Indigenous Citizens in the Making:
Civic belonging and racialised schooling in Chile

In this paper we explore how racialised young people within rural Chilean boarding schools reflect upon the spaces and practices of emergent citizenship. Though often left undefined owing to its multiple dimensions[1] and contextual specificities, citizenship refers to a complex interweaving of legal, political and social statuses conferred on individuals as members of a society, and those persons' practices or acts in daily social life in relation to the state and fellow citizens. Like other analytical lenses (nationalism, ethnicity), citizenship provides an insight into the fluid identity politics and practices (both of inclusion and exclusion) of claim-making subjectivities and community politics in response to institutionally induced forms of inclusion and exclusion (Isin & Nielsen 2008; Staeheli 2008). Recent research has extended an understanding of the multivalent meanings and practices of citizenship by exploring how youth engage with age-restricted formal rights (voting, employment etc.) and limited options for civic participation to rework and re-signify citizenship's locally-forged practices (Arnot & Swartz 2012; Youniss et al. 2002; de los Angeles et al 2013). One arena in which these processes unfold is education, though most often in ways which are fraught with contradictions. As socialising institutions which seek to impose a particular hegemonic order that will maintain the social *status quo* (Bourdieu & Passeron 1990), schools are sites in which notions and practices of citizenship are experienced, routinized and contested (Kennelly and Dillabough 2008; Wood 2012). Schools engage a cultural process of subjectification by which institutional structures and forces combine with instances of individual/group agency to produce "self-made" and "being made" subjects of the state (Ong 1996).[2] However, processes of school-based citizen-making delimit, but do not exclude, the possibilities of pupil agency when bringing non-pedagogic epistemologies and non-dominant interpretations into educational spaces (Banks 2009; Mohanty 1989).

The experiences of secondary-school Mapuche indigenous youth (aged 14-19), who study within a racially and class segregated education system and reside in rural boarding facilities at low achieving schools during the week, provide a key site in which to explore these issues. As the first generation of indigenous marginal citizens to access mass secondary education, and at a moment of growing tension between Mapuche[3] political activism and state anti-terror measures (Latta 2009), we consider the young peoples' possibilities for articulating ample and inclusionary forms of citizenship. The paper focuses on how Mapuche indigenous youth articulate forms of social and political subjectivity, in relation to these specific schools and how these subject formations impact upon young peoples' understandings of the dynamic between racialisation and citizenship (cf. Omi & Winant 1994). By this means we contribute to literature on Chilean indigeneity by focusing on a specific generation, and by exploring the processes by which indigenous identities are constituted in relational terms in educational spaces.

Rural Mapuche pupils are subject to hegemonic ideas about race and ethnic belonging through everyday rites and routines in schools, yet some interrogate and re-define these

meanings. Racialised values circulating within secondary educational settings are translated into normative standards and provide the means by which young people begin to negotiate their own identities, futures as citizens and members of Chilean society. Envisaging a move from an indigenous-majority educational setting into national society where citizenship is closely associated with a "Chilean," non-indigenous positioning becomes central to Mapuche teenagers' accounts of themselves.

To do so we bring together – and contribute to – youth citizenship, education, and politics literatures with those focusing on racialised schooling in South America. The former literature offers insights into youth agency and politics, as an ambivalent yet meaningful re-working of everyday social identities and belonging within contemporary global contexts, often from the margins of formal political citizenship (Jeffrey & Dyson 2008; Philo & Smith 2003; Arnot & Swartz 2012; Skelton 2013). Possibilities for political agency are, on the one hand, constrained by educational spaces which socialise young people into becoming "apprentices of citizenship", learning the limits and conditions of their transition into adult society (Weller 2003, p.154). Education as a politicised form constructs and socialises local, national and global/transnational identities, and in particular young people's responsibilities toward the nation-state (Mills 2013; Kennelly & Dillabough 2008). Within educational spaces, young people conform to structural inequalities, symbolic violence, and are shaped with skill sets for specific economic regimes and state subjectification (Bourdieu & Passeron 1990; Mitchell 2003). On the other hand, education can provide the conditions and skills through which inequalities are visualised and challenged, and citizenship re-worked (Staeheli, Attoh and Mitchell 2013). Young peoples' agency and struggles for inclusion reveal how they appropriate specific spaces and social categories in order to position themselves normatively in relation to wider society (Hall, Coffey & Williamson 1999; Lister et al. 2003). Whilst geographers have identified how young people claim new trajectories and pathways of civic participation and extend the meaning of inclusive citizenship within these spaces of governance, both youth citizenship politics and citizenship education literatures have often neglected detailed consideration of the ways in which racialisation informs and moulds youth subjectivity regarding future citizenship and current political attitudes.[4] As the Mapuche case makes clear, these racialised meanings and positionalities relate not just to indigenous (dis)identifications but also, crucially, to the racialised subtexts associated with employment, consumerism and social mobility.

