





Exclusion and humiliation: educational situations of discrimination in Mapuche schools

Exclusión y humillación: situaciones pedagógicas de discriminación en escuelas mapuche

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Abstract

The article addresses the systematic exclusion present in rural Mapuche school classrooms. It is socially relevant due to the urgent need to create inclusive environments where all children are welcomed. We understand inclusion as an ideology that is conditioned by a structured and rigid educational system. The objective is to analyze accounts of discrimination by various educational actors in rural school classrooms with Lafkenche populations located in the territory known as Costa Araucanía, in Chile. The method was qualitative and the paradigm hermeneutic. The design is an instrumental case study. Semi-structured interviews were conducted, and the transcripts were subjected to analytical procedures of open and selective coding. The findings showed the presence of hidden discrimination, social rejection, rejection among the children themselves through disruptive behavior, feelings of shame for being Mapuche, self-discrimination with regard to the teaching of the Mapunzugun language, and feelings of shame for being Mapuche. The main conclusions relate to structural changes in different dimensions of inclusion, the failure of intercultural and inclusive policies, and the need for education that promotes a sense of cultural identity and belonging in territories with a high Mapuche population density.

Keywords: inclusive education, intercultural education, cultural discrimination, ethnic discrimination, social exclusion, students.

Resumen

El artículo aborda la exclusión sistemática presente en las aulas de las escuelas mapuche rurales, es relevante socialmente debido a la urgente necesidad de crear entornos inclusivos donde todos los niños y niñas sean acogidos, entendemos la inclusión como un ideario que está condicionado por un sistema educativo estructurado y rígido, el objetivo es analizar relatos de discriminación de diversos actores educativos en aulas de escuelas rurales con población lafkenche situadas en el territorio denominado Costa Araucanía, en Chile. El método fue cualitativo y el paradigma hermenéutico. El diseño es un estudio de casos instrumental. Se aplicaron entrevistas semiestructuradas, cuyas transcripciones se sometieron a procedimientos analíticos de codificación abierta y selectiva. Los hallazgos mostraron la presencia de discriminación oculta, rechazo social, rechazo entre los propios niños y niñas a través de conductas disruptivas, sentimiento de vergüenza por ser mapuche, auto discriminación respecto a la enseñanza de la lengua mapunzugun y sentimiento de vergüenza por ser mapuche. Las principales conclusiones se relacionan con los cambios estructurales en diferentes dimensiones de la inclusión, fracaso de políticas interculturales e inclusivas, y la necesidad de educación propia que promueva el arraigo con la identidad y pertenencia cultural en territorios donde existe una alta densidad poblacional mapuche.

Palabras clave: educación inclusiva, educación intercultural, discriminación cultural, discriminación étnica, exclusión social, estudiantes.

1. Introduction

Educational inclusion is a transformative educational approach that seeks to reduce the barriers that affect student participation, retention, and progress in school. This is achieved through a profound change in the educational community to respond to the value of diversity (Echeita, 2006; Booth and Ainscow, 2015). This change involves all members of the community, which is why the democratic participation of everyone who belongs to it is essential. Unlike traditional models of education, the commitment to inclusive education does not exclude the participation of those who think, act, or have different conditions, as it considers difference to be a circumstance inherent to the human condition, as well as an essential value and an opportunity to enrich teaching and learning processes (Escobar et al., 2017).

