational formations to their children through their own *Kuifke Zügu* (social memory), in parallel with the education provided at the monocultural school. However, what was new about this discourse was the increasing recognition of IBE as a valuable form of knowledge construction, and acceptance of discourses relating to IBE within academia (Quintriqueo M, 2012).

One of the first actors involved in the promotion of a new form of education in the Araucanía was the Mapuche organization *Ad Mapu*, that included individuals and communities from across the region. The organization arose in the 1970s in response to the Pinochet dictatorship’s brutal treatment of the Mapuche people, in particular in opposition to the implementation of Decree 2.568 which modified Allende’s indigenous law and attempted to subdivide indigenous communities, “imposing an individualist economic vision of land that was detrimental to traditional communal collective property” (Quintriqueo M, 2012, p. 40). The dictatorship gave way to increased demands for self-determination by the Mapuche, who began to mandate, in varying degrees, greater respect for the rights of indigenous peoples, territorial political autonomy of the ‘Mapuche nation’ and control over their own curricula. These discourses peaked in 1992 with the 500-year anniversary celebrations of the ‘discovery’ of Latin America.

In 1980, Ad Mapu<sup>25</sup> began to critique the hegemonic education system in Chile. However, they still believed in the possible contributions of formal schooling for Mapuche children, arguing for a new bilingual system that incorporated both Mapuche and Wingka knowledges. At this point, however, Ad Mapu had not named its discourse as ‘intercultural education’, rather as Longko Ernesto Huenchulaf explains

we started working on education, but we were not concerned with naming it as intercultural, we never wanted to make it a formal policy because that is a part of politics and not a living experience. But we were in the school and we did workshops, we created the experience of education, taught them theatre, we spoke, we sang, we held camps (in Quilaqueo Rapimán et al., 2005, p. 63).

Whilst Ad Mapu were one of the first official Mapuche organisations to work towards an intercultural discourse and praxis, they were not the only organization and thus there is not solely one representative model of Mapuche-led IBE in the Araucanía. However, there are some fundamental concerns that emerged in the 1980s within various Mapuche communities that led to the development of a loose intercultural framework. The key debate that arose during the dictatorship was a desire to “take over the school and put into practice the teaching of two knowledge systems – the Wingka Kimün and the Mapuche Kimün – which must be articulated in a way that promotes their mutual respect” (Rother, 2005, p. 8). Speaking for Ad Mapu, Longko Ernesto Huenchulaf argues that

broadly speaking, the knowledge systems must be equalized, the Wingka Kimün and knowledges of Mapuche origin, considered to be differentiated epistemologies, must remain in their respective positions, both in their languages – Spanish and Mapudungun – and both seeing their own way of the world, life and teaching. Given this reflection, it is important that the school be assumed as the space where knowledge diversity must be brought together, not as a simple translation or interpretation, but so that each society can promote its own epistemes (in Pozo Menares, 2014, p. 8).

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<sup>25</sup> In 1990, after critiques that Ad Mapu was too ‘communist’ it was reinvented as “Aukin Wallmapu Ngulam” (AWN) or “the advice of all lands”, but it continues to fight for autonomy and a politics of decoloniality (Quintriqueo M, 2012).

The concepts of intercultural education that arose in the 1980s from within Mapuche communities are so hard to define because, following Huenchulaf's words, intercultural education should be "wüchuwüchui", translated into English as "something totally different, which does not necessarily have a meeting point or comparison and can only be understood, therefore, in the context of its own knowledge system" (in Pozo Menares, 2014, p. 7). In this way Intercultural Education discourses in the 1980s and 1990s were based around practices of Mapuche education or Kimeltuwün and implemented with the proposals of different Mapuche families and communities in mind, considering their respective diversity of education practice.

Mapuche education was traditionally based around the concept of orality, a system through which the Mapuche generated effective ways of "transmitting their world view, appropriate to their reality and allowing for a future through the word, which transforms the listener, enhances the skills of each child and which cannot be successfully translated into Spanish" (Trabol, 2009, p. 222). Throughout history, the social memory of the Mapuche has been carried orally across time by the Kimche (*Sages*). The Kimche are often elderly, as Mapuche people recognise them as those with most wisdom because of their longer life trajectories and participation in more diverse experiences (Trabol, 2009). Thus, within Mapuche culture it is the elderly who are chosen to guide the lives of children and to teach them the lessons and experiences necessary to become fully formed as a Mapuche person, or Che (Course, 2011). The pedagogic formations used to share knowledge were multiple and included: *kimkintün*, learning by doing; *güxam*, conversing with children; *guneytün*, learning by observing; *güam*, advice used to correct errors in the attitude of children and *günezuam* learning to realise or to perform metacognition (Quilaqueo Rapimán et al. 2016). The aim of Mapuche pedagogies was to complete the formation of personhood, structured in direct relationship with the Land. Children were educated with values that allowed them to develop an objective and subjective relationship with nature and achieve 'living well' within Mapuche territory. Mapuche children were encouraged to have a responsible and respectful attitude, and a closeness through appropriate social practices with neighbours and family (Trabol, 2009).

Mapuche intercultural discourses argued that these traditional forms of education should be translated into the school space through: an education that began a dialogue between the Mapuche and Wingka culture; a counteraction of monoculturality; an incorporation of Kimeltuwün as educational practice and as educational methodology in a way that represents the value of Mapuche culture; a pedagogical practice that is founded on anti-racist perspectives

and that incorporates cultural diversity and heritage into each subject; the participatory collaboration of the Mapuche family and community in the school; and an awareness of the sociocultural heritage of the students by the teacher (adapted from Quilaqueo et al., 2014). The Mapuche intercultural discourse was first put into practice in 1985 when, with the aid of the Catholic University<sup>26</sup> of Temuco and Magisterio de la Araucanía<sup>27</sup> (Araucanía Magisterium Foundation), four rural intercultural Mapuche schools were opened in the Araucanía region<sup>28</sup>.

One of the most famous of these schools is the Piedra Alta school on Lago Budi, which has “developed a reputation for its innovative pedagogical practices, including the hiring of Mapuche Kimches as instructors in its IBE program” (Ortiz, 2009, p. 100). The school has a 98% Mapuche student population and its sequence of instruction is “based not on any outside designed or mandated curriculum, but on the Mapuche calendar of ritual events celebrated by the communities in the Lake Budi area” (Ortiz, 2009, p. 105). The Kimche in the school designs a curriculum around the Mapuche cosmology and Kimün and his “instructional strategies are based on the diverse traditional oral transmission practices existing among Mapuche people” (Ortiz, 2009, p. 205). In practice, Mapuche communities have explored the potential pedagogical possibilities of their innovative intercultural school programmes. These practices

based on the indigenous knowledge of the communities in which the school is immersed, validate powerful forms of cultural and linguistic counter hegemonic resistance to the traditional Eurocentric modern knowledge construction prevalent in formal schooling (Ortiz, 2009, p. 110)<sup>29</sup>.

However, at the beginning of the 1990s, intercultural discourse, once controlled by the Mapuche, began to be appropriated by the Chilean state and led to a widespread implementation of intercultural programmes that differed greatly from original discourse and practice. It is these intercultural programmes with which this research is concerned and not

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<sup>26</sup> The role of the Catholic Church in intercultural education is discussed further in chapter 7.

<sup>27</sup> A Catholic Mapuche foundation interested in contributing to the “formation of free, responsible and autonomous people, that represent their life path in an open, dialogical and tolerant catholic community”.

<sup>28</sup> These schools gained official intercultural recognition by MINEDUC in 1988.

<sup>29</sup> This project was then followed by the University of Frontera’s 1999 the “Proyecto Gestión Participativa en Educacion Kelluwun” in Ercilla, which has reaffirmed the intercultural approach through a practice of cooperation, collaboration, dialogue and conversation with Mapuche families and communities in the region. “Linking the community and school, in line with the various needs and expectations of the communities” (Pinkney Pastrana et al., 2004, p. 187)

those designed and led by the Mapuche people themselves<sup>30</sup>. Here I explore in more detail the history of educational reform in the Araucanía region.

### *Implementation of State Run IBE Programs: 1990-2010*

The 1990s were marked by the return of democracy to Chile, with the newly elected president Patricio Aylwin (1990-1994) facing the challenge of recreating state institutions, including those relating to education and indigenous peoples. Within this context, the educational demands of the Mapuche peoples began to be heard and incorporated into the Chilean state's movement for a progressive differentiated education, as the Mapuche transitioned from a marginal social movement to serious political actors within the government (Quintriqueo M, 2012). In the early 1990s, both Mapuche and state discourses intersected to seek to overcome "uniform, ethnocentric and nationalistic education, calling for the revision of curricular renewal programs that focus on the incorporation of the environment, culture and the individual" (Quintriqueo M, 2012, p. 34). The first dialogues between indigenous peoples and the government of Aylwin led to the creation of the Indigenous Law 19.253 in 1993. This law established a base for the protection and development of indigenous peoples in an attempt to overcome the assimilationist dynamics that had characterized the Chilean state since its birth. In particular, the Indigenous Law aimed to protect indigenous cultures and languages, establishing it as the responsibility of the State to create the conditions to protect, promote and respect the development of indigenous populations. With regard to the education system, this law translated as the creation of a unit in the curriculum that teaches about indigenous cultures and their languages for every child in Chile (Article No.28) and the creation of an Intercultural Bilingual Education System for territories with a high density of indigenous population (Article No. 32). Article 32 states that

the corporation, in the areas of high indigenous density and in coordination with the corresponding state services or organizations, will develop a bilingual intercultural education system in order to prepare the indigenous students to function adequately both in their society of origin, as in global society. To this end, it may finance or agree,

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<sup>30</sup> There are multiple research projects that do focus on Mapuche led intercultural education, (see Loncón Antileo, 1997; Ortiz, 2009; Pinkney Pastrana et al., 2004, among others).

with regional, municipal or private governments, permanent or experimental programs (Article 32, Paragraph 2, in Catrileo, 2005).

The National Corporation for Indigenous Development (CONADI) was created as a result of this law in order to oversee these educational policy commitments, and currently constitutes “one of the most relevant establishments for the promotion, coordination and execution of policies referring to indigenous peoples” (Lepe-Carrión, 2015, p. 72).

The IBE program was officially inaugurated in 1996 under the government of Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle after CONADI, along with the Ministry of Education (MINEDUC), began to explore the possibilities of different methods for reducing the gap in school success between indigenous and non-indigenous students. Their overall aim was to

contribute to improving the learning achievements of indigenous students, by strengthening the ethnic identity of girls and boys in ‘Basic (*Primary*) Education’ Educational Establishments located in contexts of cultural and linguistic diversity (MINEDUC in Martinez, 2017, p. 147)

After the implementation of Law 19,253 a large number of school texts, curricula and other educational materials began to change their content, strategies and pedagogies to incorporate the knowledges and cultures of Mapuche society. In order to do so, between 1996 and 2000 MINEDUC funded five universities to: design culturally relevant pedagogic strategies; educate teachers about these strategies; design and disseminate culturally relevant educational materials; and advise on the creation of a national curriculum that considers cultural diversity within its framework. At the same time MINEDUC funded the study of Mapuche students at the University of San Simón in Cochabamba, Bolivia, with the objective of forming Mapuche IBE professionals (Quintriqueo M, 2012). This work continued until 2006 under the Ricardo Lagos government, during which time MINEDUC began to train teachers itself in the specialty of interculturality and bilingualism and further develop its intercultural curriculum.

The new millennium came with new Mapuche demands, including indigenous scholarships, university halls specifically for Mapuche students, “greater sociocultural relevance in the teaching processes and greater interculturality for all” (Loncón Antileo, 1997, p. 9). These demands were met with the implementation of various support programmes, funded by the

MIDEPLAN<sup>31</sup> origins program, together with the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and included JUNAEB<sup>32</sup> scholarships, the development of the Rupu<sup>33</sup> programme at the University of the Frontera and the development of Mapuche only university halls, such as the Pelontuwe. In 2006, Michelle Bachelet became president. Bachelet launched an investigation into the public investment in IBE, announcing that “from 1999 to 2003, there was an investment valued at 2,500 million pesos<sup>34</sup> into IBE, and this figure will be doubled until 2012” (Quintriqueo M, 2012, p. 77). The government’s urgency to implement intercultural education was increased when in 2008 Chile signed the Tribal and Indigenous Peoples Convention 169, which argues that governments must consult the indigenous peoples concerned over legislative measures that affect them directly (Quintriqueo M, 2012, p. 17). This related particularly to the “right to establish and control their teaching systems and institutions and deliver education in their own languages, consistent with their cultural methods of teaching and learning” (Article 14).

Since the 1990s and the first government engagement with interculturality, successive Chilean governments have manifested a desire to turn Chile into a pluricultural country. The institutionalisation of interculturality as a state discourse has become even more apparent in recent state rhetoric, with Michelle Bachelet in her first term describing her social pact for multiculturalism, “which consisted of recognising obsolete aspects of the pacts signed by previous governments with indigenous peoples, and announced a new plan of action for revising the political system, rights and institutionalism” (in Quintriqueo M, 2012, p. 72). Again in her second term, Bachelet described her desire for “all students to be educated as intercultural citizens” (in Quintriqueo M, 2012, p. 72). Such a state interest in intercultural indigenous issues has been described by Boccara (2002) as ethno-governmental rationality. However, questions have arisen as to whether the government should be the ones to implement an intercultural model in Mapuche spaces and as to whether the government’s vision coheres with Mapuche visions of interculturality.

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<sup>31</sup> Ministry of Social Development and Family.

<sup>32</sup> National board for school aid and scholarships for education projects in health, communications, education, productive development, culture (Quintriqueo M, 2012).

<sup>33</sup> Through the pathways to higher education program, Rupu aims to “strengthen, innovate and expand policies and action programs Affirmative aimed at increasing the probability that indigenous students, of each sex, can successfully complete their undergraduate studies” (Gonzalez, 2007; 142 in Quintriqueo M, 2012, p. 57).

<sup>34</sup> £2,456,640.00.

### *Intercultural Education Today: 2010-2020*

As of today, MINEDUC's aims are to: implement IBE in all basic education institutions in the five regions of Chile with the highest indigenous populations; democratize the construction of the IBE curriculum through community participation; incorporate community agents as intercultural educators; and utilize ICT to enhance intercultural learning (Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional de Chile, 2019). Currently MINEDUC is working under the following definition of intercultural education,

Interculturality is an ethical-political social horizon under construction, which emphasizes horizontal relationships between peoples, groups, cultures, societies and the State. It is based on a dialogue of Otherness, facilitating a systemic and historical understanding of the actuality of diverse groups and peoples that interact permanently in the different territorial spaces. Interculturality favours the creation of new forms of citizen coexistence among all, without distinction of nationality or origin. For this, symmetric dialogue is possible by recognizing and valuing the richness of linguistic-cultural, natural and spiritual diversity. In the case of native peoples, it reveals characteristics and different systems that problematize, and at the same time, enrich the world, ensuring individual and collective rights are exercised (Ministerio de Educacion, Chile, 2019).

The current idea is that those schools with over 20% of indigenous students become intercultural schools. However, by 2016, 223,087 indigenous students were identified in the school system throughout 9,335 educational establishments (79% of the total establishments in the country), and yet currently only around 2000 educational establishments are complying with the principle of interculturality (Ministerio de Educacion, Chile, 2019). No school that officially complies with the IBE curriculum is to be found in Santiago, where around 50% of the Mapuche population live (Ortiz, 2009).

It is difficult to know the exact impact that these policies have had on indigenous children in Chile because of the complete failure of successive Chilean governments to carry out an adequate population census. Thus, the most recent government statistics available on the educational situations of indigenous children in Chile are from the year 2002, but these statistics provide some insight into the educational struggles that Mapuche children were and

may still be facing. Data from the Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE) (2002) shows that in 2002 the level of illiteracy for Mapuche over the age of 10 was 6.9% for boys and 10.5% for girls, with an average of 8.7% for both sexes, in comparison to 4.0% for non-indigenous Chileans. The Mapuche had the highest level of illiteracy among all of the indigenous populations. For the Mapuche the level of illiteracy is much higher in rural areas (15.3%) than in urban areas (4.8%). Pinkney Pastrana et al. (2004) have explored the low quality schooling and high inequity between non-indigenous and indigenous schools, revealing that not a single student from the Mapuche rural schools that participated in the study had gone on to study a professional field at University and only 5 out of 40 students (none of which were actually of Mapuche ethnicity) had continued into higher vocational studies. Webb and Radcliffe (2016, p. 1347) suggest that in Araucanía secondary school government IBE programs have had limited impact, arguing that

the limited availability of intercultural professional training combined with under resourced schools resulted in the scarcity of appropriately trained staff. Combining with the limited staffing of regional ministry of education offices to support schools that have opted for intercultural status, these factors marginalize and delegitimise intercultural agendas within Araucanía schools.

These structural failings are combined with a lack of political will to challenge the dominance of whiteness in schools, meaning that Chilean hegemony continues to have a pervasive influence on the curriculum and pedagogical practices of the Araucanía. They argue that

in the Chilean case, intercultural education has been interpreted as a politically acceptable form of ‘indigenous education’ to compensate for ‘deficient’ indigenous educational outcomes and continues to privilege a whitened norm (Webb and Radcliffe, 2016, p. 1337).

The purported failings of government policies have led to an increasing lack of support for intercultural education policy from the Mapuche community, including from the very first people who spearheaded the initiative (Ortiz, 2009; Pozo Menares, 2014; Rother, 2005; Webb and Radcliffe, 2016). Ortiz (2009) has shown that among the Mapuche community there is no consensus about the effectiveness of the IBE programs for indigenous children. “Although IBE

programs are proposed with great vigour by some members of the urban Mapuche intellectual and political elite, they remain a contested idea among the grassroots of many rural Mapuche communities in the Araucanía” (Ortiz, 2009, p. 98). Rother (2005) shows how the Mapuche Union of Teachers rejects IBE as a Chilean discourse, implemented by Chileans and taught by Chileans, invisibilising Mapuche teachers. She argues that by providing IBE teaching in a space that is traditionally used for the reproduction and transmission of western knowledges and human capital, IBE becomes just another development program among the many used by the Chilean state to integrate the Mapuche into the development process. Thus, intercultural education policy in Chile has come under scrutiny by Mapuche academics and activists as a restructuring of a colonial integration agenda, that prioritises “symbolic recognition of difference over substantive material transformations” (Webb and Radcliffe, 2016, p. 1336). Indeed, the key Mapuche thinkers behind interculturality in Chile have come to argue that interculturality has lost its critical transformative vision, as opposed to its initial emergence as a radical paradigm in constant critical development (Tubino, 2005). It is important to note, however, that intercultural education policies in Chile do not operate within a vacuum and intercultural practice in the Araucanía region has been consistently challenged by the continued existence of neoliberal education policy in Chile.

### Contradictory Discourses: The Continued Neoliberalisation of Chilean Schooling

As explored in chapter 1, Chile has a long history of neoliberal economic and social policy and this also extends to Chilean education policy, as neoliberal ideologies have developed alongside hopes for an educational interculturality. Since the 1980s Chilean education policy has been structured around a market-oriented practice of supply and demand. This was cemented in 1989 with the LOCE (Ley Organica Constitucional de Ensenanza – organic constitutional act of teaching) which initiated a fully marketized system of education, with low taxes for private schools, minimal regulation and reduced state interference. In 1997 there was a second educational reform, which focused on equity, quality and participation.

Though this reform is marked in contrast to the reforms that took place in the Chilean educational system during the military dictatorship, it does nothing to directly challenge the problematic market structure that girds the system of schooling in the country (Pinkney Pastrana et al., 2004, p. 176).

This market led educational reform has led to a contradictory practice as two competing ideological visions have emerged (Montecinos, 2004). In one, the current laissez faire and apparent impartiality of the government in schooling has led to the potential for more community led IBE programmes to emerge in schools. This has allowed for a radical participatory interpretation of the reform, as it suggested,

that broad community involvement be included and welcomed as an equal partner in definitional and foundational decisions, actions and design. This includes involvement in the social, cultural and political process of schooling, and invites the potential of critical agency (Montecinos, 2004, p. 193).

In this sense the classroom can be transformed into a hybrid pedagogical space, where students are able to “narrate their own identities outside of marketplace identities and the politics of consumerism” (McLaren, 2002, p. 105). However, more often than not, the marketized schooling has led to an appropriation of education by elites, whose ‘progressive’ vision insists on the popularisation of neoliberal citizenship and an assumption that the “vision of schooling presented by the ministry of education is ideal and in the best interest of Chile, and does not invite that “participation” to be extended to include discussions questioning the problematic aspects” of the Chilean curriculum (Montecinos, 2004, p. 193). Neoliberal educational reform in Chile has had profound implications for the education system and student inequality.

#### *Education as Commodity: School Marketization and Rising Educational Inequalities*

The implementation of educational market policies in Chile goes back to the early eighties when Pinochet decentralised primary and secondary education, provided subsidies to private schools and liberalised tertiary education. In the post-dictatorship period, the structural elements of the marketized education system have deepened through the implementation of Public Private Partnerships (PPPs), which have been enthusiastically embraced by supranational organisations and development practitioners (Verges, Bonal, and Zancajo 2016). PPPs are based on the assumption that education quality and productivity can be managed and maintained by mirroring market dynamics and encouraging public choice theory in order to promote competition between schools (see Lubienski 2006). PPPs assume that human beings are rational and self-interested; “the idea is that parents choose the best school for their children

on the grounds of quality, which in turn puts pressure on schools to compete to attract students and to achieve better academic results at a lower cost” (Patrinos et al., 2009, p. 61).

In order to attract and retain ‘clients’, all schools would need to provide high quality services and respond to their competitors. Schools are allowed more autonomy and encouraged to behave like private enterprises to create school diversification (Verger, Bonal, and Zancajo 2016; Chubb and Moe 1990). Whilst both public and private schools have equal access to state resources, voucher systems are operated in an attempt to guarantee choice opportunities for poorer families and promote equality and effective interschool competition (Verger, Bonal, and Zancajo 2016). Schools are monitored through the System of Quality Measurement in Education (SIMCE), which assesses academic performance of students and is used in theory to guide the school choice decisions of parents.

Despite the popularity of PPPs among development practitioners, the system has been subject to considerable criticism (Somma 2012; Verger, Bonal, and Zancajo 2016; Williams 2015; Bellei and Cabalin 2013). Giroux (2003) notes how the dangerous cooption of pedagogy for private and individualistic concerns has led to the reframing of students as passive consumers, for whom the only future is consumerism. Schooling thus becomes a private rather than a public good (Giroux 2003; Williams 2015). Within Chile whilst the reforms have been doused in the language of choice and liberation they have in fact led to a deeply inequitable and segregated education system (Cabalin, 2012). Only 10% of voucher students attend private schools and richer families choose schools of their “social segment”, avoiding schools where poorer students are enrolled (Verger, Bonal, and Zancajo 2016; Williams 2015). Secondly, competition among schools led to the increase in educational fees, meaning that Chilean education has become the most expensive in the world, with students the most indebted of all the OECD countries (Somma, 2012). The evidence shows that market oriented reforms have actually increased educational inequalities and school discriminatory practices, with no significant gains in educational quality (OECD, 2013, p. 80).

### *The Chilean Spring: The Mapuche, Feminist Student on the Front Line*

In the last few years, the Chilean market economy has been shaken by two powerful student movements, the “Penguin Revolution” led by secondary students in 2006 and the 2011 “Chilean Winter” led by University students (Bellei and Cabalin, 2013). Whilst being “an

unintended by-product of the expansion of the educational market” the movements challenged several of the inherent assumptions associated with neoliberal education (Somma, 2012, p. 300). Firstly, the movements questioned the ability of private actors to profit from educational provision. Secondly, the movements demanded free education and the defence of public education, arguing that the Chilean system created enormous inequalities between those rich enough to pay for education and those too poor to access quality studies. Finally, the students called for an end to discriminatory practices in schools (Bellei and Cabalin, 2013; Somma, 2012). Internal organisations of the student movement shared similarities with other Latin American hope projects such as the Zapatista insurgency in Mexico, the landless movement in Brazil and the self-organised groups of industrial workers in Argentina (Somma, 2012, p. 304). The students engaged people in dialogue through marches, artistic performances, the occupation of buildings and hunger strikes. In short, these movements began a “decade of self-education” or what Giroux (2003, 63) refers to as “public pedagogy”, an attempt to reclaim pedagogy as both political and public, whilst reframing the public to exclude profit seeking corporations.

These mass movements, however, were all surpassed by the Chilean uprising that began in October 2019, now known as the Chilean spring. In the week of 14 October, Chilean high school students called for a mass fare evasion of the Santiago Metro after a fare hike to 830 pesos at rush hour was implemented. “Evader, no pagar, otra forma de luchar” (*evade, don’t pay, another way of fighting*) became the slogan for the struggle (Garcés, 2019, p. 483). The conflict escalated as students began to leap over turnstiles and dismantle metro stations, as the Chilean Carabineros de Fuerzas Especiales (*armed police*) began to detain them. On 18<sup>th</sup> October 2019 the government implemented the law of internal state security as the police became increasingly overwhelmed, criminalising acts of protest and denouncing the protestors as “vandals and criminals” (Garcés, 2019, p. 483). On the same night,

at 8.30pm the sounds of pots and pans began to echo through Santiago’s neighbourhoods and protestors began to gather at the entrances of metro stations, especially the youth of working-class neighbourhoods. A rage burst from our poorest neighbourhoods, a rage accumulated by masses who have lived the daily social precariousness and structural inequality that neoliberal policies configured,

materialised and naturalised in Chilean society – from the Pinochet dictatorship until today (Garcés, 2019, p. 483).

The collective rage was manifest in continued protests and the burning and looting of shopping malls, pharmacies, chain supermarkets, metro stations and other symbols of neoliberalism. Students collectively refused to take their PSU (*University Entrance Exam*) in protest of the unfairness of the education system and the increasing cost of education. As the students began to occupy their schools, armed police entered and began to violently detain students in their own spaces of learning. The government called a “state of emergency” and implemented martial law, as they handed control over to the military. This was the greatest social uprising in Chile in over 30 years since democratisation and, whilst it came as a shock, it is commonly accepted now that the symptoms of this uprising were foreseeable and present for quite some time. It is also widely acknowledged that the problems that caused the uprising were much deeper than the metro fare hike, but rather this was the straw that broke the camel’s back. Two explanations have been explored as to the root of the Chilean discontent, including “(a) structural inequality in Chilean society, which has become intolerable; (b) the accumulation of abuses and rate increases for public electric and transportation services, for health care (medicine in particular), of housing and even prices of bare necessities” (Garcés, 2019, p. 485). Alongside these reasons one can consider the increasing debt, the reduction of social rights and the continued control of education, pensions, and businesses by the right-wing family of President Piñera, as reasons behind the uprising.

As noted, in the last 15 years students, as opposed to adults, have been at the forefront of social movements in Chile. There are many hypotheses as to why adolescents have become the leaders of social change. Firstly, by the early 2000s the commodification of Chilean education had led to the creation of a large number of well-organised, middle class students who had not grown up during the brutal dictatorship and were unafraid to take to the streets to voice their demands. Secondly, Garcés (2019, p. 485) has argued that in comparison with their parents who grew up under the strict control of the dictatorship, “adolescents are thinking deeply and with more liberty than adults. But they don’t merely think – they “act” ... and what’s more, their actions have effects”. Students have been disproportionately affected by the neoliberal changes as gaps in education between classes have expanded and the increasing cost of education leaves students in debt and with little to show for it. However it was not just students

who were leading the protests in 2019, rather the Chilean spring was accompanied by a deep-rooted feminist awakening. Women in Chile have felt the effects of a private education system most strongly because it has caused increasing segregation between men and women (Calderón, 2020). In Temuco, the protests increasingly took on a feminist discourse after the accused rapist Antonia Barra - an upper class, European descended man - was allowed to walk free with no charges<sup>35</sup>. The feminist messages of the Chilean protests became viral after the performance of “A Rapist in your Path” by Las Tesis on November 25<sup>th</sup>, 2019. The chant accuses the state of being a “macho rapist”, alongside the president, judges, and police. It calls out the failure of the state to persecute rapists or to take action against the increasing number of femicides in Chile, and the president for victim blaming women for not speaking out against violence. In the midst of the Chilean Spring the rising feminist discourse began to challenge “both traditional patriarchy and the novel system of patriarchal neoliberalism, which transforms womanhood into a site of economic accumulation and exploitation” (Calderón, 2020, p. 105).



*Figure 12 Chile Despertó, (Copyright Susana Hgado)*

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<sup>35</sup> As of August 2020 the accused rapist, Martin Pradenas, is now in preventative prison awaiting trial.

However, perhaps the most lasting impact of the Chilean spring is the deeply decolonial indigenous movement that it inspired across Chile, as Mapuche flags were flown from Temuco to Arica. Since the 1990s, the Mapuche have been “at the forefront of civic activism” in Chile and have a long history of resistance in armed struggles against the Carabineros (Mansilla Quiñones and Pehuen, 2019, p. 41). For centuries the Mapuche have resisted the “structural, symbolic, and direct violence” from the Chilean government, as a low intensity war has waged in the South of Chile (Mansilla Quiñones and Pehuen, 2019, p. 41). Perhaps the most visible image of the outrage in Chile was captured in an iconic photograph “in which a pyramid of protesters wave a Mapuche flag from the top of the statue in Plaza Baquedano in Santiago” revealing the centuries of oppression and resistance in Chile against the European elites (Rodríguez, 2019; See Figure 12). At the same time in Temuco, demonstrators in traditional Mapuche clothing, tore down the statue of Pedro de Valdivia and smashed it with their *Wiñol*<sup>36</sup>. Later, Mapuche protestors decapitated the statue of Chilean aviator Dagoberto Godoy, hanging his head from one hand of the statue of the Mapuche warrior Caupolicán as the Mapuche flag waved in his other hand (Blair, 2019). The protests raged on in Chile, coming to a halt only in February of 2020 as COVID-19 stopped all public gatherings. However, the Mapuche-led student protests have challenged the patriarchal, colonial and now neoliberal discourses that have framed Chilean society for centuries. Instead, the protests have made it possible to conceive of an education system within Chile without free market neoliberalism and, indeed, a new decolonial future in which the young, indigenous female is valued as a frontline warrior and an important thinker in Chilean futures. These activist-based pedagogical practices have helped to foster collective feelings of resistance and hope and challenge the politics of certainty that position neoliberalism as the only future.

### *Contextualising the Field Site: ISETT as a Vulnerable Intercultural School*

The field site for this research has not been immune to the neoliberal educational practices of the Chilean state, the contradictory ideologies of the school reform or the recent student protests. The Instituto Superior de Especialidades Técnicas, is one of the most vulnerable schools in Temuco. At the time of this research, ISETT had 701 students, of which 94.5% were in a situation of vulnerability according to the government’s vulnerability indicators (ISETT

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<sup>36</sup> Stick with which to play the traditional Mapuche game of *Palin*, similar to a hockey stick.

and DAEM, 2018; IVE 2017). 42% of these students are officially listed as Mapuche and a great majority of them are from rural sectors or the peripheries of Temuco and Padre las Casas. According to ISETT's internal statistics, a large number of their students belong to the lowest percentile of socioeconomic stratification and most are involved in state programs to support families in poverty. Because of the precarity of its students, ISETT is subject to a large number of state support programmes, including the Preferential School Subsidy and the Education Improvement Plan. ISETT is subject to the School Integration Programme, which provides support to students with temporary and permanent special educational needs, which at the time of research corresponds to 20% of the school population (ISETT and DAEM, 2018). Furthermore, the vast majority of student's caregivers have not themselves completed their full compulsory schooling. These students are part of the Chilean voucher scheme and yet they have chosen, or have no choice but to attend<sup>37</sup>, one of the worst performing schools in the region.

ISETT shows continuously low results within the national SIMCE tests, with around 80% of its students consistently achieving insufficient reading standards between 2012 and 2016 and around 90% of its students consistently achieving insufficient mathematical standards between 2012 and 2016. Similarly, ISETT has an incredibly low average PSU score each year, with an overall downward trend in the last three years. These results present the educational, structural, economic and social challenges that the majority of the students at ISETT were facing at the time of this research and reveal the way in which the Chilean neoliberal education system has continued to reproduce inequalities based on class and race within Chile. It is for this reason that in January of 2019, many of the students of ISETT refused to take their PSU.

*Table 1 Standards of Reading 2012-2016, Adequate, Elemental and Insufficient Respectively*

Estándares de aprendizaje de Comprensión de Lectura 2012 - 2016

	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Adecuado	s/i	s/i	2%	4.4%	4%	3.3%
Elemental	s/i	s/i	18%	8.9%	19.8%	14.9%
Insuficiente	s/i	s/i	80%	86.7%	76.2%	81.8%

<sup>37</sup> Because of mobility, availability of internado spaces, entrance exams etc.

*Table 2 Standards of Mathematics 2012-2016, Adequate, Elemental and Insufficient Respectively*

Estándares de aprendizaje de Matemática 2012 - 2016

	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Adecuado	s/i	s/i	0%	0%	0%	0.8%
Elemental	s/i	s/i	9.8%	5.3%	11.2%	9.8%
Insuficiente	s/i	s/i	90.2%	94.7%	88.8%	89.4%

*Table 3 Average PSU Scores, Average PSU in Language, Average PSU in Maths, Number of Students in Class*

<b>Promedio PSU</b>	<b>2015</b>	<b>2016</b>	<b>2017</b>
Promedio PSU	402	403	394
Promedio PSU Lenguaje	404	401	400
Promedio PSU Matemática	400	406	388
N° estudiantes de la promoción	46	63	57

Because of the high numbers of Mapuche students that are enrolled at ISETT, it has been obliged to participate in DAEM's intercultural programme, as mentioned above. In 2014 ISETT became one of DAEM's intercultural schools, incorporating into its mission statement,

We are a mixed professional technical, municipal school with a highly qualified team committed to valuing the formation of the person, as an intercultural, inclusive and welcoming establishment, providing society with high-quality technical graduates (ISETT and DAEM, 2018, p. 5).

ISETT is now one of seven officially DAEM approved intercultural high schools in the region consistent with the 20.370 General Law of Education and the 20.845 Law of School Inclusion. This official 'stamp' decrees that the school has a

special emphasis on interculturality, on the cultural considerations that the presence of the Mapuche people demands at a regional level. The school has a traditional educator who empowers Mapuche wisdom in each of the specialities, thereby transcending the Mapuche people's worldview (ISETT and DAEM, 2018, p. 40).

Other than these comments in ISETT's "Institutional Education Project Review" (2018), there is little public information on how this intercultural project is understood theoretically or how it is put into practice. Subsequent chapters address this question by investigating how the school's intercultural programme is lived daily by the students at ISETT and how it impacts their understandings of themselves and others.

### Conclusions

This chapter has attempted to situate the research within the current sociocultural context of Chile and Wallmapu. Contextualising the research is particularly important because decolonial theory rejects universality, instead arguing for context specific praxis (Stanek, 2019). Whilst the research findings of this thesis are not necessarily unique to schools in the Araucanía, it is necessary to understand these findings in relation to the specific political, socio-economic and cultural situations that impact on the lives of Mapuche girls in the Araucanía. This chapter has shown the ways in which histories of intercultural education discourse and praxis within Chile are unique within Latin America and globally. It has argued that the history of colonial education systems continues to influence pedagogical practice within Chile today, creating socio-economic inequalities in Chile, reducing Mapuche students to imaginaries of low skilled service work. These inequalities are reproduced within the municipal school as Mapuche students continue to receive lower PSU grades and lower school retention. The chapter has shown that it is within this context that Mapuche discourses of intercultural education have arisen as a form of resistance to colonial systems of education and as a critique of the continued erasure of Mapuche language and culture. Traditional Mapuche pedagogical practices have been incorporated into grassroots practices of IBE in the Araucanía region, including oral education from Mapuche Kimche. However, despite their radical intentions, these discourses have been appropriated by the state and supported by state legal systems to be incorporated into schools in the Araucanía. These state policies clash with other state educational reforms that focus on expanding neoliberalism within the context of education. These state intercultural

policies and practices, and the ways in which they influence or are challenged by Mapuche girls, are the focus of the rest of this thesis. The next chapter examines the ways in which state policies are implemented within an intercultural school through curricular adaptations and the ways in which the curriculum retains the colonial and neoliberal ideologies that have been introduced in this chapter.

Education creates citizens willing to work for the betterment of themselves and the nation.  
*(Extracto del bases Curriculares, 2015, pg. 16)*

There's no such thing as neutral education. Education either functions as an instrument to  
bring about conformity or freedom.  
*(Freire, 1970)*

## Chapter 5 - Intercultural Education Policy in Chile: A Decolonial Alternative or Coloniality Reimagined?

### Introduction

Within geographies of education, policy has not always been given sufficient attention. However, recent critical geographies of education have ensured that policy has been repositioned at the forefront of education debates (McCreary et al., 2013). In recent years education policy making has become the focus of significant controversy and contestation, as its position on worldwide governmental agendas has increased with the pressure for better educational outcomes. Education has been directly linked to increased economic prosperity and social citizenship and, in most countries, the state has adopted the key role in both the delivery and regulation of educational services. This means that education policy is by definition political. Everything from what goes into textbooks, what is considered official knowledge, whose knowledges are accepted, and who is denied the right to speak, is controlled by political institutions (Apple and Aasen, 2003). However, it is important to note that educational policy exists within its local context, shaped definitively by both historical and cultural location. Thus, as Bell and Stevenson (2006, p. 7) argue, it is essential to place the study and analysis of policy “in its socio-historical context and in the context of the moral and political economy of schooling”. With this in mind, this chapter addresses the first objective of the thesis “*to evaluate how the concept of intercultural education has been interpreted within policy documents and discourses in the Araucanía region of Chile.*” It questions why and by whom has this policy been structured, and it investigates which values and knowledges are reinforced within policy documents.

The chapter begins by exploring the Chilean national curriculum. As noted in the previous chapter, after the implementation of the Indigenous Law, the state professed to incorporating indigenous knowledges and languages into the national curriculum. However, this chapter explores the ways in which a hidden curriculum that focuses on Chilean national citizenship, entrepreneurship and individual rights reproduces colonial assimilatory discourse. Similarly, an analysis of the ways in which gender is discussed in the national curriculum reveals that traditional stereotypes surrounding gender and girlhood are encouraged in parallel to discourses of gender equality. Consequently, the chapter argues that the hidden discourses within Chilean state curriculum reproduce colonial practices that funnel Mapuche girls into

low paid service roles. The second section of the chapter addresses the implementation of intercultural policy in the Araucanía, particularly the Municipal Department of Education's intercultural policy documents and discourse. It explores the ways in which Mapuche cosmovision has been incorporated into municipal policy and its attempts at creating intercultural lesson plans. The chapter investigates the way that the municipality has adopted the intercultural educator or Kimche as an alternative source of knowledge within the school and the claims that this has led to positive outcomes. The chapter concludes by arguing that whilst the state has imagined itself as the key defender of interculturality, municipal constructs of interculturality do not always match with the aspirations of Mapuche activists. I argue that the contradictions between national state curricula and local municipal intercultural curricula mean that decolonial intercultural aspirations cannot come to fruition because discourses of nationhood and neoliberal citizenship erase discourses of interculturality. The chapter concludes by positing a more hopeful, decolonial interculturality that, through a framework of intersectionality, values the gendered and ethnic experiences of Mapuche girls.