In this sense, literatures on racialised schooling in South America provide key insights into how racially-marked forms of citizenship – most notably social constructions of the Mapuche as peripheral and pertaining to the past – are normalized and reproduced within youth subjectivities through processes of assimilation and subordination, into a "dominant model of citizen subjectivity" (Lazar 2010, p.181; also Luykx 1999; Canessa 2004; Garcia 2005). School routines institutionalise young subjects into accepting the need for institutional rules, differentiated levels of attainment (and reward), and particular forms of knowledge (on Bolivia, Luykx 1999; also Ong 1996, 2006). Contributing to previous work on Latin America (eg. on Bolivia, Luykx 1999 and Canessa 2012; on Ecuador, Martinez and de la Torre 2010; Garcia 2005 on Peru), the paper extends these enquiries into a majority-indigenous area of

Chile (on which little comparable research is available[5]), by focusing on how secondary pupils construct their notions of civic exclusion and personal positionality.[6] The Mapuche young people respond to the racialised values in and around school largely by distancing themselves from an indigenous identity, while aspiring to an unmarked, Chilean national identity. Whereas previous studies highlight the structural routinisation of racial segregation through school selection processes (Martinez Novo and de la Torre 2010), the parallels between school routines and forms of protest practice (Lazar 2010), or the insertion of indigenous epistemologies into education 'from below' (Gustafson 2009), we focus directly on young indigenous pupils' articulation of racial and civil subjectivities and how they associate these emergent positionalities with rural boarding schools.[7] On the brink of entering civil society as adults, Mapuche indigenous secondary pupils in rural and semi-rural boarding schools articulate an understanding of citizenship and its relevance to their own lives and futures.

[Marked] Chilean citizenship and exclusion

Mapuche populations – the largest indigenous group in Chile – have remained on the margins of civic inclusion, and under very specific terms of belonging which construct a dichotomy of a marked indigenous subject-citizen and an un-marked, non-indigenous full citizen. Whilst acknowledging that all citizens' politicised relationship to the state entails different degrees of status and access across gendered, age and socio-economic lines, we utilise the term subject-citizen to denote social subjects, often from minority groups (Ong 1996), whose citizenship status is framed through forms of moral regulation and cultural difference and within parameters set by racial-colonial hierarchies. Civic belonging in Chile is thereby made problematical by deviations from a whitened norm. Chileanness and its political connotations, in other words, are founded upon the excision of indigeneity from the republican polity. In part, citizenship was folded into associations with whiteness and European origin (Chileans as the "English of the South"), in opposition to indigeneity. A two-tiered society remains organized around mutually exclusive categories of "Chilean" and "Mapuche" (Mitnick 2004), thereby establish the symbolic distance between indigenous subjects, and the imagined community of national citizenship. These essentialised perspectives persist despite the process of intermarriage of Mapuche-surnamed subjects with non-indigenous subjects, and cultural hybridity. Consequently, Chilean-Mapuche binaries tend to be constituted around social markers such as surnames, or claims to bloodline and ancestry, particularly among young Mapuche who are often unable to demonstrate fluency in ethnically-identified cultural practices, such as indigenous language use and ritual knowledges (Author reference[8]; cf. Warren 2009). Unlike other Latin American states where racial-cultural mixing became a means of accessing citizenship (albeit from a subordinate position), the social imaginary in Chile assumes individuals with mixed parentage are undergoing assimilation into the racially- and culturally-unmarked "Chilean" category.[9]

Educational policy has perpetuated and grounded such dominant positionalities. In the name of "national unity", assimilationist education and the racialised impacts of neoliberal education reforms combine to result in marked differentials between non-indigenous and

indigenous pupils (McEwan 2008). 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, p.260-261). Such differentials and preparation for particular labour markets are found in the Araucanía Region, the historic territory of Mapuche populations (GoC 2011). Neoliberal reforms in the funding and regulation of the schooling system compounds the differentiation of educational experiences, along class and racial lines (Burton 2012). In the Araucanía region, these segregating processes create private fee-paying schools and state-subsidised private schools in the four major cities of the region (Temuco, Villarrica, Angol and Pucon), able to galvanize financial resources and selective intakes to ensure quality education. By contrast, rural, private non-profit state-subsidised and municipal schools with fewer resources and facilities concentrate pupils from low income, and often rural indigenous, families. Of the 40 schools sending the highest shares of pupils onto higher education, only a minority are found in rural, predominantly Mapuche, areas. Our focus on Mapuche pupils enables us to understand the ways socio-economic *and* racialised inequalities affect young people's understandings of inclusion, in contexts where socioeconomic, spatial and racial segregation is well established in the educational system of the Araucanía.

Methodology

To examine Mapuche youth's expressions of socio-cultural and political subjectivity, multi-method research was conducted in four rural/semi-rural secondary schools in the predominantly rural and Mapuche Araucanía Region of Chile in 2011-2012. All schools had similar proportions of Mapuche pupil enrolment (approximately 70%) and all were specialised in technical vocational teaching, had boarding facilities, and limited budgets, resulting in poor quality infrastructure and limited pedagogic resources.[10] The findings are therefore limited to secondary school settings where Mapuche pupils are a majority, although previous research conducted with Mapuche pupils in municipal schools in Temuco produced a number of similar results (Author reference 2010). This we suggest is a consequence of the particular educational landscape in Chile where socio-economic and racial inequalities are closely aligned. A number of the subject-making characteristics of the case study schools are comparable with under-funded public schools and non-profit state subsidised private schools throughout Chile which marginalise disaffected youth (particularly in recent years following student movements). Crucially however, a focus on racialised schooling offers a more comprehensive analysis of citizen formation in these contexts. Nevertheless, the degree of politicization of education varies across the Araucanía region, while educational results differ markedly across schools, highlighting the heterogeneous socio-political realities for Mapuche communities.