In this scenario, the political project of free, critical, democratic, and inclusive public education is necessary insofar as school is the ideal setting for critiquing hegemonic and dominant social models, even though it is an institution that reproduces aspects of the national culture (Moscoso, 2011). In this sense, the appreciation of diversity is an urgent need in all educational institutions around the world, but particularly in areas with large indigenous populations. This is particularly evident in the Mapuche schools of Araucanía (Gülumapu), where invisibility, segregation, and omission of knowledge have caused both teachers and students moral harm as a result of the systematic violations suffered by a homogeneous curriculum prescribed by the Chilean state, where homogenization, standardization, and anonymization tend to destroy cultural diversity and cause people to lose their roots. Historically, schools have been one of the main political strategies used by the state to develop processes of internal colonization and territorial occupation, since under its modernizing idea of positivist progress, in the name of encyclopedic enlightenment and progress, it excludes the imaginaries, multiplicities, subjectivities, and contingencies of the concrete forms of the life of local populations, especially if they are indigenous (Mansilla, 2020). It is therefore important to address the concept of diversity, which is defined as an inherent condition of the human species, is multidimensional, and considers all the constituent aspects of the person. Indeed, the appreciation of human

diversity, whether from the perspective of gender, origin, health status, context, sexual preference, or ethnic origin, requires citizens to develop skills that enable them to move toward the transcendence of recognizing the Other as different and exercising the rights that this implies (Bravo, 2022; Guédez, 2005).

In this same sense, the construct of diversity is associated with differences and has undergone significant analytical development in recent decades. In this regard, the reductionism of the term associated with clinical diagnoses of children with Special Educational Needs (SEN) has been questioned, which puts pressure on progress in this area. However, different social groups have made significant progress in developing a broader definition. For example, a study on diversity among higher education students refers to classmates with cognitive, sensory, linguistic, and physical differences, as well as those who are victims of conflict, people from other cultures, and those with different sexual and/or religious preferences (Martínez et al., 2022).

Respect for diversity is a value that requires constant implementation. When this occurs, we can speak of true inclusion, as isolated and merely formal inclusions are not sufficient (Gillberg, 2024). Consequently, the relationship between diversity and education is confirmed, requiring the inclusion of diversity in educational institutions, understood as an opportunity in the training of new professionals who will perform and promote their professional work towards the development of a more just and inclusive social world (Hernández, 2021). However, promoting diversity goes far beyond its incorporation into the curriculum; an inclusive culture must be created in society. Actions in the field of education lay the foundations for transforming societies and broadening our worldview through the eyes of others (Ragins and Ehrhardt, 2020).

It is also important to train teachers to promote inclusive teaching practices that respond not only to cognitive and social diversity, but also to territorial and cultural diversity (Ayala, 2020), as there are gaps between international and national discourse and teacher training programs, which show a lack of preparation for teaching in indigenous territories. In this regard, studies in Canada, New Zealand, Mexico, Sweden, and Chile highlight how “mutisms” are developed around experiences of exclusion, discrimination, and segregation, because the sequencing

of content, skills, and attitudes present in the syllabi of future education professionals is monocultural in nature, which profoundly affects and will continue to affect the realization of the expected and committed advances toward the possibility of shaping a more inclusive world. In some cases, this can be explained by the fact that the reforms that have been carried out are essentially based on conservative political-ideological rather than scientific principles (Millán et al., 2023; Bravo, 2022; Beach, 2019).

In Latin America and the Caribbean (Abya Yala), diversity and all its complexity is a problematic issue, particularly when tensions arise in educational establishments: educating for diversity is an ongoing challenge because it involves educating ourselves to recognize each other as human beings. In fact, cultural diversity in Colombia, known since its inception as ethno-education, includes protocols, narratives, and practices that, even though they have been redefined, remain far removed from real contexts because they are highly theoretical (Ruiz et al., 2020). Likewise, on April 30, 2025, i.e., very recently, Colombia formalized the recognition of the Indigenous Education System (SEIP) of the native peoples as a policy of the Republic. The categories involved are autonomy and self-determination, worldview, indigenous spirituality, native languages, culture, cultural interpretation, territory, territoriality, self-government, universality, unity, integrality, communality, graduality and progressiveness, and flexibility (Decree 0481, Ministerio de Educación Nacional de Colombia, 2025). This advance is very relevant because it constitutes a reference for the region.