#### Hidden Curricula: Interculturality and Gender in the National Curriculum

The curriculum can be understood as the set of contents, which when organised in a certain sequence can be used by the school to communicate sets of ideologies that they wish students to carry into their future experiences. The curriculum can be expressed in two ways,

on the one hand, what is stated in the manifested or explicit curriculum, embodied in the plans and programs, and, in turn, in the implicit, unmanifest, "hidden" curriculum, which is not declared, but that exists as an intrinsic fact within the educational activity (Caviedes et al., 2006, p. 115).

In this way, the hidden curriculum can be understood as a system of implicit messages, through which the school system delivers particular representations, visions and interpretations of knowledges, which when used together can express certain biases, prejudices, discriminations and stereotypes. Such hidden curricula can be found within school routines, customs and rules, in the behaviour of teachers towards their students and the models implicit in the curricula, chosen knowledges and school texts.

Rother (2005) has described the Chilean state school as an important point of contact, that represents a meeting place between the Chilean state and the Mapuche peoples; she describes the school as a mirror of the wider relationship between the two. However, as noted in the previous chapter, amongst Mapuche academics and activists, state-led intercultural education has not garnered a positive reception, with widespread criticism of its aims, ambitions and results. López (2017) has argued that in order to implement an effective decolonial intercultural education, one that garners the support of indigenous peoples, it is first necessary to revisit the national curriculum. He argues that

such re-examination has favoured the partial inclusion of indigenous values, knowledges, and social practices and the involvement of indigenous elders and experts – at least at the level of consultation, highlighting the need for an inter-epistemic dialogue (López, 2017, p. 12).

However, I argue in this section that intercultural education in the Araucanía has not involved any substantial changes in the national curriculum; instead the curriculum has reproduced a nationalist, colonial, assimilatory outlook, encouraging individualistic entrepreneurial behaviours based on a discourse of rights and citizenship. As such, I suggest that the intercultural school in Chile demonstrates a basic contradiction between state-dominated education and intercultural education, in which the dominant Chilean behaviour is maintained and encouraged, rather than suppressed. Similarly, I argue that the state curriculum works to maintain the social and economic inequality of the Mapuche people, particularly of Mapuche girls, in order to capitalise on their manual unskilled labour and encourage them into service work for white Chileans. I argue that it does this through the reproduction of colonial and neoliberal discourse, which limits the possibilities of intercultural education and contributes to the reproduction of indigenous assimilation theories.

### *Rights, Citizenship and Market Subjects: The Curriculum as a Neo-assimilation Project*

Intercultural education in Chile is an additive model, meaning that interculturality is appended onto an already established national curriculum. Thus, those attempting to implement an intercultural education policy in the Araucanía, including DAEM, must take the national curriculum into account when developing their local intercultural program. As Susana, the Community Coordinator of the Bilingual Intercultural Education Program for DAEM in

Temuco explains, intercultural futures are only maintained as long as they are supported by the national government.

The curriculum comes from central government. And it's the same across the whole of Chile. We are under the ministerial curriculum. So, we have to see what will happen now, with this change of government<sup>38</sup>. We have to do what the minister says, because he is the one who gives us the guidelines. I don't know if we will see any changes or not under the new government authority, but at least in the end we have the Indigenous Law, Convention 169, we have Law 80, they are key to allowing us to continue our work.

*(Conversation with Susana, DAEM representative, January 17<sup>th</sup>, 2018)*

In order to implement a local intercultural policy in schools, it is necessary for DAEM to also work within the national curriculum, the main educational guide for state-run schools in Chile.

As noted in previous chapters, ISETT is a technical school, meaning that students there choose a vocational subject in which to specialise. However, this specialisation occurs only in the third year of secondary education. Consequently, students are taught two separate curricula. For the first four years of study at the school – the '7mo basico to 2nd medio' or last two years of primary and the first two years of secondary education – students are taught national standard "humanities and science" education. In these years of study, girls between 11 and 15 are taught the standard academic subjects<sup>39</sup>. The second curriculum covers the last two years of secondary education or "3ro y 4to medio". This curriculum is a technical curriculum that is used for students who have specialised in one vocational subject<sup>40</sup>. Because only a few of these specialities are offered at the school<sup>41</sup>, and because most of the participants in this research were in 1 and 2 medio, the following analysis incorporates primarily extracts from the first curriculum.

The curriculum begins with a state definition of education, where education is described as

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<sup>38</sup> Susana is referring to the change of government from left wing Michelle Bachelet, to right wing Sebastian Piñera, on December 17<sup>th</sup>, 2017.

<sup>39</sup> Language and literature; English as a foreign language; maths; natural sciences; history, geography and social sciences; visual arts, music; technology; physical education and health; orientation and religion.

<sup>40</sup> Administration; agriculture; gastronomy; textiles; construction; electricity; graphics; tourism; carpentry; maritime; metalwork; mining; chemical industry; health and education and technologies and communications.

<sup>41</sup> Gastronomy, tourism, health and education.

The process of lifelong learning that encompasses the different stages of people's lives and that aims to achieve their spiritual, ethical, moral, affective, intellectual, artistic and physical development, through transmission and cultivation of values, knowledge and skills. It is part of the respect and appreciation of *human rights* and fundamental freedoms, of *multicultural diversity* and of peace, and of our *national identity*, enabling people to lead their lives in full, to live together and *participate in a way that is responsible, tolerant, supportive, democratic and active in the community, and to work and contribute to the development of the country* (Ministerio de Educacion, Chile, 2015a, p. 25, my emphasis).

This is an effective summary of the rest of the curriculum in which human rights, nationhood and citizenship are repeatedly emphasised. However, I argue that these discourses do not represent Chilean state realities, particularly when considering the Mapuche who, as noted in the previous chapter, for centuries have had their ethnic, cultural and linguistic rights undermined by Chilean state education, which has attempted to assimilate them into national identity. In fact, I argue that the existence of a state curriculum that argues for the appreciation of “human rights and fundamental freedoms, of multicultural diversity and of peace” whilst in the same sentence arguing for the development of national identity and the deepening of citizenship ties, is somewhat oxymoronic because in Chile national citizenship has often come at the cost of ethnic ties and a right to self-identity (Briones, 2007; Haughney, 2012; Richards, 2013).

Human rights are a main theme in the Chilean state curriculum, where students are encouraged to know that education is their human right and, therefore, to reimagine themselves as rights bearing subjects. Human rights in Chile are understood through a Eurocentric, fundamentally modern framework, in which they are positioned as the property of individual Chilean citizens, not as something that can be held communally, for example as an indigenous people. Within the curriculum, the Chilean state is positioned as an institution that is designed to represent and protect those human rights.

Students are expected to know human rights and the principles on which they are based, and to be recognized as subjects of law. Likewise, that they may recognize that Chile is governed by a rule of law that ensures the respect and protection of human rights.

...On the other hand, the development of values and civic skills is fundamental, in order to promote the formation of students committed to the common good, with the democratic system and with respect for human rights and diversity, capable of solving conflicts peacefully and constructively, through dialogue, argumentation and the exchange of ideas (Ministerio de Educacion, Chile, 2015a, p. 178).

These demands for students to identify as rights bearing subjects and to act within the rights of other subjects, are present across all the different topics within the curriculum. However, the insistence of the state to focus on rights within formal education systems erases the fact that “throughout Latin American history, indigenous identities have consistently been sacrificed, marginalised or utilised only symbolically in the creation of national identities rooted in citizenship regimes based on individual rights” (Richards, 2003, p. 44). Historically Mapuche rights have been denied or erased in order to advance national prospects (including rights to land, to cultural practices and their own language; and the right to live in peace). Since the 1990s, indigenous organisations have begun to demand autonomy as they challenge the Chilean state to recognise, “in an ideologically meaningful, practically feasible, enduring way”, both individual constitutional rights for indigenous peoples, and communal rights that have gone unrecognised in Chile (Richards, 2003, p. 44). As Richards (ibid.) has argued, “the state is clearly not a neutral actor when it comes to indigenous rights”. Thus, whilst such an intense focus on human rights in the Chilean curriculum could be interpreted as a response to the 17 year military dictatorship, it can also be interpreted as an individualistic, Eurocentric discourse that contradicts Mapuche understandings of communal rights and the rights of the more than human world (Larsen and Johnson, 2017).

In order to secure the right to education for each child in Chile, it is presumed in the curriculum that each child should receive the same standard and format of education. However, whilst a standard education may appear to be a manifestation of equal rights for each student, decolonial pedagogies actually argue for a context specific praxis, one that “offers a deep restructuring of learning and teaching within the modern/colonial and settler colonial contexts” (Stanek, 2019, p. 6), putting local indigenous epistemology and ontology at the centre (Tuck et al., 2014). In contrast, behind the Chilean national curriculum is the desire “to foster a sense of cohesion for that nation” in attempting to disrupt both local and indigenous narratives of identity (Salter and Maxwell, 2018, p. 17). The curriculum is one of many state mechanisms that help to construct

national narratives and what Anderson (2006) has termed “the imagined community” of the nation state. The Chilean curriculum explains that

(The curriculum’s) conception is framed in what our Constitution establishes. ... It fulfils the mission of offering a common cultural base for the whole country, through Learning Objectives established for each course or level. In this way, it ensures that all students participate in a similar educational experience and conform to a shared cultural background that favours cohesion and social integration (Ministerio de Educacion, Chile, 2015a, p. 14).

As noted in the curriculum itself, creating a shared cultural background through cohesion has been a historical project within Chile. The previous chapter explained how the colonial project attempted to assimilate the Mapuche into national Chilean society through schooling. As Lepe-Carrión (2015, p. 63) reminds us, the colonial project necessitated the transformation of “indomitable Indians” into “productive Indians”. The racism grounded in Chile’s colonial past has not dissipated, rather it has been reinvented under a new curriculum that continues to model Chilean education around the myth of the linguistically and culturally homogenous nation state. One approach to this assimilation project is to attempt to establish a common core of citizenship education within the state curriculum, modelled on the Chilean nation state. One of the general objectives of the curriculum is listed as

To know and appreciate the fundamentals of democratic life and its institutions, human rights and to value active solidarity and responsible civic participation, with awareness of their duties and rights as a citizen (Ministerio de Educacion, Chile, 2015a, p. 14).

In the past two decades, the concept of citizenship has become increasingly popular within Chile, as the emergence of post-dictatorship social movements that focus on democratization rights by the poor, women and indigenous peoples have called for an autonomous political agency and a sense of identity as a political being. However, as it grows in popularity, the notion of citizenship has quickly been appropriated and redefined by the state (Dagnino, 2003). Chilean society has been socially constructed as an ‘equitable nation’, in which equality is understood as “sharing one language, one cosmovision, one culture, a hybrid identity that drew from our Spanish and first nation ancestry” (Montecinos et al., 2010, p. 326). This desire for national equality has actually meant the suppression of diversity and the assimilation of Chile’s

indigenous peoples. The state's desire for students to participate actively as citizens, is often in direct contrast to the students' Mapuche culture or identity, for example the celebration of Día de los Carabineros (*Armed Police Day*) and Día del Cristobal Colon (*Christopher Columbus Day*). Exactly what the Chilean state desires from its student citizens is explored in the subject "History, Geography and Social Sciences".

The Objectives that arise in this subject place the person as a citizen in a democratic setting, committed to their environment and with a sense of social responsibility. ... The learning Objectives in this subject are:

- To value life in society as an essential dimension of the growth of the person, as well as democratic, active, supportive, responsible citizen participation, with awareness of the respective duties and rights; to develop in their environment according to these principles and project their full participation in a democratic society.
- Value the commitment in the relationships between people and in agreeing contracts: in friendship, in love, in marriage and at work.
- Participate jointly and responsibly in the activities and projects of the family, the establishment and the community.
- Know and value the history and its actors, traditions, symbols and the territorial and cultural heritage of the nation, in the context of an increasingly globalized and interdependent world, understanding the tension and complementarity that exists between both planes.
- Recognize and respect equal rights between men and women and appreciate the importance of developing relationships that enhance their equitable participation in family, social and cultural economic life.

(Ministerio de Educacion, Chile, 2015a, p. 26)

Being a student in Chile thus means becoming a citizen and being a citizen in Chile means subscribing to Chilean values and norms. For example, the family and marriage are positioned as key institutions that sustain Chilean citizenship, giving attention to the Catholic religion. Similarly, students are encouraged to participate in the projects of the establishment and the Chilean community. Support for such projects may be in direct contrast to the desires of the Mapuche, who are often actively in conflict with the government over projects on indigenous

lands. Neither the Mapuche nor any of Chile's other indigenous peoples are mentioned within the outline of citizenship, but the mention of Chile's cultural heritage implies that indigenous cultures remain firmly in the past, are not living cultures and should only be acknowledged through symbols and traditions. Whilst students are encouraged to develop a "social coexistence" with the Other, this anonymous Other is explicitly separated from the realms of citizenship through its othering. We can presume that in many cases this Other, as well as including immigrants, also refers to Chile's indigenous peoples. Thus, such a desire for nationalism often aims to replace existing cultural or ethnic roots with "imaginings of a unified national community to make national culture homogenous, therefore not always acknowledging and by this omission not always fully accepting, historical realities of the nation" (Salter and Maxwell, 2018, p. 17). The emphasis on citizenship is repeated consistently throughout the curriculum, even in subjects where it might not be expected, such as art.

Balancing skills pertaining to both expression and creation... will also give the students the possibility to be citizens educated artistically and with aesthetic awareness (Ministerio de Educacion, Chile, 2015a, p. 315).

It is also repeated in reference to Mathematics.

Understanding Mathematics and being able to apply its concepts and procedures to solving real problems is essential for citizens in the modern world... in professional, personal, work, social and scientific contexts... The formation and mathematical literacy of all citizens is considered an essential element to take into account for the development of any country (Ministerio de Educacion, Chile, 2015a, p. 94).

The described mathematical literacy as essential to modern citizens is considered particularly important within the Chilean national curriculum because of the state desire for citizens to become part of a wider neoliberal national project. Under Chilean neoliberalism, citizenship has become understood as individual integration into market systems, as citizenship is extended to those who were previously excluded (the poor, the indigenous, women), whilst at the same time the role of the state is minimalised, as its social responsibilities are shrunk and its role as a guarantor of rights is abandoned (Dagnino, 2003). Citizenship in Chile is now equated with

personal, individualising agency articulated through private, social and voluntary interactions (with friends, neighbours, charities for example) or through legal or economic transactions (exercising one's civil rights or buying and selling in the market) (Taylor, 2004, p. 222).

Thus, becoming a citizen in Chile has also come to mean individualistic integration into the market as consumer and worker. In history, geography and social sciences, students receive explicit economic training.

#### Economic training: people and the functioning of the market

- Explain the economic problem of scarcity and unlimited needs with examples of daily life and economic relations (for example purchase and sale of goods and services, payment of remuneration and of taxes, import-export) that occur between the different agents (people, families, companies, states and the rest of the world)
- Explain the functioning of the market (how prices are determined and the relationship between supply and demand) and the factors that can alter it: for example, monopoly, collusion, inflation and deflation, pricing and tariffs, among others.
- Characterise some investment and savings financial instruments such as loans and credit cards, savings books, neighbouring savings banks, stocks in the stock market, forecast, among others and evaluate the risks and benefits that derive from its use (Ministerio de Educacion, Chile, 2015a, p. 205).

An understanding of market fundamentalism, and an extended school curriculum, all contribute to the state's aspirations for students of paid employment within formal sectors. The curriculum lists one of its main objectives as

Helping students to develop adequate skills, competencies, qualities and conditions that help them within employability and remunerated labour and the development of Chile as a society (Ministerio de Educacion, Chile, 2015a, p. 14).

This supports Radcliffe and Webb's (2014, p. 2) argument that racialised forms of citizenship are "normalised and reproduced with youth subjectivities through processes of assimilation and subordination, in a dominant model of citizen subjectivity". Narratives of national unity in the

curriculum are intended to lead Mapuche students to identify more closely with Chilean monoculturalism, aspiring to an unmarked, Chilean national identity as they are taught that inclusion within Chilean society depends on national civic affiliation, whilst ethnic identities are reduced to subordinate folklores.

### *Colonial Constructs of the Mapuche in the National Curriculum: Exclusion and Folklore*

Despite the curriculum's claims to multicultural diversity, its nationalising context that works to produce monocultural, neoliberal subjects leaves little room for exploring Mapuche language, cosmovision and culture, despite claims to the contrary. For the most part the Chilean national curriculum ignores the presence of the Mapuche, suggesting a whitened, monolingual, homogenous culture, similar to that promoted in colonial Chile. When the Mapuche are mentioned within the curriculum it is consistently within the past tense, promoting the idea that the Mapuche are a dead culture that have been replaced by a mestiza Chilean population. In the rare times when indigenous cultures are mentioned in the curriculum, it is often those that lie outside of the Chilean national borders that are given as examples, in place of the Mapuche. For example, in history, geography and the social sciences students are encouraged to learn about the different cultures and societies that have contributed to Chile as a contemporary state. The European colonising societies are studied, as well as the Mayan, Aztec and Inca societies within the Americas, but the Mapuche are ignored.

The second section recognizes the different civilizations that converge in the conformation of American culture. In this sense, the Mayan, Aztec, Inca, Greek, Roman and European civilizations are studied, and it is explained how they converge in the configuration of American culture after the Spanish conquest and are projected in our present (Ministerio de Educacion, Chile, 2015a, p. 180).

Similarly, in more detailed depictions of the development of the Republic, the Mapuche are absent.

The challenge of consolidating the Republican order and the idea of a Nation: Chile in the 19<sup>th</sup> century

- Characterise the consolidation of the Republic in Chile, considering the defence of the national territory, the census vote, the institutionalization of the political debate

and the persistence of conflicts such as criticism of centralism and the debate over the powers of the Executive and the Legislative.

- Explain that Chile during the 19th century was inserted in the industrialization processes of the Atlantic world and in international markets through the exploitation and export of natural resources, recognizing the persistence of a traditional and rural economy based on the hacienda and tenancy.
- Analyse how the development of spaces for the expression of public opinion and the educational system contributed to expanding and deepening the idea of a nation during the 19th century in Chile.

(Ministerio de Educacion, Chile, 2015a, p. 204)

In this extract, the occupation of the Araucanía that shaped the south of Chile in the 19<sup>th</sup> century is not mentioned, nor is the role of the Mapuche in the ‘defence of the national territory’ and their actions in the Pacific war. The active resistance of the Mapuche people to the exploitation of national economy is ignored and the “traditional economy” is described as the hacienda and tenancy movement, ignoring the Mapuche Lof (*Familial social organisation of the Mapuche*) and traditional ways of life. The extract implies that in the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Chilean nation was consolidated, with no acceptance that the Mapuche had their own political systems prior to Spanish arrival that were subsumed under the territory of Wall Mapu.

Where the Mapuche do appear, it is as one among many mythic or folkloric cultures. For example, the Mapuche myth of creation appears as one text to be studied in Literature (despite the orality of Mapuche culture), whilst western knowledges of creation are listed as facts to be studied in the hard sciences. Mapuche knowledges are excluded completely from the scientific and mathematic curriculum, where only Newtonian science is valued as truth, reinforcing the mythical nature of Mapuche knowledges. This positioning of western knowledge as fact and Mapuche knowledge as folklore contributes to the undervaluing of Mapuche ontology within the curriculum. Furthermore, the position of the Mapuche creation story in the middle of a long list of other creation stories invisibilises its importance within Wall Mapu where these classes are taking place.

Creation Stories:

- Genesis Chapters 1 and 2

- Song of Creation in Rig Veda
  - Creation of the world until the destruction of the first humans in Popol Vuh
  - Mapuche myth of Creation
  - Homeric and Orphic myth of creation in Greek Myths
  - The cosmic egg, Chinese myth of creation
- (Ministerio de Educacion, Chile, 2015a, p. 78)

By invisibilising Mapuche knowledges and promoting ‘official’ western knowledges, the curriculum undermines the Chilean state discourse of rights, and Mapuche claims, desires and knowledges are incorporated into the national curriculum only as myths, and then only as long as they do not “threaten national development or a coherent Chilean national identity” (Richards, 2003, p. 44). The interculturality that appears in official Chilean discourse has become a useful state tool that allows some Mapuche demands to be met because it garners respect and understanding of the other. However, this discourse demands that the Mapuche continue to be Othered, through the folklorisation of their culture, whilst the colonial project of assimilation continues to indoctrinate Mapuche children into a national citizenship. In this way citizenship becomes a “contested truth” as its meaning is both socially and politically constructed (Somers, 1994, p. 65). This Othering of Mapuche students, however, is not experienced evenly between students, rather the Chilean national curriculum reproduces wider stereotypes that go beyond ethnicity. Further analysis shows that the Chilean curriculum is deeply gendered, reproducing stereotypes relating to girls’ prospective futures are reproduced. This is particularly true for Mapuche girls because the colonial practice of encouraging them into service work in white households remains embedded in the Chilean national education system. Thus, I argue that Chilean curricular exclusion and stereotyping needs to be understood through an intersectional interpretation.

*The Intersectionality of Curricular Exclusion: Continuing Stereotypes of Mapuche girls*

In Chile there have been various governmental efforts to integrate notions and practices of gender equality in educational processes. In the 2014 Educational Reform, the government created the Gender Equality Unit (UEG) as a permanent structure that would be responsible for promoting the incorporation of gender perspectives into ministerial policies, plans and programs. The 2015-2018 plan is the key state policy document that attempts to outline the

future of non-sexist education, in which equal value is given to all students, regardless of their gender. The document begins by arguing that

To talk about gender is to recognise that relationships between people are mediated by social and cultural constructions that are based on biological sex, defining ourselves as men and women with diverse identities, expressions and orientations (Ministerio de Educacion, Chile, 2015a, p. 19).

And yet, it goes on to argue that, continued failings in educational trajectories, outcomes, gender violence and discrimination, stereotyped vocational options, adolescent pregnancy, among other issues, indicate that patterns that reproduce traditional representations of gender continue to operate within the Chilean education system.

Gender stereotypes are present in the daily life of educational processes, producing academic achievement gaps and inequality in the integral formation of the subjects, generating disadvantages for girls (Ministerio de Educacion, Chile, 2015b, p. 19).

The document then goes on to explain, using statistics, why this new focus on gender is necessary within schools. For example, it describes how

The average performance in the PSU is favourable to men. This is because most scores under 550 points are obtained by women, while scores above 550 are obtained mostly by men. Meanwhile 70% of the highest scores (over 750 points) are obtained by men (Ministerio de Educacion, Chile, 2015b, p. 14)

This would imply that boys have a much higher chance of attending university than girls in Chile. However, it is important to note that whilst these gender inequalities affect all girls within Chilean education, Mapuche girls are some of the most socially, economically and politically vulnerable within Chilean society. Their concerns “are inflected by their indigenous identity” (Richards, 2005, p. 207); and whilst their experiences may overlap with non-Mapuche girls in some aspects, their unique cultural background and experiences of discrimination also mean that they are further excluded from positive educational outcomes. For example, only 3.75% of Mapuche women had completed university standard education, compared to 11.43%

of non-indigenous women and only 0.89% of rural Mapuche women between 2006 and 2017 (Ministerio de Desarrollo Social, 2017). Despite this there has been “a kind of discrimination or a lack of preoccupation” on the part of the government with regards to the specific needs and requirements of indigenous girls within education policy, “they don't recognize that they are also an important social segment and have their own particularities as a social group” (Richards, 2005, p. 210).

It has been widely acknowledged that the Chilean education system is one that manifests an ideologically determined hidden curriculum that continues to reproduce patriarchal structures, supporting wider concerns for

the persistence of traditional stereotypes in relation to the roles and responsibilities of women and men in the family and society, which reinforce the traditional role of women as mother and wife, which continues to affect their educational and professional possibilities (United Nations, 1979).

However, the continued coloniality of such patriarchal systems has often been ignored. For example, the Chilean government acknowledges that

In professional technical education, women make up more than 80% of the specialisations in the areas of secretarial, nursery education, nursing and social service. Men on the other hand, concentrate on the areas of construction, topography, systems analysis, electronics and mechanics (Ministerio de Educacion, Chile, 2015b, p. 14).

These statistics show that the school in Chile continues to reproduce stereotypes and behavioural practices that can be considered “traditional” with respect to the role, characteristics and hierarchies between men and women. However, what Chilean policy does not acknowledge is that technical schools comprise about 40% of the secondary school population, but they are distributed especially within low income sectors and sectors with high indigenous populations (Caviedes et al., 2006). This is especially true in the case study for this research, where 42% of the students are Mapuche. Thus, Mapuche girls, particularly those from rural, or low-income sectors, are more likely to study for ‘traditional’ women’s and Mapuche occupations, such as childcare, nursing, cooking and sewing. These discriminatory practices

have longer term effects on Mapuche girls in Chile as the education system works “like an immense symbolic machine” that tends to reinforce the masculine and colonial “domination on which it rests” (Bourdieu 2000, n.p.). This gendered and ethnic segmentation of education translates into unequal work practices as Mapuche girls “mostly young, often with low qualifications, working for poor pay, without benefits or access to social security, make up a vast number of flexibilised workers” (Schild, 2002, p. 283).

This biological essentialist discourse is present not only in policy documents, but also in the behaviour of teachers in the classroom, who continue to use the generic masculine to address all students, and also promote stereotypes about girls. For example, as one teacher informed me

My class is full of girls. Its childcare so it would be kind of strange if it was full of boys. I guess girls are just more caring, more mothering and that is why they want to learn childcare. It’s because they can practice for their own children (*Teacher Fernanda, (Childcare), Interview May 12<sup>th</sup>, 2018*).

Similar discourses concerning Mapuche girls and their compatibility with educational achievement were commonplace within the school. For example, another teacher suggests

The Mapuche girls are so shy and quiet, they never want to raise their hands to answer questions. Often, they don’t have a good homelife. They don’t have the support they need from their parents. Their parents don’t help them with homework and if there is a problem, they always want the teacher to resolve it (*Teacher Sonya (Religion), Interview May 12<sup>th</sup>, 2018*).

From classroom observations, it became clear that Mapuche girls were more likely to help the teacher, for example through performing organisational tasks like taking names or collecting worksheets, whilst boys were never asked to help. It often felt like girls were encouraged to do tasks for others as part of their socialisation towards motherhood, whilst boys were encouraged to focus on the development of their individual interests.

Despite these observations, it is argued by the state that the Chilean educational policy has now incorporated a more gender equal curriculum, as of 2015

At the level of curricular instruments and their implementation, greater visibility of women has been achieved in the curriculum and in the educational resources distributed to students both in content and in images and greater balance in bibliographies. The criterion of inclusion and absence of gender bias has been incorporated in the evaluation of curricular instruments, as pro-female, equal relationships and anti-homophobic and anti-transsexual bullying messages have been included (Ministerio de Educacion, Chile, 2015b, p. 28).

However, despite the government's insistence that it is now implementing gender equal education, an analysis into the Chilean curriculum reveals that gender education is not as important as it may seem. Firstly, any reference to gender is only included in four of the ten subjects (these being orientation; history, geography and the social sciences; music and art) and even then, references are minimal. For example, in orientation, students are encouraged to

Evaluate ... instances in which they can participate or contribute to the resolution of problems based on the recognition of themselves and others as subjects of law, considering aspects such as respect for dignity, diversity, *gender equity*, inclusion, democratic participation, justice and well-being (Ministerio de Educacion, Chile, 2015a, p. 365, my emphasis).

Similarly, in history they are asked to

Describe the main cultural characteristics of the Maya, Aztec and Inca civilizations (for example, art, language, traditions, *gender relations*, time measurement systems, funeral rites and religious beliefs) (Ministerio de Educacion, Chile, 2015a, p. 193, my emphasis).

Such interventions hardly constitute a radical change to the way gender is understood and included within the Chilean curriculum.

Where gender is included in the curriculum, specifically western understandings of gender are reproduced. For example, the document includes an image used to explain the different

categories of gender (Figure 13)<sup>42</sup>, which whilst reinforcing the idea that gender is a social construct, does not acknowledge gender as a colonial concept. Alternative cosmovisions or interpretations of gender, such as those of the Mapuche are never explored. In advocating for more gender equality between boys and girls, it is possible that Mapuche complementarity roles may be dismissed as sexist and in exploring notions of sexuality, pre-Columbian Mapuche understandings of fluid gender and sexuality are ignored (see work by Bacigalupo, 2004). Similarly, in advocating for an intercultural education without a gendered context it is possible that conservative Mapuche understandings of women's roles may remain undisputed and the high levels of gendered violence within Mapuche communities may go unquestioned (see chapters 6 and 7). What can be inferred from the above analysis of Chilean education policy documents is that whilst the right to a gendered and intercultural education for students may be decreed in Chilean law, these policies never materialise directly within the Chilean national curriculum. What is more, within the curriculum patriarchal, colonial stereotypes are reproduced that support indigenous assimilatory practices, particularly in relation to the creation of market citizens and Mapuche girls who are willing and able to work in low paid service roles. However, within the Araucanía, the Municipal Department of Education has worked to create an intercultural educational policy to be implemented in the region in parallel to the national curriculum in order to address the educational inequalities between Mapuche and non-Mapuche students, and to counter assimilatory educational practices.

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<sup>42</sup> Gender Categories:

Gender Identity

How I feel about myself

How my brain interprets who I am

Woman-Transgender-Transsexual-Male-Cisgender

Sexual Orientation:

Who am I attracted to physically, sexually and emotionally?

Heterosexual-Bisexual-Pansexual-Homosexual-Asexual

Sex:

Physical and biological characteristics, including organs, hormones and chromosomes

Female-Intersexual-Male

Gender Expression:

How I express my gender according to heteronormative roles and social norms, that is the female gender since the woman has been constructed as a weak subject and in charge of reproductive functions and care, the masculine gender from the function of provider, strong subject and conqueror, including in the way I dress and act.

Feminine-Androgynous-Masculine

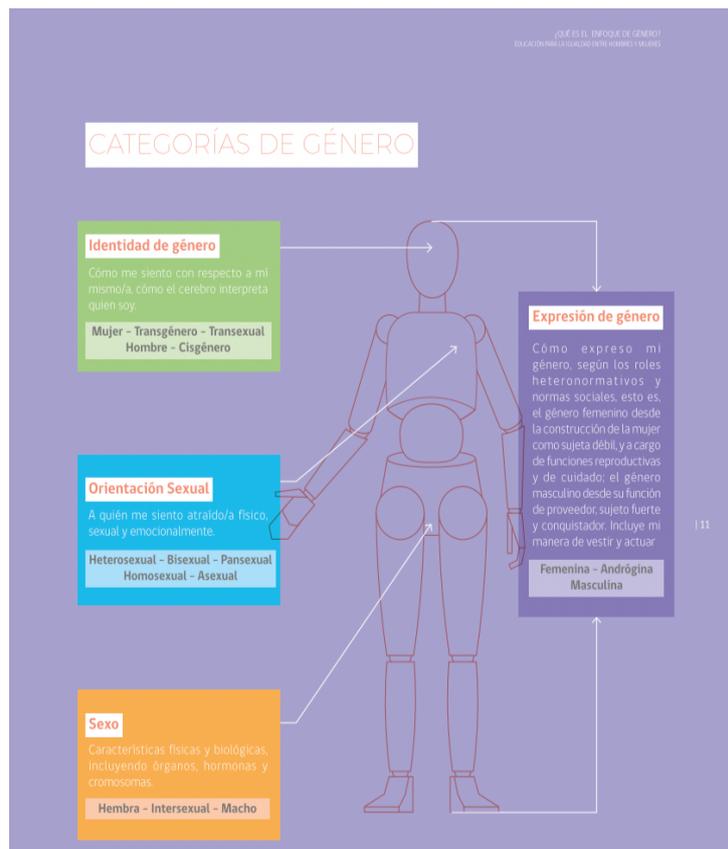


Figure 13 Categories of Gender, Image from the Chilean curriculum

### Implementing Interculturality: Alternative Epistemologies in School Spaces

As explained in the previous chapter, traditional colonial systems of education in Chile have long enacted a form of systemic violence on Mapuche children (Lopez and Küper, 1999). However, since the early 1990s, following Mapuche demands for more curricular inclusion of both indigenous knowledges and value systems, intercultural education has become municipal state policy in the Araucanía region (Lopez and Sichra, 2008). The hope was that interculturality as an ethical project would reject the social, economic and political power asymmetries that maintain a system of domination and instead work to structure a bottom up approach to indigenous education. However, the Municipal Department of Education in Temuco has ultimately taken control of the implementation of intercultural education in the Araucanía, rather than indigenous leaders who continue to struggle to influence curricular design, recover indigenous narratives and achieve educational diversity (see chapter 7). Currently DAEM Temuco controls 7 high schools, 21 urban primary schools, 11 rural primary schools and 3 kindergartens, within which it implements its intercultural education programme. The intercultural education programme has been designed and run, since its beginnings, by

Susana. She is aided in her work by two “cultural, linguistic and pedagogical advisors” (DAEM, 2016), thus there are three people working on intercultural education in a department that has 103 employees. This section analyses the policy documents that have been created by DAEM in relation to intercultural education alongside the opinions of those who work within the IBE programme. It aims to assess the ways in which the utopian intercultural project has been reconstructed in policy. I argue that whilst DAEM Temuco have designed an intercultural programme that attempts to include Mapuche cosmovisions in mainstream education, the commitment to the national curriculum within state schools makes profound change in educational policy almost impossible.

### *How to be Intercultural: Analysing Municipal Intercultural Policies*

In its essence, intercultural education was formed as a decolonial alternative to mainstream education, in which indigenous students should be given the opportunity to understand both their autochthonous inheritance and the knowledge and value systems of the colonising society (Aikman, 1997). In a conversation with Susana, she interprets intercultural education as a dialogue between cultures, one in which each culture is accepted.

Well for DAEM and for me too, above all it is to enrich the dialogue. Enrich the dialogue between people who have different cultures and languages. To establish this dialogue within a context of respect, always learning. And this dialogue of course entails an interaction. And we can have completely different opinions, but that can't stop us, from coexisting, establishing relationships, be it social or working, and we must learn to establish this dialogue. And above all to be enriched by the knowledge of who is next to you, who are these people, what do they think, what is their culture, what is their language? Because in the context of our classrooms, we have Mexicans, Venezuelans, Colombians, Haitians, Canadians, many students from China. So many cultures in the same classroom. So, in this context of intercultural education, we always say, first we have to know our ancestral culture, and our Mapuche language, your essence, your roots. If you don't know your own roots, how can you get to know and respect the other's roots.

*(Conversation with Susana, DAEM representative, January 17<sup>th</sup>, 2018)*

Whilst not the official DAEM definition of intercultural education, Susana has been the coordinator of intercultural education for over 24 years, so it is an important interpretation to take into account. The account is altogether depoliticised, focusing on reinforcing positive relations and understanding between cultures. This clashes with initial utopian Mapuche desires for intercultural education that focus on restorative justice and challenging a colonial system that has reproduced inequalities between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples (Loncón Antileo, 1997; Quilaqueo Rapimán et al., 2010; Rother, 2005). In advocating for an acceptance of all opinions and beliefs as valid and equal, it is possible to fall into a political neutrality that fails to question the hierarchical racism of western education systems (Auster, 2004). Similarly, in this account of intercultural education, the Mapuche are positioned as the key participants of intercultural education, alongside immigrant populations. In contrast, the Chilean settler identity is completely invisible in this discussion, as is its complicity in colonialism and the historic monoculturalism of the school. Thus, interculturality becomes reframed as a system of education necessary for the oppressed Other and not for the dominant Chilean culture and thus, Chilean culture's position as dominant remains unchanged in hierarchical education spaces. Even in DAEM's definition of intercultural education, it already becomes possible to see the ways in which state-led intercultural programmes have fallen short of Mapuche decolonial hopes.

Since intercultural education is subsumed under the national curriculum, there is no intercultural curriculum that can be analysed. Therefore, DAEM Temuco has released the "Program of Intercultural Bilingual Education", written by Susana with the help of her cultural, linguistic and pedagogical advisors. As Susana describes

This material was designed by us. This material is ours; it is our own. Here are all the topics. And here there are infinite ways to teach about the Mapuche.

*(Conversation with Susana, DAEM representative, January 17<sup>th</sup>, 2018)*

This is the only document on intercultural education policy and teaching that exists within Temuco municipality. It was first published in 2016, but DAEM have recently updated the document and continue working on it. The main aim of the document is to celebrate DAEM's work in Temuco through its inclusion of support from experts and examples of intercultural lessons that have taken place in different intercultural institutions within the Araucanía,

including photos, course materials and explanations of Mapuche cosmovision. The document seems to be more directed at researchers, foreign visitors and other local stakeholders, including Mapuche leaders, and less for intercultural teachers, who according to the document seem to each be designing their own individual course material based on their studies at the Catholic University of Temuco.<sup>43</sup>

The document includes an extensive analysis of Mapuche cosmovision on which it argues intercultural practice and teaching should be based. For example, the document lists the key principles that are necessary to sustain a “Mapuche Kimün” or Mapuche knowledges, which include duality, integrity, balance, reciprocity, and the Mapuche religious system. It dedicates four pages to the basic foundations of the Mapuche culture, including the differing peoples and cultures that can be found at each point of the compass.

#### Mapuche Cosmovision

The way of seeing the world and the belief in higher forces have vitalised the existence of man since ancient times. The cosmovision and Mapuche ceremonies have undergone changes over time, this is how the *Gillatun* (*Mapuche fertility ceremony*) and the *Kamarikun*<sup>44</sup> (*Mapuche ceremony*), the maximum expressions of culture have allowed the transmission of Kimün.

#### Principles that sustain the Mapuche Kimün

These are the sets of values, norms, principles that guide and regulate Mapuche life and that are based on the following attitudinal models.

- Duality: the circular concept
- Integrity
- Kúme gün neggean ta zungu: equilibrium within family, socioculturality and territoriality
- Wiñolün: the principle of reciprocity, and the attitude of sharing goods with people and nature.
- Mapuche Feyentun: The Mapuche Religious System

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<sup>43</sup> DAEM intercultural teachers are expected to have an undergraduate degree in the “Pedagogy in Primary Intercultural Education in the Mapuche Context” course, the contents of which I was not able to access.

<sup>44</sup> Similar to the *Gillatun*, but it does not have a religious context, rather it is social in nature.

- Llellipun (*Mapuche Ceremony*)<sup>45</sup>

- Kamarikun

(DAEM, 2016; 18).