In order to capture attitudes and understandings of citizenship and subjectivity among citizens-to-be, focus groups were conducted across the four schools with 103 Mapuche participants, with 17 focus groups convened twice. Between 8 and 16 pupils from each school year (grades 10-12) were selected from school registers, controlling for surnames (47 pupils with one Hispanic and one indigenous surname, and 56 with two indigenous surnames),[11]

gender (58 girls and 45 boys), and residential background (a variety of rural and urban areas across the Araucanía Region). Following the focus groups, a representative range of eighteen pupils were interviewed in-depth. To contextualize and triangulate these qualitative data sources, we additionally undertook classroom and school site observations, textbook analysis, school policy document analysis, and interviews with teachers, head-teachers and regional educational officials over the same one year period to gain insights into schools' daily routines, policy formulation and application, teaching practices, and classroom interactions.

The paper is structured as follows. Section I examines the routines and forms of subjectivity forged in the spaces of residential boarding facilities attached to each of the case study schools. Section II analyses how Mapuche young people understand and talk about the practices by which Mapuche cultural distinctiveness is erased within educational settings. Section III in turn introduces the key discourses voiced by Mapuche secondary pupils regarding citizenship, Chilean-ness and ethnic identity. Finally, Section IV analyses the ways in which pupils voice critical perspectives about the practices and sites of citizenship inside the classroom and beyond.

I   Life as a boarder

Many boarders at Araucanía's rural secondary schools arrive from their dispersed home farmsteads by bus on Monday morning, spending each weekday night in large dormitories, and returning to family and rural communities on Friday afternoon. Long school days, often finishing after 5pm,[12] prevent many pupils from reaching their homes before nightfall, thereby consigning them to school spaces and routines throughout the week. Interpreting the rural Chilean schools in light of prior research on colonial and postcolonial boarding schools, we examine here how the young people come to gain an understanding of the socialising processes of civic life unfolding within racialised and socio-economically determined structures in ways that reproduce existing hierarchies in Chilean society.

In settler societies during the mid nineteenth and early twentieth century, boarding schools were sites for explicit assimilatory and colonial practices in the Americas and in Europe's colonies. De Leeuw (2007; also Regan 2010) notes that First Nations peoples' experiences in Canadian residential schools were vital components of a broader colonial project, combining material environments and ideological narratives of European superiority aimed at transforming indian pupils into full – by definition non-indigenous – Canadian citizens. Indigeneity was expunged by severing cultural and emotional ties with Aboriginal communities and families, familiarizing pupils instead with spaces of embodied whiteness, dominance and control. Also drawing on North American history, Stoler argues that boarding schools policed the boundaries of race so as to incentivise, discipline, and moralise indigenous and "half breed" pupils' participation in society as second class citizens, preparing them for skilled manual labour and subservience under the temporary wardship of the state (2001, p.854). Chile's rural boarding schools reveal interesting continuities in colonial attitudes, such as the expectation of wardship and socialisation into bodily dispositions and national-racial attitudes, comprising front-line institutions for the induction

of teenagers into place-specific meanings and practices of citizenship, preparing future citizens.

The first mechanism of discipline to emerge in conversations with Mapuche pupils involved material deprivation. Most dormitories were poorly equipped. Some pupils were cold on winter nights, owing to a lack of blankets or firewood. A number noted that the ratio of showers to boarders was low, whilst others narrated how toilets were often out of order and unclean. However, few pupils expressed grievances of unfilled expectations in this regard. Most talked about these living conditions in matter-of-fact ways which suggest a routinisation of poverty prior to arrival at school. The majority come from rural homes where subsistence farming is the main household occupation, and schools indirectly reinforce national socio-economic strata by normalising scarcity and hardship in racialised pupils' daily environment. In three of the four schools, pupils complained that classrooms had insufficient wood-burning stoves, or lacked firewood during winter. One school had broken windows and another had faulty flickering lights in some classrooms. On two occasions, pupils explained that those who were cold at night in the dorms were *friolentos* – that is, those naturally given to feeling the cold – thereby passing the blame onto individuals and normalizing inadequate living conditions. National educational budgets (as elsewhere in Chile) fail to address entrenched class inequalities in provision and infrastructure, leaving school administrators struggling to make do with crumbling establishments.

The case study schools' geographic and social distance from urban spheres of social participation and civic life contribute to pupils' marginalisation and disciplining. Of the four secondary schools studied, two are situated on the periphery of a small town whilst the other two are at least a kilometre from the nearest shops. These towns are characterised by small-scale agricultural economies, limited commerce, and relatively poor public services which distinguish them from larger urban centres, which are considered to be 'more' national (Author reference). Although these locations were valued by pupils for their "freedom" –to the extent that they replicated home life in the countryside by offering large open spaces without surrounding concrete buildings, traffic or pollution -- structural geographies of exclusion reiterate a more fundamental and ideological placing of indigeneity within the nation-state. All schools with the highest Mapuche enrolment ratios in our research area – those outside urban centres – were technical vocational schools, which prepare pupils for apprenticeships in unskilled and manual occupations. These spaces hence 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.

