

Alexander Hodes

A Critical Analysis of the Racialisation and Discrimination of the Mapuche in Chile.

Racism attempts to root culture in nature.

-Dikotter 2008

Introduction

This is a critical analysis that brings new insights to the struggles of the Mapuche in present day Chile, and as a continuation of historical and structural discrimination and racism. I will be using various sources including ethnographies, sociological analyses and World Bank reports, and integrate the findings to present seven key dimensions: the historical context, historical paradox (dualism of thought), recognition of ancestry and rights, criminalisation of the Mapuche and the fight back, cultural exclusion, the Mapuche claim for land and discrimination and finally struggles for education and work through poverty.

1. Historical context of the Mapuche

The Mapuche are a minority ethnic group who currently populate the areas of Bio-Bio, Arauco, Malleco, Cautin, Valdivia and Chiloe within Chile. There are approximately 1 million Mapuche living in Chile, accounting for about 5-8% of the population, and 200,000 in neighbouring Argentina (UNPO 2013). The Mapuche are descendants of the Araucanian tribe that were Chile's early inhabitants going back as far as 12,000 years (UNPO 2013). The Mapuche's ancestors are seen by the Chilean's today as a brave people because they historically were the only ones who held back the powerful Incas that attempted to invade the lands and also resisted the ever encroaching Spanish conquerors for 280 years, opponents clearly much better equipped than themselves. It was only when a treaty was signed in 1641 known as the Treaty of Quilin that a century of constant struggle and confrontation between the Spanish colonists and the Mapuche ended, as the Treaty recognised Mapuche independence and protected their rights as a people (UNPO 2013).

But what The Mapuche would never expect to happen to their rights and independence occurred 150 years later when the 1641 Treaty of Quilin was broken as the "Chilean armies put down a major uprising and finally 'pacified' the Mapuche"(UNPO 2013). The Chileans placed the Mapuche in small areas of the country, areas called reservations or 'reducciones'. Under Allende's socialist government (1970-1973) the rights of the Mapuche were respected and their demands for the restoration of their land largely accepted. The "Leftist ideologies demanded the redistribution of lands from the hands of private enterprise to the landless peasants. These ideas swept through the Mapuche population" (Culliney, Peterson, Royer 2013). As a result in 1972, the Chilean Parliament passed Law 17.729 (Culliney, Peterson, Royer 2013) which "under this law, in order to subdivide the land, 100% of the Mapuche community on the land would have to consent" (Culliney, Peterson, Royer 2013). But the laws did not pass quickly enough and the Pinochet coup in 1973, involving the assassination of Allende, created a military government that "refused to recognize the Mapuche: they recognized only one identity, Chilean citizenship" (Culliney, Peterson, Royer 2013). This led to a pacifying of any Mapuche activity: "Mapuche organizations were also dismantled and many of their leaders had to go into exile. Mapuche organizations that kept any level of activity had to do it under the protection of the Catholic Church" (Herrera 1999). A pattern of racist and discriminatory practices by successive governments occurred thereafter.

2. The Historical Paradox of the Mapuche

The historical paradox refers to the stereotypes of the Mapuche constructed from the time of the Spanish settlers, and internalised by the Chileans. The Chilean people seem to have a prominent contradiction, a dualism of thought, when they think about the Mapuche. This dual image is that while the Mapuche are seen as powerful and strong Araucanian warriors who maintained their racial and cultural identity resisting powerful foes "an attitude symbolized by naming a significant number of cities and streets after Mapuche warriors" (Merino, Quilaqueo 2003), on the other hand they are seen as lazy Indians, a barbarous people, "the drunkard, he who doesn't have a king or a God" (Merino, Quilaqueo 2003). The image was reinforced by The Mapuches' subsequent "use of alcohol and

contact with Chilean outlaws” that “divided the Mapuche and disarranged their traditional sociopolitical organization” (Merino, Quilaqueo 2003) entrenching the stigma of the Mapuche in Chilean society. What can be brought into question is how much of a ‘dual’ image this really is. The positive image of the Mapuche can be inferred as a patronising ideal of the indigenous group where they are seen as still primitive; simple but brave. This actually enables the Chileans to evade and parry any responsibility because they have ‘praised’ the Mapuche. To expand on this, as mentioned there were claims by Spanish colonists that in the past The Mapuche collaborated with Realist Guerrillas and other bandits (Merino, Quilaqueo 2003). This generated a fear of the indigenous Mapuche amongst the Chilean settlers and led to a public labelling of The Mapuche as petty criminals and thieves, an idea that has lived on and allowed the Chilean majority to divide the Mapuche into categories of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ Indians (Merino, Quilaqueo 2003); those who abide to the law and those that actively resist it. One can infer from such evidence that this division of the Mapuche in categories of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ is little more than a familiarity to the dualistic image of the Mapuche by the Chileans.