The inclusions of Mapuche cosmovision contradict the depoliticised definition of interculturality, as it would appear that DAEM is struggling for not just a basic instruction in Mapuche language or culture or an acceptance between cultures, but rather a total shift in classroom pedagogical practice and an incorporation of alternative cosmovisions. In this way DAEM's intercultural policy would support indigenous struggles to create new spaces where the ontological and existential problems that cartesian coloniality has created can be questioned, allowing students to reengage with Mapuche knowledges within the classroom. Walsh (2010) argues that the only 'true' intercultural education is one that incorporates alternative worldviews, philosophies, religions, principles and systems of life. In the context of the Araucanía since the early 2000s, DAEM have tried to incorporate these alternative ways of knowing and being into their intercultural policy through the inclusion of intercultural educators, who contribute culturally relevant pedagogic practices and content to local schooling through the practice of Mapuche moral, cultural, social and spiritual structures when engaging with students.

It was acknowledged in the previous chapter that state schools in Chile have been "contested ideological arenas" where Chilean culture has forced its dominance on the subordinated Mapuche culture (Ortiz, 2009, p. 95). The Mapuche academic Maria Catrileo (2018) has argued that the impacts of this monolingual schooling for Mapuche students have been "high levels of stress, low self-esteem and a kind of generalised demoralization". For this reason, she, along with other Mapuche academics, have argued for the inclusion of an intercultural teacher – or Kimche – in schools with high numbers of indigenous children to serve as a bridge for inter-ethnic contact, protecting indigenous patrimony and also providing new skills that help children to function within settler society. Within the wider context of Mapuche society, Kimche can be understood as organic intellectuals, who emerge from the grassroots of their community, not as the Mapuche intellectual elite, but as part of the "social fabric of the rural community" (Ortiz, 2009, p. 103). Ortiz (2009) has argued that including Kimche in the school

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<sup>45</sup> Ceremony in preparation of an event, i.e. before Nguillatun.

is a revolutionary act of resistance as counterhegemonic narratives enable third spaces to develop within Chilean mainstream schooling. In theory the intercultural teacher's role is to engage students in historically silenced critical dialogues and to make a space for multiple ways of knowing and being, and the multiple experiences and foundations that students bring with them into the classroom. Validating the existence of indigenous knowledge in the classroom is at once an epistemological resistance as traditional Eurocentric epistemologies are contested; a new form of culturally relevant pedagogy as the life experiences of the students are acknowledged and respected; and an act of decolonisation as indigenous knowledges are elevated within the learning process, and western epistemological hegemonic constructs of what the Mapuche are and should be are challenged (Ortiz, 2009).

The Kimche in ISETT was Carolina<sup>46</sup>, who has worked there since 2014. A native Mapudungun speaker from Panguipulli. Carolina's father was a Longko and her mother is a püñeñelchefe, or a traditional midwife. Both parents thus had a spiritual role, so Carolina was raised with much cultural knowledge. Carolina herself never received an intercultural education and at school was bullied for the colour of her skin. She views her role in the school very clearly.

Here, in this high school, I work as a traditional educator. My job is to teach everything that is culture, my ancestral wisdom, the Mapuche culture to students. It is not the same work as the teacher, the teacher has his pedagogical studies, but the traditional educator has all his wisdom, his pedagogy and everything that can be named like that. It's all in the mind. Those of us in the Mapuche culture, we are formed day by day, our education is like that. We learn more knowledge every day. It's not like western culture, western culture is that you go to university, and there you get a degree and you become a complete person with all the knowledge. In our case that's not how it works. My work is very different, my work is all my ancestral, cultural knowledge, that I have carried with me since I was born. Culture is life learning. And that is what I deliver here, the culture.

*(Conversation with Carolina, June 14<sup>th</sup>, 2018)*

Carolina compares her role in the modern school to the traditional role of the Kimche in Mapuche precolonial society.

Before, it was a formation that was given by the old Mapuche. They taught their children at the side of a fire, through oral storytelling. It's not like how it is now that it is written. It was all oral. Grandparents transmitted their knowledge to the children. And women, apart from being a mother, had the job of giving their knowledge to the young people, to children. That was the way to educate in the past. Everyone sat around the Kütral, or the fire. It was there that knowledge grows. In the past they were just practising Alkütun, listening. And by observing you can learn to know, by practising observation. That was the way to learn in the past. And that's what I try to replicate here.

*(Conversation with Carolina, June 14<sup>th</sup>, 2018)*

The intercultural education programme has been couched as a great success within the Araucanía region by policy makers and local politicians. The auto reviews in DAEM's intercultural document highlight the value DAEM puts on its programme, which it describes as

an important contribution in the revitalization of Mapudungun. The children, youth and adults, specially led by Susana, are promoting and encouraging the development of Mapuche language and culture with the corresponding technical and professional assistance (DAEM, 2016, p. 7)

However, the results of the intercultural education policy as effective decolonial practice are questionable, particularly because of the ways in which they intersect with national curricula and the contradictions that this causes between intercultural utopian decolonial aspirations and policy as praxis.

#### *A School Pluriverse or an Intercultural Myth: Perceived Policy Results*

Carolina believes that in the years she has been working at the school, she has achieved her goals of improving the self-esteem and pride of Mapuche students.

Yes, I feel that I have achieved my goal, because the students, they now dare to say, I am Mapuche, I participate in my community, I do this, and this is part of my culture. For example, yesterday, a boy who at first it was as if he was hiding, he did not raise his head, every time I spoke, he was afraid. I saw him yesterday and he told me that he had participated in his community, that he had directed a *choyke pürun*<sup>47</sup> (*Mapuche dance*). And that makes me so happy, that the students are proud of who they are.  
(*Conversation with Carolina, June 14<sup>th</sup>, 2018*)

Carolina argues that this more positive association with Mapuche identity has led to a decrease in discrimination because of race.

I've never seen any discrimination here, but if I did obviously it would be down to me to advise the young people not to do those kinds of things.  
(*Conversation with Carolina, June 14<sup>th</sup>, 2018*)

This argument is in direct contrast to experiences within the school, in which Mapuche students were consistently bullied because of their self-identification as Mapuche (see chapter 6). It may be possible that these attitudes were invisibilised in front of Carolina because she is a Mapuche person of authority within the school. Susana attributes positive advancements in attitude, personal identity and spiritual awakenings to the presence of Kimches in the school. She argues that

When Carolina arrived with her *Trarilonko* (*Head band*), *Chaway* (*earrings*), *Chamal* (*dress*), all her *Kupam* (*dress*). At the beginning it was like this: like wait, why is she dressed like that, there's no *Nguillatun*, there's no ceremony. So, they began to question their identity and the people who were coming to the school. So, for us, Carolina has been the sage. I think she has been exactly the person we needed to reach out to these teenagers. And since Carolina entered the school in her traditional dress, now we have students who want to go to their graduations in their traditional dress. We never had that before. And now we have girls becoming *Machi*. Can you believe it? It was such a challenge. Because before we had all these young people, cell phones, headphones in. And someone arrives saying, *Mari Mari* (*Mapuche greeting*). It's like 'what's up?'

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<sup>47</sup> Based on the movements of the Ostrich bird.

Then you begin to see, the young people start to say, Mari Mari, or they look you in your eyes and say Mari Mari. Sometimes they take off their baseball cap and say Mari Mari. So, before we were broken. But now imagine, they put down their cell phones. And the place that we have got to, it's so important.

*(Conversation with Susana, DAEM representative, January 17<sup>th</sup>, 2018)*

Whilst it is likely that IBE policy has played a role in the recuperation of the Mapuche language and culture in the Araucanía, accrediting such big successes to IBE policy erases decades of work done by Mapuche communities outside of formal spaces, including traditional Mapuche pedagogical practices in the home space and work by activist groups. Similarly, attributing the increase in Machi to IBE programmes is controversial, given that Machi is a spiritual role chosen by the ancestors, over which the human world has little or no influence. Even so, Susana believes that intercultural education policy in the Araucanía has had profound and lasting impacts on the Mapuche students, arguing that

They now have their projections. They want to be professionals. But that doesn't stop them from being Mapuche. So, the value is aggregate when we incorporate intercultural education into schools. We don't get young people who are indifferent. The student might go out to work, but they always come back to strengthen their community.

*(Conversation with Susana, DAEM representative, January 17<sup>th</sup>, 2018)*

Despite DAEM's continued support of intercultural policy in the Araucanía and their commitment to the role of the intercultural educator, Chilean national policy does not grant the Kimche the same value. As Susana explains

The intercultural educators don't have a teaching degree. That is why a traditional educator cannot be alone with students, and that is why from kindergarten to middle school, if we have a traditional educator, they must always be accompanied by a teacher. And in the case of high schools you will have teachers for chemistry, maths, English, history, the specialities, and they will just be accompanied by the traditional teacher.

*(Conversation with Susana, DAEM representative, January 17<sup>th</sup>, 2018)*

This highlights how ‘official’ knowledges, granted by western institutions of education, such as universities, are valued much more highly than Carolina’s ‘lifelong learning’. Such practice echoes the claim that not all knowledges are considered equal within state schooling, “and those knowledges that threaten cohesion are often sorted out of the narrative, leaving behind only the ‘official’ knowledge” (Salter and Maxwell, 2018, p. 17). By interrogating this politics of official knowledge, it appears that the Chilean national narrative empowers those who assimilate within the national group whilst disempowering those who live outside of western state constructs. The intercultural school becomes a complex heteroglossia in which “knowledges can be at times contradictory and supplementary” as intercultural knowledges are included but only as complementary to official knowledges (Salter and Maxwell, 2018, p. 17). Thus, despite DAEM’s intercultural policy, which attempts to incorporate Mapuche knowledges and cosmovisions through the inclusion of Kimche into the formal teaching space, in practice the incorporation is much more limited. For example, the English teacher explains the way in which the Kimche contributes to classes on a normal basis

Last year the participation of the intercultural facilitator was lower. This year I can see that it has been integrated even more. Especially within the specialities. For example, in childcare they teach the girls Mapuche songs, activities, games. In gastronomy, they teach typical recipes from the area. In nursing, they teach health and different processes characteristic of the culture.

*(Teacher Alejandro (English), Interview May 19<sup>th</sup>, 2018)*

Furthermore, an analysis of the lesson plans in the intercultural policy document reveals that despite DAEM’s commitment to pedagogical transformation through the inclusion of Mapuche cosmovision, in practice IBE in the Araucanía is limited to rote language learning and explanatory processes, rather than the profound incorporation of Mapuche cosmovision that was first proposed in the document. There are only two lesson plans for high school, as the majority of the document focuses on primary learning. Some of the issues are apparent in, for example, a lesson plan for a theatre play that can be performed in order for students to learn about the political and spiritual positions of a Lof. The play is to be performed in Spanish, not Mapudungun, incorporating only a few key words in the Mapuche language. Students are called upon to explain the model of Che, but the model itself is never incorporated into the classroom pedagogy.

Meli Pilun (*Four Ears*) Project

Text Adaptation: Teacher Susana

Cultural Text Compiled: Teacher Sergio

Project:

This was based on the initiative of teachers of Indigenous Language and Culture. This project responds to the need to innovate the methodology and didactics for Mapudungun teaching. This project aims to motivate the Kimeltuchefe (*Teacher*) in the permanent search to enrich the teaching-learning process. Here a Mapuche text adapted to perform a theatrical performance is shared.

What are we going to do?: Present the play “Meli Pilun”

Why are we going to do it?: Specific Objectives

- Generate learning experiences with an intercultural approach, the objective of which is to understand the role and function of the people in a Lof through the medium of a play
- Produce different types of texts in different areas of knowledge, intercultural contexts, using different strategies to design, register, draw, dramatize, dance among others, the role and function of people in a Lof in an intercultural context
- Incorporate the participation of students, the educational community and Lof, to learn the value of dialogue, coexistence, and learning experiences in an intercultural context.

It is not clear at any point within which academic subject this activity is meant to be incorporated, since learning the structure of a Lof is not listed within any of the curricular subjects' objectives. It is important to note that Law 80, which implemented indigenous language teaching in the school in 2010, called for an extra 4 hours of indigenous language education to be added to the teaching each week. However, these 4 hours are aggregate to the standard 38 hours for the national curriculum and yet no sacrifice is made to the contents of the official curriculum. This leaves a deficit in time that is not clarified by DAEM. In short, the intervention offers ideas for an intercultural experience, without exploring the curricular

practicalities of this task. Susana argues that it is up to the teachers to be flexible with their curricula in order to incorporate intercultural pedagogy into their classrooms. However, she critiques the lack of resources provided by the Chilean state to implement intercultural education and the lack of flexibility in the state curriculum to provide extra time, which has made the inclusion of a profound change to the curriculum in the Araucanía difficult.

So, we have added 4 more hours and you have 38 hours of class, so you can't add these 4 hours if you aren't willing to do some rearranging of the curriculum. And that means for example, if you're a history teacher, maybe you can increase your hours to incorporate the indigenous language. That's what we've planned. But it's complicated because we are talking about teaching hours, and curriculum, and human resources and finances, but it's not possible to say what will happen next year, they might cut those hours.

*(Conversation with Susana, DAEM representative, January 17<sup>th</sup>, 2018)*

These additional hours, official national curricula, and the demand for 'formal' teachers to be constantly present in any form of intercultural education, means that the teachers have little time to incorporate intercultural education within their teaching. In response to the question "What do you think of intercultural education in the school?", most of the teachers give the same response. While they feel very positively about the idea of its incorporation, they argue that they have no time or training to actually implement intercultural education, which can be expressed in the following comments by teachers at the school.

In this school we do have an intercultural teacher, and I think for so many subjects in which they want to incorporate interculturality it's such little time to actually dedicate to the students to really develop profound intercultural work. I have 50 minutes, and I have to make all the students be quiet, get their materials out and then work. So, the time is so short just for the workshop itself, how can I incorporate more things into it?

*(Teacher Helga (Crafts), Interview May 12<sup>th</sup>, 2018)*

Furthermore, Carolina is the only intercultural teacher for a school of over 700 students, making her presence in most classes impossible.

I do think that it should be included in more subjects, but I just think that one person

is not enough for all the things we want to achieve in this school.

*(Teacher Sonya (Religion), Interview May 12<sup>th</sup>, 2018)*

In short, despite the good intentions of intercultural education policy as implemented by DAEM in the Araucanía region, the continued persistence of a Chilean national curriculum that refuses to provide space to intercultural learning has resulted in no real change to pedagogical practice in the classroom. Whilst the Kimche may be able to occasionally incorporate her knowledge or language within the wider curriculum, pedagogical practices remain unchanged and students do not experience the Mapuche cosmovision as lived within the school. A failure to challenge western pedagogical practices in the school confirms research by Lopez and Sichra (2008) that demonstrates that the decolonial aspirations of intercultural education have not been accompanied by changes to school institutional and pedagogical reforms, or to teacher training. They argue that intercultural education in Latin America does not

seem to be able to break away from rote learning, blackboard copying and dictation, which are persistent features of pedagogy in many places of Latin America ... particularly in connection to indigenous language teaching. ... The usual priority given to “the norm” and to the written word makes the school language gradually diverge from the language of the home, the elders and the community. This type of pedagogy contradicts the liberating spirit inherent in IBE and the need to encourage and listen to the student’s own voice (Lopez and Sichra, 2008, p. 1738).

Therefore, the limited incorporation of intercultural education as practice in the Araucanía, both temporally and pedagogically does not amount to what most decolonial theorists understand to be transformative intercultural education. A decolonial intercultural education requires that teachers develop a culturally responsive pedagogy and interculturally inclusive curricula, moving beyond their “subject and pedagogical expertise” into theoretical work, to generate new “sites of inquiries that allow for critical and self-reflexive encounter” (Salter and Maxwell, 2018, p. 26). Decolonial intercultural education thus calls for teachers to bring their own meanings and constructions to the lesson through negotiation of place, culture and self. Despite the presence of the Kimche, it is the ‘official’ teachers in this school, so little recognised as theorists and given no prior training, who are left to organise such

epistemologically complex concepts and to both theorise and enact intercultural education. Yet within this context, the teachers have been asked to negotiate the school's heteroglossia and its numerous narrative intercultural possibilities whilst being "simultaneously limited by notions of cohesion yet incited by calls for diversity" (Salter and Maxwell, 2018, p. 26).

*Intercultural Futures: Possibilities for a Decolonial Intersectional Intercultural Policy*

The inconsistencies between the state national curriculum and the municipal local curriculum have caused profound contradictions in the implementation of intercultural education in the Araucanía region. I argue that state intercultural policy appears to be a smokescreen for the continued use of colonial assimilationist practice that reproduces discourses of citizenship and nationhood. Thus, in the case of DAEM Temuco

despite unquestionably good intentions on the parts of most people who call themselves intercultural educators, most intercultural education practices support, rather than challenge, dominant hegemony, prevailing social hierarchies, and inequitable distributions of power and privilege (Gorski 2006, p. 515).

The small number of people attempting to implement intercultural education through DAEM are consistently undermined by national state practices and curricula.

One of the biggest contradictions that DAEM's policy has failed to address is the gendered experiences of interculturality. As noted above, the state curriculum continues to reinforce gendered stereotypes of Mapuche girls as future service workers. As Mapuche girls are reimagined as neoliberal citizens, it becomes apparent that as Le Espiritu (2001, p. 416) has shown the gendered bodies of racialised women are often "appropriated by dominant or oppressor groups to justify and bolster nationalist movements, colonialism and/ or racism". These national state discourses are reproduced in DAEM intercultural discourse, as stereotypes of Mapuche girls are repeated and then deconstructed in order to imagine the future of the Mapuche girl as neoliberal worker, particularly within service roles. These neoliberal discourses are reworked into intercultural policy in order to argue that a girl can at once be a worker and be a Mapuche. Traditional Mapuche practices are imagined as regressive or oppressive, whilst a future as worker is considered to be at once progressive and Mapuche. As Susana explains

You have to realise that five years ago things were very different. When people are telling you your whole life that Mapuche girls are quiet, that they're shy, that becomes true. So, the Mapuche girls we had in the schools were quiet and shy. But having a woman intercultural educator makes a big difference. Because Carolina is not only Mapuche, but she is a woman, and she is a mother to teenage girls, so she is there for advice all the time. The girls say to her, 'hey I don't want to be a mother, I don't want to get married. I want to study; I want to continue studying and I want to apply for this student grant'. So, it's very different, before Mapuche girls used to get married when they were 15 and they became mothers, but now we work with them to try to avoid teenage pregnancies. And Carolina can say to them, you can be a Mapuche and be a professional like me. We get girls now, that before they wouldn't lift their head to say they were Mapuche, but now, working with Carolina, one of our girls graduated this year and went to the Catolica to study to be an intercultural educator. And our specialities, they study childcare to be a nanny, or they study gastronomy and become a chef, they become nurses, but they know that at no point does that stop them being Mapuche. And it doesn't mean living in a ruka around the fire, you can be a Mapuche woman and be a professional.

*(Conversation with Susana, DAEM representative, January 17<sup>th</sup>, 2018)*

In contrast, Carolina critiques intercultural policy and state curricula, arguing that Mapuche girls are not learning or invested in the traditional knowledges of Mapuche women. She believes that these practices are what makes a Mapuche woman and in ignoring them girls become *awinkado* (*non Mapuche*), or the same as their non-indigenous classmates.

For the girls, I would like them to love the part of the Mapuche work that is specific to women. But it's difficult. Because as women we are supposed to do the weaving and other crafts, and the girls don't love it anymore, they are just the same as the girls who aren't from our culture. They don't give any importance to the loom. To wicker basket making, to pottery. And there are so many other things that girls can work on, like collecting wild plants, that they don't need money for. Wool comes from the sheep. But the girls don't know how to do it, but neither do they care. They don't feel like learning it. Apart from just weaving, there is the important job of washing the wool, spinning it,

dying it with natural plants, and they don't know it. And Mapuche women should know these things, you have to give importance to its value.

*(Conversation with Carolina, June 14<sup>th</sup>, 2018)*

This points to a disjuncture, at least in this case, between the objectives of formal education and intercultural education. Even within municipal intercultural policy, girls are encouraged to enter the labour market, leaving their *ruka* or traditional practices behind. Intercultural education in this sense, becomes a support for national curricula that attempt to encourage Mapuche girls into paid forms of work and an imagined Chilean citizenship. This disjuncture can be clearly visualised in the increasing number of girls who are becoming Machi and the failure of the school to accommodate them, despite its intercultural policy.

There are Machi, there are also *Lewenchefe (Medicinal Healers)* that are *Wentru (Men)*, but in general they are mostly *Zomo (Women)*. And it happens spontaneously, so we really need to try to strengthen our gender approach. There are several girls in this high school who are preparing to be Machi. A couple of years ago in the school, no one really understood that a girl can suffer from this kind of 'call' to become a Machi. So, before they had to skip the regular education system. However, now in the establishment there are laws from 169 that we use to try to support these kinds of people. For example, they don't have to wear the uniform, they are allowed to wear their Mapuche clothing and we try to get Carolina to incorporate some of her knowledge to help them. But to be honest with you, most of them don't finish 4 medio<sup>48</sup>, they drop out. You know it's just not the place for them, they can't be in these four walls, they need space and it's a little bit dangerous. So, we need to figure out what to do there.

*(Conversation with Susana, DAEM representative, January 17<sup>th</sup>, 2018)*

In making clear these contradictions, the question now becomes whether education can be named as intercultural if it does not make space for the complexity of multiple identities, in this case the gendered experiences of Mapuche girls. Mapuche girls' lives are complex, and their gendered identities are constantly intersecting with processes of racialisation. In ignoring these complexities, intercultural education policy in the Araucanía has failed to disturb the existing socio-political order, rather it celebrates the diversity of the school, whilst failing to

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<sup>48</sup> Final year of school

problematise Chilean masculine privilege. Intercultural education in the Araucanía is a well-meaning attempt at decolonisation that has been at once appropriated and overshadowed by Chilean nationalising and gendered curricula. In this case I argue that intercultural education policy in fact shields these hidden curricula through discourses of respect and equity. In erasing the state violence against Mapuche women, DAEM's intercultural policy falls short of decolonising practice. Whilst municipal intercultural policy might call for the resolution of conflict, it does not address the injustices and systemic violences that have been practiced against the Mapuche peoples for centuries by the Chilean state. In failing to battle "explicitly against the prevailing social order", intercultural policy in the Araucanía, "by inaction, supports it" (Gorski, 2006, p. 517).

A decolonial intercultural policy would be one that challenges and rejects, not only racism, but all forms of discrimination (ethnic, racial, linguistic, religious, economic and gender, etc) within schools. It is not enough to learn about the cultures of the students without considering the wider significance of their social positions, especially when these social positions are consistently being reproduced by the national curriculum. Historically, the relationships between indigenous peoples and colonisers have been characterised by inequality and binary symbolic representations, including indigenous/coloniser; barbarous/civilised; lazy/hardworking, but also the binary of man/woman, in which patriarchal understandings subjected women to an inferior position within society (Gomez Lara, 2011). The current national curriculum in Chile contributes to the transmission of a colonial vision of a world, that not only reproduces indigenous/colonial divisions, but also the gendered classifications of masculine/feminine. Consequently, women are assigned different social roles to men and forced to live in social inequality as an oppressed class. Decolonial intercultural education should expose racism, heterosexism, sexism, classism and other inequities, and work to "empower girls as much as boys, call on girls as often as boys and not make assumptions about abilities based on our own socialisations (Gorski, 2006, p. 165).

I argue that the complexities of Mapuche girls' experiences should be appreciated within intercultural policy through an examination of both the pressures of Mapuche traditionalism and a background of historical relations of oppression. In the context of the Araucanía, an intersectional framework within intercultural policy would help to complicate issues of identity by "highlighting the complexities of lived experience when a person embodies multiple

identities simultaneously that interact and influence each other” (Jones and Wijeyesinghe, 2011). In doing so, DAEM would be better equipped to address the inequalities in the education system addressed in the previous chapter, at once between indigenous and non-indigenous, urban and rural, and boys and girls. Implementing an intersectional intercultural curriculum, which focuses on all forms of repression, would help policy makers and teachers to better understand Mapuche girls’ experiences and to formulate an anti-oppressive way of teaching. Intersectionality unveils hidden interconnected power structures, giving attention to how power operates to shape both privileges and oppressions. In centring the experiences of Mapuche girls within intercultural teaching, challenging group stereotypes and committing themselves to power hierarchies and structures of inequalities “both in educational resources, as well as the relationships between student and teacher” (Jones and Wijeyesinghe, 2011, p. 13) there can be hope for a decolonial intercultural future. Whilst these tenets of intersectionality cannot be understood as a recipe for teaching practice, by adopting an intersectional framework policy makers are encouraged to rethink existing oppressive practices and centre the experiences of Mapuche, female, poor, gay, and disabled students in such a way that the oppressive practices of the Chilean education system could be deconstructed and a radically decolonial interculturality could be created. This is an interculturality that is not simply added onto an already overflowing curriculum, but one that complicates identity, exposes power and works towards social justice.

### Conclusions

This chapter has argued that a hidden national curriculum produced by the Chilean state has recreated assimilatory education practices that encourage Mapuche students to abandon ethnic identities in favour of a national Chilean identity through discourses of rights, citizenship and nationhood. This curriculum has reproduced specific stereotypes in relation to Mapuche girls, who are encouraged to become neoliberal citizens and work for little pay in service employment. Municipal intercultural education in the Araucanía region has clearly attempted to challenge the colonial histories of education and the educational inequalities that are present for Mapuche people. However, there also clear contradictions between state and municipal education policy. I argue that it is because of these contradictions that intercultural policy has failed to achieve its decolonial utopian outcomes in the Araucanía region.

Whilst there is some cause for hope in the future, it is important to note that implementing such a radically utopian curriculum in the Araucanía is incredibly difficult at a time when the national curriculum maintains such an assimilatory practice. It would be unfair to disregard the well-meaning and dedicated work of the intercultural team at DAEM, when their programme and its impacts are ultimately controlled by the discourses of a settler colonial state. As Gorski (2006, p. 11) has noted, the door to decolonial interculturality is one that is “heavy and inconveniently placed”, one “that leads to a space of personal and institutional vulnerability”. Is it difficult to ask DAEM as an arm of the state to challenge the status quo, and to create a politically-laden curriculum that works “against domination and for liberation; against prevailing hegemony and for critical consciousness; against marginalisation and oppression and for equity and justice” (Gorski, 2006, p. 11). In working against the status quo, DAEM would be working against a system that has benefitted Chilean settler society and, even if these intercultural futures could be imagined within the context of formal education in the Araucanía, local government policy continues to be undermined by colonial state practice. However, I argue that a decolonial intercultural education not only benefits Mapuche students, but it eliminates oppression for the benefit of all students. The following chapter attempts to address in more detail the ways in which intercultural policies are put into practice in an intercultural school in Temuco. It explores the lived experiences of Mapuche girls within the school through an intersectional lens in the hopes that intercultural policy can be influenced by the experiences of those whom it most affects and in order to better advocate for an intersectional intercultural curriculum.

El patriarcado es un juez  
que nos juzga por nacer,  
y nuestro castigo  
es la violencia que no ves.

Es femicidio.  
Impunidad para mi asesino.  
Es la desaparición.  
Es la violación.

Y la culpa no era mía,  
ni dónde estaba ni cómo vestía.

El violador eras tú.

Son los pacos,  
los jueces,  
el Estado,  
el Presidente.

El Estado opresor es un macho violador.

El violador eras tú.

*Duerme tranquila, niña inocente,  
sin preocuparte del bandolero,  
que por tu sueño dulce y sonriente  
vela tu amante carabinero.*

El violador eres tú.

The patriarchy is a judge  
that judges us for being born,  
and our punishment  
is the violence that you don't see.

It's femicide.  
Impunity for my killer.  
It's disappearance.  
It's rape.

And the fault wasn't mine,  
Nor where i was, nor how I dressed.

The rapist is you.

It's the cops,  
The judges,  
The state,  
The President.

The oppressive state is a rapist.

The rapist is you.

*Sleep calmly, innocent girl,  
without worrying about the bandit,  
over your dreams smiling and sweet,  
Watches your loving cop.*

The rapist is you.

El violador en tu camino (*The rapist in your way*), Las Tesis.

## Chapter 6 - Living an Intercultural Life? Intersectional Identities in Institutional Spaces

### Introduction

Adolescence is widely acknowledged as the key stage in which girls begin to construct their identities (Heilman, 1998). Through lived experiences young people begin to develop a sense of self and understand who they are in a complex world. However, it is important to understand that identity is more than just the simplistic labelling of class, gender, ethnicity, disability and so forth. Rather, in this chapter it will be understood as the “dynamic, emergent and ongoing process of becoming” (Corlett and Mavin, 2014, p. 262). Drawing on PAR research in the school and internado, the chapter uses the theory of intersectionality to make sense of the experience of becoming of Mapuche girls by emphasising how all experiences of selfhood are

continually transformed, re-enacted and renegotiated as a function of shifting landscapes of social context. From an intersectionality perspective we should treat each individual’s fluid social locations as continually interacting to produce multiple, dynamic senses of self over time (Diamond and Butterworth, 2008, p. 375).

Mapuche girls do not acquire the languages necessary for self-identification in isolation, rather they are introduced to them within their social context and through social interactions (Taylor, 1994). As noted in the previous chapter, the Chilean state school has unquestioningly been awarded the responsibility of providing young people with not only a meaningful set of values, but also with a coherent sense of self. As a space in which identities are constructed and reconstructed, contested and accepted, and imbued with or divested of power, the classroom has become a cultural site and “consequently, a contested terrain of social negotiation” (Alexander et al., 2004, p. 41). However, as argued in the previous chapter, the school is a space in which wider systems of coloniality have been reproduced, and indigenous cultures, languages and spiritualities have been erased. Thus, in order to understand the ways in which Mapuche girls’ self-identities are constructed, it is important to know the ways in which the school, the place where they spend most of their time, influences their identity formation.

The previous chapter explored the limits of municipal intercultural policy within the Araucanía region and highlighted the need for an intersectional analysis of intercultural education. This chapter attempts to more fully understand the successes, failures and long-term implications of intercultural education through intersectional analysis. The chapter engages with those whose lives are most intertwined with these institutions, focusing on the everyday experiences of Mapuche girls within both the intercultural school and its associated government-run boarding house. It attempts to amplify the voices of Mapuche girls and their experiences within intercultural institutions and to reframe the debate on intercultural education, which has for too long, been focused on the experiences of teachers, policymakers and other adult members of the Mapuche community. The chapter attempts to address the second objective of the research: *To assess how these policies have been experienced by Mapuche girls within municipal education institutions and the extent to which this is influenced by their gendered and classed identities.* It does this by asking: how do Mapuche girls construct and negotiate their self-identity (at the intersection of multiple social identities) within the intercultural school and what are the sociocultural contexts/structures of power within the intercultural school that influence and shape Mapuche girls' identities?

The chapter begins by exploring the experiences of Mapuche girls of the intercultural curriculum in the school. It argues that intercultural policy has not translated into practice as Mapuche girls have little understanding of the meaning of interculturality and almost no encounters with the intercultural teacher. The chapter goes on to argue that the school and the state-run internado<sup>49</sup> are actually spaces of Mapuche erasure because, through strict regulations that control their bodies, Mapuche girls are encouraged to assimilate into Chilean whitened citizenship. It describes the embodied emotional struggles of Mapuche girls as they move from rural spaces of freedom in their countryside homes to urban spaces of controlled un-freedom in the state-run internado. The chapter concludes that Mapuche girls' self-identity is not only influenced by ethnicity, but also by gender and class. The school remains a space in which stereotypical notions of gender are taught and performed, resulting in state-constructed aspirations for Mapuche girls as future service workers. Furthermore, Mapuche girls are overwhelmingly victims of gendered violence, made more probable because of their poverty and ethnicity. The chapter utilises an intersectional lens to reveal how educational institutional

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<sup>49</sup> The internado is an all-girls urban boarding house where girls from rural areas stay mid-week whilst they complete their secondary school education.

spaces play a significant role in determining which aspects of identity are foregrounded or silenced, which aspects come to be experienced as desirable, appropriate or powerful, and which identities come to be experienced as inferior, shameful or subversive. Exploring how these identity formations are performed and politicised is critical to understanding how the intercultural school functions as an effective educational institution.

### The Limits of Interculturality: Constructing Mapuche Identities in Institutional Spaces

As discussed in the previous chapter, DAEM has developed an intercultural policy intended to improve Mapuche rights to a fair and culturally appropriate education system and limit the disparity in attainment between indigenous and non-indigenous pupils. However, despite these aims, the previous chapter showed the apparent failings of intercultural education policy within the Mapuche context, arguing that intercultural education in the Araucanía is a symbolic recognition of Mapuche culture, rather than a critical shift in consciousness or a substantial material transformation. These arguments are supported by wider academic work (see Pinkney Pastrana et al., 2004; Pozo Menares, 2014; Quilaqueo et al., 2005). However, these critiques have all failed to interact with Mapuche students' experiences of intercultural education, and their voices have been ignored both within academic research and policy making. In the light of this, it is important to explore the ways in which students experience and understand the intercultural curriculum and the impacts of this curriculum on the construction of students' identity.

#### *“We Don't Have That Here<sup>50</sup>”: Reflections on an Absent Intercultural Curriculum*

The previous chapter argued that whilst policy makers had good intentions in the construction of the intercultural curriculum, the dominance of the national curriculum, discourses of citizenship, and lack of time and funds all meant that practices of intercultural education were limited in the school. This argument is overwhelmingly supported by the accounts of Mapuche girls studying in the school, who argue that they have had limited engagement with intercultural education. This illustrates that there is a large gap between intercultural policy and practice in Chile, as interculturality becomes a policy 'myth' that never appears. When undertaking the workshops in the school, none of the students had ever heard of the term “interculturality”. For

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<sup>50</sup> Sara, Workshop 4, November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2017, in relation to Intercultural Education.

example, the following discussion with Rosa<sup>51</sup>, indicates the lack of knowledge surrounding the topic.

Grace: Do you know what interculturality means?

Rosa: No.

Grace: Interculturality, you've never heard of it?

Rosa: No.

*(Workshop 4, November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2017)*

As it became clear that the students did not understand the term “interculturality”, we began to ask if they could recall any engagements or experiences that were similar to those included in DAEM policy. However, the students were very clear that they had little to no education relating to the Mapuche culture within the school space.

Grace: Does anyone here have a Mapuche surname, or is anyone Mapuche?

*Almost all the hands are raised*

Grace: Have they taught you anything about that in your school, about the Mapuche culture?

Everyone: No.

Grace: Have they taught you any Mapudungun?

Giselle<sup>52</sup>: Not really

Maria C<sup>53</sup>: I think they've taught me a few words, sometimes.

Grace: Ok. Anything else?

Maria C: No.

Grace: Have you got any teachers who say they are Mapuche?

Everyone: No.

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<sup>51</sup> Rosa is a 14 year old gastronomy student from Temuco. She studies at ISETT school. Rosa is not ethnically Mapuche, her family are descended from Spanish colonisers, although she does have some knowledge of Mapuche culture.

<sup>52</sup> Giselle is a 13 year old student at Pablo Neruda school and interned at Gabriela Mistral internado. Giselle has two Mapuche surnames, lives in the countryside and openly identifies as ethnically and culturally Mapuche.

<sup>53</sup> Maria C is a 13 year old student at ISETT school and interned at Gabriela Mistral internado. Maria C has two Mapuche surnames, lives in a comunidad and previously identified as ethnically and culturally Mapuche. However, her family have recently converted to evangelicalism and she now distances herself from the Mapuche identity.

Grace: In your classes, generally, you would say they don't teach you anything Mapuche?

Joana<sup>54</sup>: In my class I'm the only Mapuche, that's why they don't bother teaching us anything.

Grace: You're the only Mapuche? And how do you feel, that they don't teach you anything about it.

Joana: That they don't really care about it.

*(Discussion, March 28<sup>th</sup>, 2018)*

The students stated that they had no education relating specifically to Mapuche culture and that they had never had any engagement with the intercultural teacher.

Grace: Do you ever learn anything about the Mapuche in this school?

Sibila<sup>55</sup>: In history, about the wars and stuff. The pacification it was called.

Grace: Right, what about the culture, about the Mapuche nowadays?

Andrea<sup>56</sup>: Not really.

Grace: There's no one to teach you that?

Andrea: Well, there is this one woman who I always see in the corridors dressed up like a Mapuche.

Grace: Yeah?

Andrea: But I think maybe she is for the other technical classes, because she's never taught us anything.

Grace: So, the Mapuche education isn't for the whole school?

Andrea: No, I don't think so.

*(Workshop 17, April 19<sup>th</sup>, 2018)*

These students' experiences reveal overwhelmingly that whilst DAEM have a written policy, which explains how intercultural education should be performed within the schools, practice of interculturality within this school is very different. Mapuche students do not engage with

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<sup>54</sup> Joana is a 13 year old student at ISETT school and interned at Gabriela Mistral internado. Joana is ethnically Mapuche and lives in the countryside. Joana can speak fluent Mapudungun and comes from a powerful Mapuche family.

<sup>55</sup> Sibila is a 14 year old gastronomy student at ISETT. She has one Mapuche surname but does not identify as Mapuche. She lives in a población in Temuco.

<sup>56</sup> Andrea is a 14 year old Gastronomy student at ISETT. She does not identify as Mapuche.

the intercultural teacher on a regular basis, are not taught about their history from an indigenous perspective and do not feel like teachers or other students are interested in learning their culture or language. The disjuncture between practice and policy is overwhelming, and gives support to Gorski's (2008) argument that good intentions and explicit intercultural policies are not enough to provide an effective decolonising education. Gorski believes that “most of what passes for intercultural education practice accentuates rather than undermines existing social and political hierarchies” (2008, p. 517). As discussed, the lack of Mapuche teachers encourages the idea that knowledge is held by the Chilean elites, and the occasional presence of the “dressed up” intercultural teacher reiterates that Mapuche culture and knowledges are only valuable in the folkloric sense. Furthermore, the little information shared with the students on the Mapuche is always taught from a Chilean perspective; for example, the pacification is understood as a great Chilean victory, rather than a terrible loss for the Mapuche people. Thus, the time spent on creating an intercultural policy is undermined by the lack of effort that has gone into reinforcing this policy in practice. This would suggest that DAEM are not committed to creating a genuine intercultural practice, rather in the words of Gorski (2008, p. 517) they are only willing to “advocate and practice intercultural education, so long as it does not disturb the existing socio-political order.”

The formation of an intercultural policy has allowed for DAEM to claim a dialogue of respect between cultures. However, their failure to shift critical consciousness within the school not only perpetuates existing hierarchical relations and internal coloniality, but actively works to further invisibilise the Mapuche within the school system. By arguing that intercultural policy has resolved non-indigenous privilege within the school, Mapuche students' experiences of racism, marginalisation and exploitation are minimalised and colonial power structures that protect the interests of the powerful to the detriment of the oppressed are actually maintained. This is illustrated by what students understand when asked about the idea of interculturality, which they relate to immigrant cultures and not the Mapuche<sup>57</sup>.