Spatial disciplining also occurs within the dorms themselves, which are communal, offering pupils little privacy. Significantly, none of the pupils complained about these spatial arrangements; however, young people occasionally did occasionally express concerns over security of their personal belongings. In home settings some pupils were accustomed to sharing bedrooms with siblings, and school budgets do not cover the costs of creating individual rooms. The disciplining effects of these dormitory arrangements are not, however,

insignificant. Pupils are subjects whose time, activities and embodied space are governed by the institution. This is particularly meaningful in the case of boarders whose governed time stretches beyond the long school days, and whose absence from the family during the week equates to a full-time socialisation into school values[13]. Mapuche young people in rural secondary schools are conditioned to limit their expectations regarding material surroundings in ways that naturalise broader racial-class hierarchies. When asked about their favourite place within the school, pupils would frequently cite spaces in which internal conditions were better maintained:

> I like the library because there is internet there and it's the most enclosed and warmest space [in the school]... It would be nice if all the classrooms were like that but they can't be because there are broken windows (Interview, female, 19 years old,)

In only one instance did pupils take action to improve their school's conditions. Most pupils' expressed matter-of-fact acceptance of their conditions. We argue that this quotidian routinised interaction with infrastructure, civil society, and each other normalizes a set of practices and dispositions regarding their future place as citizens.

A gendered disciplining of the body was also discernible among the pupils as a result of gender-differentiated opportunities to use the public space of the school outside classroom hours. Female boarders complained that whereas boys were able to play football in the evenings, they only had the option of either watching television in the communal room, or listening to music and talking to friends on their beds. They felt *encerradas* ("closed in") inside, without options to be active outdoors.

> 6: The boarding house is very closed off... the only thing we do when we get out of class is go to the boarding house, make the beds and [watch] television....
> 3: We're at an age where we want to have fun... but they don't give any freedom in the evening to go out and unwind from the stress after being *all* day in classes which is boring...It's like they are saying 'go to school then go to bed if you are bored.' (F16[14], female, 16 and 17 years old)

Female pupils suggest their time is structured by an unvarying repetitive routine. Whilst boys were able to get out of the school buildings in the evenings, girls were confined to indoor "domesticity" – despite their interest in sport, which was partially met through physical education classes during the school day. The routinisation of daily life at schools occurs within a limited range of spaces, activities and practices. Pupils are not encouraged to develop or broaden personal interests or skills during "free time", thereby corroborating the argument that schools exist to educate pupils into specific social roles – and inequalities.

Pupils normalize these routines and their enforced interaction with these spaces. In one case, a pupil described being inside as a favourite part of her routine, as the communal dorm space had become "hers":

> When I'm here in the boarding house, for example, when I'm required to stay inside, well, I like to tidy my [section of the] room, to change the bed position, things like that, listen to music. (Interview, female, 19 years old)

Expressions of positive ties to the boarding school environment were reiterated by a number of participants, particularly in regards to its capacity to generate a sense of group solidarity. In focus groups, Mapuche pupils defended their schools, speaking in positive terms about the "family-like" environment. In the Mapuche-majority secondary schools studied, young people consistently mentioned solidarity and personalized affect, in large part arising from teachers' expressions of paternal/maternal concern for pupils' (both indigenous and non-indigenous) personal lives as well as their academic progress (F16 and various interviews). The case study schools – each with high levels of Mapuche enrolment - compare favourably with urban schools (where Mapuche pupils are a minority) in which anti-indigenous pupil-on-pupil violence and bullying is widespread, and tolerated by teachers (Pino & Merino 2009). Pupils described personal experiences in previous schools, and drew on second-hand accounts to relate these problems: 'if you go to a secondary school in Temuco and have a Mapuche surname ... they'll laugh at you' (F17, female 17 years old); 'At other schools I was at, they [pupils] discriminated against me for being indigenous' (Interview, female, 18 years old). Recasting postcolonial scholar McClintock's (1993) dissection of the nation-state as an uncaring, distant patriarchal figure, the Mapuche young people associate the school environment with protection from direct racialised violence.

Research into contemporary boarding schools as sites for citizen-making is sparse. However, unlike Luykx's (1999) study of indigenous trainee teachers' resistance to classroom- and dormitory-based hierarchies in Bolivia, our research provides insights into how boarding facilities shape pupils' expectations about their living spaces, mobility and spatial location in the Chilean nation. We argue that boarding facilities – in the context of regional racial hierarchies and dominant constructions of citizenship – socialise indigenous (and some non-indigenous) young people into uncritical subjects in taken-for-granted spaces and conditions. Boarding schools are hence crucial in the constitution of Mapuche indigenous youth understandings of the ways in which they are to be inserted into Chilean society, and the nature of civil interaction and social spaces. As noted by Staeheli, Attoh and Mitchell (2013), education systems represent sites where not only are youth inducted into self-regulation, but the Chilean material suggests that the meanings and embodied sense of emergent membership of civil society and citizenship are constituted through racial and class segregation and routinisation at a number of scales, from the regional through to the school layout and use.