In Chile, educating in social and cultural diversity has meant that teachers repeat the Western logic in which they have been trained, distancing students from the cultural ethos of the territory where the school is located, which translates into decontextualized teaching (Bravo, 2022). Strictly speaking, there is no right to one's own education, due to the monocultural logic of the curricula, which are the same from Arica to Magallanes, i.e., from north to south. In this context, the concept of educational inclusion is interesting, presented with regulatory robustness and an attractive discourse on acceptance by others, collaboration, innovation, and the improvement of educational communities. However, in practice, this diversity does not materialize, as universal content is prioritized, Spanish and

English are imposed, and cultural components of the indigenous world are relegated to the background (Iglesias and Martin, 2020; San Martin et al., 2020; Núñez et al., 2020).

This attractive proposal for transformative education that aims at the democratization of schools, participation in equal opportunities, with equity and quality, is complicated by the association of a concept reduced to diagnoses and linked to integration that labels students according to different characteristics (Bravo and Mariñanco, 2021; Figueroa et al., 2021; Gajardo and Torrego, 2020). In this context, integration is a theoretical, practical, and political movement promoted in European countries whose origins are related to labeling, diagnosing, or classifying students considered "special," which has had a rather negative impact on their progress because it increases stereotypes or labels of certain human beings (Echeita, 2006; Iglesias and Martin, 2020).

According to Silver (1994), exclusion can be understood according to three models: the first refers to solidarity as a breakdown of social ties between individuals and society, where the state is responsible as the guarantor of social cohesion; the second takes a more economic view and relates to unlimited needs and individuals; the third considers the hierarchical relationships that exist in society, the institutions and rules that shape it, generating exclusion among those who are less advantaged. Meanwhile, schools as social institutions continue to show us situations of exclusion and discrimination that are latent in classrooms. Exclusion in schools is characterized by separation, disintegration, segregation, and not allowing participation (Ordóñez and Granja, 2023), a situation that worsens in rural schools as a result of the constant limitations that arise in these areas: neglect, inequality and inequity, lack of access to cultural centers or places where scientific knowledge circulates (Bautista et al., 2023).

In this context, a key concept is interculturality, which presents as a political, ontological, epistemic, and ethical project. Therefore, from a critical approach to interculturality, the domination-submission of indigenous peoples manifests itself in both objective and subjective dimensions and makes it clear that referring to interculturality as a horizontal relationship is nothing more than a euphemism to disguise vertical relationships (Gasché, 2008). This is explicitly evident in the absence of constitutional

recognition as public law entities and not merely as subjects of public interest. Subjectively, indigenous people living in urban areas often feel ashamed to speak their indigenous language and acknowledge their own cultural practices (Sartorello, 2009).

However, schools with a Mapuche population and all members of these educational communities have suffered educational, social, and economic discrimination, which manifests itself in the exclusion of cultural knowledge, ways of life, respect for the mother tongue, and racism (Muñoz, 2021). This reality requires special attention because these schools have high rates of poverty and illiteracy, a type of diversity that is not considered in schools, a situation that challenges us to decisively promote intercultural education in order to achieve inclusion in schools, especially those located on lands that have been colonized and occupied by outsiders (Valenzuela and Conejeros, 2023).

In this context, Mapuche education is achieved thanks to a constant desire to incorporate Mapuche cultural elements into everyday school life. This includes all interactions that are explicitly indigenous and ancestral in nature through social interactions, ongoing socialization of the Mapuche worldview, and not just actions that appear to be mere folkloric activities. In this complex scenario, we are witnessing significant structural tension in the relationship between the state and indigenous peoples, mediated by the school institution, because the content promoted in the special curriculum is not in line with the teaching in schools throughout Chile (Luna et al., 2018). This reality is creating a gap in understanding, where valuable perspectives on knowledge, identity, and community are absent from debates on equity, diversity, and inclusion. The teaching priorities in the indigenous world are profound and immerse us in their worldviews and ways of being, which are deeply interwoven into our ethos and way of interacting with the world around us (Ruwhiu et al., 2024). For reasons of social justice, intercultural educational processes in Mapuche schools must not only be critical and democratic but also linked to ecological-cultural spaces where Mapuche knowledge is incorporated into the formal curriculum and at all educational levels (Andrade et al., 2023, Echeverry, 2021).