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<sup>57</sup> Since 2010, there has been a large-scale immigration of people from Haiti to Chile. In a country that was largely ‘monocultural’, the increased presence of black immigrants has caused a lot of controversy, as politicians and the media openly criticise the increased levels of immigration. The government of Sebastian Piñera began a project of Haitian repatriation in 2018, known as the ‘humanitarian return plan’. The plan came after much pressure to not only limit the number of Haitians arriving to Chile, but to actively reduce the number that were already there. Such a repatriation plan is arguably based on racist tropes of Haitians stealing Chilean jobs and a long-term media campaign against Haitians within Chile. Within Chile, Haitians have been subject to similar stigmatisation as the Mapuche and more recently have also become victims of a brutal police violence.

Grace: Do you know what intercultural education means?

Constanza<sup>58</sup>: No.

Grace: Could you guess?

Constanza: No [*laughs*]

Grace: Interculturality, culture,

Andrea: Oh right, culture. I guess it means when people from other cultures come to school to be educated.

Grace: Right. Does that happen here?

Constanza: The Haitians.

Andrea: We have so many Haitians now.

Constanza: You walk in the town centre and is like being in Haiti or China, but not Temuco.

Grace: What do you think about that?

Andrea: I like it.

Constanza: You haven't got to discriminate against them.

Grace: Do people discriminate against them?

Andrea: All the time. Especially on the buses when they try and sell their stuff. People talk to them as if they were nothing.

*(Workshop 16, April 12<sup>th</sup>, 2018)*

The focus on international immigrants as the presumed subjects of intercultural education by the students seemed strange in a school where no Haitian children were enrolled, yet over 40% of the students are ethnically Mapuche. It implies that Mapuche students consider themselves as natural within the Chilean school space and not Other after centuries of assimilation into whitened citizenship. In contrast, Haitian students are reimagined as the Other, as not naturally belonging within the Chilean space. Webb and Radcliffe (2015, p. 129) have shown that in the Chilean school “whiteness – often masked by appeals to national belonging – remains an imposing, negating and structurally determinant form of segregation.” Previously it has been the Mapuche who have been excluded, discursively and materially, from Chilean national citizenship because of their imagined “backwardness, rurality and indigeneity”, and their

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<sup>58</sup> Constanza is a 14 year old gastronomy student at ISETT. She has one Mapuche surname but does not identify as Mapuche.

darker skin (Webb and Radcliffe, 2015, p. 131). However, the recent presence of black people within Chile and the years of assimilation in a national curriculum that focuses on citizenship has repositioned the Mapuche on the scale of Otherness. The discussions by students show how Mapuche students have accepted hegemonic ideas about race and belonging through everyday participation in a school in which educational policy has reinforced assimilation. In Chile, citizenship has implicated the discarding of the attributes associated with indigenous difference and “in rural Araucanía secondary schools the pressures to assimilate continue and reproduce normative binaries of ethnic Chileanness” (Webb and Radcliffe, 2016, p. 8). The Chilean curriculum has focused on a national identity of Mestizaje,

a biological culturalist imaginary which assumes the “prominence” and superiority of white settlement assimilated and “diluted” racial ancestry through interracial marriage resulting in an increasingly homogenous whitened population (Webb and Radcliffe, 2016, p. 3).

This focus encourages the Mapuche students to view themselves as part of the Chilean monoculture, in which interculturality is needed only for those who come from outside of Chile. In contrast to the living and foreign Haitian culture, the Mapuche are constructed as either a peripheral culture of radicals or as a dead culture pertaining to the past.

Esteban: What can you tell me about the Mapuche culture, for example?

Andrea: That it is being lost.

Esteban: That it is being lost?

Andrea: Yes. Because there are people who are Mapuche but who don't accept it. But we're all mestiza. We're all Mapuche and Spanish. But now most people just think they're Spanish. Only Spanish. But they're not.

*(Workshop 17, April 5<sup>th</sup>, 2018).*

The portrayal of Mapuche as a dead culture is emphasised in the school's focus on folkloric We Tripantu (*Mapuche New Year*) celebrations. We Tripantu is the only example of the inclusion of the Mapuche culture in the school space that any of the girls gave and was also one of the only examples I could find of the implementation of intercultural policy within the school. Each year the school puts on a We Tripantu performance with dances, songs, speeches

and plays, and invites important representatives of local government and education to the show. Whilst all the students are invited to participate in dances, the celebration is mostly folkloric, and no supplementary education is given to the girls about the significance of We Tripantu. The girls' account of this illustrates how the celebration of We Tripantu does not equate with an acceptable intercultural education.

Grace: Do you think you have intercultural education here?

Mailen<sup>59</sup>: Well, here I wouldn't be able to say that we do, because there just aren't any people who are able to teach about the Mapuche culture. Well, I'm Mapuche and I know a lot more than all the other girls here. And even though once a year they might celebrate We Tripantu, that's just one activity, among many. We have so much stuff as Mapuche and no one knows anything about it. Even the Mapuche girls.

Sara<sup>60</sup>: I agree. Because I mean here, they could teach us to speak Mapuche, what the meanings of the words are, because you know there are so many meanings. For example, I'm not Mapuche and I don't know anything, and I would really like to know why they actually celebrate We Tripantu and other festivals.

Grace: How do you think we could include that in the school? What ideas do you have?

Sara: Bringing in Mapuche teachers, who actually know this stuff and other people who can do more workshops, including stuff about the Mapuche.

Mailen: Yeah, because that would help some of the other girls to identify as Mapuche. We need to do more stuff. Let's have a Palin (*Mapuche sport*) tournament or something. Not just the same old We Tripantu dances.

(*Workshop, November 16<sup>th</sup>, 2017*)

The students express motivation to learn about the Mapuche culture but the school fails to provide them with opportunities to do so. Such failure has implications for the way in which Mapuche students define themselves, as they began to accept the whitening norms and deracialised values that are promoted within the school by distancing themselves from their Mapuche identity and more actively associating with the Chilean national identity.

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<sup>59</sup> Mailen is a 13 year old gastronomy student at ISETT. Although she is from the countryside she does not live in an internado. Mailen has a Mapuche first name and two Mapuche surnames, she speaks Mapudungun and is from a powerful Mapuche family. She identifies ethnically and culturally as Mapuche.

<sup>60</sup> Sara is a 14 year old Hotelaria student at ISETT school. Sara is from Temuco city and is not ethnically Mapuche, she is descended from German colonisers, although she is interested in learning more about Mapuche culture.

*(Un)becoming Mapuche: Conflicting Constructions of Mapuche Identities*

Identities are the “narratives and stories people tell themselves and others about who they are (and who they are not)” (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 200). More often than not these stories relate to the perceptions of group membership and feelings of belonging of both the self and others. Such constructions of belonging necessitate a performative dimension in which individuals repeat practices that relate to specific social and cultural spaces and are “crucial for the construction and reproduction of identity narratives and constructions of attachment” (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 203). Kustatscher (2017) argues that it is within schools that girls are able to perform their newly constructed identities in order to produce complex forms of belonging (or non-belonging) in both abstract and concrete ways that allow for the process of self-identification and identification by others. However, such constructions of belonging should not be seen merely as a narrative, but rather they reflect “emotional investments and desire for attachments” (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 200). Within the school policy, Mapuche identity was ignored in order to promote a Chilean, national identity. However, whilst for some girls there was a strong feeling of wanting to belong, and this necessitated self-identification as Chilean, and an active rejection of Mapuche identity, for others their Mapuche identity became a form of resistance within the school.

In my time at the school I discovered that many of the participants who were ethnically Mapuche, had one or more Mapuche surnames and lived in Mapuche comunidades, more often than not chose to hide their Mapuche ethnicity at the school, choosing instead to emphasise their Chilean identity. In the most extreme of these cases, Anushka<sup>61</sup>, chose to engage in discriminatory behaviour against a Mapuche classmate in order to fit in with Chilean friends. This caused me to reflect on the complex ways in which Anushka rejected her Mapuche ethnicity within the school space.

I always worry about whether Anushka is enjoying the project, it seems to bring up some complications for her. Anushka lives in the countryside near me and I saw her and her family at the Machitun (*Healing Ceremony*); they are an important part of the community. They did Trafkintu (*Exchange of Goods*) with us once for some seeds. So,

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<sup>61</sup> Anushka is a 13 year old Gastronomy student at ISETT, she is from the countryside and attends Gabriela Mistral Internado.

I know that she is ethnically Mapuche and I know at home she lives a culturally Mapuche life too. But Anushka participates in Yessica's racism. I don't know if Yessica is Mapuche, but I am sure Anushka is, so why does she join in?

*(Extract from Fieldwork Diary, November 30<sup>th</sup>, 2017).*

Despite my knowledge that Anushka is ethnically Mapuche, she never divulges this information and chooses to identify as Chilean in front of her peers.

Isabella<sup>62</sup>: If you had to describe yourself what would you say?

Yessica<sup>63</sup>: Chilean.

Anushka: Chilean.

Isabella: What does it mean to be Chilean?

Yessica: It's unique.

Isabella: Why?

Yessica: It's the language, *cachai*<sup>64</sup> (*laughs*).

Isabella: Anushka, what do you think?

Anushka: I don't know, it's just where I'm from. I didn't choose it<sup>65</sup>.

*(Workshop, November 16<sup>th</sup>, 2017)*

Yessica is a classmate and friend of Anushka's; she has firm opinions on the Mapuche, and they tend to be fuelled by racist stereotypes. As discussed in Chapter 3, in one recording Yessica was rude about the Mapuche, upsetting her classmate, Mailen. Whilst Anushka did not comment, she often laughed at Yessica's derogatory comments towards Mailen and the Mapuche.

Yessica: Here we are with Anushka, oh why do we have to do this, and with Mailen. (*Laughs*). Ok, I'm going to ask Mailen, in this school do they teach you (*Laughs*) about the Mapuche culture?

Mailen: No.

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<sup>62</sup> Isabella is a 14 year old Gastronomy student at ISETT. She is from the city and identifies as Chilean.

<sup>63</sup> Yessica is a 13 year old student at ISETT. Yessica is from Pedro de Valdivia, she is not Mapuche and has strong stereotypes against the Mapuche people.

<sup>64</sup> Chilean slang for "do you understand?"

<sup>65</sup> One of the drawbacks of participatory workshops is consensus with dominant (not necessarily majority) voices. This is common with shy girls who are concerned with what their classmates think of them. In private discussions Anushka chose to identify openly as a Mapuche (see below).

Yessica: Well that's good.

*(Yessica and Anushka laugh)*

Mailen: You know what, I'm leaving because I don't get on with ignorant people.

*(Yessica and Anushka laugh)*

Anushka: What did we do?

*(Interview 23, November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2017)*

Later on, in a private conversation, I asked Anushka why she often laughed with Yessica at the expense of Mailen, who was also her good friend. She explained that her laughing allowed her to feel a sense of belonging and identify as Chilean and was keen that others should also accept, even if this meant actively excluding Mailen.

Grace: You know we have to put a stop to this kind of behaviour in the workshops. We have to respect everyone and Mailen is your friend. You shouldn't be laughing at her; she was really upset.

Anushka: I know but it's just easier to laugh than to say anything.

Grace: Why is it easier?

Anushka: Because if I laugh then Yessica will forget that I'm Mapuche and so she won't huevear a mi (*Fuck with me*). And I can just pass piola (*calm*). They fucking hate the Mapuche. It's like oh terrorist this. Dirty Indian that. So, I just prefer to pass as Chilean. Keep it all separate. If Mailen wants to draw attention to herself, that's her problem. I just prefer to do it quietly at home. But at school it's just easier to act like everyone else.

*(Conversation, November 30<sup>th</sup>, 2017)*

Mailen is also Mapuche, but unlike Anushka, even in the school space Mailen proudly chooses to identify as Mapuche, never as Chilean. Mailen is from the 'red zone', a community in active violent conflict with the Chilean state in which violent clashes between the police and Mapuche Weichafe are common. Mailen's grandmother is a Machi, meaning her family has historically had an important political and spiritual role within the Mapuche community. Mailen has by far the greatest knowledge of the Mapuche language and culture of any of the participants, and these Mapuche knowledges are firmly rooted within Mailen's rural home space. In contrast, for Mailen the school is a whitened, Chileanised space that needs constant contestation and

resistance. Fanon (1986) argued that resistance must not only be directed at the oppressions forced onto marginalised victims of coloniality, but against their own internalisations of the forced constructions of self and identity; similarly, Mailen is continually resisting the school's portrayal of Mapuche as Indian and curricular attempts to assimilate her.

Sara: Why do you think they don't teach us about the Mapuche here?

Mailen: Look you have to understand that even though most of us are Mapuche here, people are ashamed to say it, they don't identify with the culture. I think it's because they call us terrorists. But you know what in Vilcun<sup>66</sup> they discovered that there was a *latifundista* (*large landowner of European descent*) who was actually paying his workers to burn his lorries, so that they would blame the Mapuche. That's why they call us terrorists.

Sara: What do you think?

Anushka: The same as Mailen. I guess maybe I try to hide that I'm Mapuche.

Sara: Why do you think people are ashamed to say they are Mapuche?

Mailen: It's a really easy question. If you're Mapuche they give you a bad job and they pay you badly. They treat you like an Indian. And they say that Indians are dirty. But they've got no right to speak like that when they came and stole our land. I'm not ashamed to be Mapuche, because it's something that identifies us. But I think the girls are ashamed because they can judge you badly, or because it comes on the television that we are terrorists and other people believe it. Or just because they don't like how we are.

Sara: What do you think?

Anushka: My mind went blank.

Mailen: Listen, if the Europeans want to come and steal our land, and pay the police to do their dirty work, they should at least give us a good education.

Sara: Do you like being Mapuche?

Mailen: I'm proud of it. I'm not scared of saying it, like other people (*looks at Anushka*)

Sara: What about you?

Anushka: Yes, I like it. I'm also Mapuche. But like what Mailen said at the beginning, you know I have really thought about that, because I was really scared to say that I was

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<sup>66</sup> City in the south of Chile.

Mapuche. Because they can really judge you badly, or they can really say to you anything. That's why I guess I was a bit scared to say it.

*(Workshop, December 6<sup>th</sup>, 2017)*

Mailen's pride in her Mapuche identity allows a space for Anushka to reevaluate her own previous identification as Chilean and her frequent ridicule of the Mapuche identity. Such an interaction makes clear that identity narratives can shift and change and are consistently contested and multiple.

As noted above, the school has consistently been a space in which Mapuche identity is ignored and rejected. However, the relatively newer phenomenon of increasing evangelicalism in Mapuche communities means that Mapuche identity is also being challenged in home spaces (see Guevara, 2009, for more on evangelicalism in Mapuche communities). Maria comes from the countryside and lives in a Mapuche community. Her family's evangelical faith means Maria is strictly regulated in the clothes that she can wear, the music she can listen to and the ways in which she can express herself as a woman<sup>67</sup>. Whilst some evangelical pastors in the countryside allow the Mapuche to continue to celebrate their spiritual ceremonies, Maria's pastor does not.

Maria C: I used to be Mapuche.

Grace: You used to be Mapuche?

Maria C: Yeah.

Grace: But you're not anymore?

Maria C: No.

Grace: Why not?

Maria C: The pastor told us not to be.

Grace: He told you not to be Mapuche?

Maria C: Yeah.

Grace: Why?

Maria C: Because of what happened to my brother. You know my brother has Downs Syndrome, right?

Grace: Yeah.

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<sup>67</sup> Maria is part of a particularly strict Evangelical church. She must wear skirts that reach her ankle, and whilst other girls in the internado listen to reggaeton, Maria listens to evangelical music, is not allowed to have sexual relations before marriage and homosexual relations are strictly prohibited. Her older sisters were married young and contraception is prohibited. Genesis' family have not always been Evangelical and are recently converted.

Maria C: Well the pastor told us that the Machi put a curse on my mother when she was pregnant so that he would have Downs Syndrome.

Grace: Why would she do that?

Maria C: Because Machis are from the devil.

(*Conversation, May 10<sup>th</sup>, 2018*)

For Maria, a Mapuche identity was something that was replaceable by a religious identity. Unlike most of her classmates who saw Mapuche ethnicity as something that was carried in the blood, in a rural way of life and in the surname, Maria saw Mapuche identity as a spiritual identity, in direct contrast with Chilean Christianity. Her move away from Mapuche identity and towards a Christian identity was reinforced by the Christian education that she was receiving in the school.

Esteban: Have you heard about citizenship?

Giselle: Yeah, in *orientación*.

Esteban: What have you heard about it?

Giselle: It's like being Chilean, being a Chilean citizen.

Esteban: How would you describe being Chilean?

Genesis<sup>68</sup>: You have to be from Chile, do Chilean things.

Maria C: You can be not from Chile though as well, you can be from other places, you just have to follow Chilean ways.

Esteban: What are Chilean ways?

Maria C: Be kind. Be Christian. Be respectful.

Esteban: Be Christian? Chileans are Christian?

Maria C: Yeah. Well I think Chileans are Catholic, but I think if you are any kind of Christian it counts.

Esteban: What else is Chilean?

Giselle: You have to know things like Pablo Neruda (*Poet*), and how to dance Cueca (*traditional Chilean dance*) and things like that.

Genesis: Probably if you celebrate the 18 (*Chilean Independence Day*), then that's alright.

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<sup>68</sup> Genesis is a 13 year old student at ISETT and interned in Gabriela Mistral. She has one Mapuche surname but does not identify as Mapuche as to her the Mapuche identity clashes with her evangelical religion.

Maria C: Some people come to Chile and they don't do that and that's why they have to go back<sup>69</sup>.

*(Workshop 13, April 5<sup>th</sup>, 2018)*

These differences show that whilst Mapuche identities can be reproduced from generation to generation within the community in which girls live, the identity narrative can also shift and change as girls begin to spend more time in Chilean, whitened school spaces. For this reason, it is important to understand the ways in which school and internado spaces can influence the formation of the identity of Mapuche girls and how this challenges or reinforces discourses of intercultural education.

### Spaces of Education: Everyday Life in the Institution

Most academic accounts of intercultural education have focused specifically on policy, curricula and the role of the teacher, whilst ignoring the role that institutional spaces can have on the development of student identity. Gulson and Symes (2007) have argued that educational theory has failed to engage with spatial theories in the way that other disciplines have and that geographers have given less attention to schools than they have to other institutions. Despite this, schools are central to the geographies of young people; as Collins and Coleman (2008, p. 281) have shown, schools are one of the few institutions that can be found within every neighbourhood, and “with which almost every individual has meaningful, sustained contact at one or more points in their lives”. The school should be understood as a bounded geographical space within which certain activities and regulations are practiced, but also as a wider ideological space within a broader socio-political landscape that influences the formation of community and state. For this reason, it is necessary to investigate the impact that schools as places have on the shaping of the social identities of Mapuche girls. The institutional geographies and the socio-spatial processes that take place within boarding schools have profound impacts on the Mapuche girls that live and study within them. I argue that in order to understand the impacts of intercultural education on students, it is first necessary to understand the spaces in which this education takes place and the socio-political processes and structures of power that these spaces (re)create. I argue that it is difficult for schools to claim to be intercultural when their infrastructure remains inherently colonial.

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<sup>69</sup> This is a reference to Haitians who were returned to Haiti.

*The Internado: Transitioning from Rural Freedom to Urban Unfreedom*

Whilst the Araucanía countryside is well serviced with rural primary schools, in order for students to continue with their education they must study in larger towns or cities. For many students these secondary schools can be up to three hours away and even for those students who live closer, lack of public transport means it is necessary to stay during the week. This was true for many of the girls in the study, with some girls travelling up to 100km to go to school in Temuco. For example, Maria C is from Hualpin, 2h30 away, Joana is from La Serena, 40 minutes away and Gabriela is from Los Laureles, 1h30 away. Despite their distant and varied locations, all the girls simply identify as “from the countryside”, rather than from any particular region, which is usually synonymous with being Mapuche. Whilst not all the girls are Mapuche, nor do all live in specifically Mapuche spaces, all of their home lives are intertwined with rurality and indigeneity.

Esteban: Is everyone here from the countryside?

(All participants nod in affirmation)

Esteban: What about from a comunidad, does anyone live in a comunidad?

(Everyone except Carmen raises their hand)

Carmen<sup>70</sup>: I don't live in a comunidad, but you know everyone there is Mapuche anyway.

Esteban: So, is everyone here Mapuche?

(Most girls nod in affirmation; a few girls shake their head)

Vanessa<sup>71</sup>: I'm not Mapuche. But I live in a comunidad anyway. It's my Grandmother's land.

Esteban: Was your grandmother Mapuche?

Vanessa: Yes.

(*Conversation, March 28<sup>th</sup>, 2018*)

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<sup>70</sup> Carmen is a 13 year old Mapuche student at Pablo Neruda school. She was interned in Gabriela Mistral, but she could not adjust to life there and left the internado after a few months.

<sup>71</sup> Vanessa is a 13 year old student at ISETT school and interned in Gabriela Mistral. Vanessa has one Mapuche surname on her mother's side and lives in a Mapuche comunidad, however, she does not identify as Mapuche, instead choosing to identify with her father's European roots. During the project Vanessa became pregnant and left the internado. She did not return to study during the project.

As Gissi (2004) has shown, within the Araucanía poverty, indigeneity and rurality intersect. The region has a rural poverty level of 34.9%, whilst the percentage of the rural population who claim Mapuche ethnicity is 13.6% (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE), 2002). These identities tend to converge within the internado, as many parents also choose to send their children to internados because they cannot afford to look after them. Boarding in the city allows girls to stay in full time education, providing beds and hot food, relieving the family of financial pressures. Thus, the internado is a space in which rurality, indigeneity, poverty and gender all coalesce.

Conditions in the internado suffer due to lack of government funding and the building itself has been left to fall into disrepair. My first visit to the internado revealed a dirty, cold and overcrowded place.

The secretary buzzes me in and I push the big glass doors off the busy main street of Temuco and enter the big lobby. It looks like a hospital, or a police station, just another municipal building. She takes me up a wide staircase made of stone, with whitewashed walls to the first floor, where the girls live. There is another lobby with two worn down sofas where a few girls are watching telenovelas on a tiny television. She takes me through a door that leads to a corridor where there are rows of lockers and through another door into the dorm. I imagined that there would be separate dorm rooms with a few beds, but here all the walls have been knocked through to make one long dorm corridor that spans the length of the whole building. There must be around 100 bunk beds in here<sup>72</sup>. It's winter, torrential rain outside and unlike in other government buildings there are no log fires in here. It's so cold I can see my breath.

*(Extract from fieldnotes, September 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2017)*

The girls in the internado are particularly affected by the bathroom conditions and spent large parts of our interviews lamenting their situation.

Carmen: It's awful, you don't understand. I can't deal with the smell; please can you bring us some air fresheners?

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<sup>72</sup> Interestingly this is a relatively new feature of the internado, as an ex-boarder told me that the rooms used to be closed off. I don't know why the decision was made to open up the rooms.

Grace: What's going on with the bathrooms?

Carmen: We've only got five toilets between all of us. The queue in the morning is so long and then they always get blocked.

Denisse<sup>73</sup>: There are always used sanitary towels everywhere. It's disgusting.

*(Conversation, April 12<sup>th</sup>, 2018).*

In short, the internado is an ill-equipped space, with outdated facilities, that was simply not made for the number of girls currently living there. The girls are forced to live in unhygienic and unsafe spaces that highlight the ways in which state-led institutions have failed to protect indigenous girls or indeed to see them as worthy of care and investment. Forcing indigenous girls to live in such a space reproduces the idea that poverty and indigeneity are intersecting and leaves Mapuche girls open to judgements by their classmates. Unsurprisingly, Mapuche girls find it incredibly difficult to adjust to life in the urban, institutional spaces of the internado. In order to capture their experiences, they chose to write and perform a short play for the participatory video, which highlights the difficulties of moving to an internado.

*There was once a girl who was given the opportunity to go and study in the city on the one condition that she was interned in a boarding school. She accepted the offer.*

*When she arrived in the city, everything was different.*

*Ignacia arrives at the Boarding School.*

Ignacia: *(enters and looks around at her new home, surprised. She says shyly).* Hello, I'm Ignacia. I'm a new student and I'm starting primero medio.

Inspectora: Good afternoon, Ignacia, welcome. Your locker is number 11. Please accompany me to the first floor.

Ignacia: Thank you very much.

*Ignacia goes up stairs very anxiously and unsure of whether she'll be able to adapt to the new environment, she finds herself on the first floor with the floor Inspectora and she tells her*

Inspectora: This is the floor for the girls from first year, come and see your locker.

*They go to the lockers*

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<sup>73</sup> Denisse is a 13 year old student at Gabriela Mistral school and internado. She has two Mapuche surnames and identifies as ethnically Mapuche although she doesn't participate actively in Mapuche culture.

Inspectora: This is your locker. You have to leave all your things here, neatly arranged. Here are your keys, you'll have to make a copy in case you lose them.

Ignacia: Thank you.

Inspectora: Ok. This is bedroom 2 and this is your bunkbed. Here are your blankets and I suppose that you brought your own mattress cover and sheets.

Ignacia: Yes. Yes, I brought them (*she nervously begins to make her bed*).

Inspectora: Ok, you have to make your bed every morning and make sure it's well-made or I will unmake it and you'll have to do it again.

Ignacia: Ok.

*A dormmate enters and says to her*

Francisca: Hi! My name is Francisca, we are going to be dormmates.

Ignacia: Hello (*Happily*) I'm called Ignacia. Are you new here?

Francisca: Yes, I'm new as well, why did you come to the boarding house?

Ignacia: Because I live in the countryside, very far away and there isn't any public transport.

*The girls are watching television in the evening and at 9pm the Inspectora sends them to bed.*

Inspectora: Girls, go to bed, its 9pm already

*Once in her bedroom the girls in the room are chatting, laughing and listening to music, Ignacia can't sleep.*

*She feels uncomfortable, she tosses and turns in her bed and thinks about her home in the countryside, until she finally falls asleep.*

*In the morning, the Inspectora goes through each room shouting*

Inspectora: Get up! It's late! Get up! It's 6am! You have to go and shower! If you don't get up, I'll pull your blankets off!

*Ignacia wakes up confused, for a moment she forgets where she is. Then she gets up and makes her bed.*

*At recess in the school, Ignacia trips over and her classmates laugh at her. She begins to cry which makes them laugh even harder. She doesn't speak for the rest of the day.*

*When she finally gets to her bedroom in the night-time, the Inspector has messed up her bed because it wasn't made correctly. Ignacia begins to cry and gets very homesick.*

Ignacia: Today has been an awful day.

Francisca: I know, but you'll get used to living here.

Ignacia: I don't think I'll get used to it. I miss my home so much; I miss my mum. And everybody laughed at me and I feel so stupid because I fell over.

Francisca: I think it's normal to feel like this, it's only your first day.

Ignacia: I don't know.

This story, written by a group of girls from the internado Gabriela Mistral, illustrates that for many of the girls moving to the internado and adjusting to life there involves complex emotional responses<sup>74</sup>. As Schutz and Pekrun (2007, p. 13) have shown, educational settings are infused with intense emotional experiences “that direct interactions, affect learning and performance, and influence personal growth.” In this case, the girls describe feeling shy and anxious when moving from familiar spaces to a new and unfamiliar home. They report feeling nervous around the Inspector and a pressure to follow the new rules and procedures correctly. However, they also experience positive feelings when making new friends, though not all the experiences with other girls are affirmative. Thus, the space of the internado is directly linked to the embodied experiences of the girls who inhabit it. The most commonly reported feeling that was shared by the girls throughout their first year in the internado was of homesickness and a longing for the countryside.

Denisse: What do you miss about your home?

Valentina<sup>75</sup>: My parents!

Gabriela<sup>76</sup>: Everything!

Carmen: I miss my mum being here. I miss my dogs. My brother. I mean literally everything.

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<sup>74</sup> For the girls storytelling and play writing seemed to be an easier way of articulating bad experiences, rather than telling personal stories.

<sup>75</sup> Valentina is a 13 year old student at Pablo Neruda school and interned in Gabriela Mistral. Valentian has two Mapuche surnames, lives in a Mapuche comunidad and openly identifies as Mapuche. Valentina was excluded from the internado after a few months and did not participate in the rest of this research.

<sup>76</sup> Gabriela is a 13 year old student at ISETT and Gabriela Mistral internado. She has two Mapuche surnames, lives in a Mapuche comunidad, identifies ethnically as Mapuche and participates actively in Mapuche culture and life.

*(Interview 3, March 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2018)*

These emotions echo years of internado experiences for Mapuche girls. The internado has a long history within colonial settler societies and it can be understood as the most visible symbol of the assimilatory strategy of colonial settlers (Deyhle and Swisher, 1997). Sepúlveda et al., (2018) have explored how, in the 1900s, Mapuche girls' indigeneity was erased by severing the cultural and emotional ties within their communities and families, and how this 'culture shock' caused feelings of homesickness and isolation. Whilst the structure of boarding schools in Chile may have changed, the practice of interning young, indigenous, rural girls has endured over the past 100 years. The internado takes girls from spaces of indigeneity and rurality and places them in institutionalised, Chileanised spaces of urbanity and whitened citizenship. Whilst scholars have discussed the assimilation of Mapuche girls into Chilean boarding schools (see Webb and Radcliffe, 2015), few have addressed their suffering at leaving their homes. Much of this suffering comes from a longing for the space and the perceived freedom of the countryside.

Maria: What is the difference between here and the countryside?

Tia<sup>77</sup>: The space. The air.

Joana: The animals. I miss the animals. I even miss having to feed them in the morning.

It's just the space. Everything is closed off here.

Tia: Even the bedrooms. In the countryside I can have my own bedroom because there's more space.

*(Workshop, March 28<sup>th</sup>, 2018).*

The freedom of the countryside is contrasted with the strict rules and regulations of the internado, which have been designed to closely engineer the management of both student routines and identities. The girls are not permitted to leave the internado under any account, meaning that, for most, their weekly lives constitute walking the few blocks from school back to the internado in the mornings and evenings, with spatial restrictions compounded by the fact the internado has no outdoor space and they have to be inside by 5.30pm when the doors are locked.

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<sup>77</sup> Tia is a 13 year old student at Gabriela Mistral school and internado, she is from the countryside and lives in a Mapuche comunidad. Tia has two Mapuche surnames and identifies as ethnically Mapuche, however she does not participate in Mapuche culture and has little knowledge of Mapuche language or cosmovision.

Life in the internado is regulated by routine and detailed organisations of time and space. Strict wake up, dining and sleeping times mean that the girls “spend most of their weekday in a very time disciplined environment . . . where all their activities from arrival, lessons, through to eating and playing, are governed by the daily rhythm of timetables and bells” (Holloway and Valentine, 2003, p. 108). The bedrooms are not left open during the day, meaning that girls cannot access their personal belongings outside of those times. The girls were all greatly opposed to the number of rules and regulations in the internado and contrasted this with their freedom in the countryside.

Denisse: Do you feel like you can express yourself in the internado?

Maria H<sup>78</sup>: No, because like I said, there are just too many rules.

Maria C: The Tias<sup>79</sup> are really fucked, they’re so demanding. I just want my privacy back.

Danitza: Way too many rules. It’s so controlling. How can I express myself if I can’t get my stuff? They need to open the bedrooms earlier.

Maria C: They fuck you about if you just want to go and buy some shampoo at the corner. You can’t even do that. They control your whole life. When you wake up, when you study, when you sleep. Even then I can’t sleep because my feet are hanging off the bed, so I’m just lying there waiting for her to yell at me to get up again.

Denisse: Is it different to home?

Maria H: Home is free. No one tells you what to do at home.

*(Interview 12, April 5<sup>th</sup>, 2019)*

The internado is organized in such a way as to facilitate adult surveillance and authority, in order to “aid social and behavioural control of the children” (Collins and Coleman, 2008, p. 285). For Foucault, the school was one in a number of modern institutions in which individuals were monitored, categorised and subject to disciplinary power. He argues that this “discipline, sometimes requires enclosure” (Foucault 1979, p. 136). This power is readily apparent in the internado, as girls’ movements, location, behaviour and appearance are all subject to control.

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<sup>78</sup> Maria H is a 13 year old student at Gabriela Mistral school and internado. Maria H is both ethnically Mapuche and evangelical. Maria continues to identify as Mapuche as her evangelical pastor encourages his followers to maintain their cultural practices and does not see them as opposed to the evangelical religion.

<sup>79</sup> Dorm Mistresses

As in the asylum, hospital or prison, the internal space of the internado is openly manipulated in the hope that it will produce, what Foucault terms, ‘docile’ bodies. Whilst all school children may be regulated, it’s important to note, as Nanni (2012) has shown in his comparisons between the mission bell and the school bell, that the time regimes and tightly controlled spaces of the internado are specifically colonial in the ways that they try to assert colonial discipline and sovereignty over the bodies of colonised peoples. However, within the internado there is consistent resistance to the adult-imposed norms and there remains an enduring tension between “relatively authoritarian school structures, and the capacity of pupils to act autonomously” (Collins and Coleman, 2008, p. 286). The girls constantly push the boundaries of time, arriving slightly after the doors had been locked, laden with chocolate bars and begging to be let in. Similarly, they were always trying to get the Tias (*Dorm Mistresses*) to open their bedrooms, arguing that they had left their homework inside, then coming back out with makeup and headphones. And yet, the girls’ resistance did not pose a fundamental challenge to the structural realities of the internado, rather it was a show of agency that allowed students to circumvent the boundaries of their space.

Within these specifically indigenous circumstances, power is not only enforced over the body, but also the mind, through the control of interactions, social relations and knowledge construction. For example, students are aware that when talking about spirituality they are breaking a taboo.

*I arrived early for the workshop and I was looking out of the window at a beautiful old building. I asked Maria and Clara what the building was:*

Clara<sup>80</sup>: It’s the old internado, where the girls used to live. It’s like 100 years old.

Grace: It’s beautiful.

Maria H: It’s haunted. You can hear the screams in the night. They say a girl was murdered there.

Clara: (Gives Maria an angry look) You’re not supposed to say things like that.

Maria H: Oh yeah.

Grace: Why not?

Maria H: The Directora (*headmistress*) doesn’t like it.

Clara: She’s super Catholic.

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<sup>80</sup> Clara is 13 year old student at Pablo Neruda school and Gabriela Mistral internado. She is ethnically Mapuche but her family do not participate in Mapuche culture.

Grace: Ah, I see.

Clara: None of that ghost stuff.

Maria H: No spiritual stuff at all.

Grace: Machi stuff?

Clara: Ohh none of that!

(They both laugh)

Maria H: (More seriously) Don't tell on us though.

*(Conversation from Field Notes, March 15<sup>th</sup>, 2018)*

The internado is clearly a space that attempts to socialise Mapuche girls, particularly into the national status quo, permitting the exercise of freedom and choice “only within relatively strict bounds” (Collins and Coleman, 2008, p. 286). Thus, whilst talk about the Mapuche is accepted in terms of ethnic or linguistic aspects, it is not acceptable to talk about cultural practices or spirituality. The obligatory socialisation that Mapuche girls experience within the internado works to shape their knowledges, identities and behaviours. Thus, whilst Mapuche education is framed as a human right, students continue to be controlled by the rules of adults and the priorities of the Chilean state. Mapuche girls are forced to negotiate the highly controlled, poor, Mapuche, feminine space of the internado, which in many ways replicate the isolating and assimilating, colonial pattern of boarding houses in the Araucanía.

### *The School and the Prison: Criminality or Citizenship*

Life in the school, in many ways, reflects the monotony and control of life in the internado. The school is in an old, rundown building and many of the workshops in winter had to be cancelled, as classroom flooding meant the school was evacuated. Most of the classrooms were stark, save for a few decorated by particularly motivated teachers, with only the obligatory military map of Chile breaking up the peeling paint. The girls were fervent critics of the state of the school.

Mailen: If you were the headmistress, what would you do to improve the school?

Yessica: Well firstly I would go into my classroom, because the classroom is full of mushrooms. They're growing out of the wall. Then after that I would focus on the toilets. We need mirrors in there. And for people to stop robbing toilet seats. Seriously.

*(Interview 17; November 9<sup>th</sup>, 2017)*

One of the most common complaints relating to the school infrastructure was the fact that there were bars on the windows.

Mailen: Just please take the bars off the windows. It's awful. Then we would be able to open them more than a crack.

*(Interview 18; November 9<sup>th</sup>, 2017)*

The school is on an avenue with a variety of municipal buildings: two state schools – the technical school in which this research took place and a humanities school across the road; the Department of Education; the Police Investigations Department; the cemetery; and the prison (see Figure 14). The bars on the windows of the school were the result of a shared wall with the prison. In some ways the school and the prison blended into one another, with shared architecture. Only the barbed wire around the prison distinguished it, until the school was painted a bright yellow. The bars on the school windows were a frequent topic of conversation:

Sara: It's to keep the prisoners from getting in and murdering us!

Mailen: Or maybe it's actually to keep us from getting out! Keep us all locked up.

Yessica: To stop us from fighting those posh kids over the road.

*(Interview 21, November 16<sup>th</sup>, 2018)*

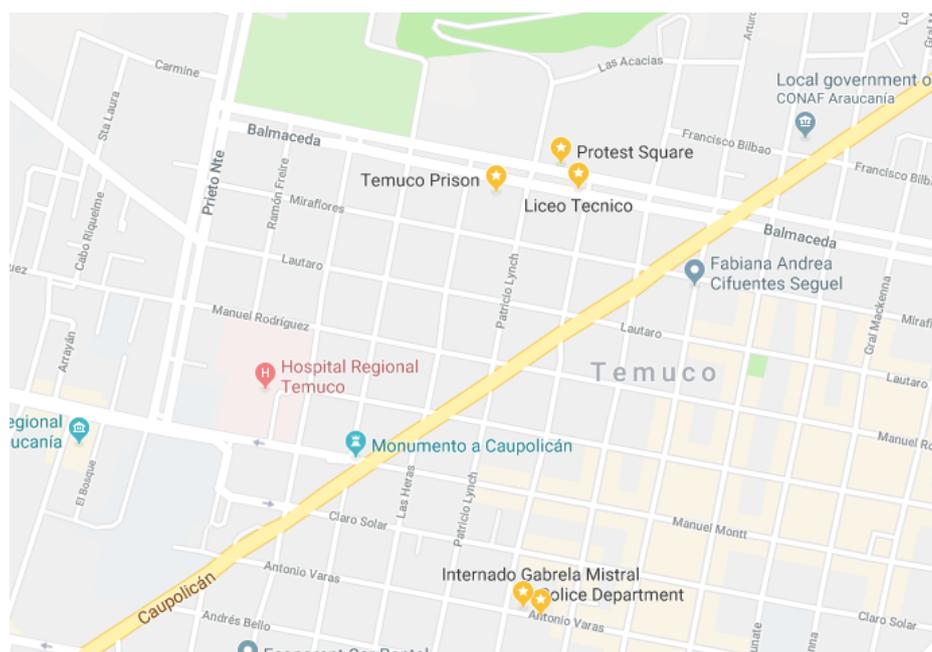


Figure 14 Map of Research site (Google Maps)

The students jokingly imply that they are seen as more threatening than their counterparts in the humanities school across the road. They consider the other students to be “posh”, whilst they are lower class and thus more dangerous. However, Mailen is also alluding to ethnic discrimination. She argues that she never talks about being Mapuche in the school because

It gets me into lots of problems here, I think because we’re so close to the prison.  
*(Interview with Mailen November 30<sup>th</sup>, 2018)*

Mailen says that when she has tried to talk about her identity in the school spaces, classmates have rejected her or ridiculed her because they identify Mapucheness with criminality.