II   Becoming Chilean: School environments and the erasure of cultural difference

We now turn to discuss the processes by which Mapuche pupils become accustomed to monoculturalism – or, in cases of differentiation, as a subordinate folkloric *other* – in school spaces. Since independence, becoming a Chilean citizen has meant discarding the attributes and qualities associated with indigenous difference, a process of assimilation whose cornerstone was education. In rural Araucanía secondary schools, these pressures to assimilate continue and reproduce normative binaries of ethnic Chileanness. Additionally however we explore how indigenous teenagers mange the dynamics of dominant meanings of Chileanness alongside school practices that make reference to indigenous culture, a dynamic

influencing how Mapuche citizens-in-formation understand and interpret the parameters and rules of racialised inclusion and exclusion.

In one key respect, young Mapuche interpret their situation by contrasting it with their parents' and grandparents' experiences. Whereas previous generations of indigenous subjects were unable to pursue secondary education and were socially excluded from full civic participation[15], young Mapuche argue that contemporary citizenship is characterized by broader participation. In contrast to family accounts of explicit acts of racism,[16] the current generation of Mapuche youth expresses the view that they participate in a society of "improving standards" (F18,22), "solidarity" (F24,28), and "greater equity" (F25,32) under the scope of "anti-racist policies" (F18,25). Pupils regarded their schooling experiences as synonymous with equality and progress relative to past times of overt racism and prejudice (F25).

Further analysis reveals, however, the conditions under which these forms of inclusion and citizenship are apprehended and articulated by Mapuche youth. In the secondary schools studied, young Mapuche systematically reproduced and awarded validity to the category of Chileanness. In their articulations of the meanings of historically-freighted categories, "Chilean" referred to what was *común y corriente* (commonplace/ ordinary) (F8,13,31). In contrast, Mapuche as a category was associated with cultural difference, as extra-ordinary, different and hence at a remove from unmarked citizenship. Under these conditions, self-identification as Mapuche was problematic and more difficult to assume. Pupils identified each other in terms of how much they replicated the expected behaviour of an aspiring, motivated, and educated subject, associations immediately leading to the Chilean category. As one pupil asserted, 'they [teachers] always treat us like everyone else, like ordinary people; they see us as Chileans (F8, male, 16 years old).

Observations in schools over one year suggest that Mapuche pupils are taught that their inclusion in Chilean citizenship is premised on national-civic affiliation. In each school, numerous enactments and celebrations – some directly related to the conquest of the Mapuche – include national Independence Day, the commemoration of historic "Naval Glories" (*Desfile Glorias Navales*), the schools' and local town's anniversary, Pupil's Day (*Dia del alumno*), and Hispanic Day (*Dia de la Hispanidad*). According to one school's administrative document, such activities aim to generate 'a valuing of national identity and to develop pupils' self-esteem' (Annual work calendar 2012). As is well documented across Latin America, such commemorative and performative practices act to align and affirm identifications with the nation (eg. Lazar 2010). Similarly, the constitution of a Chilean national identity around events associated with an unmarked, non-indigenous identification impacted all pupils, inducting young Mapuche subjects into a Chileanness defined in terms of its promise of non-discrimination. By contrast, practices associated with Mapuche customs and identifications, were understood by the teenagers as irrelevant to their civic and future citizenship defined around Chilean-ness:

> In the school I used to go to, they never actually, never incorporated those [Mapuche customs]. In fact some said it was a side issue; it was like 'no, we're Chilean', [so] nobody was Mapuche. (F1, male, 18 years old)

Despite their indigenous surnames and rural backgrounds highly inflected with Mapuche culture, the pupils position themselves as subjects present in an environment where they can be treated as Chileans-in-waiting, while remaining aware of – and often subject to – racist taunts outside the confines of the school (Author reference). In this sense, Araucanía secondary schools reproduce the relative visibility and value-laden binary terms underlying Chilean citizenship. These establishments consistently represent Mapuche identity as an acceptable sub-status reserved for spatially- and temporarily- bounded moments and subjects, never as master/primary status. As geographer Kathryne Mitchell (2003) argues, education operates so as to *control* difference, determining where, when and with what practices cultural differences are to be performed and made present.

In the Araucanía, top-down incorporation of culturally inclusive practices into school routines includes practices such as celebrating the We Tripantu (Mapuche New Year) and Trafkintu (exchange of produce) ceremonies in ways that underscore the folkloric and static figure of the Indian (see Canessa 2004 for similar examples in Bolivia). Pupils reacted –sometimes angrily – to the artificial construction of these practices as attempts to project a school image of cultural inclusion, and as being isolated from the daily realities of the schools (F1,3,6,11), but mostly opted to avoid participating altogether so as to avoid being singled-out for derision:

> R: What's the atmosphere like among pupils when they conduct the *We Tripantu?*
> 7: No, hardly anyone comes.
> 2: Nobody participates.
> 7: And those who do want to are scared, because they'll be made fun of by the rest. (F3 both female, 14 years old)

Mapuche pupils hence learn to identify principally with the representation of a homogenous, unmarked but racially distinctive, national citizenry firmly located in the present moment. By contrast indigenous ethnic identity is represented as provincial and belonging to the past (Fabian 2002).