Fraser's (2008) theory of social justice has two forms of vindication: one related to redistribution

and the other to recognition, the latter linked to the acceptance of differences and cultural norms and the non-acceptance of their domination. Social justice is complemented by redistribution and recognition. Separately, neither is sufficient; progress must be made simultaneously. The task involves addressing a complex conception of justice that integrates both rationalities (Fraser, 2008). Ultimately, social justice in the field of education refers to the promotion of democratic values and social actions for all people. In the case of the Mapuche, this idea is reaffirmed, but a moral component is incorporated that highlights this social group's dissatisfaction with the invisibility and systematic segregation by the Chilean state, where the cultural and political value of the Mapuche people is sought (Balbontin, 2020; Mansilla et al., 2016; Sanhueza et al., 2019).

Honneth (1994), in his theory of recognition, argues that conflicts must be understood from the perspective of the humiliation experienced, which drives people to fight for recognition. In turn, this implies the need to rebuild the morale of individuals in the face of social indifference to gradually move towards social integration that allows for recognition, trust, self-esteem, and self-worth, thereby generating people's social dignity in terms of both their autonomy and their actions in society. Recognition is an open concept that refers to the unlimited possibilities of situated social interactions, making it historically and socially relative (Revuelta and Hernández, 2019). Therefore, talking and debating about recognition necessarily involves analyzing moral wounds, understood as those events experienced as unjust that affect a person's essential well-being, characterized mainly by self-denial. In short, the features of moral wounds consist of the profound and systematic denial of the recognition of otherness. In this context, three types of moral injuries can be identified: those that nullify a person's sense of security in his/her physical well-being; those linked to disrespect, i.e., the respect we deserve; and, finally, situations of humiliation where it is made clear that their talents are not worthy of any recognition (Honneth, 1999).

Moral injury often arises in a setting where individuals are performing a service as members of an institution that reflects their values and beliefs. Analyzing the complex relationship between moral injury and the context in which it occurs provides a very important understanding of the experiences

of those affected, but also of the systemic components that intensify people's vulnerability in various social systems (Honneth, 1999). The exclusion of knowledge and values creates a need for public and permanent acts of recognition. Recognition can be anthropological (contemplation of social structures from the subjects' point of view) or institutional (how the normative dimension is not consistent with the subjects' expectations). The social experiences of modern individuals have an irreplaceable value in the construction of their identity and ways of being and existing in the world. The normative expectations that manifest themselves from the emic perspective of the participants point to prescriptions that have a special representation. These norms form the anchor that helps to understand social reproduction and constitute the basis of negative experiences that explain the struggles for recognition (Deranty, 2016; Revuelta and Hernández, 2019).

2. Methodology

2.1 Methodological design

The study is based on qualitative methods, as its focus is on deepening social relations, demonstrating the variety of perspectives on the objects of study, subjective and social meanings related to it, including the study of the participants' knowledge and practices, analyzing interactions and ways of dealing with it, dimensions that cannot be reduced to quantitative expressions of an experimental and neo-positivist nature. Decisions and actions are guided by fieldwork (participants' narratives and the evolution of events that occur during the research). Therefore, the design is adjusted to the conditions of the participants' setting (Taylor and Bogdan, 1990). The specific qualitative design corresponds to an instrumental case study, which is defined as an investigation of the specificity and complexity of a particular reality. The case of this research corresponds to schools located in the territory known as "Costa Araucanía" (Mapuche-Lafkenche territory), through which its structure and circumstances can be understood, and whose findings are transferable to areas with similar attributes (other indigenous areas—not only in Chile, but also in Latin America—where schools are present within communities). In short, the case is a tool for understanding a proble-

matic situation (Stake, 1998). The study is based on the reflective hermeneutic paradigm, which emphasizes the interpretation of the meanings of the participants from an analytical and holistic perspective of the object of study. Hermeneutics seeks to delve into the content and dynamics of the person studied from their intersubjectivity in order to construct a coherent interpretation of the whole, to understand their life and symbolic universe, rather than to arrive at absolute truths with claims of standardizing generalization (Gadamer, 1991; Arráez et al., 2006).