They say, oh, do you burn lorries on the weekend then? You’ll end up in the prison with the Machi<sup>81</sup>. Or they say, if you’re so bothered why don’t you go and join those ñañas<sup>82</sup> outside the school?  
*(Interview with Mailen November 30<sup>th</sup>, 2018)*

The prison in Temuco is a key site within the Mapuche struggle, being home to the majority of Mapuche political prisoners. At the time of this research, it housed the highly controversial political prisoners condemned in the Luchsinger case, including the Machi Francisca Linconao, the Machi Celestino Cordova and Jose Tracal<sup>83</sup>. The prison in Temuco is thus a symbol of both political and ethnic oppression for the Mapuche people within the Araucanía and is a place of constant movement and protest. During the research, the imprisonment of Machi Celestino led to a long-term camp being set up outside the prison (and simultaneously the school). Whilst the camp was a peaceful protest, for some students it was their first

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<sup>81</sup> Machi Francisca Linconao was imprisoned for her suspected part in the Luchsinger case, in which a Chilean European couple were burned alive in their house, supposedly by a group of Mapuche.

<sup>82</sup> The ñaña are Mapuche women, in this case those who set up a camp outside the prison to protest for the release of Machi Celestino – also arrested related to the Luchsinger case – and his indigenous rights to return home to engage in the spiritual ceremony of changing his Rewe, a Mapuche ceremony in which the branches of his ceremonial centre are changed (Riviera, 2020).

<sup>83</sup> It is important to note that the PDI (Police Department of Investigations), also very close to the school, was the key government body involved in pressing charges against the political prisoners. Operation Hurricane was led by the police against the prisoners in the Luchsinger case, and it was later revealed that police had invented WhatsApp conversations between prisoners in an attempt to have them convicted of the murder of the Luchsinger family. For this reason, among others, the PDI is often considered to be in direct conflict with the Mapuche people (Riviera, 2020).

engagement with Mapuche resistance to the state. Many students also watched news reports that depicted Mapuche as violent terrorists, and so by choosing to place the school next to the prison, the myth of Mapuche criminality is reinforced for these students.

Imprisonment in Chile is largely linked to class and ethnicity. Poor people are 9.5% more likely to go to prison than rich people and Mapuche people are 25% more likely to go to prison than non-Mapuche people (ISCI, 2017). Foucault, (1979, p. 227) has argued that “prisons resemble ... schools, which in turn resemble prisons”, as they both serve as an instrument to create bodies that the ruling class can control. The increased surveillance and regulation of Mapuche students labels them from an early age as more likely to refuse to conform to school norms, and to subvert the official agenda of conformity and control. The school-prison complex has long highlighted the ways that certain segments of school-age populations, including indigenous children, are criminalized from an early age (Raible and Irizarry, 2010). Through surveillance and regulation, Mapuche students are adapted to what Foucault (1979) terms a ‘carceral culture’, which allows the state to criminalize the Mapuche populace, leading them to accept a lifetime of surveillance, interference and control by state police.

The students in this study are growing up at a time when indigenous activism is increasingly denounced as criminal and more often than not blamed on the youth (Radcliffe and Webb, 2014). And yet, the school contrasts to the neighbouring prison to create “a socially structured zone of possibility that emerges around specific periods of potential transformation in a life” (Johnson-Hanks, 2002, p. 871). The futures of these young students are uncertain, stuck between what Hale (2004) describes as the ‘Indio permitido’ (*the allowed Indian*) and the insurrectionary Indian. Through civic participation in the school and neoliberal markets, students are encouraged to achieve a deracialised citizenship. The prison, in contrast, stands as a constant reminder that attempts at autonomist efforts result in racialised spaces of poverty and exclusion. Such a stark choice between the jail and the school “provokes fraught identity choices for contemporary Mapuche youth that pull them closer to the status quo than Mapuche radicalism, closer to national norms than parental experience” (Radcliffe and Webb, 2014, p. 15). Thus, whilst intercultural policy makers and academic commentators have focused on the construction of a viable intercultural curriculum, they have ignored the ways in which institutional spaces, architectures and systems of control influence the construction of Mapuche girls’ identities, moving them from spaces of freedom to unfreedom, from liberation to docility.

For many of the girls, indigeneity is still associated with insurrection and criminality and the threat of prison is constantly present. In contrast, choosing to assimilate into western education systems is posited as the key to an aspirational citizenship and productive future. However, it is not only their class or ethnicity that affects the experiences of Mapuche girls within the school and internado. Gender also influences the way in which they are able to interact with school institutions and intercultural curricula. Corlett and Mavin (2014, p. 262) have argued that identity is not a single plane, rather it should be understood as “being derived from different registers functioning as shifting planes, at times operating detachedly from one another; in other cases, directly overlapping and even clashing” (Corlett and Mavin, 2014, p. 262). Thus, in order to fully understand the experiences of girls within intercultural schools and the way these experiences work to construct their identities, it is necessary to look at the way they experience gender in the school.



*Figure 15 The Prison*



*Figure 16 The School*

### Growing up Lamgnen: Stories of an Intersectional Girlhood

Within the context of the intercultural school, Mapuche girls are influenced by multiple social identities including ethnicity, nationality, gender and class, that intersect at the microlevel of everyday life in the school to reveal experiences of social inequality at the macrolevel of the Chilean nation. Their complex identities are mutually constituting, reinforcing and naturalising, creating unique forms of disadvantage and interlocking oppressions that cannot be accounted for simply by adding together single categories (Corlett and Mavin, 2014). Collins (1990, p. 276) describes this as a “matrix of domination” that works to reconstitute hegemonic power relations, leaving Mapuche girls subordinated within Chile’s sociocultural history of patriarchy and racism. Intersectionality provides a framework for studying such experiences of identity, and for analysing the way in which these “multiple social locations and

identities mutually inform and constitute one another” (Diamond and Butterworth, 2008, p. 366). An intersectional theoretical framework explains how Mapuche girls’ experiences of selfhood are continually transformed and renegotiated within the school landscape, illustrating how their experiences of ethnicity are profoundly shaped by their other social identities and vice versa. By taking an intersectional approach, I acknowledge that “each individual’s fluid social locations are continually interacting to produce multiple, dynamic senses of self over time” (Diamond and Butterworth, 2008, p. 375), especially as Mapuche girls negotiate, legitimate and challenge prevailing relationships of power.

### *Mapuche, Girl, Poor: Classroom Stereotypes and State Constructed Futures*

Just as girls had a limited knowledge of interculturality, they also had limited understanding of the term gender, despite, as explored in the previous chapter, the Chilean government’s insistence that it was an integral part of the curriculum. Indeed, there was shared confusion about the term.

Carmen: What is gender?

Maria C: Pass. Oh God, I don’t know. I’m nervous. Help me!

Maria H: Isn’t it to do with like romantic love?

Giselle: No, I think it’s like masculine, feminine type stuff.

*(Workshop, March 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2018)*

Despite this confusion, unlike interculturality all of the girls were confident that they had heard the term before in their orientación classes, where it was discussed mainly in terms of gender equality.

Grace: What did they teach you about gender?

Saulen<sup>84</sup>: That boys and girls are equal. That everyone is equal.

Paulina<sup>85</sup>: Gender equality type stuff.

Saulen: Girls should be able to vote and stuff. We can do the same stuff as boys.

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<sup>84</sup> Saulen is a 14 year old gastronomy student at ISETT from a población of Temuco. Saulen is of German European origins.

<sup>85</sup> Paulina is a 15 year old gastronomy student at ISETT and interned in Gabriela Mistral. Paulina has two Mapuche surnames and lives in a comunidad but she never spoke openly about her identity in relation to ethnicity, gender or class.

(Workshop 20, May 17<sup>th</sup>, 2018)

However, despite the orientation classes that taught that boys and girls were equal, the girls continued to maintain very traditional and stereotypical opinions on what being a girl meant, the characteristics that were associated with girlhood and the role of girls in society. For example, in one workshop the girls were asked to write what being a girl meant to them on a sheet of paper. Most of the responses that came back were associated with the softness that one usually finds in stereotypes of femininity and girlhood (delicacy, empathy, style, mother, sensitive, security, common sense, openness, intelligence, sincerity, love, patience, respect, humility, goodness), although a few girls were keen to add some more words that were more controversial within the group (including sexuality and independence) (see Figure 17.)

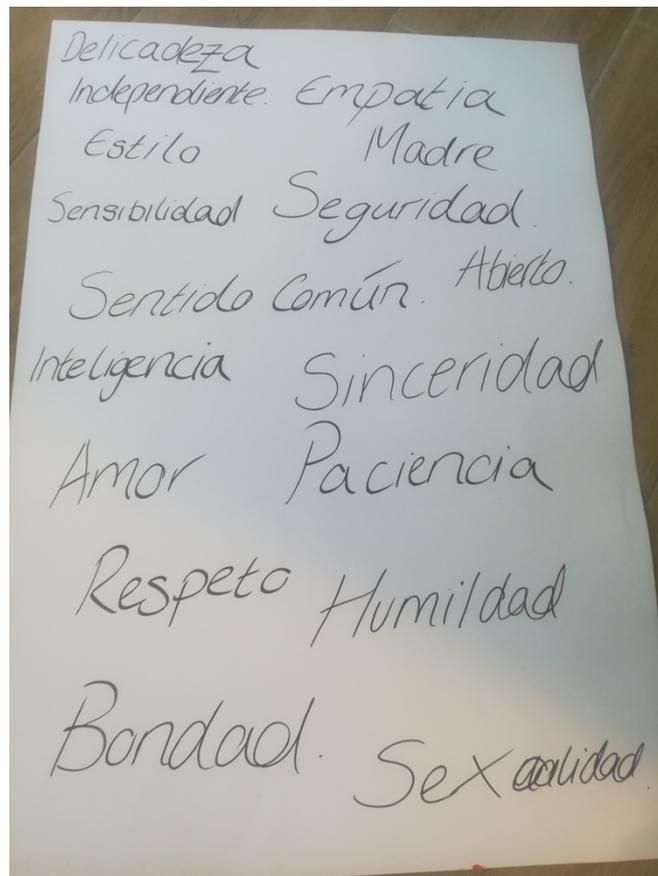


Figure 17 What does it mean to be a girl?

Similarly, when asked whether boys and girls were the same, their opinions differed greatly from the concept of gender equality within orientación.

Sara: Are boys and girls the same?

Rosa: No.

Sara: Why not?

Rosa: They're just different.

Sara: But how?

Rosa: Boys are more masculine. They play football. They can lift heavy things. Girls are more beautiful.

Sara: Beautiful how?

Rosa: You have to be beautiful inside and out. You know you have to maintain your looks, do your hair and your makeup. But you also have to be beautiful inside. Be kind to people, be caring.

Sara: Do you think girls can do the same things as boys?

Rosa: No. Boys are good at like car stuff, and girls are good at cooking and stuff.

*(Workshop, December 6<sup>th</sup>)*

Stereotypical opinions extended beyond understandings of gender and femininity and into discussions on sexuality. None of the participants openly identified as anything other than heterosexual, and this was not surprising given the great hostility surrounding homosexuality within the school. The school until recently was an all girls' school and the girls were very forceful in rejecting any association with homosexuality.

Sara: Why did you decide to come and study at the school?

Yessica: Well I really didn't want to come here at first because it's a lesbian school. And I didn't want people to think I was a lesbian. But after I found out that there were boys here too, I decided to come. If it's all girls, they can try to make you a lesbian.

*(Workshop, December 6<sup>th</sup>)*

When asked where their opinions and understandings of gender, girlhood and sexuality had come from, the girls were clear that one of the main influences was the school. Whilst openly the school advocates for gender equality, as noted in the previous chapter, the school's hidden curriculum reproduces traditional understandings of girls and girlhood. One of the most important agendas within the school is to stop girls getting pregnant before marriage.

Sara: Where did you learn about all this?

Mailen: Here.

Sara: At the school?

Mailen: Yeah, we learn about it in orientación, history and other subjects.

Sara: What do they tell you?

Mailen: Like how you should act and stuff. Be careful, you don't want to get pregnant, stuff like that.

*(Workshop, December 6<sup>th</sup>, 2017)*

Whilst the school is keen to reduce teenage pregnancies, its hidden curriculum actively encourages girls to aspire to a future of biological motherhood once within a marriage. This stems from the school's Christian orientation and is often reproduced by teachers within their classes. For several of the girls, motherhood had become an unquestioned future aspiration. For example, the aim of a technical education was, according to Sara, to prepare oneself for future motherhood.

Mailen: Do you think education is important for girls?

Sara: I think it's really important because you know it helps you with a lot of things. You know in the future you're going to be a mother, so it's really going to help you in that moment, not only to know how to look after your kids. But also, to help them with their homework and stuff.

*(Workshop, December 6<sup>th</sup>, 2017)*

Sara believes an education will aid students to look after their future children, particularly through studying one of the school's choice of vocational subjects including cookery, childcare, hoteleria (*hotel work*) and nursing. The technical school has become a key site in which stereotypical conceptions of girlhood are reinforced because feminised 'caring' reproductive subjects are promoted in preference to more 'masculine' skills, such as mechanics, carpentry and design. By offering only reproductive technical subjects, the school strengthens the stereotypes that can be found in Richards' (2003) research that girls are better at service jobs and unsuited to skilled jobs that require a university degree. Whilst the girls are not obliged to move into the work directly related to their technicality, their education in academic subjects, such as maths, literature, history, geography and English, is limited. Girls'

futures are, therefore, often restricted to badly paid, feminised work with long hours, and their belief in what they are able to achieve becomes limited. Once they have left school, many of the girls end up working as *nanas* (*live in maids*) to rich, white, European households (Richards, 2003). Such work also works to reproduce classed stereotypes of the Mapuche. Many Mapuche parents choose to send their daughters to technical schools because it is cheaper than university and provides them with a vocation that allows them to make money quickly and support the family. As Webb and Radcliffe (2015, p. 6) argue school spaces “actively reproduce indigenous subjects in ways that bolster a national stereotype that Mapuche are best suited to subservient roles, thereby contributing to assimilative and hierarchical racially – and class – inflected citizenship”. Despite this, the girls who participated in this research were keen to dissociate themselves from working class identities.

Sara: How could they improve the education of girls in this school?

Mailen: I don't think they need to improve it. Here you have all the different specialities. What more could you want?

Sara: Can I just say I think they could improve the education by not letting anymore girls from SENAME<sup>86</sup> come here. They really lower the level of the school. And they make it really hard to concentrate in classes because they just mess about all the time and don't listen to the teacher.

Yessica: Well if you're going to get rid of all the kids from SENAME you may as well get rid of all the *fleites*<sup>87</sup> as well.

Mailen: Yeah. Let's just get rid of all the *fleites*. People say this school is just for dumb *fleites* and that's not true.

(Interview 26, December 6<sup>th</sup>, 2017)

Despite the stereotypical state constructed futures that the school reproduces, many of the girls have big aspirations and view their education as an opportunity to achieve these goals. This confirms Webb and Radcliffe's (2015, p. 12) suggestion that Mapuche students see education “as a route to unmarked racial national status, consistent with individualised aspirations for a Chilean citizenship”. Many of the girls hope to go to university and to study for well-paid and

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<sup>86</sup> SENAME refers to girls who have been taken into state-run children's homes either because their parents are incapable of looking after them, because they are orphaned or because they have been involved in a crime.

<sup>87</sup> Fleite is a colloquial term referring to someone who talks in a particular way or has a particular style, most often used to describe working class or poor young people. It can be translated as something similar to a 'chav' in British English.

highly respected careers, whilst others intend on escaping the poverty of the Araucanía, despite the fact that these hopes contrast with the poor educational outcomes and the stereotypical constructions of poor, Mapuche, feminine jobs that the girls consistently encounter. For example, Sara, along with many other girls, wants to enter into a stable job in the police force (despite its violent reputation in Chile and its long-term war against the Mapuche). She, like many other girls ignores the gendered and racialised inequalities that affect university attendance and employment prospects in Chile, instead associating social mobility with her own personal achievement and individual endeavour.

Grace: What do you want to do when you leave here?

Mailen: I want to go to university. I want to study to be an architect.

Isabella: I want to go north, to Antofagasta. They've got mines there and you can make a load of money really quickly.

Sara: I want to go into the police. They pay you to do all the training and everything.

Grace: How can the school help you achieve that?

Mailen: Its not to do with the school, each person has to work hard for what they want.

*(Interview 26, December 6<sup>th</sup>, 2017)*

These dreams of escape and aspirations of a university degree contrast starkly with the reality for most of the girls within the school. Whilst the number of Mapuche students in university is increasing, the majority of these students have studied in humanities, not technical schools (see Ortiz-Velosa et al., 2019). The girls' aspirations can be understood as part of a larger neoliberal social hope project, which through a hidden curriculum attempts to foster neoliberal subjectivities centred on promoting individualised social mobility (Brown, 2013), whilst at the same time reproducing cultural deficit stereotypes that suggest indigenous children lack the innate intelligence to succeed in life (Deyhle and Swisher, 1997). However, the girls are not unaware of the inequalities that they face in life and in more intimate spaces they speak with a transformed understanding of their subjectivity. Whilst the girls view themselves through the gendered stereotyping of the hidden curriculum, and through the school's official accounts of aspirational deracialised and degendered futures, in more intimate spaces they address the vulnerability that comes with being Mapuche, woman and poor.

*Teenage Motherhood, Sexual Assault and School Dropouts: The Normalised Gendered Violence of Mapuche Girls' Lives*

During the research project each week on a Thursday I would lead workshops at the school, in these workshops I provided snacks and juice. Often the girls did not want to eat these until after the workshops, so it became normal practice that once the workshop was over, we would push the tables together and sit in a circle to share the snacks. By the end of the project these moments of sharing would last up to an hour when the cleaners came to tell us they needed to lock the school doors. We would linger as long as possible in the school as many of the girls did not want to go back to their internados, or complex homelives, and I was also reluctant to go back to the flat where I lived on my own. Within these safe and intimate spaces of sharing and friendship many of the realities of the girls' lives were discussed.

One of the common conversations at the table concerned love and romance. The girls would gossip about their latest love interests and they enjoyed shocking me and my continued protests that they were too young to have boyfriends. They would show each other pictures on Snapchat and Instagram, and ask each other 'what do you think of him?' However, they also revealed a culture of young girls dating older men.

All the girls are showing each other pictures of different boys they find cute. Sara shows me a picture, "can I ask you something?" she says.

"Sure" I reply.

"Am I being rude if I don't go on a date with this guy?"

"Not if you don't want to" I say.

"I don't know what to do because he won't stop messaging me, and the other day he turned up at my house with flowers".

"He turned up at your house? How does he know where you live?" I asked her.

"He lives in the barrio (*poor community*)".

I look at the picture, I can tell he is much older than Sara, who is 14. Although Sara looks and often behaves like the oldest girl in the group, she is actually the youngest.

"Sara how old is he?" I ask her.

"28".

"Sara, that's older than me!"

The other girls laugh at my shocked face. “Why is he messaging you? He shouldn’t be messaging young girls”.

The other girls laugh, “It’s normal” says Yessica “boys love younger girls”.

“I think I will just go out with him; I really don’t want to be rude”.

“Please don’t go out with him, tell your mum”.

“But what if he gets angry and comes to my house”.

On my way home I called the headmistress to tell her what had happened. “Grace if I tried to intervene in every girl who is dating an older man, I would never get any other work done”.

*(Extract from research diary, December 14<sup>th</sup>, 2017).*

Over the year the idea that these young girls were dating much older men became more normalised. However, it continued to be a great cause for concern as the girls openly talked about their experiences of sexual assault as a normal part of everyday life, and something that girls in their circumstances learned to come to expect.

Isabella: Tia, I bet they catcall you a lot because you’re blonde.

Grace: Not really, why, do they catcall you?

Isabella: All the time!

Grace: What do they say?

Isabella: Mijita rica (*beautiful girl*), wassshittta (*pretty girl*).

Yessica: Zorra (*slut*)! [*Laughs*]

Isabella: That old guy outside the school?

Yessica: Yeah [*laughs*].

Isabella: He’s the worst. Why can it never be a young guy?

Grace: Do you think that would that be ok?

Isabella: Better than him. [*Laughs*]

Grace: Do people accept it?

Yessica: Yeah. What else can you do?

Grace: Shout back?

Yessica: He’d go mad. You’ve got to be careful tia, you can’t go around yelling at crazy men.

Isabella: They'll rape you. The other day they raped a girl outside [*name of another school*].

Mailen: And at that party we went to, they raped a girl.

Isabella: Yeah that was her boyfriend though.

Grace: Her boyfriend? Was he a classmate?

Mailen: No, he was old. She didn't want to do it.

Grace: Do lots of older men go to the same parties as you?

Isabella: Yeah.

Grace: Do girls date them?

Mailen: Yeah.

Isabella: We like the experienced ones!

(*Workshop, April 12<sup>th</sup>, 2017*)

Relationships with older non-Mapuche men are common for these girls, and some reveal that it is not uncommon for parents to support these relationships, particularly when the parents are evangelical or the older man is able to financially support the girl.

Grace: Do you know any girls who have dropped out of school?

Paulina: There is a girl on my course who dropped out because she's pregnant.

Grace: Do you think she will come back?

Paulina: I don't think so.

Saulen: A girl on my course is dropping out because she's getting married.

Grace: She's getting married? She can't be getting married, she's only 14. Isn't that illegal<sup>88</sup>?

Saulen: I think so, but her parents gave her permission so she's getting married.

Grace: How old is he?

Saulen: 23. He's really nice though. I've met him.

Grace: What does he do?

Saulen: I think he makes furniture or something.

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<sup>88</sup> The age of sexual consent in Chile is actually 14. Between 14 and 17 there are certain limitations, for example the relationship must be consensual and must not involve anyone in a position of authority. Despite this, in Chile 18 is the legal age of consent to marriage, however it is possible to marry at 16 with parental consent. Thus, it is not clear if this story was an exaggeration on the part of Saulen, or an illegal marriage was really going to take place.

Grace: Why do you think they are getting married instead of just dating?

Saulen: She's evangelical, so I guess if she wants to move in with him and have sex and stuff, she has to marry him. I don't know.

*(Workshop, December 7<sup>th</sup>, 2017)*

Chile has one of the highest rates of teenage pregnancy in the world and 1 in 6 births are to teenage mothers (IPPF, 2019). Teenage pregnancy is a particular problem within the Araucanía region, and especially within rural, Mapuche and poor communities where sexual health education is low. The school has made several attempts to reduce the number of teenage pregnancies. In addition to following the national curriculum, it also invites speakers from the Santo Tomas university to give workshops on how to avoid teenage pregnancy, yet it remains a common occurrence. The school now has a special programme to attempt to get girls to return to school once they have had their babies, but the number of girls who do return is much lower than the number who drop out of school entirely. During the course of the year, one of the 14-year-old girls on the programme dropped out of school and, as far as I know, did not return after having her child. For many of the girls, pregnancy is an accident. However, for others having a child is a way to gain independence, move out of the family home or internado, or to start managing their own money.

Yessica: I want to have a baby.

Sara: Are you mad?

Yessica: No. I want to leave my parents' house. I can't stand it there. And the government give you money if you have a baby.

*(Workshop, April 12<sup>th</sup>, 2018)*

In Yessica's case, her family home was a violent space. Whilst other girls lived in internados, Yessica lived in Pedro de Valdivia, a very poor barrio on the outskirts of Temuco. She was scared of her father.

*[I'm in the staffroom and Yessica comes to find me. She's crying. I ask her what's the matter].*

Yessica: I need you to speak to Profe Andrés for me!

Grace: Why?

Yessica: He says he's going to call my Dad.

Grace: Why? What did you do?

Yessica: I was playing cards in class.

Grace: Yessica, you probably shouldn't be playing cards in class.

Yessica: I know, I know, but listen, no one was concentrating, everyone was talking, and I don't know why he just picked on me. Seriously tia you've got to stop him; I'll be in big trouble for that.

Grace: You know I can't interfere in that, Yessica.

Yessica: I know tia, but just this once. He's your friend. If you ask him, he won't mind. He'll do it for you, please.

*[I tell her that I can't but when I see him later, I secretly ask him not to. Yessica comes to school with bruises and she says her father beats her when she misbehaves.]*

*(Extract from research diary, May 5<sup>th</sup>, 2018).*

Yessica, like many of her classmates, is in a vulnerable position. Her life is constantly plagued by discrimination, poverty and violence. An intersectional approach highlights how Mapuche girls' experiences of gender are also inherently shaped by their indigeneity and class position and vice versa. The girls' social location at the intersection of poverty, female and indigeneity leaves them in a place of vulnerability where abuse is common. Emphasising their complex social identities reveals the dynamics of power within the Araucanía in which historically indigenous girls have had little value placed on their lives. Indigenous girls are much more likely to be victims of violence than their non-indigenous counterparts (World Organisation Against Torture, 2007). Despite this, indigenous girls have long been ignored and it is common that in the school environment they will repeat the stereotypical narratives instilled in them by the hidden curriculum. Only when in safe spaces and among friends does their relationship with gendered violence emerge. Thinking through an intersectional lens moves beyond curricular analyses and conversations with teachers, to understand the profound ways that intercultural education both affects and is affected by Mapuche girls' identities. The girls in this study are in a dynamic and ongoing process of becoming, and yet their class, ethnicity and gender all contribute in intersecting ways to their continued subordination by the Chilean state. While gender is consistently overlooked in discussions of intercultural education, it is a key vector in the lives of Mapuche girls in intercultural schools and must be considered when designing an intercultural curriculum. Whilst the previous chapter noted the ways that DAEM

representatives considered that Mapuche girls have their own needs in relation to education, the gendered violence that they face is ignored within both state and municipal policy. Evidence suggests that the intercultural school is not a safe space for Mapuche girls and rather has worked to reproduce gendered, ethnic and classed stereotypes, which affect Mapuche girls' futures. As Crenshaw (1989, p. 140) has argued any "analysis that does not take intersectionality into account cannot sufficiently address the particular manner" in which Mapuche girls are oppressed within the intercultural school, as their intersectional experience is greater than the sum of racism or sexism.

### Conclusions

Listening to the intimate stories of growing up Mapuche is particularly important because, as Matsuda (1987, p. 324) posits, "those who have experienced discrimination speak with a special voice to which we should listen". Educational policy has failed to protect Mapuche girls because its assimilationist programme calls for national unity, creating racialised and gendered subjectivities that discriminate against Mapuche girls. However, Mapuche girls' identity experiences cannot be reduced solely to marginalisation; as Wing (1990, p. 196) argues: "we are more than "multiply burdened" entities subject to a multiplicity of oppression, discrimination, pain and depression. Our essence is also characterised by a multiplicity of strength, love, joy and transcendence that flourishes despite adversity". This is not to romanticise Mapuche girls as inherently resilient subjects, who "retain an innate creativity even in the midst of the opposition that a patriarchal white dominated culture produces" (Nash, 2008, p. 8); rather, this chapter has highlighted the complex spaces of multiple meanings within Mapuche girls' identities, and acknowledged their inherent vulnerability within a failing system.

This chapter reveals Mapuche girls' experiences of the intercultural school within the context of their everyday lives and the ways in which girls negotiate their identities within the intercultural school. It argues that within the school intercultural education is nothing more than a formal policy that is absent in practice, as girls have no experience on an everyday basis with intercultural education. This leads to a visualisation of Mapuche culture as a dead culture, in comparison with the national Chilean culture. Mapuche girls in the school become more likely to disassociate from their Mapuche identity because they are bullied and because of the influence of the school and national, religious identities on their everyday identity negotiation.

This disassociation is augmented by the removal of Mapuche girls from their lives in the countryside to the relatively more restrictive and controlled spaces of schools and internados, which results in the painful separation of girls from their families and their culture. The control exercised over the girls in these spaces attempts to assimilate them into a national culture that weakens ties to their home culture. However, Mapuche girls' identities are complex and fluctuating, and should be understood as always intersectional. Whilst they identify strongly with stereotypical understandings of gender that are present within the Chilean national curriculum, their experiences as Mapuche, poor, girls are of violence and vulnerability. The ways in which Mapuche girls construct their identities are thus constantly influenced by the colonial and patriarchal power structures around them that do not value the lives of indigenous girls. The school and internado constantly reproduce the assimilatory practices of colonial schools that attempt to isolate Mapuche girls from their indigenous identity and reconstitute hierarchical gendered practices. According to the OECD, Chile's education system creates "a culture that accepted all too easily the tracking of Mapuche children into dead end educational options" and schools "appeared to be preparing Mapuche pupils to assume subservient roles in society" (OECD, 2004, 260 in Webb and Radcliffe, 2015, p. 3).

Heilman (1998, p. 202) has argued that girls fall behind in class not because of cognitive deficiencies, or because of a lack of attention, but because "they lose their sense of themselves as powerful human beings at a time when, developmentally, their feelings of power should be expanding". In order for girls to foster their power and confidence within schools, educators should be considering the intersectionality of Mapuche girls' lives. The current intercultural education initiatives do not take into account the way the living, breathing, racialised and gendered bodies of Mapuche girls experience schools in the everyday. It is not enough to try to legitimise students' indigenous positionality through curricular interventions. Rather what is needed is to "realise those experiences, in the most literal sense of the word – to make real" (Rivière, 2005, p. 343). Changing the way indigenous girls interact with the school requires reimagining the world and understanding the Mapuche as a living culture, a sentient and shifting being. This can reveal the ways in which Mapuche girls experience culture on a daily basis and the ways in which experiences of culture are influenced by gender and class. As discussed, students live their identities in complex ways within the school space and so it is not enough for intercultural policies to remain fixed, with set universalised assumptions about the nature of identity. Furthermore, as Boyle-Baise (1999) has argued, intercultural education has

overemphasised students' relationships to ethnic identities at the expense of their other identities, including class and gender. Accepting the lived ways in which students experience the school requires recognition of the intersections of different social identities that affect the students' lives and how these identities are experienced differently within different social contexts. If education for Mapuche girls is to be successful, it must not separate each target and indicator – gender, poverty, interculturality – into separate policies, which can lead to a contradiction between curricula, but instead take an intersectional approach to understanding and supporting lives that are lived and experienced intersectionally. Developing this argument, the next chapter explores the alternative ways in which intercultural education can and has been implemented in the Araucanía region outside of state regulated education systems.

Dark centuries tear me apart, tear my voice apart  
They destroyed our culture, they imposed their God  
Their descendants wash their consciences with charity  
and endorse a system full of inequality.  
Indians, mestizos, zambos, blacks and mulattos  
we all follow the system  
that marginalizes us from what we have left  
health, education and our beautiful land.  
*Evelyn Cornejo, America Sí*

Küme rakiduamlu, chunk'lai rumé.  
He who thinks well does no harm to anyone.  
*Mapuche Proverb*

## **Chapter 7 - Decolonising Intercultural Education: From Exclusion to Intersectionality**

### Introduction

As noted in previous chapters, interculturality originated as an ideological principle within indigenous communities in the late 1980s as a response to the continued coloniality of Chilean education and the emergence of a state-led neoliberal educational policy. Since then, interculturality has become a central component of indigenous “political and epistemic projects of struggle” (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018, p. 57). As it was originally conceived, interculturality is more than just a dialogue among cultures, rather it refers to the “building of radically different societies, of an ‘other’ social ordering, and of structural economic, social, political and cultural transformations” (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018, p. 57). It is a utopian model that aims to destabilise relations of power and the institutions and structures that maintain them, and instead celebrate equal relationships between different cultures and their richness of knowledges, practices and ways of knowing. The call for the incorporation of indigenous knowledges in intercultural education acknowledges their contribution to society in “its entirety as a function of change, as substantial elements of an alternative arrangement” (Macas in Mignolo and Walsh, 2018, p. 59).

Despite its origins in indigenous activism, intercultural education in the Araucanía has not made the transition from utopian thinking to policy and practice, instead it has worked to reproduce colonial practices of assimilation and folklorisation of Mapuche students and culture. In chapters 5 and 6, I argued that intercultural education in Chile has not led to the transformation of institutions or an authentic decolonial dialogue, nor has it manifested as a counterhegemonic project from within Mapuche communities in which students are able to think reflexively about their realities; rather, it has become part of neoliberal colonial policy. The last two chapters have shown that interculturality has become functional to the existing social, political and economic order and to “capitalism’s present day multicultural logic aimed at the expansion of neoliberalism and the market” (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018, p. 58). Intercultural education has been incorporated into a wider discourse of Chilean assimilatory citizenship, with chapter 6 showing that Mapuche girls have limited experiences with intercultural education, even in an intercultural school. Thus, indigenous peoples, academics and educationalists, including those who have been creators or advocates for intercultural

education, have begun to question state intercultural policy in a political climate in which the Mapuche remain an oppressed and marginalised people.

This chapter draws on interviews that took place in Temuco between January and June 2018 with Mapuche activists and educators, to examine the debates taking place in Wallmapu on the nature of interculturality and intercultural education. It attempts to address aims 3 and 4 of the thesis: *to explore critiques of intercultural education policy from within the Mapuche community and examine alternative decolonial indigenous approaches to education in the Araucanía; to address what the future possibilities of educating indigenous girls in the Araucanía might look like if the experiences of Mapuche girls and women were prioritised.* The chapter begins by highlighting the original utopian nature of Mapuche intercultural education projects. It explores a decolonial imaginary of intercultural education proposed by Mapuche activists and teachers, those who have been most vocal in the fight for a Mapuche intercultural education. It examines their desires for a return to traditional Mapuche educational practices and an emphasis on rural land teaching. However, the chapter continues by describing the ways in which the apolitical state interpretations of interculturality, described in chapters 5 and 6, have not met the utopian desires of Mapuche activists. It highlights the ways in which the participants believe that intercultural education has failed to meet the needs of Mapuche peoples, serving more to oppress and exclude Mapuche students than it has to disrupt colonial power hierarchies. Yet, despite its appropriation by national state policy, Mapuche activists continue to explore and struggle for the futures of intercultural education. However, I argue that even when originating from within Mapuche activism, indigenous decolonial intercultural projects continue to exclude the voices of the Mapuche girls from intercultural utopian futures. I contrast the ways in which the voices of Mapuche girls in urban boarding schools are continually silenced with the ways in which those of educated, middle class Mapuche men are elevated. The chapter explores the appropriation of colonial patriarchy among the Mapuche, in which the power of men over women is projected as natural and traditional, serving to silence Mapuche women and girls. The chapter reveals the ways that Mapuche women, particularly those who identify as Champurria (*Mapuche-Wingka Mestiza*), feminists and lesbians, are beginning to reclaim their own narratives and attempting to implement an intercultural education in the Araucanía that is at once decolonial and intersectional. I conclude by arguing that traditionally marginalised Mapuche women are continuing the struggle for a utopian interculturality, one that includes the indigenous, urban, poor, female students that participated in this study. Thus, this chapter ends with a hopeful look to a pluriversal future, one in which

a utopian indigenous interculturality can challenge state appropriation education models and oppressive educational institutions, instead including multiple knowledges and cosmovisions and giving equal value to indigenous subjects, regardless of their urbanity, poverty, gender or sexuality.

### Re-centring Indigenous Narratives of Decolonial Intercultural Education: Utopia or Dystopia?

The previous two chapters investigated the ways in which intercultural education theory has been implemented as policy within municipal schools in the Araucanía. I have argued that the indigenous political project of intercultural education within Chile has been appropriated by state actors to assimilate indigenous girls into Chilean citizenship and stereotypical gendered identities. However, in order to argue that indigenous intercultural theory has been appropriated, it is necessary to understand the ideological principles at the centre of Mapuche epistemic struggles for intercultural education. Here I explore the desires of Mapuche activists and educators for a Mapuche-led interculturality that centres on land, rurality and tradition. These same Mapuche activists believe that intercultural education policy in Chile has not only failed to accurately implement indigenous utopian theory, but is actually a project that attempts to (re)enforce colonial and gendered hierarchies, helping to maintain structures of internal coloniality and unequal power relations (see also Aikman, 1997). Interculturality in the Araucanía is understood by Mapuche activists as a policy that has appropriated the indigenous project as part of the Chilean state's continued drive to co-opt and depoliticise indigenous insurgent struggles, and to interpret these struggles as new apolitical policies, whilst continuing with the colonial project of domination over the Mapuche by the Chilean state (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018). Thus, I argue that the decolonial indigenous intercultural utopian project in Chile needs to be explicitly distinguished from the national assimilatory state education project that has developed appropriating the name of interculturality.

### *Imagining Mapuche Education: Countryside, Nature and the Language of the Land*

Intercultural education emerged in Chile as an indigenous political project that attempts to (re)centre indigenous knowledges, cosmologies and epistemologies and to challenge the invisibilisation and destruction of indigenous languages and ways of knowing and being (see chapter 4). Prior to the arrival of western systems of education and formal schooling, Mapuche peoples had their own ways of educating their children based around a culture of orality. Oral

education allowed for the transmission of the Mapuche worldview through spoken word, producing transformations within the listener (Trabol, 2009). In imagining the future of intercultural education, one in which Mapuche pedagogies are valued as much as Western pedagogies, many of the participants looked to the past, highlighting the importance of communal orality outside of formal school spaces. For example, as Luis, an ex-intercultural teacher, explains

Traditionally, education was done by the family, the community. In whichever space, the house, in a ceremonial space, on the hill, the river, the lake, anywhere. But what's more important is the process, the way this educational instance was generated. For example, the ñuke's (*mother's*) role was to advise the children through a process of ngütamtun (*advice giving*). And this is how values linked to elements of Kimün, of knowledge, ways of being, ethics, were installed. There were different people to teach different things. But it was always done through orality, practice and observation. There is no one figure of the teacher who educates at a school.

(*Conversation with Luis, 24<sup>th</sup> March, 2018*).

Whilst Luis notes that there is no one traditional teacher who takes on the role of formal education within Mapuche educational experiences, there are spiritual and political authorities who share Mapuche knowledges with youth through oral communication. One of the aims of Mapuche intercultural education has been to create a space for these traditional spiritual educators within the school to encourage both learning through orality and learning in Mapudungun. Ezekiel, a Mapuche Ulkantufe (*singer, songwriter*), explains the way his song-writing shares Mapuche Kimün with children and his desire for this knowledge to be included within state curricula.