Although acknowledging that school could play a role in the revitalisation and re-evaluations of indigenous belonging, the Mapuche teenagers blamed themselves for a lack of interest in Mapuche identity and communal solidarity. While only some pupils desired the recovery of Mapuche culture, they argued that it was not the schools' responsibility to deliver a different form of education. Asked who bore responsibility, one focus group said:

> Various: With us.
> 8: But I think that if we asked here in the school...
> 5: [interrupting] If one had the inclination and sought out ways of learning, or the desire to take it [the idea for culturally differentiated curricula] to the teachers or those in charge, I think they would do it. (F15, both female, 16 years old and 15 years old)

Rather than agents countering dominant racial meanings of citizenship, these young people normalised and accepted dominant neoliberal individualism (Richards 2013) as the premise for their participation in civic-forming education. No pupils explicitly denied their status as Mapuche but many suggested it was supplanted by being accepted as Chilean. Commenting on the school's ethos, one pupil put it bluntly: 'in this school, they don't value the Mapuche. They are left to one side' (F3, male, 16 years old). The irrelevance of the category Mapuche produces ethnically unmarked citizens, with the pupils learning that legitimate belonging is partially achieved through omitting cultural diversity. The Araucanía secondary schools illustrate the ongoing power of identity binaries and suggest Mapuche youth view Chilean citizenship as a de-indigenized civic identity excised from questions about racism. We now turn to examine how these processes inform young people's attitudes regarding Mapuche in wider society.

III Pupil discourses around citizenship, civil society and participation

Young people's attitudes and opinions around citizenship are attributable to multiple sources of ongoing socialisation, among which the family, peers, exposure to media and community participation are key (Youniss et al. 2002). However, as youth citizenship and politics literatures demonstrate, schools also play a critical role in cultivating concepts of justice, democracy and inclusion. We argue that the correlation between the ideas expressed in this section and Chilean education's exclusion of the Mapuche as a meaningful category for civic participation (Section II), are sufficient to demonstrate that schools – where the youth spend most of their time – are instrumental in the formation of particular discourses about citizenship. Alongside the erasure of ethnic identity through school, pupils' experiences in educational settings construct normative ideals about the existence of nominal equality between Mapuche and non-indigenous citizens and the relevance of this putative equality to social spaces beyond the classroom. That is, Mapuche youth acquire an understanding of citizenship as related to equal treatment in regards to the resources, status and consequences of being Chilean.

Pupils' narratives evidence the effects of these subject-making processes:
> 4: I don't think that the government discriminates.
> 1: I believe they treat us like any other person.
> 5: There are no differences [in treatment]. (F28, female, male and female, 18 years old)

Not being identified as Mapuche is interpreted as a means to be treated equally, as in the following quote.
> 4: The thing is that nowadays they no longer see us as Mapuche.
> 1: Everyone is equal.
> 4:   Nowadays everyone is equal. The welfare benefits are for all Chileans, for Chilean mothers, Mapuche, for all mothers. (F32, male 17 years old and female, 16 years old)

In this way, young people construct civic belonging as a legal status with associated social rights –state support – available to all Chileans, regardless of ethnic identity. In this respect, young peoples' views of their future citizenship rights were informed by comparisons with non-Chilean foreigners – primarily recently-arrived Peruvian migrants. One pupil complained about the legitimacy of migrants "taking" Chilean jobs: 'here there are a lot of Chileans who don't have any work, but who want to work... but the Peruvians come in [migrate] and immediately they are given jobs' (Interview, female, 15 years old). Young Mapuche in this way established a framework for citizenship that managed to include Mapuche, even at the cost of excluding a firmly non-citizen migrant subject.[17]

Other pupils offered a credentialising explanation for the declining valence of indigenous identities in Chile:

> The issue [of indigenous demands] has to do with education. The Mapuche want to become middle class. But without an education you can't do anything. It's the same for someone who is completely Chilean - if they don't have an education, they will be street sweepers... So I think the Mapuche are fighting for that. (F27, male, 16 years old)

Others emphasised individual professional rights, associated with jobs for non-indigenous and racially-unmarked subjects:

> In the past, the Mapuche were always a slave[18] or a farm worker, but today the Mapuche are architects, [or] police officers. So today there are many more opportunities to get ahead than in the past. (F32, male, 17 years old)

Pupils broadly viewed education as a route to an unmarked racial-national status, consistent with individualised aspirations for a Chilean citizenship. The optimism expressed by Mapuche youth regarding social mobility sits uneasily alongside the poor educational outcomes of their schools. The pupils overlook the socio-economic and racial inequalities connected to these geographies of education in the Araucanía. Instead, as the quote above illustrates, inclusion is envisioned as the result of social mobility and individual endeavour. In this way, young Mapuche citizens-in-making come to adhere to the dominant contemporary discourse of personal achievement and equal opportunity. The corollary is pupils view uneducated and rural Mapuche as distant and irrelevant, and – in some cases – as unworthy of affective ties.

Contributing to these imaginaries of their place within Chilean society is the association of Chilean-ness with modernity, in counterpoint to indigeneity coupled with backwardness. While such associations are well established in Latin America (Wade 2010; Richards 2013), the Mapuche young people articulate interpretations of racialising and marginalizing discourses in terms of consumer items and technology, all potent symbols of Chile's economic miracle. Young people understand citizenship as signalled by accoutrements of consumer items.