2.2 Context and participants

The context in which the research was conducted includes key informants from the Lafkenche Mapuche territory (coast of the Araucanía region) of *Gülumapu*, specifically the communes of Carahue, Toltén, Saavedra, Nueva Imperial, and Teodoro Schmidt. These territories have the lowest human development indices in Chile and coincide with a high density of indigenous population. The participants were management teams and teachers who work in classrooms with more than 50% of children with Mapuche descent. Six principals from each school, one teacher from each educational institution, and three traditional educators (Mapuche elders, some of whom are called kimches) were interviewed. Each of the participants voluntarily agreed to take part in a semi-structured interview, after signing an informed consent form. The interviews were conducted over a period of four months in the different territories mentioned above.

2.3 Instruments

Semi-structured narrative interviews were conducted to reveal the meanings attributed to inclusion by different educational actors in their academic performance. Therefore, a script was developed and validated by experts, both from a content perspective (two wise people from indigenous peoples: an indigenous Maya-Quiché doctor from the University of San Carlos in Guatemala and a doctoral candidate in indigenous linguistics, a Kimche from the Mapuche people and an academic in the Mapuche Language and Culture Education program at the Catholic University of Temuco, Chile) and in terms of method (two experts in qualitative methods from the

Catholic University of Temuco, Chile). The corpus of information was compiled through audio recordings, which were transcribed into a Word document while respecting the integrity of the content.

2.4 Data reduction and analysis procedure

The data reduction process was carried out using Atlas ti version 24.0, after transcribing the data using Gail Jefferson's conventions, not only to establish code frequencies but also to capture the illocutionary force of the language expressed in the different narratives. The data analysis was carried out based on the approaches of Vasilachis de Gialdino (2006) and involved the stages of open coding (collecting codes and units of meaning from a hermeneutic perspective) and axial coding (generating conceptual networks that allow the unification of codes with each other in connection with a central category originated by the questions asked in the interviews). The procedures developed were inductive in nature, namely: empirical sampling (relating codes to interview excerpts), theoretical- e sampling (relating interview excerpts to specialized literature), and qualitative content analysis (evaluating the accounts while respecting the polyphony of voices). The approach, scope, and methodological design were written in such a way that the reader can easily understand the development of the research.

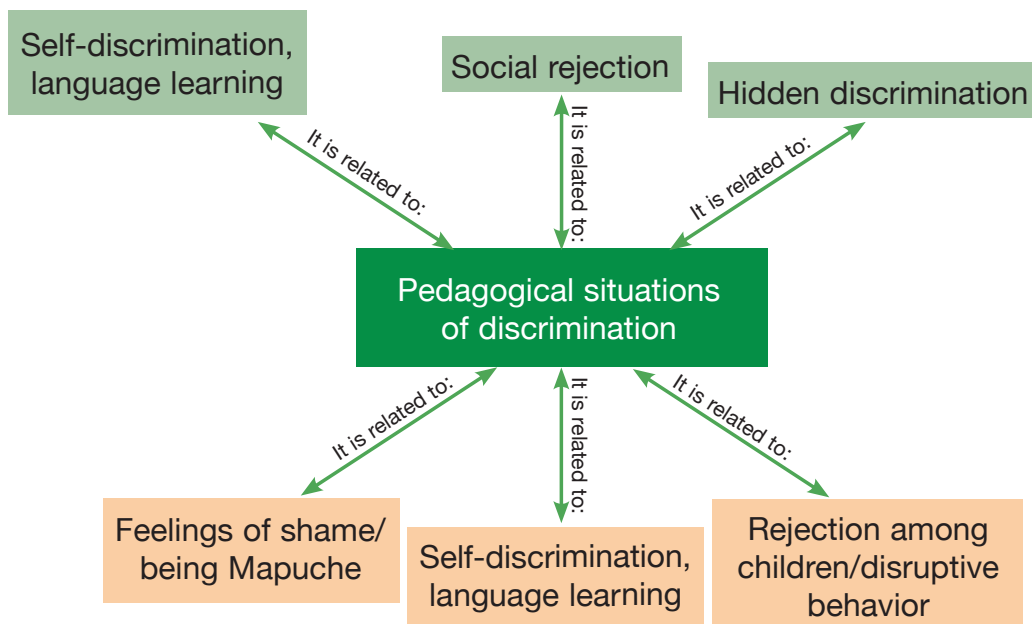
The interviews followed an intercultural protocol for field access, which involved maintaining contact with key informants, not only for the purpose of conducting the interview, but also for the purpose of returning the systematized findings, as this allows us to overcome what often occurs with research on/ with indigenous peoples: epistemic extractivism.