I was fortunate to have grandparents who knew a lot about our culture. They talked to me about our Kimün until I came to be the man you see before me. But it's not my intelligence, it's theirs, I only transmit it... I make songs about this about our mongnen (*life*). I sing to the children who are not yet born, I invite them to value Mapudungun, to value our biodiversity, to value everything, the tremendous beauty this Mapu has given us ... So, when we speak about intercultural education, this is what we speak about. The school needs to value this knowledge, this Kimün as equal. And my songs should be recognised as part of the curriculum. Not as in the written curriculum, but the

children should be taught to sing them. And they should think about the meaning behind the words. That is what we are fighting for here. For the children to learn and to know our oral knowledges.

*(Conversation with Ezekiel, November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2017)*

In some Mapuche communities families do still continue to deliver Mapuche oral education in parallel to the state school, allowing Mapuche children to make sense of indigenous knowledges through the transmission of social memory (Quilaqueo Rapimán et al., 2016a). For example, Guacolda, a Mapuche linguist and academic at the Catholic University Temuco, describes the ways in which she learnt her people's history through her mother, grandparents and participation within community activities.

I'm Mapuche, I have a history and I should listen to it, I should welcome the oral tradition. So, I bring here today, the knowledge of my ancestors. I have listened to the stories that my grandparents told my mother and then my mother told me. I learned to listen while drinking Mate, a way to calm restless Mapuche souls. And I started to go to nguillatun, We Tripantu. I started to participate in community activities. And so, I started to feel Mapuche. This to me is intercultural education, the true Mapuche education in which our knowledges, our language and our way of life is valued. This is what the Chilean state needs to understand as intercultural. This is what the Mapuche have been telling the state for years.

*(Conversation with Guacolda, 14<sup>th</sup> June 2018)*

Guacolda and Ezekiel are among Mapuche intercultural activists calling for a profound structural transformation of Chilean education that aims towards a more equal and fair society in which Mapuche culture, knowledge and language is “considered constitutive” (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018, p. 60). The struggle for intercultural education in Chile has been borne out of a wider struggle for Mapuche freedom and liberty, including the freedom to incorporate their knowledges and pedagogical practices, or what Walsh (2007, p. 230) has termed indigenous “pensamiento propio” (*own thinking*), in national curricula. Accordingly, Mapuche intercultural theory as explained by Ezekiel and Guacolda, should be understood as part of a decolonial project. In calling for the inclusion of Mapuche knowledges, language and pedagogies into the school, they aim to centre indigenous knowing, imagining and living, and

those whose bodies and cosmologies have been subalternised by coloniality, destabilising western knowledge hierarchies.

‘Traditional’ Mapuche educational methods questions the formality of the Chilean school and the role of the western teacher. As noted in Chapters 5 and 6, the space of the western school has become a “battlefield” of intercultural conflict, in which students are enclosed and assimilated into Chilean national ideologies and citizenships (Rother, 2005). In comparison, in their struggle for a decolonial, indigenous, intercultural education, Mapuche participants called for a rejection of urban spaces and a return to ‘traditional’ Mapuche rurality. Mapuche rural forms of education allow spaces in which to consider the complementarity of humans, nature and spirituality (Pozo Menares, 2014). For example, the Mapuche educator and musician, Ramon argues

It has to be in the countryside. Because if you want to learn the Mapuche cosmovision or the language, it can’t be on a black board or within four walls. Think about it, you have a language that already tells you that. Mapudungun is the language of the land. So, it’s the sound of a bird, you can’t hear that in the city. So, to understand you have to go to the countryside. You have to get close to, you have to converse with nature, the river. It has to be circular. We all have the knowledge within us. It can’t be hierarchical, with a teacher. We can all know, and we can all share. But now in Chile we’ve got pyramidal education, above is the guillotine and below the Mapuche are all getting beheaded. Who spoke about that, Foucault? Prison education. We’ve got to get out of the prison and into the countryside.

(Conversation with Ramon, January 24<sup>th</sup>, 2018).

For the Mapuche, Land forms part of a profound ontology of relationality and reciprocity. Land<sup>89</sup> in Mapuche can best be translated as Mapu, with Mapuche itself translating as people of the Land and Mapudungun as language of the Land. Land in the profound subjective sense can be translated as Ñuke Mapu<sup>90</sup>, whilst Wall Mapu refers to the objective geographical

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<sup>89</sup> Where Land is capitalised, it refers to the subject of Ñuke Mapu (Mother Earth), where it is not it refers to the object of Wall Mapu (Mapuche territory).

<sup>90</sup> As with the concept of Mother Earth, Ñuke Mapu is not a deity. Rather through the Mapuche God Ngen and the Sun, she is that which gives life to the Mapuche, whilst at the same time maintaining order and balance. A relationship of reciprocity exists between Ñuke Mapu and the Mapuche. Ñuke Mapu is present everywhere, representing the soul of the universe. The Mapuche are able to communicate and with and maintain balance and respect for Ñuke Mapu through the practice of Ad Mapu – the universal laws of the Mapuche.

territory of the Mapuche within Ñuke Mapu. Teaching within Ñuke Mapu, as referred to by Ramon, is a Mapuche pedagogy that challenges the Chilean settler colonial legacy by centring indigeneity and working towards both a physical and ideological re-inhabitation of Mapuche Lands. Calderon (2014, p. 33) argues that teaching in Land makes visible “the ways in which place is foundational to settler colonialism” and works to decolonise colonial histories of indigenous land as empty. In comparison to the colonial urban education run by the state in the Araucanía, Mapuche teaching within Ñuke Mapu focuses on the complementary relationships between indigenous people and Land; revealing the ways in which Mapuche epistemologies and ontologies have been influenced by Land and nature. Chilean colonial education has isolated Mapuche students from Mapuche concepts of Ñuke Mapu, encouraging them to instead view land as a commodity. In contrast, the Mapuche relationship to Land is both practical and spiritual. For Ramon, Ñuke Mapu is considered a teacher, which through the sacred geographies of oral relationality between Land, living creatures and humans, Mapuche knowledges are transmitted. Similarly, Catalina<sup>91</sup>, a teacher and leader of a group for the protection of Mapuche children, understands Land as the key to the formation of Mapuche subjects.

The way I understand it, and I have a great respect for the Lamngnen (*sisters*) who teach Mapudungun. But I think their theory is the way to teach a language, not a mother tongue. So, their saying in the schools, to be Mapuche you have to first learn to speak Mapudungun. And you can do that here in the school. That’s not right. Because Mapudungun flows, it is born within you. There’s no need to go to school to learn it. One day a ñaña gave me a potato and said to me, ‘when you feel Mapuche, when you eat Mapuche, when you live Mapuche, when you are surrounded by the Ñuke Mapu, Mapudungun will flow out of you’. You cannot learn to be Mapuche. You must become it.

(Conversation with Catalina, October 26<sup>th</sup>, 2017).

Here Catalina, a Mapuche teacher and activist, argues that it is Mapuche being within Ñuke Mapu rather than any formal education practice that allows Mapuche to learn Mapudungun. Such an indigenous pedagogy of Land education can be understood – in contrast to the Cartesian, western concept of ‘I think, therefore I am’ – as “Land is, therefore we are” (see

Bang et al. 2014, p. 45). Thus, Catalina and Ramon are calling for an intercultural education that goes far beyond the inclusion of Mapuche language and culture within formal curriculum; instead they call for an intercultural education that results in the profound transformation of pedagogical practice, inviting new ways to think about Ñuke Mapu as teacher within the rural Mapuche spaces of Wall Mapu.

Mapuche activists within the Araucanía are struggling for a decolonial, indigenous intercultural education that reproduces the complementary relationship between Mapuche and Land through traditional oral forms of educating and being in Land. In contrast, as was demonstrated in chapters 5 and 6, state-led intercultural policies have failed to result in any real profound change to education systems in the Araucanía and, in fact, work to reproduce colonial assimilation practices. This is perhaps unsurprising, as Mignolo and Walsh (2018, p. 115) have argued that decoloniality can never be a state-led project, and instead is always a “project by the people organising themselves in their local histories” (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018, p. 115). Therefore, the state-led intercultural curriculum that was explored in chapters 5 and 6 cannot be understood as part of the indigenous decolonial intercultural project as described above. In what follows, I explore the perceived reasons for the apparent failure of state-led intercultural education to result in decolonial educational practice in the Araucanía.

### *Reflecting on Intercultural Education Policies: Oppression, Folklorisation and Exclusion*

Since its implementation as Chilean state policy in the 1990s, intercultural education policy has been widely criticised by academics for falling short of its decolonial aspirations (see Lepe-Carrión, 2015; Montecinos et al., 2010; Pinkney Pastrana et al., 2004; Pozo Menares, 2014; Quilaqueo Rapimán et al., 2016, 2010, 2005). However, what has not been made clear is the way that Mapuche educators and activists or organic intellectuals, who at one point worked towards and within intercultural education, feel that intercultural policy has not only been a failure, but indeed an active appropriation of an indigenous political project in order to advance state colonial education. One of the most recurrent criticisms of intercultural education by Mapuche educators is that it cannot lead to pedagogical decolonisation while it remains placed within a state institution that has historically and contemporarily been a place of domination and repression of the Mapuche culture. For example, ex-intercultural teacher, Luis, explains that

To speak about the Mapuche and intercultural education, within a space that arose to generate assimilation, nationalism and uniformity is complex. Because within that space difference is not recognised. It is refused. So, our history within that space is one of symbolic violence.

*(Conversation with Luis, 24<sup>th</sup> March 2018)*

Luis argues that Mapuche culture will always be excluded from school spaces because it continues to be considered as inferior to dominant Chilean culture. He describes a symbolic violence that works within the school to subordinate and delegitimise the Mapuche culture. Luis's use of symbolic violence can be compared with Bourdieu's (2000) use of the term, in which he describes a non-physical violence that one group manifests over another. Bourdieu (2000) argues that education systems are spaces of symbolic violence because they are based on discourses of 'legitimate culture', where official 'cultural capital' is passed on to future generations. Thus, the success of a student depends on how closely they are positioned to the legitimate culture. Within the Chilean case, Luis argues that the dominant Chilean culture exerts its power over the Mapuche people through a politics of assimilatory schooling, who are far removed from the legitimate culture through their "difference". Within a discourse of symbolic violence, the Chilean state maintains the homogenous status quo, or in Bourdieu's (2000) terms, the continuity of the dominance of the legitimate Chilean culture. Although intercultural education policy claims to challenge this domination and incorporate cultural diversity into the Chilean curriculum, Luis argues that this is a superficial change, one that does not offer a real resolution to the Mapuche-State intercultural conflict. More specifically, he believes that despite recent efforts towards bilingual intercultural education in the Araucanía, Mapuche epistemologies remain absent within school spaces.

There's no Mapuche Kimün there. Ok, so you can teach me in Mapudungun. You can write books in Mapudungun; you can translate the bible into Mapudungun. But there is no Mapuche Kimün, there's just Mapudungun. Just because there's Mapudungun, doesn't mean you'll find Mapuche Kimün.

*(Conversation with Luis, 24<sup>th</sup> March, 2018)*

These comments show that despite state concessions to include Mapudungun in the national curriculum, the utopian aspirations of Mapuche educators have not been fulfilled. Activists do not consider a commitment to language teaching as an authentic communication between

Chilean and Mapuche knowledges. Whilst indigenous language teaching can work to increase indigenous students' self-esteem and decrease social exclusion (Lopez and Sichra, 2008), intercultural language teaching in Chilean schools has been adopted through top down educational policy, excluding the very activists who sought its inclusion. Luis argues that Mapuche Kimün or knowledges are missing from intercultural curricula, as Mapudungun continues to be taught in a western-oriented curriculum. Such comments highlight the complications of a two-way Intercultural Bilingual education within Chile where Mapuche activists feel that their intercultural demands have been ignored. Chileans can choose to participate in intercultural education, whilst Mapuche students and educators are compelled to at once participate in western culture and from “within their own community redefine their coexistence with Chilean society” (Rother, 2005, p. 81)

Such a lack of honest critical engagement with cultural plurality in Chile has led to what many participants have described as the folklorisation of the Mapuche culture (Rother, 2005). For example, the intercultural translator, Guacolda discusses the way Mapuche culture has become a stereotypical folklore within intercultural education and the more important meanings behind the actions have been lost.

In the schools you will see they have adopted strange ways of doing things. The ways they do the Afafan (*shout whilst bashing together wiñol*) for example. In the countryside we don't just do an Afafan for any reason. It has to have a reason behind it. But here they get the kids doing Afafan for any reason, just for fun, a show when visitors come. But it shouldn't be like that. They've made it folklore. So, they've completely lost the meaning behind it. It's an invasion, it's folklore. They think it's Mapuche. But it's not the sound itself that makes it Mapuche, it's the meaning behind it.

*(Conversation with Guacolda, 14<sup>th</sup> June, 2018)*

Folklorisation, as described by Guacolda, can be understood as a form of “internal coloniality” within the school (see Lepe-Carrión, 2015, p. 76), in which specific ‘acceptable’ representations of Mapuche culture have been extracted from Chilean regimes of truth. Participants describe a focus on folkloric aspects of the Mapuche culture (including festivities, dress, stories, dances, food etc), in which a vision of intercultural education is constructed that supports a homogenous national discourse, through the exoticism and historicism of the

Mapuche “Other”. Thus, in folkloric intercultural education “difference is not only confirmed but also becomes a kind of exoticism, distant from the intrinsic superiority of sameness” (Lepe-Carrión, 2015, p. 76). This is supported by Luis’s experiences as a student of intercultural education at the University of Católica in Temuco, highlighting that from the very beginning of the intercultural education project, the Mapuche feel folklorised or Othered.

Well it was a good experience, in the sense that all new experiences are good. I learnt a lot about education. But there was something that I didn’t like. I felt like the degree focused on folklorising instead of educating. Instead of teaching us how the Mapuche are in reality, because we are very different to the non-Mapuche and instead of teaching us how we can make these two worlds equal to walk forward together, I felt that the Mapuche side of things was really bad because they just folklorised the culture without going any deeper into why the Mapuche do those things. So, they might teach you a word in Mapudungun, but not the meaning behind it. So, even the name of the degree was wrong, because it wasn’t intercultural. One culture is always dominating the other. (*Conversation with Luis, 24<sup>th</sup> March 2018*)

In arguing that one culture is always dominant, Luis dismisses the idea that intercultural education in Chile is decolonial praxis, arguing instead that it serves to reproduce colonial hierarchical structures. The rejection of intercultural education as a colonial praxis by the very people who struggled for its implementation, reveals the ways in which the Chilean state has reinvented its colonial education structures under new systems, in this case intercultural education. Participants believe that through the implementation of intercultural education, the Chilean State has depoliticised the Mapuche insurgent movement for liberatory education by promoting an apparent embrace of diversity, whilst using it to monopolise discourses around Mapuche ethnicity, culture and autonomy. Daniel, a Mapuche educator and academic, argues that such cultural domination within the school space is not an unintended by-product of intercultural education, but in fact an explicit policy of the Chilean state.

I’ve seen a lot of uses of it to get us closer not to the positive Mapuche kind of interculturality – justice, liberation, autonomy – but to a negative interculturality. A way of generating more domination over the Mapuche people. Sure, I can participate in one activity, of We Tripantu, but after that I’m obligated to assume my Chilean

identity. And I'm going to keep being racist. But they will use that little bit of folklore for a little while, to remind you that you are a minority within the school space. (*Conversation with Daniel, October 11<sup>th</sup>, 2017*)

In highlighting his own experiences as both a student and teacher within intercultural schools, Daniel reveals the ways in which Mapuche students are at once Othered because of their difference through the incorporation of Mapuche cultural practice and then encouraged to assimilate into Chilean national identity during everyday life in the school. Assimilation through schooling, as noted in chapter 4, has long been a policy used by the Chilean state as a response to the perceived failure of Mapuche students to become integrated into Chilean society, and as a “strategy to continue a system of domination and manipulation of those people who must be integrated into the Western model of civilization through the reinterpretation of identity” (Pozo Menares, 2014, p. 39). Daniel describes this assimilationist state policy as ‘negative’ interculturality. He contrasts it with the ‘positive Mapuche’ interculturality, one that can be associated with the decolonial aspirations described above. As a lifelong activist for Mapuche intercultural education, Daniel has consistently worked towards educational justice and freedom for the Mapuche people, even opening up an autonomously run Mapuche library. Yet he argues that within formal school spaces his Mapuche students are actively estranged from their Mapuche identities because they begin to more strongly identify with Chilean identities.

It generates a detachment from the moment they start formal education. On the one hand, education doesn't reinforce Mapuche elements of their identities, because it creates a distance and that distance generates a detachment from their indigenous identity. The kids can arrive at the internado as Mapuche, and when they leave, they leave as non-Mapuche. And they are more linked to the non-Mapuche environment, so when they go to their Lof, to the countryside, you can see that they are moving away from the conversation, everything they need to live peacefully in their comunidad. You can see they have more western customs. They don't know how to speak Mapudungun, only Spanish. (*Conversation with Daniel, October 11<sup>th</sup>, 2017*)

These criticisms of Chilean state intercultural policy have resulted in a rejection of intercultural policy by many important Mapuche thinkers, activists and educators. What was once a Mapuche political project, a struggle for indigenous autonomy over indigenous education, has now become a top down state project that falls short of its original decolonial aspirations. In comparison to the decolonial practice described above of communal, oral, Land education, Mapuche experiences of learning and teaching, state-led intercultural education reveals assimilatory, folklorising practices that lead Mapuche students to feel Othered. However, Mapuche teachers also feel as though their struggle for an intercultural project has been appropriated by the state and used to further colonise Mapuche students, as described by Ricardo, Mapuche educator and rapper.

What I've been noticing is that the schools where they implement intercultural education are Christian schools. But you have to understand that there is a fucked-up logic behind it, because the kids in the school are forced to pray, surrounded by these images, these symbols, the cross, the virgin Mary. So, the reason they have implemented Mapudungun there, isn't because they care, it's because they are indoctrinating our kids. They are evangelizing them. They took our ideas and they used it to keep colonising us.

*(Conversation with Ricardo, November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2017)*

Ricardo's critique of interculturality as appropriation highlights the increasing separation between a Mapuche-led decolonial project and current state intercultural policy. Many Mapuche activists and educators, who were present in the early struggle for a national intercultural education policy, now actively criticise state intercultural education as a continued colonial project that both annuls and devalues the "Mapuche social memory and educational practices" (Quilaqueo Rapimán et al., 2016a). They argue that their own struggles for intercultural education have been appropriated and transformed in order to assimilate indigenous students, both through their Chileanisation and de-Mapuchization. There is a strong belief among Mapuche activists that intercultural education, through cultural and linguistic folklorisation and assimilation, has become a tool to keep the order of alienating power initially defined by colonialism unaltered (Quijano, 2007; Walsh, 2007). As long as the state continues to utilise the intercultural school as a normalising tool to shape Mapuche children's behaviours, attitudes and identities, and to Other Mapuche cosmovisions and epistemologies, there will

continue to be a disjuncture between Mapuche educators and state education. However, interculturality is not

an existing condition or a done deal” but “a process and project in continuous insurgence, movement and construction, a conscious action, radical activity and praxis-based tool of affirmation, correlation and transformation (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018, p. 59).

The Mapuche are continuing to struggle for a decolonial intercultural education, despite the perceived appropriations by the state.

It’s not over. We’re not just going to abandon our project because the state stole it from us. Think of everything they stole from us, our language, our culture, our futures. We didn’t just abandon that. It’s time to rethink and to regroup. And that’s what the Peñi (*brothers*) are doing now. The intercultural project continues with the Mapuche and not with the state.

*(Conversation with Ricardo, November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2017)*

However, who gets to speak on intercultural education and whose voices are silenced is important to acknowledge when imagining decolonial intercultural futures.

### The Ideal Decolonial Intercultural Subject: The Role of Class, Place and Gender

It is not enough to engage uncritically with decolonial projects and ideas, simply because they come from subaltern indigenous spaces (see Asher, 2013). Everyone, including indigenous peoples, are now embedded within the colonial matrix of power and there is no outside space from which to confront the violence of coloniality. Intercultural decolonial discourses in Chile are influenced by a politics of representation that determines who is able to speak on behalf of the Mapuche and whose voice is silenced. Here I argue that in Mapuche discourses concerning the futures of intercultural education in Chile the voices of well-educated, adult, middle class, rural men have been elevated, whilst the voices of the young, urban, poor and women have been excluded. I argue that there are two reasons why this silencing has occurred. Firstly, decolonial discourses that argue for a Land based intercultural pedagogy, in which intercultural education can only be achieved within rural spaces, have worked to reproduce a discourse of a

static Mapuche culture, in which rural spaces are considered to be ‘traditionally’ Mapuche, whilst urban spaces are redefined as non-indigenous. This has resulted in the erasure of the voices and experiences of those Mapuche who choose or are forced to live urban lives because they are reimagined as non-indigenous by their rural counterparts. Secondly, I argue that the continued impacts of the coloniality of gender in Chile have resulted in the development of an implicit heteropatriarchy that encourages the value of men’s voices over women’s voices. This has meant that Mapuche men are often nominated as the spokespeople for decolonial futures of intercultural education, even surrounding issues that relate directly to women or girls. In short, I argue that the continued reproduction of colonial dichotomies of Winka and Mapuche, rural and urban, and male and female has resulted in a silencing of the voices of poor, Mapuche girls in urban internados in relation to their own experiences and hopes for intercultural education. Despite or perhaps because of this, Mapuche women are beginning to demand an intersectional approach to intercultural education that acknowledges the multiplicity of the Mapuche experience and calls for intercultural education to “move beyond the categories imposed by western epistemology” (Escobar, 2007, p. 187).

*Excluding Mapuche Girls from Decolonial Futures: Poor, Mapuche, Urban, Girl*

Within decolonial movements in the Araucanía region, the voices of rural, educated Mapuche men continue to dominate discussions of intercultural education theory, whilst the voices of both Mapuche women and girls continue to be silenced. When making contact with Mapuche intercultural educators and activists, I found that most were middle class and educated within Western education systems, often with university degrees; many had attended private schools, rather than the state-run intercultural internados discussed in this thesis. The majority, though not all, were men<sup>92</sup>. For example, the Mapuche academic Jorge describes his experience growing up in Las Condes, Santiago.

My mother had to go and work as a nana in Santiago. And so, I was raised by my mother’s patrones (*boss*). And I had a really beautiful experience. I went to a private school in Las Condes and that’s where my academic side was born. They taught me so

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<sup>92</sup> At the beginning of my research, the majority of the participants were men, based on the suggestions of whom I should speak to by other participants, the university, policy makers and my translator. However, after a few months in the field and through personal connections within the local feminist movement, I began to make contact with more female activists who were less well known, precisely because of the elevating of male voices described in this chapter.

much and I studied a lot. And that's where I strengthened my abilities to talk about these theories and discuss them with you, to be a representative for the Mapuche. And the bullying wasn't bad because I'm white, so sometimes they didn't realise my surname was Mapuche, in fact they thought it was German. So, I could hide my true identity. After that, I went to University and I got my masters... I began to focus on intercultural education when I came to live in the South... I was so shocked, because the Mapuche theme was really dead here. It's stronger in Santiago than in Temuco. So, I dedicated myself to the Mapuche cause. And they always invite me to intercultural schools, international conferences, to talk to the mayor, to different politicians about the situation.

*(Conversation with Jorge, June 26<sup>th</sup>, 2018)*

Thus, Jorge, a man who is well educated, has found himself in a relatively privileged position where he is able to speak publicly in relation to topics of intercultural education and his views are well received by both Mapuche and Chilean academics and educators. In comparison to the subaltern that Spivak (1988, p. 283) has depicted as silenced - "the margins (...the silent centre) ... men and women among the illiterate peasantry, the tribals, the lowest strata of the urban sub-proletariat" – Jorge, is among the indigenous academics whose voices are heard more often than the uneducated. It is important to consider that Jorge fits certain preferred traits of the Chilean colonial state, with his maleness and his Chilean education, meaning his voice is valued over other voices. Intersectional feminists have argued that different positionalities such as gender, class, sexuality and ethnicity mean that people have different experiences, which combine to create unique kinds of discrimination (see Collins, 1990; Crenshaw, 1991; Lorde, 2018). As in the rest of the modern world, being male, rich and educated in Chile means that when discussing intercultural theory or policy, Jorge's voice is heard despite his indigeneity that in other situations may have meant his voice was silenced.

Due to the history of colonialism within Chile, such preferred traits are also reproduced from within the Mapuche community. For example, in 2018 a group of Maoris from Aotearoa/New Zealand invited a group of Mapuche delegates from Temuco to visit their community and share experiences; one of the topics of discussion was intercultural education. A Mapuche man, Eric, was chosen as the delegate who would speak on intercultural education. Eric is a well-educated Mapuche who lives in a rural community; however, he is a graphic designer with no experience

in education. Catalina, a teacher and leader of a group for the protection of Mapuche children was overlooked, despite her protestations that she wished to be the delegate. Catalina explains that she believes Eric was chosen because he is considered to be more authentically Mapuche than her and thus is a better spokesperson.

I came for a coffee with Catalina, we are talking about Eric who has just gone to New Zealand as a Mapuche delegate. She isn't happy about it, she thinks she should have been chosen, but she says Eric is more Mapuche than her. I ask her what she means.

Catalina: It's the Mapuche-metre. It's how you know how Mapuche someone is. It goes like this. Ok, what's your father's surname? Mapuche. What's your mother's surname? Mapuche. Ok, you get all the points for surname. Father's surname is obviously worth more than your mother's. Ok, then, where are you from, the south? South gets more points than Santiago. The countryside gets more points than the city. But the most important is, do you speak Mapudungun? Yes. Well that's worth more points than all of them put together. So, you see, it's not as simple as being Mapuche. And while the Wingka are telling us we're below them; we continue ranking each other. I don't rank very highly, that's why people are upset that I speak openly. Plus, Eric's a man, and he's attractive, while I'm short and Indian looking. So, he was picked.

*(Extract from Field Diary, September 7<sup>th</sup>, 2017)*

Catalina lists multiple traits that are valued as authentic among the Mapuche peoples, particularly surname, ability to speak Mapudungun and rural or urban positioning, coupled with maleness. Thus, it appears that if a Mapuche is able to fulfil both the Mapuche representations of 'authenticity', and the colonial/patriarchal preferred identities of male, rich and educated, they are much more likely to be those subalterns who "do in fact speak" (Escobar, 1995, p. 223). In the elevation of the voices of male, middle class, Mapuche intellectuals, the figure of the urban, poor Mapuche woman "disappears, not into a pristine nothingness, but into a violent shuttling which is the displaced figuration of the 'third world woman'" (Spivak, 1988, p. 306). This is particularly the case of the young, poor, Mapuche girls who are isolated in urban internados, whose voices and experiences of intercultural education continue to be erased from both Mapuche and Chilean discourses. I argue, that because these girls do not represent what is considered to be an "authentic" Mapuche experience, at a time when securing national and international support for intercultural education projects relies on a vision of the Mapuche as traditional, rural and spiritual, they are

excluded from the conversation. This exclusion can be expressed most clearly in a conversation I had with a Mapuche activist and member of a Mapuche feminist organisation, Paulina. Paulina expresses her disappointment in my focus on urban girls, rather than rural students.

I bumped into Paulina at Rapa Makewe. She asks me about my project. I tell her that I am working at the Liceo Tecnico with Mapuche girls. She says to me:

“Oh, be careful working there, those girls are little *flaites*. You get some really nasty girls there. I had a friend who worked there, and she quit because one of the girls punched her”.

I reply to her “Oh no, they are super nice. I love working there”.

She seems visibly irritated.

“Well, I don’t see why you are there anyway. If you want to know about intercultural education you should be at one of the Mapuche, rural kindergartens, at Piedra Alta or something. Not in the centre of Temuco working with *flaite* who don’t even know what it means to be Mapuche”.

*(Extract from Field Diary, February 17<sup>th</sup>, 2018)*

Paulina’s reaction to the girls was common among my adult participants because the school has a very bad reputation within Temuco. Several participants also shared a concern that I was working in such a rough urban school and that I might write up a representation of the Mapuche as *flaite*. I was often encouraged to shift my research focus to Mapuche-run intercultural primary schools in rural areas, rather than the municipal intercultural school in an urban space. The girls in the school were considered to be *flaite* because of their poverty, but also *awinkado* because of their urbanity and their enjoyment of Latino music, such as reggaetón. In comparison, despite their poverty students in Mapuche rural schools were considered to be more authentically Mapuche and worthy of engagement with an international researcher. Bang et al. (2014) argue that these deficit narratives of urban indigenous communities are common because rural spaces are supposedly connected to indigenous sacred homelands.

The urban Indian narrative reinscribes the settler indigenous dialectic by framing indigenous land (i.e. urban places) through post-contact dispossessions and reemploying a logic of elimination (i.e. urban lands are not indigenous lands; therefore, urban Indians are not indigenous). Marking urban land as invisible, or not authentic

lands, and non-indigenous, reinscribes the settler indigenous dialectic that services the logic of elimination for territorial acquisition” (Bang et al., 2014, p. 42).

However, I argue that urban indigenous girls are more likely to be rejected as *awinkado* than urban indigenous boys, because of their gender. As noted in chapter 5, it is not uncommon for Mapuche girls in urban spaces to date older non-Mapuche men, such relationships can raise questions of purity, both in terms of gender and indigeneity. Girls who have sexual relationships with non-indigenous men are seen both as ‘maracas’ (*sluts*), and as less indigenous than their ‘virgin’ rural counterparts. They become excluded from Mapuche decolonial projects, as they no longer represent the image of a ‘pure’ or traditional Mapuche. Mapuche feminist and activist, Karen, describes how the impact of HIV<sup>93</sup> on urban Mapuche girls has led to their exclusion from both their communities and intercultural projects.

Here there are so many Mapuche girls and they just aren’t getting the support they need. The school has failed them and now their community is failing them. In this region we have seen a major increase in HIV. The schools never taught them about sexual health, but now the comunidades they just want to kind of disown them. Or even, there is just a big denial that this could happen to Mapuche girls. They aren’t seeing them; they’re just saying that it’s a Chilean problem. ‘HIV is for Chileans and the Mapuche are pure, so we can’t have that’. So, who is going to give importance to these girls? The system certainly doesn’t care about them... And now the Mapuche don’t want to work with them, they don’t include them in their projects because they don’t fit the right image. When they do these community led intercultural education projects, they want rural girls weaving or maybe urban boys ready to throw stones, but not urban girls pregnant or dancing to reggaeton.

(*Conversation with Karen, April 16<sup>th</sup>, 2018*)

Thus, complex mix of girlhood, urbanity and poverty that shapes the experiences of the interned girls means that they are defined even by other Mapuche as *Awinkado*, as too close to Chilean culture to be effective representatives of Mapuche traditional culture and thus not relevant to struggles for a more decolonial interculturality. Mapuche urban girls are excluded as both the recipients of Mapuche led intercultural education and their experiences are ignored

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<sup>93</sup> The Araucanía has seen a 35% increase in new HIV infections in Chile since 2010, with girls under 16 one of the most at risk communities (UNAIDS, 2018).

in the construction of those education models. This invisibilisation of Mapuche girls by Mapuche male activists concurs with Lugones' (2016, p. 13) point that men who have been racialised as inferior have shown an indifference to women that recreates “the systematic violences inflicted upon women of colour” by coloniality. She argues that “this indifference is insidious since it places tremendous barriers in the path of the struggles of women of colour for our own freedom, integrity, and wellbeing and in the path of the correlative struggles towards communal integrity” (Lugones, 2016, p. 13). Many Mapuche girls face similar violence and struggles because of their gender.

For Mapuche girls it's doubly complicated, because there is a lack of knowledge about the rights of women and girls. The Mapuche woman is always oppressed by the characteristics that they have given us. It's true that there are a lot of us that are really timid and quiet. But that doesn't stop the fact that when those girls are little, they have to go outside and look after the animals and their younger siblings. Not their brothers. And it's those girls who have to go out and work because their family doesn't have money. Where most of the girls, their only possibility is to have a child, get pregnant, find a man, and if he hits you, you just put up with it, because there aren't any better conditions for you. Because you were born a Mapuche. You're a girl. You're young. And you're and an Indian. And it's just that simple for you.

*(Conversation with Catalina, October 26<sup>th</sup>, 2017)*

I argue that the exclusion of Mapuche girls from decolonial interventions by Mapuche activists in the Araucanía is because they at once do not fit the desired image of the traditional Mapuche, plus their position as women in a colonial state means their voices are silenced. Their position as urban girls has caused them to be redefined as Awinkado by male Mapuche activists who value traditionalism. Lugones (2016, p. 13) has argued that the indifference of subaltern men towards subaltern women is “not just one of not seeing the violence because of the categorial separation of race, gender, class and sexuality”, but rather, colonialism has produced a gender binary in which girls and women have been treated differently to boys and men by colonial institutions. Indigenous women have been disenfranchised, violated, degraded and sexualised “in part because they were essential to the intergenerational transmission of culture and thus to first peoples' sovereignty and continuity” (Lugones, 2016, p. 16). This attitude is continually (re)produced and normalised, not only by colonial institutions, but also by the Mapuche.

### *Reproducing Colonial Patriarchy or Reclaiming Indigenous Gender Narratives?*

Precolonial Mapuche understandings of gender differed greatly from western understandings of gender (see Bacigalupo, 2003; Ana Mariella Bacigalupo, 2004), with precolonial gender relationships being based on reciprocity and mutuality. As Perdue (1998, in Arvin et al., 2013, p. 18) notes,

Women balanced men. Their concern with balance, made hierarchy, which often serves to oppress women, untenable. Men did not dominate women, and women were not subservient to men. ... Women had their own arena of power, and any threat to its integrity jeopardized cosmic order.

However, Daniel explains how colonialism and specific western, Christian conceptions of gender that have been taught in schools have influenced the social structure of the Mapuche.

With respect to the visions of gender and history, we've been told so often about Adam and Eve and this strong link to Christianity. Eve comes from Adam's rib, in order to serve and obey him. So, it's from there that we've grown up with this stereotype about the role and origin of the woman. And it's been installed in the Mapuche, this idea that the woman was born to do domestic work, to raise children, grow vegetables, work in the home and serve the man. This is really embedded in the conscience of the Mapuche. But in our collective memory, we know that historically the woman wasn't oppressed, she was empowered, the relationship was always reciprocal. Men and women had certain roles, but they were complementary, always with the aim of generating an equilibrium, in every aspect, from the domestic to the brute work. That was our cosmovision. But obviously that's not what we're seeing, we see a strong patriarchy in the Mapuche people, and that has really affected our culture. But, if we continue to assume this consciousness, this interculturality, the relationships between men and women will get better.

*(Conversation with Daniel, October 11<sup>th</sup>, 2017)*

Daniel's comments suggest that colonisation in Chile resulted in a shift in gender relations between the Mapuche. Coloniality created the binary categories of men/women, the separation of which marked a heuristic process to represent and thus appropriate reality for Mapuche

peoples. Lugones (2016) describes this process as the coloniality of gender. For the Mapuche, this resulted in the creation of heteropatriarchal and heteropaternal norms. Heteropaternalism organised the Mapuche into a nuclear, heterosexual family, which helped to create citizens for the nation state, whilst heteropatriarchal structures encouraged the dominance of man over woman. The coloniality of gender was part of a wider attempt to disrupt indigenous land claims, but it also did much to disrupt the Mapuche's very "sense of being as a people" (Smith, 2005, p. 3), with serious spiritual and material consequences. Heteropatriarchy now structures the lives of all Mapuche peoples and Mapuche women are often subjected to patriarchal oppression both within the settler society and within Mapuche communities. However, there continues to be disagreement among the Mapuche themselves of what Mapuche gender systems are or mean, and how these structures impact on Mapuche education.

Luis: How were people educated? Well, it's been established since Mapuche society began. Women were in charge of educating women and men educated men. It was because of representativity, more than anything else. Because of condition as well. Back then, work was divided into light and hard work. And women just didn't have the physicality for those things, for example cutting down trees, carrying the trunk on their shoulders. The women would do things like wash the meat, things that didn't require physical strength, sew, cook.

Nacho (Luis' bandmate): That's subjective, in the past women also had strength. It was just a diffusion of roles, not the superiority of one sex over the other. Each woman and man had a role in their life. For example, in the nguillatun, women completed the role of Machi, which is super important. The man danced choyke. But these roles were chosen in their dreams. The Kimün was passed down by the ancestors. So, the role that you were given, Machi, Weichafe, they were given through dreams. It's not just that you are given a role because you are a woman, although there were roles that could only be done by women, but it was chosen by nature. So, if you were going to be a Machi, it was decided in the womb, and then you would become ill on earth, and then in a dream you would be learn you were going to be a Machi. The same for a Longko, or kimche, or a ngutamchefe (*bone healer*) or lawentuchefe (*medicinal healer*) in the case of a woman. These are unique roles; it's dictated by nature. But this has been affected by sexism, which has stuck here. And the alcohol, people have lost their respect

for their wives because they get drunk. But young people are beginning to reject these stereotypes.

Luis: But I have to make clear, that all this discourse about feminism that the girls are getting into now. It's not Mapuche. Feminism is just another western import. The Mapuche don't need feminism.

*(Conversation with Luis, 24<sup>th</sup> March, 2018)*

Luis's rejection of feminism as 'non Mapuche' and his firm belief in the separation of the sexes as traditionally Mapuche, contradicts historic accounts of Mapuche gender structures (see A. M. Bacigalupo, 2004; Ana Mariella Bacigalupo, 2004; Bacigalupo, 2003) and reveals the ways that 'traditional' Mapuche masculinity has developed since colonisation, "in part, at least, mimicking dominant forms of invader/ settler masculinity" (Hokowhitu, 2012, p. 23; see also Garside 2016). The difference in opinions between Nacho and Luis show the contradictions in an indigenous heterosexual patriarchy, in which the role of colonised and coloniser is complicated, "as indigenous masculinities are both imbibed with privilege and denied it; both performing colonial heteropatriarchy and resistant to it" (Hokowhitu, 2012, p. 23). The power granted to indigenous men through colonial heteropatriarchy has allowed men, through the notion of tradition and authenticity, to appropriate both disciplinary and authoritative power over Mapuche women and girls. Such control over the borders of authenticity has had an impact on Mapuche girls. For example, Ricardo describes the ways in which Mapuche intercultural educators have chosen to exclude girls from participating in Mapuche activities.

I've had a lot of conversation with peñi about this. There are people who say that Palin is only for men. So even when they go into schools to teach Palin, they won't let the girls participate. But games are games, and you can't put rules on who can play. Maybe in more traditional things like nguillatun or We Tripantu you can say that women can't play Palin, but in school as a form of education, why would they tell the girls that? They tell them they can't play trul truka (*horn*), or they can't play pilfilka (*flute*), so these men are really guarding the door to who is allowed to be Mapuche. They don't want to lose control of the borders of the culture.