> People don't live in *ruka* [Mapuche house] any more, and almost all things we have are technological. It's not the same anymore. I mean we, I for my part am most noticeably [Mapuche] when with my grandparents and they tell me stories - in those spaces. (F30, female, 18 years old)

In summary, racialised young people in Chile represent the Mapuche as belonging to an untainted cultural authenticity of the past, now being erased in high modernity. Articulations of "becoming" are linked increasingly to criteria of consumerism, which both signal and confirm a form of social mobility into whiteness and unmarked citizenship.

IV   Critical perspectives on practices of citizenship in secondary schools

Having documented pupils' subjectivities of racialised citizenship which draw on, and are moulded by, experiences of education spaces and the broader socio-cultural environment, we now turn to analyse how a select number of young people express their agency with regard to citizen-making practices and discourses. Although most Mapuche pupils unquestioningly and favourably incline towards the constructions of citizenship outlined in the previous sections, a small but significant number question and critique the contradictions between the promises of Chilean national belonging and Araucanía region's realities. While these critical opinions could arise from multiple influences – family, teachers, political leaders, media, personal experiences outside school – we focus here on how they voice positionings vis-a-vis the state as citizens-in-the-making. These youth discursively challenge taken-for-granted constructions of national citizenship, transforming their meanings and asserting their own socio-cultural position concerning inclusion within the nation-state.

While the vast majority of young Mapuche participated uncritically in independence celebrations, others objected, highlighting the irony of Mapuche celebrating historical colonialism:

> On the 18th September [National Independence Day] the Mapuche - instead of going to march - should dress up in black, like mourning. Because we are, I guess, being overshadowed, because it is Chilean independence. However, we Mapuche are trapped in Chile. (F23, female, 17 years old)

While such politicized and anti-colonial views were expressed by only a small minority of Mapuche young people, a larger group drew on direct personal experience to document the exclusionary nature of Chilean citizenship. Questioning the government's neutrality and its claim to be fully democratic, young people talked about how state representations of the Mapuche represent ethnic demands as anti-national behaviour:

> What the government does is to make the people see what they want them to, and not what is really going on ... They want to detract from the [indigenous] requests, [which are] supposedly [social] disorder. (F30, female, 16 years old; also F9, 16, 21)

Previous research on young people's political geographies documents how young people contest marginalisation via everyday discourses and practices, despite their lack of adult civic status and rights (Skelton 2013). Likewise in southern Chile, the material draws attention to young people's concerns about the democratic processes which enable or hinder inclusion for indigenous peoples. In this respect, young Mapuche present themselves not only as future citizens, but as subjects with currently valid opinions and demands for a fairer civil society. For many Mapuche youth, including our sample, the process of reversing and overcoming anti-democratic state practices is inseparable from the demand for ethnic recognition and rights (cf.Terwindt 2009).

Young Mapuche also make claims for social justice within everyday settings. In interviews, these young critics argued that the state's use of bureaucratic procedures derails indigenous claims for justice. After speaking about indigenous citizens' limited participation in Chilean civil political life, these Mapuche teenagers criticized affirmative action initiatives (such as grants for impoverished indigenous school children [author reference]), arguing that such measures were paternalistic, not genuine inclusion:

> They [the government] try to cover up the things that they took from us by awarding grants so with that they're trying to demonstrate that they are paying attention. (F23, female, 17 years old)

> My view is that [the government] treat us like fools... Because by giving us [grants], it's like saying 'Oh, those poor things! Let's give them something so they don't feel so bad.' (F30, male, 18 years old)

Pupils are alert to state condescension and the framing of the Mapuche as a peripheral, uneducated or unintelligent citizen in need of improvement (F6, 11, 30). Hence, some Mapuche youth reject racialised hierarchies of power, and symbolically defy some core tenets of Chilean citizenship.

By demonstrating their awareness of these practices, the young people positioned themselves as empowered citizens-in–the-making who would not tolerate a future society with such disparities. A limited number of young people critically interrogated dominant narratives about equitable labour opportunities, instead pointing to the channelling of Mapuche into subservient jobs:

> You can see that in the high-end neighbourhoods of Santiago … and others, almost all the nannies are Mapuche. (F32, male, 17 years old)

> I sometimes see people who visit our home who work in an office and they say they spend their time just stamping [papers] ... So I say, how come my father works harder and earns nothing? (F25, male, 15 years old)

Rejecting the promise that education meant good employment, or the mantra that "hard work" led to white collar occupations, they produce counter-hegemonic discourses highlighting the hard work done in farming or manual occupations. In this sense, Mapuche secondary schoolers do not live in isolated de-politicised worlds; they observe, articulate and negotiate the political contexts around them, including their ability to participate. A number of them are aware of schooling's socio-economic outcomes and education's operation within long-standing structures of racial discrimination. Although this small group are sceptical, the majority of the cohort imagine these transitions to be relatively unproblematic.[19] As future citizens, some Mapuche youth exercise a critical voice which speaks to their perception of the need for political change towards a citizenship capable of addressing these inequalities. Despite the whitening and de-indigenisation ideologies permeating Chilean schooling, and society more generally, this section provides evidence of youth agency and critique of the forms of cultural citizenship.