3. Results

The transcription of the interviews allowed codes to be extracted from the responses and narratives provided by key informants or participants (open interpretive coding). These codes were then grouped and related to each other around a central category, generating a network (axial coding). The network produced by this procedure, the empirical sampling (supporting the textuality of the participants that gave rise to the code), and the conceptual theoretical sampling are presented below.

The conceptual network "pedagogical situations of discrimination" presents the following codes, which were collected from the interviewees' responses: rejection among children/disruptive behavior, social rejection, hidden discrimination, feelings of shame/being Mapuche, self-discrimination, language learning, and denial of language learning/parents.

Figure 1. Conceptual network 1. Pedagogical situations of discrimination



The conceptual network "pedagogical situations of discrimination" presents the following codes: rejection among children/disruptive behavior, social rejection, hidden discrimination, feelings of shame/being Mapuche, self-discrimination, language learning, and denial of language learning/parents. The code "hidden discrimination" is illustrated in the following narrative from an interviewee:

(...) I think that: if does exist, but: people don't say it(.) because anyway: it's ugly—we all know that it's ugly(.) to discriminate and: and a lot of people will turn on us(.) Eh:if there's a bad: bad perception of: a Mapuche(.) man or woman, eh: people keep it to themselves. They don't say it. But sometimes you can still feel it in their expressions. But that has been improving, at least here in this area. [E3:35]

This type of everyday racism is often covert, imperceptible, and seemingly invisible, but the text reveals domination and inequality within a context of specific social and intercultural relationships, which are put into practice and reproduced in the text (Merino et al., 2008).

In turn, the code "social rejection" is visualized in the following text:

Eh.: I think that people from al- in some places-who have discriminated in that way have been rejected by the majority of people(.) So:: eh:: you learn it the hard way or the easy way, and as you grow up you come to understand [E3:67]

In this regard, Merino et al. (2008, p. 283) point out that:

To describe in depth how a group perceives discrimination against its members, it is essential to consider the sociodemographic background of the interviewees, such as gender, age, and educational level. It is also relevant to know the stage of life in which the event occurred, the context and specific situation, the ethnic origin and level of authority of the perpetrator, and the victim's response or reaction to the event.

Likewise, the code "language learning denial/parents" appears in the following interview excerpt:

eh, (.) I think it's also a matter of... I don't know, it's like an issue of ↑shame, maybe, I don't know, because (x) because maybe, I don't know, the

Mapuche who live in the community (x) attribute it, I don't know how, to a lack of resources, poverty, I don't know how, to being backward, I think (.) that's where it must lie, and it's very striking because (hhh) they themselves have to be capable of::(x) of being able to protect this (.) because in the end, like here at school, and then the school starts to fight here with the (x) with the guardian, well, I don't know, it's a guardian who is in the community or a Mapuche guardian who is not in the community: (.) but still, it's shocking, it's shocking if in the end we all have to pull in the same direction and be able to work together. [E4:67]