*(Conversation with Ricardo, November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2017)*

The current exclusion of Mapuche girls and women from certain aspects of Mapuche-led intercultural education leads to the question of what gender policy might look like in a

decolonised, Mapuche-led intercultural education. In particular, it is necessary to critically evaluate the extent to which a traditional intercultural education may or may not be liberating to indigenous girls (see for example, Larocque, 2017). Jorge argues that intercultural education should (re)produce gender specific roles for both Mapuche men and women.

We need to reinforce the Mapuche gender roles if we are going to return to being Mapuche. In those days men and women's roles were clear. Women have always been fundamental to the Mapuche, as the transmitters of values. The man's role is to keep the balance with his knowledge. Because, occasionally, you have to understand that the woman can cross the line and create an imbalance and so the man had to keep her in order with his knowledge. He had to return her to her place, the place that corresponds to her role within the family, to keep the family functioning. Her place is not as a spokesperson for the Mapuche, even if it's about education. Men have always had the political jobs, Longko, the messenger, but women should be in the private sphere.

*(Conversation with Jorge, 5<sup>th</sup> May, 2018)*

Mapuche 'traditional' masculinity is often complicit in settler subjectivities and its false traditions have served to exclude and limit indigenous women and girls within intercultural education discourse and practice. In response, one goal of Mapuche feminism is to make visible both the internal oppression of women within their communities, as well as in settler society. However, as Luis suggests, Mapuche women's authenticity is challenged when they define themselves as feminists. Feminism is, for many Mapuche, determined to be culturally inauthentic, non-traditional and unacceptable for Mapuche women. For this reason, as Green (2008, p. 24) argues, many indigenous feminists "find themselves criticised for being tools of colonial ideology or for being traitors to their communities". In considering who is speaking and who is authorised to speak for or about intercultural education, the above evidence suggests Mapuche men's voices are often elevated over those of women, and the discourse of tradition means that patriarchal indigenous subjectivity is produced, whilst women's experiences of urban education are subjugated and controlled.

Indigenous studies have often fallen into the binary of coloniser/colonised, reducing understanding of the complexity of intersectional identities. Often indigenous resistance is imagined as "sovereign acts against an omnipresent hegemonic colonial state" and as valorising "the reactionary productions of indigenous subjectivities the binary creates"; in turn, this erases

the idea that the “postcolonial complex produces both non indigenous and indigenous citizens, whilst other subjectivities are excluded” (Hokowhitu, 2012, p. 45). However, whilst the dominant Mapuche heteropatriarchal masculinities have contributed to the exclusion of Mapuche girls interned in intercultural schools from discourses of Mapuche belonging, some Mapuche women continue to dedicate themselves to the subversion of heteropatriarchal gender norms and amplifying the voices of Mapuche women and girls, regardless of their class, sexuality or urbanity. Arvin et al. (2013, p. 18) argue that such women “have formed the very core of indigenous resistance to genocide and colonisation since the first moment of conflict between Indians and invaders”, and this is reflected in the fact that many of the decolonisation movements in Wall Mapu are led by those who are female identified. They participate not only as feminists, but as Mapuche in a “native nation building, which has never been limited by, or wholly structured around, heteropatriarchal gender norms” (Arvin et al., 2013, p. 18). As discussed subsequently, Mapuche queer, feminist activism in Wall Mapu has provided a means through which to renegotiate both the empirical and theoretical borders of intercultural education in engaging with alternative ways of thinking, living and aporias that lie outside disciplinary borders.

### Imagining Interculturality Otherwise: Decolonial, Intersectional Futures

The colonality of gender has subalternised Mapuche women through the “combined processes of racialisation, colonisation, capitalist exploitation, and heterosexualism” (Lugones, 2010, p. 746). The process of decolonising gender in Wall Mapu has enacted “a critique of racialised, colonial and capitalist heterosexual gender oppression as a lived transformation of the social” (Lugones, 2010, p. 746). It allows Mapuche women to see colonial difference, whilst resisting the epistemological desire to erase it. In visualising colonial difference, the woman is placed within a historical, peopled, intersubjective understanding of the oppressor/resistor relationship at the intersection of complex systems of oppression. However, working through a decolonial feminist framework allows Mapuche women the opportunity not just to provide an account of this oppression, but also to generate knowledges and materials through which to understand and resist it. Mapuche women have carved the way for a decolonial feminism that creates a space for new ways of thinking and being at the borderlands. As discussed below, Mapuche women are able to envisage the world in new ways, rejecting the allure of the universal. They are posing challenges to both feminist theory and Modernity-Colonality and are border

thinkers who are making bridges for social change. Their technologies of crossing challenge power and go beyond it, creating other modes of consciousness and being (Moraga and Anzaldúa, 1983). They understand the significance of community and equality, rather than subordination and hierarchy, in erasing colonial difference and amplifying the voices of Mapuche girls in order to understand their educational experiences. In doing so, Mapuche women are now offering new intersectional spaces of intercultural education to Mapuche urban girls, who have continuously been excluded from the heteropatriarchal spaces of the decolonial utopia perpetrated by Mapuche men.

*(Re)centring Narratives of Mapuche Women: Champurria, Lesbian, Feminist*

As the political spaces of feminism are multiple, so are the sociocultural spaces of those who identify as Mapuche women. As Mishesuah notes, indigenous women “differ in everything from blood quantum to skin colour, and from religious affiliation to opinions about what it means to be indigenous” (1998, in Grande, 2004, p. 124). Despite such diversity, Mapuche women share some commonalities related to their gender, ethnicity and their struggles against genocide, cultural imperialism and assimilation. For example, all Mapuche women have been violated by the Chilean colonial system within the Araucanía.

The landowner, along with the Catholic Church have too much power in this region, and that, added to the state repression over Mapuche territory, makes a very complex place for women’s issues. Here in this region, women have the highest levels of unemployment, the most violence against women and the least access to education. So, it’s like a domino effect, which means that Mapuche women are living in a very unsatisfactory way. They are barely surviving. Do you remember when they chained Lorenza<sup>94</sup> to her bed whilst she was giving birth? So, if under our supposed democracy they will chain a mother to a bed, traumatise a baby, imprison an old lady like Machi Francisca, violence marks us at every age. From birth to death.

*(Conversation with Karen, April 16<sup>th</sup>, 2018)*

Despite the experiences that Karen describes, both state and Mapuche intercultural discourses, have until this point ignored the unique experiences of Mapuche women and the need for a

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<sup>94</sup> Lorenza Cayuhan who was chained to the bed by police while giving birth.

gender specific education within Wall Mapu. Indeed, whilst many indigenous activists and academics have focused largely on the imposition of colonialism and sexism from without indigenous societies, the Mapuche/Champurria women participants also critically illuminate power hierarchies and practices within their own communities, bringing to the fore embodied experiences of exploitation, sexualisation and violence. Their engagement invites us to think “from the ground up, from the body” (Icaza, 2017, p. 30). For example, Guacolda acknowledges that she is treated differently within her family because she is a woman.

I have to say that unfortunately I have normalised it. For me it’s just normal that a man is worth more than me. I grew up in a house of men and I always knew, that they were worth more than me. Even though my mother worked, the person who had the last word was my father.

*(Conversation with Guacolda, 14<sup>th</sup> June, 2018)*

As discussed previously, patriarchal lifeways have become common within Mapuche communities and women activists are critical of Mapuche men who have chosen to adopt certain patriarchal forms in order to entrench colonial hierarchies and oppress Mapuche women.

I think that a lot of Mapuche have adopted a lot of colonial ways and they have never questioned them. For example, marriage. The Mapuche nowadays get married in the church, its totally occidental but nobody questions it. But they will question gender, for example. And they question that women can have another form of development, that they can change the way that they have been treated. They question that, because its convenient for them. So many women practically live like slaves, there isn’t a balance. In the old days indigenous peoples loved women because they loved the land, and they were both sacred. But that has been changing with capitalism. Women have become just another object. So many Mapuche men want to say that its part of the culture, this is the way it is, this is the way its always been and that’s what they want to teach in Mapuche education. We can’t allow that to happen.

*(Conversation with Karen, April 16<sup>th</sup>, 2018)*

Both Karen and Guacolda express the ways that Mapuche men have adopted ‘traditional’ forms of gender, making them the beneficiaries of some aspects of colonialism, including the implementation of the patriarchal structure of society. Karen expresses the concern that these patriarchal structures will be reproduced in Mapuche-led forms of intercultural education. However, as a self-identified Mapuche lesbian, Karen is most concerned about the reproduction of homophobic attitudes, deemed traditional by Mapuche men, and the ways in which these attitudes play out within Mapuche spaces.

If they are lesbian, the road is even harder for the girls. Don’t forget it’s here in Temuco where they took her daughter away from Judge Atala<sup>95</sup>, so if they are going to punish a judge for being a lesbian, what are they going to do to us? So we are really afraid. There are two parts, one is in the intimate spaces, where girls live really really horrible things sometimes. But they have to stay in the intimate space, its very Mapuche, for example, that what happens at home, stays at home. So a girl can be a lesbian, maybe her family will accept that, or maybe they will beat her or evict her. But let’s imagine that this girl can stay in her community, they will only ever let her be a lesbian in her intimate space. This woman can’t show in public her love for another woman. So there is a disassociation between what she lives intimately and publicly. We need to make this visible, because they can’t go on killing us, hurting us, discriminating against us. (*Conversation with Karen, April 16<sup>th</sup>, 2018*)

Karen’s experiences as a Mapuche lesbian reflect Moraga and Anzaldúa's (1983, p. 105) belief that lesbians in the global south “feel (their) politics and passion are being ignored or discounted by other third world people”. Karen describes the ways in which Mapuche traditionalism results in violence but also a suppression of lesbian identity in favour of an indigenous identity. Moraga and Anzaldúa (1983) describe this conflict of identities as a borderland, in which lesbians are rejected by colonial systems and their own people. However, whilst they acknowledge the pain and disassociation that living in the borderlands causes, they also appreciate the new opportunities and knowledges that it can create. They argue

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<sup>95</sup> Karen Atala Riffo is a Chilean lesbian judge. She was initially granted custody over her three daughters, but after coming out as lesbian her husband sued for custody. The supreme court granted him custody after stating that her lesbianism would affect her children’s development.

as a mestiza I have no country, my homeland cast me out, yet all countries are mine because I am every woman's sister or potential lover. (As a lesbian I have no race, my own people disclaim me; but I am all races because there is the queer of me in all races). I am cultureless because, as a feminist, I challenge the collective cultural/ religious male derived beliefs of Hispanics and Anglos, yet I am cultured because I am participating in the creation of yet another culture, a new story to explain the world and our symbols that connect us to each other and to the planet. (Moraga and Anzaldúa, 1983, p. 102).

Like the mestiza of the borderlands, Mapuche lesbians are creating new ways of being and knowing in the Araucanía that challenge both state coloniality and Mapuche/colonial patriarchy. They are refusing to choose between their ethnicity, gender, or sexuality. They are neither rejecting the struggle as indigenous people, or their struggle as lesbians and women. Rather they use their lesbianism and their Mapucheness as an act of resistance, whilst creating new identities within the borderlands, or what Karen describes as Mapuche Champurria, a complex mix of Mapuche and Chileanness.

Over time I have begun to identify as Champurria Mapuche. This means I take this blood, this lineage and this knowledge which I have from my grandparents, my ancestors, but I also acknowledge this other part of my life, that lives within me. It's a different form of mestiza, I feel. And also, in this Champurria, to be sincere as well, there are aspects of the Mapuche that I don't identify with. So, I can't say that yes, I'm Mapuche, because there are many things in the culture with which I don't agree. So, this term 'Champurria' also allows me to critique inside and outside. Acknowledge what I am, and what I don't like.

*(Conversation with Karen, April 16<sup>th</sup>, 2018)*

Like the mestiza of the borderlands, Karen describes the ways in which she is both Mapuche and non-Mapuche, she becomes Champurria, constantly switching between Chilean and Mapuche. She rejects the static traditionalism of Mapuche heteropatriarchy and instead highlights her conjunctural identity. For Karen, there is no longer a clear Mapuche/winka dichotomy, but instead a "complex process of cultural production between the coloniser and the colonised" (Bacigalupo, 2003, p. 40). She is at once Mapuche, Chilean, lesbian and woman, as Moraga and Anzaldúa (1983) describe,

“Una lucha de fronteras/ A struggle of borderlands  
Because I, a mestiza,  
Continually walk out of one culture  
And into another,  
Because I am in all cultures at the same time,  
Alma entre dos mundos, tres, cuatro.”

For Lugones (1992, p. 32) this idea of borderland “captures both an everyday history of oppression and an everyday history of resistance... her culture, though oppressive, also grounds her resistance”. Thus, the Mapuche lesbian self becomes multiple, in a constant state of both oppression and resistance, or what Lugones (1992, p. 32) describes as the self “in resistance to oppression” and “the self in germination in the borderlands”. Mapuche women’s gender, sexuality, ethnicity and their bodily experiences, merge to create a new politics “born out of necessity” that allows them to tell their stories in their own words (Moraga and Anzaldúa, 1983, p. 23). Such politics of resistance in the Araucanía is described by the participants as Mapuche feminism. Rising feminist movements in Chile have been visualised both with the feminist student strikes in 2018 and the viral spreading of Las Tesis in 2019, with Mapuche women being at the forefront of both of these struggles.

I define myself now as a feminist. Which is something I didn’t dare to do before, because it was like “oh that’s not Mapuche”. But I’m not afraid to say it. And Chilean women now look to Mapuche women as the leaders of feminism in Chile. We are behind the student movement; we were out there chanting “a rapist in your way” in Mapudungun. The Mapuche flag is always flown at the marches. So, we want to bring that specifically Mapuche feminism into the school. The girls need to know, ok so we are Mapuche and that is super important, and we are proud. But that doesn’t mean that we should let the men treat us badly. There were Mapuche female warriors present at the battle of Curalaba. So, don’t tell me now that I should be timid and quiet. Because I’ve read the books. I know my ancestors were warriors. So, don’t limit me to the kitchen. And if we can teach the girls that, ‘hey, look at history, it’s not true what they’re saying about the submissive Mapuche woman’, then our future might look different.

But we have to fight the Wingka women and the Mapuche men to do that.  
(*Conversation with Guacolda, 14<sup>th</sup> June, 2018*)

Guacolda's comments highlight the increasing importance of the feminist project for indigenous education movements. Whilst Grande has argued that "for indigenous women, the central dominating force is colonisation, not patriarchy, and the definitive political project is decolonisation, not feminism" (2004, p. 152), Mapuche feminisms acknowledge that indigenous women have been the face of struggles against domination for over 500 years. Mapuche feminists reveal that

The experiences and intellectual contributions of indigenous women are not on the margins; (they) have been an invisible presence in the centre, hidden by the gendered logics of settler colonialism (Arvin et al., 2013, p. 13).

The demands of Mapuche women for a more feminist intercultural education, must be taken seriously as a critique of coloniality, decoloniality and gendered and racialised power relations within Chilean and Mapuche education. They bring together both feminist and decolonial critiques to show the ways in which indigenous girls lives and studies are affected by both patriarchy and coloniality. However, these Mapuche women have been identified as political adversaries not only by the colonial Chilean society, but also by the male Mapuche elites whose patriarchal hierarchy they challenge. The intolerance of Mapuche feminists by members of the community is damaging, especially when it takes place through marginalisation or intimidation of these women, as Karen explains in reference to her exclusion within Mapuche political organising.

We are bringing with us a history of violence against women, and those women never had any reparations. They died being violated. Women who have been treated like slaves and that's today, not part of history. I'm not afraid of them, I just want my justice, but they don't let me near anymore. I was such great friends with the Machi Francisca. She always called for me, she said to them, bring me Karen. But they came to me and they said, you are a lesbian, you are not a Mapuche, do not come to see her again. And they forced me to stop going.

(*Conversation with Karen, April 16<sup>th</sup>, 2018*)

However, these exclusions have not stopped the increasing number of Mapuche women who identify openly as lesbian and/or as feminist. The rising Mapuche feminism has led to a new theoretically informed, self-conscious praxis that is important to understanding the possibilities of intercultural education for Mapuche girls. Their version of radical indigenous feminism works with those who live in what Moraga and Anzaldúa (1983) have called *el mundo zurdo*, the lefthanded world, the young, the queer, the poor, the female, the disabled, and the indigenous. This kind of critical border thinking problematises the erasure of the Mapuche girl subject from the analysis of intercultural education and instead forms a “subaltern epistemology that does not hide the epistemic positionality of the subject speaking” (Salem, 2014). Thus, through their Mapuche feminisms, border thinking, and position as *mestiza Champurria*, these Mapuche women are challenging the coloniality that has constructed the lives of the girls in this study – “by critically deconstructing western concepts and structures that have been normalised, the first step towards dismantling them has been taken” (Salem, 2014). Through their resistance Mapuche women engage in the decolonisation of their minds, bodies and spirits, and those of their Mapuche daughters, sisters and mothers. The Mapuche women in this study are using their state of resistance and border positioning to challenge colonial and patriarchal education systems, even those that claim to be intercultural and are imagining new ways of educating Mapuche girls. They utilise their own (hi)stories and attempt to bridge the Chilean and Mapuche worlds in an attempt to encourage girls to name themselves and resist the labels imposed by coloniality and patriarchy.

### *Educating in the Pluriverse: Women as Knowledge Holders and Creators*

The Mapuche women who participated in this study have begun to reframe intercultural education and engage more actively with the experiences of Mapuche girls, helping them to resist and thrive within and without colonial, assimilatory spaces. They have launched projects that attempt to not only teach, but also listen to and learn from Mapuche girls. For example, Karen runs an organisation named “Espacion en Konstrucción” in which she attempts to create a space both for healing and resistance for girls and women.

It’s important to organise, to have meeting spaces, of political development, of ideas.  
We’ve tried to make a connection with life, rather than to create ideologies that sound

good but that don't have anything to do with real life. So, ours is an everyday feminism, against the violence that these girls suffer. But we also have to heal ourselves, I've also been damaged by violence, just as much as the girls in the internado. Once I was one of them. So, we have to heal ourselves, and make a space of reparation. It's too colonial to say, hey I'm a teacher, you have to listen to what I say. It's different when I say to these girls, hey, I was also born in this territory, I have also suffered from hunger, it's a horizontal connection. This space was not born out of heteronormativity, it's the only space in Temuco that is separatist, we wanted to make a space in which women could feel totally secure, and we felt that a space with men couldn't achieve that. And this is a healing space. It's not about saving the world, but about saving ourselves. It's a feminism from inside. I stop, I heal myself, I feel better, my experiences have been bad, but only once I'm healed can I heal others.

*(Conversation with Karen, April 16<sup>th</sup>, 2018)*

Espacio en Konstrucción invites both women and girls to come into the small space and to participate in a variety of projects and workshops, including music, Mapuche cosmovision, weaving, cooking for children, painting, Mapudungun, and self-defence. The space also offers various therapies, from bio-dance to massage, and a space for girls to drink Mate and discuss their experiences, challenge ideas and develop conversations. Espacio en Konstrucción has also run workshops within internados in Temuco, with varying success, as one member of the group recounts after watching the participatory video created by the girls.

I found the work in the internado so beautiful, I went to that same internado, so it brought back so many memories. I felt those experiences. It's work that we have wanted to do here for so long. But they won't let us in, the doors are closed to us. We used to go there but the new headmistress won't let us in. You are so lucky, you're European, you have the backing of the university, they won't let us get close to those girls!

*(Comment by Estefania, August 7<sup>th</sup>, 2018)*

Despite the difficulties the women in Espacio en Konstrucción have in entering the closed off spaces of internados, the work that they do is part of a decolonial project that works to expose and heal “the ontological violence authorised by Eurocentric epistemologies in everyday life” (Sundberg, 2014, p. 34). Their explicit rejection of western modernity serves to challenge both patriarchy and coloniality. Through Espacio en Konstrucción's decolonial project, a dialogue

is opened up between diverse epistemic, ethical and ontological approaches that works to enact the vision of a pluriversal world. Espacio en Konstrucción is funded by a Mexican feminist organisation and is inspired by the Zapatista's invitation to possibilities of reworlding.

The money for this comes from an organisation called Frida, they support young, Latin American feminists, and we were chosen because we live in a very complex space of resistance. We are the only ones who say that we are lesbians, feminists, Champurria, Mapuche, Decolonial. We are from the pluriverse. It's Zapatista. They showed us that there are more ways of living. That there isn't one truth. My truth is different to your truth. You are white. I am Mapuche. We both have our truths. Sometimes our truths cross paths, like now. Sometimes they don't. One of our objectives now is to go into the schools and talk about these truths that aren't usually discussed, new ideas, alternative understandings, as Mapuche, as women, as feminists. And also, to give them a new space. I've been into the schools; I know how many of them think about killing themselves in their bunkbeds at night. So, I want them to be able to come here and heal. (*Conversation with Karen, April 16<sup>th</sup>, 2018*)

In teaching alternative worldviews and taking a critical stand against colonial theories, Espacio en Konstrucción assumes “a politically emancipatory position that includes processes of knowing and also defending other possible ways of being in the world” (Querejazu, 2016, p. 5). By taking the pluriverse as an ontological starting point for teaching new ways of thinking and being, Mapuche feminist projects such as Espacio en Konstrucción acknowledge that reality is constituted by “many kinds of worlds, many ontologies, many ways of being in the world, many ways of knowing reality, and experimenting those many worlds” (Querejazu, 2016, p. 3). However, the women of Espacio en Konstrucción are not calling for a new theory of the pluriverse, rather, “black and indigenous groups ... have always lived in a pluriverse of culture and knowledge. But they have done so as dominated groups” (Escobar and Rocheleau, 2008, p. 12). Thus, they are constantly moving in the borderlands of Modernity/Coloniality and universality/pluriversality. They are not trying to create a pluriverse, instead they are trying to call for recognition of the pluriverse and, in doing so, change the experience of education for Mapuche girls through an amplification of their voices. As Catalina explains, this matters because Mapuche women are those who continue to hold most of the knowledge of the Land.

We are super important. We are the greatest connection that the Mapuche have with the Land. It's us who have the seeds, we take care of them, protect them. We are those who give birth. It's us who are born with the knowledge of the moon. It's us who take on the task of raising children. It is us who carry the knowledge of the Land. There is a reason that its women who hold the knowledge of the plants and not men.

*(Conversation with Catalina, October 26<sup>th</sup>, 2017)*

In calling for recognition of and education in the pluriverse, Mapuche women are calling for an acknowledgement of their own power and knowledges, a repositioning of themselves as those who should be leading the way in the intercultural education project. For too long intercultural education has been led by structures of the colonial Chilean government and has encouraged the assimilation and de-Mapuchization of indigenous students. The competing decolonial discourse of indigenous movements, whilst calling for a decolonial indigenous-led intercultural political project, has excluded the voices and experiences of girls and women, reproducing colonial patriarchal structures. In response, Karen argues for an intercultural education that guides, protects and listens to Mapuche girls through the sacred and private knowledges of Mapuche women.

I think that at some point in history women had the knowledge, the power. They were the holders of the knowledge. I feel like we should be rescuing the dark side of our history, where it wasn't all about the timid Mapuche woman. There were women Caciques (*Cheif*). There were women warriors at the battle of Curalaba, there were same sex couples. These are the values that we should be instilling in our girls. Not a few words in Mapudungun like the wingka want. Not a mass exodus to the countryside like the men say. No. That you can be Mapuche and you can be anything else that you want. You can be urban. You can be poor. You can be lesbian. But you are still Mapuche. You are still loved and you are still important. Come drink a Mate with me, listen to what I say. I am a woman. I am a lesbian. I am indigenous. These are my truths. Drink your Mate and tell me your truths. You are young. You are urban. You are poor. But you are still indigneous. You still hold the knowledge from your ancestors and if you learn to listen, you can hold my knowledge too.

*(Conversation with Karen, April 16<sup>th</sup>, 2018)*

Ultimately decolonial feminist interculturalities, like those defined by Karen and Espacio en Konstruccion, imply making a political choice about the worlds Mapuche people wish to live in. What this would look like in practice is still unknown, however here Estefania, a Mapuche activist and artist, makes some suggestions.

I wish that we could go into the internado or the school. Even in these urban spaces it's still intercultural. But intercultural doesn't necessarily mean we have to accept the Chilean. It can be any cultures. I can see indigenous women from Ecuador, Bolivia, Colombia all in one space. Drinking mate, speaking in indigenous languages, and if you can't understand, it doesn't matter, you just watch and learn. Weaving. I imagine myself there, back in the internado, teaching girls how to make earrings. With my Lamngen by my side teaching their own knowledges. But most importantly teaching the girls to love themselves. None of this "let's dress up for We Tripantu" shit. No. Let's go bathe in the river on We Tripantu.

*(Conversation with Estefania, August 7<sup>th</sup>, 2018)*

Although decolonising intercultural education demands political choices, it is "not an individual act; as ... we take steps and chart new paths in relation to and alongside a multiplicity of beings at all times" (Sundberg, 2014, p. 41). As Sundberg argues, the task ahead lies in walking and breathing the pluriversal intercultural world into being – a world in which the multiplicity of beings are addressed as equal in constituting knowledges and worlds, and the voices of those who have been pushed to the margins are raised. Engagement in this project necessitates a commitment to both indigenous knowledges and decolonial feminist movements. Taking Mapuche women seriously is a vital step towards decolonial intersectional intercultural education, pluriversality and fostering alternative ways of thinking and living.

## Conclusions

Interculturality in the Araucanía is still a hope-filled project. As discussed, interculturality was borne out of an indigenous desire for autonomous control over educational curricula. Mapuche activists have struggled for a curriculum that is reminiscent of traditional Mapuche education, led by Mapuche knowledge holders within the rural spaces of the Araucanía countryside. Such a rural education replicates traditional practices of education within Land; education that repositions Ñuke Mapu and the non-human as teacher. However, Mapuche activists, who once

struggled for intercultural education, are now rejecting the intercultural state-led project as both oppressive and folkloric. They believe that the state has appropriated their discourses of interculturality in order to further assimilate Mapuche children into Chilean ways of life. Despite this they continue to struggle for a utopian education. This chapter has documented the concerns of Mapuche women about the desire for a traditional Mapuche education in Wall Mapu. This is rooted in their understanding that coloniality of gender, and a fetishization of the rural, has led to the acceptance of patriarchy as a traditional Mapuche construct in which male, rural, educated voices continue to be elevated over urban, poor girls. Despite this, Mapuche feminists are exploring the possibility of an alternative life project that allows a profound questioning of the dominant epistemologies instilled by both coloniality and patriarchy. The rise of Mapuche feminisms has allowed for the “articulation of knowledges that take the intercultural co-construction of diverse epistemologies” into consideration (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018, p. 17). Such a critical, decolonial and pluriversal view of interculturality calls for a radical change in the dominant colonial order and its foundations of western modernity. It makes visible the lived experiences of Mapuche girls and the legacies of domination, exclusion and colonial difference, including the way these legacies are still manifest in both social configurations and institutions, including state led education. In short, this chapter has argued that interculturality, intersectionality and decoloniality are “interwoven projects and entwined verbalities”, that in continuous action and movement with each other allow for the possibilities of new futures in an education otherwise (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018, p. 75). Thus, a feminist epistemological decolonisation of intercultural education in Wall Mapu is now of the utmost importance in order to reject the continued assimilation and marginalisation of Mapuche girls in urban internados and work towards the end of epistemic violence of both coloniality and patriarchy.

Hasta mi último día le recordaré al Estado de Chile que no conforme con masacrar a nuestros antepasados, no conforme con el empobrecimiento espiritual, cultural, socioeconómicamente, en forma forzado cruelmente a nuestro pueblo Nación mapuche, desde la llegada de la invasión, en tiempo actual, desde enero de 2013 el Estado chileno a través de su institución policial me despojó de mi rewe, de mi familia, de mi comunidad, de mi territorio, de todos mis pacientes que les brindaba vida y salud, siendo una autoridad espiritual mapuche.

*“Ultimo discurso de Machi Celestino,” 11 Agosto, 2020*

Until my last day I will remember the State of Chile, not satisfied with massacring our ancestors, not satisfied with the impoverishment spiritually, culturally, socioeconomically, cruelly forced on our people Mapuche nation, since the arrival of the invasion, in current times since January 2013, the Chilean State, through its police institution, stripped me of my rewe, my family, my community, my territory, and all my patients to whom I gave life and health, being a Mapuche spiritual authority.

*“The last speech of Machi Celestino” 11 August, 2020*

## **Chapter 8 - Concluding Thoughts: Towards a Decolonial Intersectional IBE**

### Introduction

This thesis set out to reshape the conceptual borders of intercultural education. It has done this by including ways of thinking, being and imagining that fall outside of the traditional sub-disciplinary boundaries of geographies of education. In bringing together decolonial Latin American thinkers such as Quijano (2007), Escobar (2007) and Mignolo and Walsh (2018), with intersectional feminists such as Crenshaw (1995), Lugones (2010) and Salem, (2014) the thesis has highlighted the ways in which previous studies on intercultural education have failed to acknowledge the intersections of gender, ethnicity and class on the lived experiences of Mapuche girls within municipal intercultural education. In comparison, this thesis has taken a decolonial feminist approach that has successfully centred the experiences of Mapuche girls within intercultural educational systems, amplifying their voices and highlighting the complexity of identity formation within the school and the multiple and contrasting experiences of intercultural education. In doing so, the thesis highlights experiences of intercultural education that have been consistently marginalised within both academic literature and Mapuche activist movements because of the urbanity, poverty, ethnic and gendered positioning of the participants.

The overarching aims of the thesis were to examine the ways in which the concept of intercultural education has been interpreted in both policy and praxis within the Araucanía region; to understand the ways that these policies have been experienced by Mapuche girls within the municipal school system; and, to explore the future possibilities for intercultural education within the Araucanía. In what follows, I briefly summarise the research findings, arguing that as it stands municipal intercultural education remains an assimilatory policy that funnels Mapuche girls into traditional service education. I go on to summarise the ways in which Mapuche girls remain excluded from decolonial intercultural education projects led by Mapuche activists because of their affinity to Chilean culture, their urbanity and their experiences of sexual violence that in the eyes of some Mapuche traditionalists mark them out as ‘un-pure’. The chapter continues by analysing the implications of these research findings for the future of intercultural education. Following the examples of intercultural projects led by Mapuche/ Champurria, lesbian, urban women that call for a distancing from positivist

European ways of thinking and being towards an intercultural education at the borderlands, I examine what intercultural educational projects could look like if designed within a decolonial, intersectional pluriverse. I argue that intercultural education as a political project in the Araucanía should not be abandoned, but rather should be understood, in parallel to decoloniality, as an unfinished struggle for a utopian future.

The chapter concludes by highlighting the wider contributions of the thesis to the discipline of geography, both theoretically and methodologically. I argue that the thesis contributes in unique ways to geography by uniting decolonial and feminist theories in an attempt to resituate indigenous struggles for educational utopias at the centre of intercultural theory, whilst not ignoring the impacts of the coloniality of gender on educational futures. More specifically it contributes to geographical studies of intercultural education by centring on the interactions of the intersectional identities of students within the school, not just on the impact of ethnicity. I further argue that this thesis has contributed to the development of decolonial methodologies. In utilising a mixed methodology of both indigenous storytelling and participatory video it is possible to reposition indigenous voices and knowledges at the forefront of investigation. In focussing on relationships of power between the researcher and the participants, and histories of colonial research between indigenous peoples and the west, the research highlights the ways in which geographical methodologies continue to be harmful to indigenous people, whilst trying to suggest some ways in which this harm can be reduced. Finally, the chapter proposes some questions for future research of intercultural education in the Araucanía – and in other indigenous contexts – from a decolonial, intersectional perspective.

#### Research Findings: Rethinking IBE through Decolonial Intersectional Theory and Praxis

By evaluating the municipal interpretation of intercultural education in education policy and praxis in the Araucanía region, the thesis suggests that intercultural education within the Araucanía remains fixed within the assimilatory practice of the wider Chilean education system. The findings suggest that Chilean national education “maintains and is often defined by, vestiges of authoritarianism, verticalism, and a hierarchical inequitable nature” (Pinkney Pastrana et al., 2004, p. 176). The thesis argues that municipal led IBE has failed to take into account the intersectionality of identity formation and the ways that Mapuche girls identity construction is influenced by their gendered, ethnic and classed identities. It continues by highlighting the ways in which this coloniality of gender has also been reproduced by Mapuche

activists who consider Mapuche urban, poor girls to be ineffective representatives of the Mapuche culture. The thesis instead argues for a decolonial intersectional approach to intercultural education that elevates the voices and experiences of Mapuche girls.

*IBE as a State Led Colonial Assimilation Policy: Indigeneity, Poverty, Urbanity and Girlhood in Municipal Schools*

The first objective of this thesis was to evaluate how the concept of intercultural education has been interpreted within policy documents and discourses in the Araucanía region of Chile. In order to do this, I analysed the national Chilean curriculum, Municipal intercultural policy documents and interviewed municipal employees. In Chile intercultural initiatives have been spearheaded by national policy makers and not by Mapuche leaders or activists. This has resulted in an intercultural education that is additive, meaning that indigenous knowledges and languages must be supplementary to a pre-existing national curriculum in which traditional western pedagogies and knowledges prevail.

The thesis has shown that the Chilean national curriculum incorporates a hidden curriculum in which assimilatory colonial practices are reproduced. The Chilean national curriculum encourages theories of citizenship, nationhood and rights, whilst students are encouraged to aspire towards paid employment and full participation within neoliberal society as workers and consumers. In particular, Mapuche girls are encouraged to study for traditional women's roles such as childcare, nursing and cooking in technical schools, restricting their futures because of their ethnicity, class and gender and reproducing national ethnic, classed and gendered hierarchies.

Through the national Chilean curriculum, hegemonic ideas about race and belonging are reproduced that encourage whitened norms of Chilean citizenship and exclude Mapuche Otherness. Where the Mapuche are included in the Chilean national curriculum it is only as one of many indigenous Others, either as a folklore worthy of occasional celebration or as a dead race, defeated by colonialism. This monocultural curriculum encourages a move "into national society where citizenship is closely associated with a "Chilean" nonindigenous positioning becomes central to Mapuche teenagers' accounts of themselves" (Webb and Radcliffe, 2015, p. 1). Thus, Mapuche students are encouraged into the homogenous national

market citizenship and yet they continue to be excluded as Other from aspirational whitened futures because they are funnelled into low paid service work.

Despite the failings of the national curriculum to incorporate interculturality the Temuco Municipal Department of Education (DAEM) still struggles to integrate a regional interculturality in parallel to assimilatory national policy. As chapter 5 argues, whilst the presence of the Kimche contests the official knowledge of the Chilean state curriculum, a profound incorporation of Mapuche knowledges and language in the school remains limited. Indeed, the research reveals the absence of the Kimche within everyday classroom practice, the continued emphasis of rote learning and the failure of any real incorporation of Mapudungun or alternative pedagogies. Whilst Susana, Carolina and other DAEM practitioners may have good intentions, intercultural education policy does not reflect indigenous intercultural theory and intercultural practice in the school is weak. This is particularly true for Mapuche girls, who are invisibilised within intercultural policy, which presumes that intercultural experiences are consistent across genders. This failure becomes more evident as intercultural policy manifests in practice and is experienced by Mapuche girls within the intercultural school.

Chapter 6 focusses on the experiences of Mapuche girls within both the intercultural school and the municipal boarding house in order to address the second objective of the thesis: to assess how intercultural policies have been experienced by Mapuche girls and the extent to which these experiences are influenced by their gendered and classed identities. The research findings reveal the limits of municipal intercultural policy as it translates into practice. I argue that the experiences of Mapuche girls of intercultural education are extremely limited because they describe having had almost no education relating to the Mapuche culture or language at the school. The students do describe having participated in some Mapuche performances or ceremonies at the school, such as We Tripantu but these are described within the context of folklore or as a celebration of a dead culture. Thus, there remains a profound discordance between municipal policy, as described in chapter 5, and the practice examined in chapter 6. Therefore, Chilean intercultural education in practice “is neither transformative nor critical of the established social, political and economic order; it is functional to this order” (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018, p. 58). Mapuche students continue to be embedded in a colonial education system

which promotes Chilean cultural superiority, which has important effects on identity formations for the students.

The school is one of the most important spaces for girls' identity formation, contributing through messages in both the hidden and written curriculum "concerning who they should or can be through differentiation and selection, teaching strategies, teacher expectations, and peer norms" (Verhoeven et al., 2019, p. 35). Girls' identities are particularly influenced by the spaces of education in which they study and live. Both the municipal school and boarding house are organised around strict timetables and practices of enclosure that are designed to institutionalise Mapuche students and reproduced practices of assimilation and domination. This control of Mapuche girls mimics colonial practices of assimilation, in which Mapuche girls are encouraged into Chilean citizenship through separation from their indigenous roots. Assimilation is coupled with the portrayal of the Mapuche as criminal and the potent symbolism of the school's proximity to the prison. The differences in identity formation between Mapuche girls suggest that municipal intercultural education policy fails to address the complexity of the social, cultural and political interactions and experiences of Mapuche girls within the school, in which racialised stereotypes continue to be reproduced.

In investigating the experiences of Mapuche girls within the intercultural school, the findings reveal a worrying invisibilisation of experiences of gender within the school space and particularly the ways in which experiences of gender are coupled with experiences of ethnicity, sexuality and class. Gregoriou (2013, p. 187) has shown that, within intercultural education, while "bringing race in" is invoked as a radical gesture (mostly because it challenges the reluctance to rethink colonial legacies), "'bringing gender in' is a gesture that remains insipidly uninvoked". This is particularly true in a school where girls are constantly pushed towards both futures of motherhood and low paid traditional service work. Furthermore, the Mapuche girls describe multiple experiences of either being sexually harassed and/or assaulted, or friends who had been sexually harassed and/or assaulted. Teenage pregnancy, sexual assault and violence is almost understood as an inevitable future for many of these girls and their poverty, gender and indigeneity all intersect to influence these futures and experiences of education. Thus, when talking with Mapuche girls it became obvious that their marginalisation within the school and within the wider community is much more complex than ethnic marginalisation. Indeed, it became clear that their gender and poverty and the ways in which these intersect and

combine with their indigeneity influence their experiences of education and their identity formation.

*Decolonising Intercultural Education: Challenging the Coloniality of Gender*

Chapter 7 addresses the final two aims of the thesis: to explore critiques of intercultural education policy from within the Mapuche community and examine alternative decolonial indigenous approaches to education in the Araucanía; and to address what the future possibilities of educating indigenous girls in the Araucanía might look like if the experiences of Mapuche girls and women were prioritised. This explores a more hopeful future and reflects on what an indigenous education might look like if the colonial assimilatory practices described above are rejected and decoloniality is brought to the forefront of the curriculum.