Conclusions

In this article we explore expressions of socio-cultural and political subjectivity among Mapuche youth located within four secondary boarding schools in the Araucanía Region of Chile. For rural indigenous students these schools are a primary site in which they come to gain a sense of themselves as members of civil society and as future citizens. Drawing on young peoples' experiences in boarding facilities and expressions regarding sociopolitical positioning, we analyse the ways Mapuche youth engage with the racially and class-inflected hierarchies of inequality present in the school, the region and beyond. Since the foundation of Chilean citizenship, Mapuche and other indigenous populations have been subject to overlapping processes of assimilation, denial of full rights, and socio-cultural exclusion. As this paper documents, the majority of Mapuche pupils are caught between the categories of Chilean and Mapuche, a framework that marginalizes ethnic identity or creates de-ethnicised routes to inclusion.

The southern Chilean case suggests that much more detailed work needs to be done on how racism works through schools in Latin America (Canessa 2012: 298). Our research demonstrates the enduring racialisation of Mapuche secondary school pupils in indigenous-majority settings, and how rural boarding schools prepare young people for forms of citizenship where racial difference is denied and obscured. By undertaking this research in secondary schools, the study permitted an examination of how these teenagers who are soon to become citizens articulate the sociopolitical subjectivities they associate with being Chilean. In comparison with studies of citizenship education (cf. Pykett 2009),[20] our research in Chile highlights how senses of citizenship, belonging and difference are constituted through the dominant discourses and practices of schools.

As in other settler societies, Chilean boarding schools serve as a key site of in which normalized expectations about the places, practices and possibilities of adult citizenship are constituted. Boarder life in rural Araucanía routinises forms of embodiment, sociality and relationship with the local public sphere that normalise routine poverty and material deprivation, confirming socio-economic hierarchies. Young people treated poor infrastructure

and low academic outcomes as banal, emphasising instead a caring family-like environment. Despite being nurtured, young people are disciplined into long working days, learn to take personal responsibility for individual trajectories, and form allegiances to national and global imaginaries via national anthems and international days for children, women etc. These practices routinise and normalise young peoples' position within racial-class-gendered hierarchies and produce citizen-subjects who participate from margins that are always-already normalized and expected.

Within these school spaces little intellectual space afforded to young people to consider how civic inclusion can be renegotiated in relation to indigenous identifications. Nevertheless, the young people demonstrate a capacity to engage critically with national discourses from media and schooling. Whilst not widely engaged in politicised youth activism, the pupils demonstrated agency by positioning themselves critically in quotidian and negotiated re-workings of the meaning of citizenship. Over recent years, Mapuche youth actively challenged neoliberal policies in education from within various Chilean secondary and university student movements [author reference]. Such actions exemplify young Mapuche's "*actual* and *potential* political agency, subjectivities, competencies, participation and capabilities for decision-making" (Skelton 2013:126, original emphasis). Mapuche youth offer a significant perspective on the ways in which education becomes racialised, and forms citizens-to-be through subjectivities in which indigenous and racialised exclusion remain largely hegemonic.

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Notes

[1]   Sexual, urban, ecological, cultural, cosmopolitan, consumer, multicultural and post-orientalist are just some of the adjectives and affixes used in relation to citizenship (Jopkke 2007).

[2]   Ong (2006) contends that governmentality and hegemony are achieved via routine practices of discipline and surveillance in both state and civil institutions so as to create diffused and implicit forms of racism.

[3]   The term Mapuche is used for single individuals of that group, or a group.

[4]   Exceptions are found in literature on critical pedagogy and critical race theory (Morgan 2000).

[5]   Mapuche citizenship rights have been widely researched, and whilst a number of studies gesture at the implications for youth in educational settings (eg. Richards 2013), pupils' experiences and narratives have not been directly addressed.

[6]   Moreover, studies on Latin American schooling and racialisation focus on primary education (Canessa 2004, 2012; Lazar 2010), and teacher training colleges (Luykx 1999).

[7]   Classroom practices including teacher-pupil relationships and curricular content are beyond the scope of this article.

[8]   Author references will be added in following blind review process

[9]   Mass urban migration and declining numbers of Mapuzungun [Mapuche language] speakers removed some of the previous tropes which categorised ethnic differences.

[10]   The selection process for the schools was premised on specifics related to types of education provision, controlling for similar indigenous intakes. Differences between these schools cannot be elaborated here, but will be provided in later publications.

[11]   The dynamics of identifying indigenous respondents in this way is discussed below.

[12]   In 1997, education reform implemented the Full School Day raising weekly hours from 36 to 42 in secondary schools, without extra teaching resources. Average school days in each of the case study schools were 8.5 hours long.

[13]   The authors acknowledge that home communities and peer influence contribute alternate values; but these are unlikely to be as pervasive in the boarding schools.

[14] F refers to focus group number, and where cited, each participant was assigned a number from 1-8 to denote the person speaking

[15]   Pupils associated this lack of civic participation with geographical isolation owing to poor transport, and extreme poverty.

[16]   See Richards and Gardner (2013: 269) for an incidence of racism directed against an older woman in her early schooling.

[17]   Nevertheless, another suggested discrimination was worse for foreign migrants: 'The state does [treat all people in Chile equally] but not the foreigners, especially not the Peruvians... because I've seen how they insult them on television' (P5F24).

[18]   Slavery of the Mapuche was authorised by the Spanish crown from 1608 until its prohibition in 1674.

[19]   A forthcoming paper addresses these issues in greater detail.

[20]   In Chile, citizenship education was demoted from a curriculum subject to a strand of social science in 1998.