In this context, the indigenous language becomes a key category for promoting epistemic justice in complex intercultural relations. In this regard, for example, laughter directed at those who did not speak Spanish fluently also occurs in rural schools. However, there is camaraderie among peers when they support each other in speaking Wingkadungun better. This reality explains why some members of Mapuche communities (ancestral authorities) do not encourage the transmission of the language to new generations in order to avoid systematic acts of discrimination. Laughter and nicknames are often used to differentiate oneself from others (Porma, 2015). Similarly, Díaz et al. (2016) point out that states have had to adopt measures for a more culturally relevant education, focusing mainly on the revaluation of language as a form of coexistence. Parents' refusal is based on the belief that this type of teaching would hinder Mapuche children from learning Western culture, in which they will mainly develop and grow as individuals.

With regard to the code "rejection among children/disruptive behavior," the following empirical quote from the interview illustrates this point:

(...) >well< let's see (x) I remember (.) a child who:: >when I started at the school, I was the fifth-grade teacher< (.) and this child (.) didn't know:: he still couldn't read or write:: (.) so he didn't read (x) so he would sit in the classroom and do nothing (.) eh:: so (x) because there is discrimination because:: well, anyway (x) he has a profile that is kind of "violent?" and suddenly he gets <into trouble:: (.) in the classroom, I mean, for no reason, like> gua:: he screams:: and ?turns around? [E4: 78]

In this regard, Álvarez et al. (2016) argue that concern about the dynamics that occur within classrooms at different educational levels has increased exponentially and, as a result, the system currently faces major obstacles in regulating coexistence, combating phenomena that are already known and not so new, but alarming because of their current social visibility.

In relation to the code "Feeling of shame/being Mapuche," it appears in the following empirical quote:

(...) : : yes::: but but you know that(.) no no :it's not that I've observed it, just as there was (.) discrimination here, but I feel = that suddenly, because they consider themselves Mapuche, many are ashamed [E5: 92].

From this perspective, Zañartu et al. (2017) argue that the cultural traits of "being indigenous" can be both differentiating elements and attributes that give rise to stereotypes, which have become prejudices. Thus, instead of being used to highlight diversity in a positive way, they are used to mark differences and discriminate. In this context, for example, the word indigenous is itself a discriminatory term because it is associated with backwardness, poverty, and a history of exploitation and marginalization.

4. Discussion and conclusions

The results allow us to conclude that there are several key elements for overcoming these discontinuities, such as the construction of spaces of trust, participation in decision-making, the incorporation of Mapuche knowledge funds, and intercultural curriculum management, elements that are concluded from the testimonies collected.

The article demonstrates the systematic failure of policies that promote intercultural education in rural schools in the Araucanía region (Gulumapu), particularly in areas where Mapuche students are the majority, such as "Costa Araucanía" (Lafkenmapu), due to the persistence of discrimination in the classroom but also because intercultural education is seen as something functional, rather than an authentic conviction of the value of one's own education in relation to Western school education. The fact that students feel ashamed to speak a different language, one in which the main knowledge is not transmit-

ted in school, shows that the importance of cultural content is considered secondary. In this sense, the concept of ethnic shame generates a deep internal feeling of exclusion that leaves marks that are difficult for schools with their monocultural practices to help overcome. On the contrary, this situation could be exacerbated, especially in the case of those children and young people who, through the dream (*pewma*) are called by the spirits of *chaw-ngüinechen* (God) to be, train, and become ancestral authorities. This is the paradigmatic case of girls and boys who establish communication with *chaw-ngüinechen* to become machi (ancestral authorities equivalent to doctors in Western society, mediators with the *wenumapu* or world of the heavens/celestial region). This calling causes changes in the behavior and lives of these individuals. Schools, unaware of the depth of this situation, confuse the ancestral calling with a mental health illness, attention deficit disorder, or other pathology typical of Western Judeo-Christian rationality.