Mapuche educational utopias are firmly fixed in a re-engagement with the past, or pre-colonial practices of orality. Research with Mapuche activists identifies their demands for an education in Mapudungun, led by traditional Kimche or family members. Participants describe learning through doing, through song and through participation in community events. Activists insist on an education outside of the formal urban school space and within Mapuche rural communities. In fact, participants demand an intercultural education that is Land based, rejects the monoculturality of the school and western hegemonic knowledge, and instead considers the Mapuche ontology based on a fundamental relationship between humans, nature and spirituality. In comparison, current forms of municipal-led intercultural education in the Araucanía are rejected by Mapuche activists as a reproduction of colonial assimilatory practices, designed to oppress Mapuche students further and to invisibilise the living Mapuche culture through discourses of folklore.

In rejecting state-led intercultural education and calling for a Mapuche-led Land based intercultural education, Mapuche activists are struggling for an indigenous re-appropriation of IBE as decolonial praxis. In calling for autonomy of educational context and structure, Mapuche activists are rejecting Western universality of knowledges, instead promoting a 'thinking otherwise' in which Mapuche students and teachers are able to depart from the idea of a sole epistemological perspective and instead recentre their own subaltern knowledges that through western domination have been reimagined as "traditional, folkloric, religious and

emotional” (Escobar, 2007, p. 187). Such decolonial educational praxis encourages a border thinking, a new way of seeing and being in the world, that follows Anzaldúa's (2007) understanding of the border as a space for the critical rethinking of the politics of knowledge, for displacement and transformation, and for a rejection of the modern/colonial binary. However, the thesis has shown that decolonial thinking within the Araucanía is not as inclusive as it might appear. Utilising work by Lugones (2010), chapter 7 reveals the ways in which the borders of decolonial thinking and praxis continue to be controlled by colonial notions of gender. This particularly affects Mapuche girls in urban education systems, whose voices and experiences are repeatedly silenced and ignored because they are deemed less authentic than those of educated Mapuche men.

Chapter 7 has revealed the ways in which Mapuche girls are often excluded from decolonial intercultural futures. It has explored the ways in which the voices of Mapuche men, particularly those who live in rural spaces and have completed higher education are elevated, whilst Mapuche girls are silenced. The research findings suggest that the adoption of colonial constructions of gender within Mapuche communities mean that men's voices are more valued than those of women. They reveal the persistence of a heteropatriarchy in the Araucanía, or “the social systems in which heterosexuality and patriarchy are perceived as normal and natural and in which other configurations are perceived as abnormal, aberrant and abhorrent” (Arvin et al., 2013, p. 13). Mapuche girls in urban education systems are considered to be ineffective representatives of the Mapuche culture by some activists because of their closeness to Chilean culture, their poverty, lack of education and their experiences of sexual assault. Similarly, Mapuche feminists, who attempt to challenge the intersections of colonialism and heteropatriarchy, are condemned as anti-traditional, or an import of western modernity, irrelevant to Mapuche communities.

In comparison, the work of Mapuche/Champurria lesbians and feminists in urban Araucanía is critical in attempts to implement an informal intercultural education for Mapuche girls that is at once decolonial and intersectional. Intercultural education as led by Mapuche feminists is an example of a decolonial education from the borderlands, which, following Anzaldúa (2007), arises from the exteriority of western universalism, celebrating instead multiple ways of thinking, being and knowing. It is centred in the complex identity of the participants, valuing them as Mapuche, but also as Chilean, poor, and urban subjects. This intercultural education brings to the fore the pluriversality of a decolonial education, giving “concrete substance to the

possibilities and praxis of an otherwise” through the intertwining of a decoloniality and intersectionality (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018, p. 74). The praxis of Mapuche lesbian activists informs how decolonial intersectional intercultural futures might be imagined and reaffirms that this is not just a utopian hope, but a very real possibility towards which women in the Araucanía are already working.

Thus, the thesis ends on a hopeful note, with acknowledgement of the existence of a decolonial intersectional intercultural practice in informal spaces in the Araucanía that foster new ways of living, at once escaping modernity and inheriting knowledges from the past. Such a practice gives hope that new ways of learning are possible that reject both coloniality and patriarchy. Such a manner of educating “opens up a space for coexistence where both the legitimacy of all forms of existing and the possibility of agreement on common projects of coexistence are accepted” (Escobar, 2018, p. 33). Whilst it is important not to claim that the entire colonial/modernity project is being disrupted from one small space in the Araucanía, the findings of this research and the existence of decolonial intersectional intercultural education does have some implications for the future of education in the Araucanía.

#### The Implications of a Decolonial Intersectional Theory: Reimagining IBE from the Pluriverse

This thesis has argued that state-run intercultural education in the Araucanía is a reproduction of colonial assimilatory practice. This claim has varying implications for the future of intercultural education policy and praxis. As noted above, this thesis argues that discourses of intercultural education in the Araucanía have been co-opted by the Chilean state, rather than working genuinely to reaffirm indigenous knowledges, languages and cultures within the school. This suggests that if there is to be authentic decolonial praxis within intercultural school spaces, intercultural policy makers need to reflect on their willingness to design an intercultural education that challenges colonial power structures, despite the possibilities that that will “lead to a space of personal and institutional vulnerability” (Gorski, 2008, p. 6). Intercultural educators and policy makers within Chile must determine whether they are willing to become vulnerable in order to create an intercultural education that radically contests colonial structures, or whether they will contribute to the continued formation of an intercultural education that fails to disturb colonial realities. This is also the case for those of us who seek to learn within intercultural contexts – we must also reflect on the ways in which our work contributes to the “watering down” or “deterioration” of the field of intercultural education

(Gorski, 2008, p. 175). We must be willing to write honest accounts of our experiences, even if it means critiquing “good intentioned” intercultural policy makers and educators (Gorski, 2008, p. 175). Only when intercultural educators, policy makers and academics are willing to accept the limits of current practice and advocate for a re-politicised intercultural education will student experiences improve.

Following this, the research findings suggest that a decolonial participatory intercultural education necessitates an engagement with, if not a designation of control to, indigenous activists, community leaders, parents and organisations. “Since traditionally schools imposed upon indigenous communities their own ways and logic of management, reflecting the perspectives of the dominant group”, any continued exclusion of indigenous communities represents a continuation of the colonial project (Lopez and Sichra, 2008, p. 1738). Pedagogical conflicts between Mapuche communities and Chilean policy makers reflect the difference between European and indigenous knowledges and cosmovisions. An intercultural education that ignores the knowledges of indigenous peoples at the policy level will continue to be critiqued by indigenous activists who cannot visualise their own cultural practices within such a curriculum. Similarly, teachers employed by the municipality and not the community, even if they are Mapuche, more often than not represent the interests of their employer and are unwilling or unable to speak for the indigenous community and participatory interculturality. In short, a political commitment to decolonial intercultural education necessitates an epistemological shift from the positivist tradition to a reciprocal Land based education that questions the ontology of western knowledge. This can only occur with the support of the local community within a local historical context.

This does not mean that intercultural education can situate itself only within primary rural education. Intercultural education ought to be for all sectors of the population, not just indigenous students. It ought to be extended from primary education through to higher education in rural and urban areas of Chile. Intercultural education is not just an indigenous autonomous project, but it calls for an improvement of education quality for the entire population. In becoming more widespread, IBE ought to challenge “the notion that bilingualism is the exclusive realm of the indigenous populations and monolingualism as a characteristic of Spanish speaking citizens” (Lopez and Sichra, 2008, p. 1740). It ought to challenge the boundaries and meanings of Chilean citizenship, working towards a “larger process of societal reconstruction” that benefits all children within the territory of Wall Mapu

(Lopez and Sichra, 2008, p. 1740). Indeed, this thesis has argued that intercultural education should not just work towards the re-indigenisation of the population, but rather it should work to destabilise all of the hierarchies that coloniality has created, including that of gender. Therefore, intercultural education ought to be a place in which difference is affirmed, not erased, and students' distinct ways of knowing, living and being should be valued and developed.

Incorporating intersectional theory into intercultural educational policy and practice, however, remains a challenge. Despite this, there are possible ways in which intersectional theory can be transferred into educational practice in the Araucanía. Firstly, Mapuche knowledges should not be additive to the national curriculum, as has been the case (see chapter 5); instead they should be at the forefront of teaching in each subject, taught through a pedagogical practice that is appropriate for such knowledges. Mapuche knowledges should be included within the curriculum as equally valid and important as western knowledges, and equally applicable to daily life. However, educators and policy makers should also be aware that students “embody multiple, complex identities that function simultaneously, rather than in isolation of each other” (Jones and Wijeyesinghe, 2011, p. 15), and it is fundamental to teach these identities within relation to both power and privilege. In failing to do this, and encouraging students to occupy only one social position, students may see “themselves as only the recipients of power, or the targets of social oppression” and ignore the ways in which a Mapuche man or a heterosexual Mapuche woman, for example, can be both oppressed and oppressor at once (Jones and Wijeyesinghe, 2011, p. 16). In teaching through a decolonial intersectional pedagogy, the student is able to see the ways in which her experience of her gender, urbanity, race and sexuality are intersecting. Thus, intersectional teaching “is a commitment to exploring questions of identity, inequality and social justice” (Dill, 2009, p.245 in Jones and Wijeyesinghe, 2011, p. 17), which allows students to explore difference and power. It is important to note that whilst these suggestions explore the possible impacts of my research for intercultural education, they should not be taken as a strict framework for a decolonial intersectional education. Indeed, an engagement with what a decolonial intersectional policy and praxis might look like requires further research. This thesis is a call for policy makers and educators to examine their own practice through the experiences of Mapuche girls in municipal education and for an acknowledgement that cultural identities within schools are defined across multiple social dimensions that go beyond ethnicity. It suggests, therefore, that in order to

develop an effective intersectional decolonial intercultural education it is first necessary to listen to the voices of those who have consistently been silenced in the Araucanía, including Mapuche, urban interned girls.

In attempting to listen to these voices, the thesis and the wider research project has had some impacts on intercultural education discourse and praxis within the Araucanía. As part of the methodological process for the research I had to disseminate the results with the Department of Education, Temuco. Currently the relevant parties at DAEM are still reviewing the results and no action has as of yet been taken. Informally, however, the research has had more of an impact. The development of the Wall Mapu Fün Kim Zomo Collective that includes Mapuche women and girls has allowed two groups of people who were often separated because of the physical boundary of the internado to come together and share experiences. Through hearing the experiences of interned Mapuche girls, the Mapuche educators and activists within the collective have worked to create informal workshops and meeting spaces within Espacio en Konstruccion that attempt to better represent the needs of Mapuche girls, specifically in relation to gender and ethnic violence. Similarly, the participatory video that was created through this project and to which the collective has access, has been a particularly useful tool for disseminating both the results of this research, but also the experiences of Mapuche girls within formal IBE and their desires for intersectional intercultural futures. Encouraging a wider discourse within Mapuche communities around the failings and futures of IBE within the Araucanía.

### Wider Implications for the Discipline of Geography

Beyond its implications for the practice of intercultural education, the knowledge contributions of this thesis also have wider implications for the discipline of geography and more specifically, geographies of education. As described in Chapter 3, geography has had a complex history with colonialism, having been a discipline largely associated with serving the “interests of imperialism in its various aspects” (Hudson, 1977, p. 12). In more recent times, as Cupples and Glynn (2014, p. 5) have argued, geographers have been slow to adopt a decolonial framework “and both indigenous peoples and Latin America remain inexplicably on the margins” of geography. Despite this, I argue that geography is in a unique position within the social sciences to engage with decoloniality because of its long histories of feminist geography, its profound interest in culture, environment and space, and its more recent

engagement with the body. However, the association of geography with western ideologies, such as Marxism, feminism and critical education, no matter how revolutionary, means that alternative knowledges and lifeways continue to be excluded. In contrast, this thesis argues for direct research collaboration with indigenous peoples. It suggests that geographies can be decolonised only when other knowledges, cosmovisions and methodologies are incorporated, including an acknowledgement of the non-human, such as animals, plants, landscapes and spirits. Ultimately a decolonisation of geography necessitates making a political choice about the worlds we wish to live in, as Anzaldúa insists

it is not enough to stand on the opposite riverbank, shouting questions, challenging patriarchal, white conventions. A counter stance locks one into a duel of oppressor and oppressed... it's a step towards liberation from cultural domination. But it is not a way of life. At some point, on our way to a new consciousness, we will have to leave the opposite bank, the split between the two mortal combatants, somehow healed so that we are on both shores at once and, at once see through serpent and eagle eyes... Or we might go another route. The possibilities are numerous once we decide to act and not react (2007, p. 100).

This thesis suggests that there is value in radical geographies engaging with knowledges that fall outside of traditional Marxist, feminist and post-structural theories, instead working towards a decolonial future in which multiple worlds and knowledges are experienced. However, this thesis does not just call for a theoretical shift in geography, but rather a practical shift, suggesting that as geographers we should also work to decolonise ourselves and our research practice.

### *Theoretical Implications for the Future of Geographies of Education*

Decoloniality encourages an epistemic change and a total change in ways of thinking. This change of thinking is particularly necessary in geographies of education, as education policy continues to be rooted in a western-centric and economically focussed discourse (see for example Wasmuth and Nitecki, 2018 on the World Bank Development Report). Furthermore, a decolonial rethinking of geographies of education is vital in studies of Latin America where practices of education have continued to reproduce cultural, social and economic dominance for over 400 years. In speaking of the colonial influence within Chilean schools, “this

framework brings to the fore the power dimension that is often lost in relativistic discussions of cultural difference” (Escobar, 2007, p. 189). In rethinking intercultural education, the decolonial perspective offers up a wider set of knowledges and theories than those commonly utilised within geography. It rejects the abstract universal of modernity and allows geographers to take seriously “the epistemic perspective/cosmologies/insights of critical thinkers from the global south” (Grosfoguel, 2012, p. 12). By drawing from other world views, it becomes possible to visualise a geography of education that acknowledges the possibilities for alternative futures, an education otherwise. Thinking decolonially brings into being the pluriverse, or the possibility of many interconnected worlds in which the non-human contributes to knowledge production. “Such processes cannot be subsumed in the epistemic frame of modern social sciences, which are characterised by anthropocentrism” (Querejazu, 2016, p. 3). Therefore, geography without decoloniality fails to acknowledge the multiplicity of worlds within the pluriverse and the possibilities that these worlds have for the future of education. In acknowledging and embracing the pluriverse, it is possible for geographers to open up paths for multiple new encounters, knowledges and futures within spaces of intercultural education.

Despite the theoretical possibilities that decoloniality can provide for the geographies of education, chapter 2 has highlighted the profound ways in which decolonial scholars have failed to acknowledge the coloniality of gender as described by Lugones (2016). In its current form, without an acknowledgement of the various contributions of feminist theory that highlights how race, sex and gender work to constitute coloniality, the contributions of decolonial theory are limited. As noted in chapter 2, the modernity/coloniality project erases the presence of colonised women within social life, accommodating rather than “disrupting the narrowing of gender domination” (Lugones, 2016, p. 9). This thesis, however, unites work by intersectional feminists and decolonial theorists to show that the very ways in which knowledge is produced is gendered, including within the discipline of geography. Intersectional feminists have argued that the “the intersection of race, class, sexuality, and gender exceeds the categories of modernity”, denying humanity to colonised women (Lugones, 2010, p. 742).

Uniting decoloniality with intersectionality provides an opportunity to unveil the power relations within colonial spaces, such as the intercultural school, and more significantly the differences in power relations between groups, and the implications of these differences in

power. This is particularly important in geographies of education because using an intersectional lens to study children's identity formation "draws attention to complexity and multiplicity, as well as to the dynamics of power and politics involved in their performances" (Cook and Hemming, 2011, p. 67). Most importantly, using an intersectional decolonial framework allows geographers to visualise the legacy of exclusion of subalternised subjects within both feminist and anti-racist geographies "and the impact of those absences on both theory and practice" (Nash, 2008, p. 1). Paying particular attention to colonised women's epistemologies and ontologies, and their experiences surrounding difference and the border, allows decolonial intersectional geographers to appreciate the unique epistemic vantage point that these women uphold, something that "scholars should consider, if not adopt, when crafting a normative vision of a just society" (Nash, 2008, p. 1). This is particularly true if colonised women are considered to have new knowledges and new epistemologies crafted in the border lands (Anzaldúa 2007). Anzaldúa argues that in engaging with these knowledges, we not only create new ways of thinking, but also new ways of being in the self. She believes that "it is from this bodily epistemic standpoint that we can begin to rethink relationality and reimagine ourselves enfleshing a spirituality in action" (Anzaldúa, 2007, p. 111). Thus by engaging with a decolonial intersectionality geographers can participate in new kinds of personal and collective activism, or what (Anzaldúa, 2007) terms 'spiritual activism'. In order to do this, however, it is first necessary to reposition the voices of colonised women at the forefront of geographical research and writing.

Crenshaw's (1991) hope for intersectionality was that it would highlight the importance of "speaking against internal exclusions and marginalisations" in order to challenge researchers to hear the voices that have for so long been silenced within research. As noted throughout this thesis, within studies of intercultural education it is often teachers, parents and policy makers who are consulted on intercultural experiences and futures. In comparison, this thesis argues for a geography of education in which the students' voices are elevated. Furthermore, it suggests that future studies should not presume that all experiences of intercultural education are shared across ethnicity; rather, it calls for research projects that accept the complex ways that identities influence experience. This thesis has utilised a mixed methodology of PAR and indigenous story telling that are able to elevate the voices of the traditionally marginalised.

### *Methodological Implications*

This research has important implications for the possible futures of geographical research within indigenous communities. It has challenged the western centric research process that reproduce western “regimes of truth” and bring with them a particular set of values and conceptualisations of time, space, subjectivity, gender relations and knowledge” (Wilson, 2001, p. 215). It argues that traditional western research practices are situated within colonial discourses and practice that can influence the research process. Traditional research practices within geography have reaffirmed western knowledges and practices as legitimate and universal. In contrast, this research attempts to decolonise research practice, acknowledging that “non-western knowledge forms are excluded from or marginalised in normative research paradigms and therefore non-western/indigenous voices and epistemologies are silenced and subjects lack agency within such representations” (Swadener and Mutua, n.d., p. 33). The research confirms arguments made by indigenous scholars (see for example Kovach, 2010; Tuhiwai Smith, 2012; Wilson, 2008) that by utilising a decolonial research process, geographers can attempt to challenge the encrypting of a silent indigenous subject and challenge the oppressions that come with such representations<sup>96</sup>.

Whilst it is difficult for non-indigenous researchers to practice decolonial methodologies without appropriating them or reproducing deterministic stereotypes, non-indigenous geographers can also play an important role in promoting decolonial methodologies within geography, struggling alongside indigenous researchers for a space for such research within an academy that has traditionally rejected indigenous knowledges and practices. By including indigenous methodologies within geography, the positivism of western science is rejected, and a transformative agenda is advanced. Decolonial methodologies incorporate alternative ways of thinking about research. In this way, geographers “will be asked to consider a worldview that holds beliefs about power, where it comes from, and how it is manifested, which will, at times, align with western thought and at other times not” (Kovach, 2010, p. 86). By utilising decolonial methods, this thesis confirms that geographers who are committed to a transformative agenda and a more fair and equal society ought to “practice in their empirical endeavours what they preach in their theoretical formulations” (Brown and Strega, 2015, p.

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<sup>96</sup> Whilst these research methodologies attempt to contradict the silencing of indigenous peoples through western research methodologies, this thesis has argued that indigenous peoples do also silence each other based on gender, class, education etc. The potential for this silencing within indigenous research methodologies is not specifically addressed here and should be a question for future research.

281). This requires research methodologies that are both epistemologically relevant and activist.

The actual methodology utilised in this research is relatively novel, in that it incorporates a mix of PAR and indigenous methodologies (see Jackson, 2017 for more examples within geography). PAR is particularly suited to geographical research in that it allows participants to describe their relationships with culture, identity and space. PAR “is designed to be context specific, foregrounding local conditions and local knowledge and producing situated, rich and layered accounts” (Pain, 2004, p. 653). In parallel, indigenous methodologies emphasise the circular and reciprocal formation of knowledges. Using these methodologies together challenges hegemonic power structures within research that reproduce marginalisation of indigenous women’s voices. The aim of utilising these two methodologies together was to attempt to develop a research project that was sympathetic and respectful to Mapuche peoples and their knowledges, whilst contributing to the geographical body of knowledge about intercultural education. The thesis has attempted to provide a space for Mapuche girls to participate in the research equally, but also to direct the agenda of the research in order to ensure that their own needs and desires are met. Whilst

indigenous methodologies do not privilege indigenous researchers ... there is a difference between research done within an indigenous context using western methodologies and research done using indigenous methodologies which integrates indigenous voices (Pulani Louis, 2007, p. 130).

However, whilst indigenous methodologies are not specific to indigenous researchers, this research also highlights the importance of situating oneself as researcher within geographical research. It has highlighted the experiences of discomfort and need for an embodied reflection of positionality within the research site. Whilst “every researcher struggles with representing the “truth” of their findings as well as allowing the “voices” of their participants to be heard” the research has shown that there are many truths and their interpretation within both research practice and findings is influenced by the positionality of the researcher (Merriam et al., 2001, p. 414). Thus, the conclusions of the thesis and their implications for intercultural education policy and the futures of geographies of education must be understood not as a general inference, applicable to all spaces and futures, but rather as relevant to the local and

contextualised spaces and times in which this research was carried out. This does, of course, leave some unanswered questions relating to the future of intercultural education for Mapuche girls in the Araucanía.

### *Questions for the Future*

The research was limited by its incorporation of just one school and internado. Whilst it took an in-depth approach to Mapuche girls' experiences of intercultural education within these spaces it is important to compare these experiences with other municipal technical schools, as well as humanities schools within Temuco and other cities in order to understand if and why these experiences differ between spaces. There are also comparisons to be made between urban and rural schools, state led and Mapuche-led schools and between primary, secondary and higher education. Similarly, it would also have been productive to work with the participants outside of the school spaces, including within their home and social spaces, to see how their identity performances and experiences of ethnicity and gender varied, however this was outside the scope of this research project.

Whilst exploring the ways in which Mapuche girls' identities were influenced by intercultural schooling, the research, included little discussion (with the exception of Mailen) on Mapuche girls' experiences of resistance. The research revealed that Mapuche girls do not always practice the stereotypes found in the Chilean hidden curricula, however there is currently a dearth of understanding of the distinct ways in which Mapuche girls choose to actively resist these stereotypes, for example rejecting Chilean citizenship in order to perform Mapucheness within schools or rejecting futures of motherhood or low paid service work. It is of course clear, from the 400 years of Mapuche resistance struggles that Mapuche girls are not the passive subjects of education, but actively contest Chilean curricula. The ways in which such resistance takes place in schools remains a critical gap in the research relating to education and Mapuche students.

Similarly, it is necessary to examine the ways in which intercultural education is really beneficial to the Chilean state in reducing ethnic conflict in the South of Chile. Municipal intercultural education reproduces colonial assimilatory practices, but, as noted above, Mapuche resistance struggles continue to grow within the Araucanía region. If interculturality, is essential to the state's control over Mapuche futures, state neoliberal interests and the

development of a cohesive citizenship in the Araucanía, there needs to be a better understanding of which spaces are contributing the continued creation of Mapuche Weichafe, and the role of intercultural education in ethnic oppression and differentiation of Mapuche students in this.

The research has also left some questions unanswered in relation to the aims of decolonial praxis and the role of the school in this. The research has shown that often decolonial work from outside of formal western spaces, for example the work done by Mapuche activists, can lead to further exclusion of marginalised subjects, such as Mapuche urban girls. Thus, the question remains: should decoloniality challenge the dominant system, the colonial Chilean state and its institutions and power from “modernity’s outside, fissures and borders”, or is there a possible future in which decolonial projects can work from within such a system, such as formal schooling, to challenge that very system’s own power structures? Whilst I have argued that the intercultural school remains a colonial institution, I have also argued that in ignoring the colonial school and working with decolonial projects outside of the colonial system, some of society’s most marginalised continue to be forgotten. In thinking through this question Mignolo and Walsh's (2018, p. 74) ask: “can a social movement continue to be considered as such once it enters the state structure and institution and begins to assume more than just an outside position? Can it be inside and at the same time against?” In response, it appears that the future of the decolonial project remains at risk of appropriation from hegemonic power structures, as has been the case for intercultural education in the Araucanía. However, there remains a threat that in ignoring these structures indigenous girls will continue to be left behind. Whilst this research has touched on what intersectional decolonial educational futures might look like, there is much more research to be done on this matter.

The futures of intercultural education in the Araucanía region are somewhat contradictory. On the one hand, municipal IBE has let down both Mapuche students and activists, appropriating indigenous utopian discourses to reproduce colonial assimilatory practices. And yet, on the other hand, Mapuche activists refuse to abandon their utopian project and continue to work towards reclaiming IBE as a decolonial praxis that works for the appreciation of Mapuche knowledges, languages and cultures. Hopes for an autonomous and just education in the Araucanía for Mapuche students continues to be a key incentive of Mapuche struggles within the region, with Mapuche activists looking to traditional education systems to support Mapuche students. However, there are dangers that discourses of tradition reproduce colonial

conceptions of gender and erase Mapuche women's power. The futures of intercultural education are promising when they are based in a praxis that is both decolonial and intersectional, and only then can new ways of thinking, knowing and being come about. Unfortunately, this research project has now finished and what is represented in these pages is only a snapshot of the lives of the participants. Of course, their stories continue, and their truths and identities transform, as do their experiences of intercultural education. However, the contributions that this research has made, as noted above, extend beyond this thesis to suggest transformative futures for both intercultural education and decolonial feminist geographies.

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## Appendix 1: List of Policy Documents Consulted

Name	Information
<p>Bases Curriculares: 7 básico a 2 medio / General Curriculum for Secondary Education (Ministerio de Educacion, Chile, 2015a)</p> <p>Access at: <a href="https://www.curriculumnacional.cl/614/w3-article-34949.html">https://www.curriculumnacional.cl/614/w3-article-34949.html</a></p>	<p>This document is the national curriculum for students between 11 and 15 years old, or the last two years of primary and the first two years of secondary education. The document defines the minimum learning contents for each year of formal education based on the minimum levels that were established in Chile in 1998. The subjects that must be studied are named as language and literature; mathematics; natural sciences; history, geography and social sciences; physical education and health; music; visual arts; orientation; and technology. The curriculum is ordered in a temporal fashion based on what the students should learn each class. The curriculum is centred on “the guiding principles of the Political Constitution and the anthropological and ethical conception that guides the Universal Declaration of Human Rights present in the great traditions of the country” (Ministerio de Educacion, Chile, 2015a, p. 1). However, it is acknowledged that this is just the minimum learning material for each subject and as such, “educational establishments are given the freedom to express their diversity, building their own proposals that respond to their needs and the characteristics of their educational project” (Ministerio de Educacion, Chile, 2015a, p. 1).</p>
<p>Educación para la Igualdad de Género: Plan / Education for Gender Equality Plan 2015-2018 (Ministerio de Educacion, Chile, 2015b)</p> <p>Access at: <a href="https://media.mineduc.cl/wp-content/uploads/sites/28/2017/07/Educaci%C3%B3n-para-la-Igualdad-de-G%C3%A9nero-2015-2018.pdf">https://media.mineduc.cl/wp-content/uploads/sites/28/2017/07/Educaci%C3%B3n-para-la-Igualdad-de-G%C3%A9nero-2015-2018.pdf</a></p>	<p>This document is a response to the Gender Equity Unit formed in 2014 that attempts to promote the incorporation of gender in Chilean policy, plans and government programs. This particular document is designed to advance an inclusive state education that institutionalises a commitment to gender equality. Its main aims are to protect equality in the exercise of gender rights; to construct spaces for coexistence free from discrimination and gender violence; the inclusion of all gender identities and expressions and sexual orientations within school spaces; and the achievement of equal results through equity measures that eliminate development and performance gaps. It attempts this through an inclusion of “conceptual definitions, a diagnosis of gender inequalities in education, national and international regulations that are constituents in the matter and ministerial measures that are being</p>

	<p>promoted to take on the challenge of contributing from this portfolio to transform the beliefs and practices that influence gender gaps and inequities during the educational process, to move towards a fair, equal and non-sexist education” (Ministerio de Educacion, Chile, 2015b, p. 1).</p>
<p>Educacion Intercultural: Lenguas y culturas de los pueblos originarios / Program for Intercultural Bilingual Education (DAEM, 2019)</p> <p>Access at:  <a href="https://www.daemtemuco.cl/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/Azumkantuai%C3%B1-Fill-Mogen-Kim%C3%BCn-Hacia-la-Interculturalidad.-N%C2%B0-3.pdf">https://www.daemtemuco.cl/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/Azumkantuai%C3%B1-Fill-Mogen-Kim%C3%BCn-Hacia-la-Interculturalidad.-N%C2%B0-3.pdf</a></p>	<p>This is the key document for intercultural education policy and praxis within Temuco municipality. First published in 2016, it was updated in 2019. Written by Susana, it is described as summarizing: “in didactic form, the regulations, the legal foundations and the objectives pursued by the implementation of the learning-teaching of the Indigenous Language and Culture (Mapuche in our case) promoted by the Municipal Education Department of Temuco. In accordance with the foregoing, the content of this manual, based on the learning experiences collected in the various educational establishments that have incorporated the subject of Indigenous Language and Culture, presents information on the pedagogical activities and training carried out in each school and community. Reference is made to the importance of the Mapuche worldview, thus offering a source of pedagogical consultation for educators. In this sense, the learning-teaching units include the Mapuche worldview, division of the territory, the stages of the year and the family, among others. It also contains a specific guideline for planning the Program in Early Childhood, Basic, Middle and Special Education, with well-illustrated, fun and motivating activities. All in all, this text is a good contribution for the continuous development of Intercultural Education in our country” (DAEM, 2019, p. 1).</p>
<p>Bases Curriculares Formación Diferenciada Técnico-Profesional Especialidades y Perfiles de Egreso/ General Curriculum for the Formation of Technical Professionals’ (Ministerio de Educacion, Chile, 2013)</p> <p>Access at:  <a href="http://www.tecnicoprofesional.mineduc.cl/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/Bases-">http://www.tecnicoprofesional.mineduc.cl/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/Bases-</a></p>	<p>This curriculum corresponds to years 3 and 4 of secondary education and “offers students the opportunity to carry out apprenticeships in a technical speciality that facilitates their access to a first paid job, according to their interests, aptitudes and vocational dispositions , and to prepare them effectively for the job and to respond flexibly to the speed of technological change. Equally important, the area of Technical-Professional Differentiated Training also considers the continuity of technical studies as a</p>

<p><a href="#">formacion-Descripci%C3%B3n-de-las-Especialidades.pdf</a></p>	<p>possible and desirable destination for graduates” (Ministerio de Educacion, Chile, 2013, p. 1). This curriculum describes 34 specialties grouped into 15 economic sectors. Each of the curricular profiles is preceded by a description of the economic activity associated with the specialty, mainly “the indicators that account for its dynamism and growth potential, the challenges it faces, the type of companies that make up the labour field for graduates and the products expected from this job” (Ministerio de Educacion, Chile, 2013, p. 1).</p>
<p>Programa de estudio sexto año básico sector lengua indígena/ Program of study for Primary 6, Indigenous Language (Ministerio de Educacion, Chile, 2016)</p> <p>Access at:  <a href="https://bibliotecadigital.mineduc.cl/bitstream/handle/20.500.12365/373/MONO-307.pdf?sequence=1&amp;isAllowed=y">https://bibliotecadigital.mineduc.cl/bitstream/handle/20.500.12365/373/MONO-307.pdf?sequence=1&amp;isAllowed=y</a></p>	<p>This is the curriculum for Primary schools who have Mapuche as an indigenous language as a formal subject (something that not all intercultural schools have, including the school included in the research). In short this curriculum is for language instruction, similar to learning English as a Foreign Language for example. It does not relate directly to intercultural education projects. Despite this it’s summarised as: “a pedagogical and didactic proposal that supports the work of educational establishments, their teachers and educators and traditional educators, in the articulation and generation of experiences of meaningful learnings for their students, especially with regard to the learning and appreciation of the language and culture of the Native Peoples. Additionally, these Programs provide a space for communities to educational institutions can promote interculturality and address in an integrated way needs and potentialities of their context, interests and characteristics of its students and the formative emphasis declared in its Educational Project” (Ministerio de Educacion, Chile, 2019, p. 6).</p>

## Appendix 2: Example Letter for Parents and Guardians<sup>97</sup>

I am writing to you about the research I am conducting as part of my PhD at the University of Durham, UK.

I am interested in the experiences of girls in municipal intercultural education, particularly within urban boarding houses. I would like to explore the ways in which intercultural education practice is carried out within the school and how this both impacts on and is impacted by the students' ethnicity and gender. This research will use creative methods to allow girls to explore their educational experiences and their hopes for the future. This will include art projects, drama projects and writing and directing a video. Within the research project we will discuss topics that relate to identity, including gender, sexuality and ethnicity.

I have approached the school your child attends and explained the purpose of the study, and the school has kindly agreed to distribute these letters to you. Please read the information sheet attached to this letter, which explains how your child can be involved in this research. You will see that the research will not disrupt the schooling of your child in any way. I hope therefore that you will agree to your child being involved in my research.

If you have any further questions about the research, please contact me on: [*my email address*]. If you have any concerns about the research, please contact my supervisor: [*Supervisors' name and email address/ email address of Social Science Department, UFRO*].

If you would be happy for your child to take part, please sign and return the form inclosed.

Yours sincerely

*My signature*

Grace Garside

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<sup>97</sup> This varied depending on the space of the research / the time it was sent out in the research project.

## **Parents' Information Sheet**

### **Research on the impacts of state school systems on girls' aspirations**

*Name of School:*

*Name of Researcher:*

This information sheet explains why I am doing this research and what it will involve. Please take time to read this information carefully together with your child. Please contact me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Thank you for reading this.

#### **What is this study about?**

I am trying to find out more about the ways in which intercultural education impacts on the lives of young girls and how the girls experience intercultural education. I want to know more about the ways that these girls identify and how these identities are influenced by the teachers, lessons and boarding houses in which they live and learn.

#### **How will my child be involved?**

The research will take place after school hours on Thursdays between 15h00 and 17h00, in free time in the boarding house. The research will run sessions that encourage children to creatively express their identities, for example sessions will include opportunities for drawing, painting, drama and other creative methods. There is also the possibility for participants to write, direct and star in a video that explores their experiences of education and their identities.

#### **How will my child benefit?**

Refreshments will be provided at each of the sessions. There will also be an opportunity for children to learn new skills as lessons will be provided in writing, storyboarding and directing a video, along with lessons in how to use the camera and microphone equipment.

#### **Who will have the access to the research information (data)?**

Data management will follow the 1988 Data Protection Act. I will not keep information about your child that could identify them to someone else. The data will be stored safely and will be destroyed when my project is completed.

The video will be collectively owned by the researcher and participants. The video will not be shown anywhere without the prior consent of all participants and their respective guardians. The video will not be available in the public domain.

**Who has reviewed the study?**

The research study has been approved under the regulations of the University of Durham, Department of Geography, Ethics committee.

**Who do I speak to if I have questions about this research?**

If you would like more information or have any problems with this research, please let me know. You can contact me through the school or via the following email address (*Email Address*)

**What do I do next?**

If you are happy for your child to be involved in my research, please complete the attached form and return it to (*e.g. school office*) by the following date (*Insert date*). Please keep the letter, information sheet and the 2<sup>nd</sup> copy of the form for your information.

**Can you change your mind?**

You and your child have the right to withdraw from the research at any time.

**Thank you very much for your time.**

## Parental Consent Form

I understand that my child's participation in this project will involve:

- Taking part in workshops with the researcher in which issues of identity, education, gender and ethnicity may be discussed
- During this interview my child may create artwork which they are free to keep but which may be photographed by the researcher
- Anything my child creates in these sessions will be fully anonymized
- My child will be involved in the making of the video, however, they will not be filmed unless they are over the age of 18 or I have given parental consent below.

I understand that my child's participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that they can withdraw from this study at any time without giving a reason.

I understand that their participation will be treated confidentially and all information will be stored anonymously and securely. All information appearing in the final report will be anonymized.

I understand that I am free to ask any questions at any time. I am free to discuss any questions or comments I would like to make with (*Name of Researcher*).

I understand that I am free to contact the Durham University, Geography Department Ethics committee to discuss any complaints I might have.

I also understand that at the end of the study I will be provided with additional information and feedback about the purpose of the study.

I, \_\_\_\_\_ (*Name*) consent to (*researcher*) my child being a participant in this study and being recorded on video for the purpose of this study.

I, \_\_\_\_\_ (*Name*) consent to (*researcher*) my child being a participant in this study. I do not consent to my child being recorded on video for the purpose of this study.

Signature of Parent or Guardian: .....

Name of School: .....

Name of Child: .....

Date: .....

## Appendix 3: Example Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form<sup>98</sup>

### Why do this study?

I am interested in the way young girls view their educational experiences in schools and at home. In particular, I am studying the ways schools and education influence the identities of young girls. The hope is to see if there is a particular way that schools can improve their educational practice in order to better support young Mapuche girls.

### What will participation involve?

This research involves coming to a number of sessions after school, held (*specific time and place*) In these sessions we will talk about your identity and experiences of schools. We will also be creative, using art and drama to express these experiences and feelings. There is also the possibility to undertake a video project in which as a group you will be asked to design, write, direct and star in a video that explores your identities and experiences of the school.

### How long will the research take?

This research will take place in (*include number of sessions*) sessions. Attendance at each session is not compulsory and the sessions will be as follows:

e.g. Session 1: Ice breaker (*Date, time, place*)

Session 2: Drawing Rivers of Life (*Date, time, place*) ....

Session 10: Learning to use the video cameras (*Date, time place*) etc.

### As an informed participant of this research study, I understand that:

1. My participation is voluntary, and I may cease to take part in this research study at any time and without giving a reason
2. Any artwork I create in these sessions is mine to keep, however it may be photographed by the researcher and used in their research project.
3. All data will be stored anonymously once it has been collected. this means that it will be impossible to trace information back to me. as such, if I decide I want to withdraw my data from this study, I will only be able to do this up until the transcript has been anonymized. if I decide to withdraw my data I should ask (*staff member name*) to contact (*name of researcher*)

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<sup>98</sup> This varied depending on the space of the research / the time it was sent out in the research project.

4. All information appearing in the final report will be anonymous. This means there will be nothing that will enable people to work out what I said.
5. This research has been approved by the University of Durham, Geography Department ethics committee. This means it has been approved by a panel of professionals to make sure it meets high standards
6. All my questions about the study have been satisfactorily answered and I am aware of what my participation involves.
7. (*Researcher*) will treat my participation in this study confidentially and that anything I say in the sessions will be treated confidentially, unless it leads (*researcher*) to believe my safety is in danger. In this case she will be unable to keep this information confidential. If this happens, she will inform me that she will have to share that information with my school because of her concern for my welfare.

**I have read and understood the above and agree to take part:**

**Participants signature:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Date:** \_\_\_\_\_

**I have explained the above and answered all questions asked by the participant:**

**Researcher's signature:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Date:** \_\_\_\_\_