This example of discrimination and exclusion is very serious because it violates rights, as a machi is an ancestral authority who has not chosen to be so of their own free will and who undergoes complex processes as part of their training. If a person does not accept or choose this path, they will become ill, their condition will worsen, and they could die. The educational institutions studied recognize this scenario and the complexity involved in the process, so there is generally support for the student and their family (*lof-che*). However, there is a lack of inclusive and culturally sensitive protocols because, due to the spiritual transformations experienced by the student, it will be very difficult for them to attend classes regularly, as the shamanic ethos prevails over the will of the individual. In fact, a person undergoing this process cannot wear the school uniform required by some internal regulations. Girls must wear the *trapelakucha*, *trarilonko*, cloth over the shoulder, and colored ribbon. In the case of boys, a cloth over the shoulders, a blanket, and a *trapelakucha*. In this regard, the Chilean Ministry of Education (MINEDUC) has a protocol that protects this right and is anchored in Convention 169 of the International Labor Organization (ILO), whose purpose is:

Provide criteria to adults in the educational community for the development of a protocol for action in situations where children and young people are

called to be machi, or any other cultural situation that may arise during their school life. Having clear guidelines will allow administrators, parents, guardians, teachers, and traditional educators to act in a manner consistent with their role in educating and supporting students, as well as to strengthen the protection, recognition, and appreciation of diversity in school settings. (Mineduc, 2023, p.1)

The above example is very interesting because it allows us to gauge the importance of cultural knowledge that different actors, mainly education professionals, involved in the educational process of indigenous students must possess, since ignorance of sacred cultural patterns can lead to situations of racism, mockery, and contempt. All human beings, from birth, have the inalienable right to the attributes, biological and cultural data that allow them to be individualized as subjects in society, and not to be deprived of them. The development of positive identities by students, within the framework of social interaction, is one of the central objectives of education today (Ogbu and Simons, 1988).

The other critical dimension that was identified in the study and that is present in the codes collected in the open coding process is the invisibility and exclusion of the mother tongue of *Mapuche-Lafkenche* indigenous students: *Mapunzugun*. In a more specific field, the historical process experienced by the *Mapunzugun* language and its speakers is an issue that is often ignored or silenced by academic research, public policies, and school agents involved in the socio-educational process. Intense and extensive intercultural and interethnic contact, coupled with its repercussions on *Mapuche* ways of life and social and communicative behaviors, are aspects that continue to this day with a clear framework of historical conflicts resulting from eternal colonization (Antimil and Olate, 2020; Durán and Ramos, 1986; Fanon, 1965).

The discourse of interculturality, multiculturalism, and the grand narrative of inclusion remains a theoretical formalism, euphemisms, clichés, and slogans that read very well but do not come to life in practice. And if any changes do occur, they are not the result of deliberate policies by states and their ministerial agencies, but rather of decisions made by teachers who have been trained from a critical intercultural perspective that is not functional to the hegemonic system. Now, why does discrimination

and contempt for the Mapuche world continue to exist in the third decade of the 21st century? Mainly because the Chilean state does not recognize cultural differences that translate into processes of full pedagogical autonomy. We must not forget that Chile is one of the only countries in Latin America and the Caribbean where indigenous peoples do not have the right to their own education. This is not the case in countries such as Colombia, Guatemala, Brazil, and Mexico, where ethno-education exists. However, the fact that there is education in the territories does not fully guarantee that racism, discrimination, and violence against indigenous peoples will disappear, but it is an important political step.

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Authors' contribution

Dra. Ninosca Bravo-Villa: manuscript writing, selection of participants and context of the problem, application and transcription of semi-structured interviews, analysis of transcripts.

Dr. Juan Mansilla-Sepúlveda: manuscript writing, methodological framework, syntactic-grammatical style correction, data reduction in Atlas Ti, general writing.

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