When deconstructing this dualistic image using classical race theory presented by Anna Julia Cooper, there are striking similarities between what she wrote about racism towards black people in America in the 19th and 20th century and the opinions of The Mapuche. Cooper noted that in America, “denial of racism also appears as common practice, it is not that the ‘Negro’ is black, but that he is weak- and we don’t like weakness” (Law 2010). This resembles the Chileans’ opinion of the Mapuche, who when interviewed, labelled them as ‘lazy’ and ‘barbarous’ and also claimed that “they’re an obstacle for development,” “they resist change,” and “they’re responsible for the bad image of this region.” (Merino, Quilaqueo 2003). The Chileans disguised their racism by trying to explain what was ‘rationally’ wrong with The Mapuche in order to somehow justify their opinions, much like what Cooper saw in America with the white man’s denial of his racism towards the black man by saying they are just weak.

3. Recognition of Mapuche Ancestry and Rights

There is a prominent lack of recognition of Mapuche ancestry and rights by the state and European descent Chileans. It was previously mentioned that the Chileans superficially see the Mapuche as a “brave” and “courageous” people. While that created a so called dualism of thought, it says little about the majority that never truly accepted the ancestry of the land’s indigenous people. “The history that is told needs to be based on facts but also on the recognition of different interpretations of those facts” (Simon, Parra, Fenelon 2009), thus depicting a much more realistic image with the history of the Mapuche told *by* the Mapuche. The Chileans have failed to understand that their ancestors were colonizers and forced the Mapuche off their own land. So, “any reconciliation must begin with the recognition that the conflict begins with the arrival of the Spanish and that the Chilean State is essentially a continuation of Spanish colonial government because this is a critical point in their history that explains (partially) where they are today” (Simon, Parra, Fenelon 2009).

The Mapuche’s lack of rights and experience of abuse continues given that “the indigenous communities have little control over their education, health and justice systems” (Simon, Parra, Fenelon 2009) because the “Chilean state has a dominant role in the definition and enforcement of the rights that indigenous peoples have within its boundaries” (Simon, Parra, Fenelon 2009). This is clearly illogical because the government will not fight to support such rights and the provision of appropriate services, which creates what Esman Milton calls inclusionary discrimination, as such it “involves dismantling ethnic cultures, languages and attachments” (Law 2010). While the recent governments have attempted to implement multicultural policies in helping to recognise Mapuche rights, such as the Indigenous Law 1990, it has made little difference because of ineffectiveness in tackling the “the structural discrimination existing in the system” (Simon Parra, Fenelon 2009). This refers to the discrimination entrenched within the whole Chilean system both governmental and judicial. As such “The law did not recognize the existence of indigenous peoples. Neither have the Mapuche been able to ensure the ratification of the ILO’s Convention #169 for Indigenous Peoples nor the constitutional recognition of the existence of Indigenous peoples in Chile” (Herrera 1999). Furthermore, it has been seen by some researches to have made things worse for the indigenous where “control has increased with the multicultural policies implemented in the last 15 years” (Simon, Parra, Fenelon 2009) because The Mapuche have resorted to a military style protest such as arson attacks on

timber farms and occupations of farmland, therefore losing all their rights when accused of being terrorists and increasing the paranoia of the public, and strengthening stereotypes and stigma. When looking at history to the current day, the Mapuche have experienced consistent oppression, exclusion and discriminatory/ racist attitudes from ordinary Chileans, the state, and many governments. “These governments have continued to perpetrate injustices using institutionalized violence and the internal security and anti-terrorist laws, which allow for protestors to be treated as criminals” (Waldman 2012). The Mapuche are now aiming to protect their culture in all sectors of Chilean society, including in schools. Education is important because “schooling for this population has been part of the modern nation-state’s ideology, based on Eurocentric, assimilationist, mono-cultural and mono-lingual perspectives” (Ortiz 2009). With schooling there has been a lack of multi-ethnic teaching because “the state and the church remain the principal agents defining and implementing Indigenous educational policies, and numerous inequalities persist in the allocation of human and material resources for indigenous schooling” (Ortiz 2009). The Mapuche communities are not seen as a relevant enough demographic to uphold their rights as other indigenous have in other parts of South America. It is a culture that is largely connected to the land they live on. The Mapuche want to win back the ancestral heritage stolen from them. Yet, it is hard for the Mapuche to gain any media ground in order to interact with the outside world and potential allies because “Chilean society is deeply influenced by a predominantly conservative mass media, which promotes racist stereotypes and reinforces the image of a Mapuche otherness” (Waldman 2012). “The media is a vehicle for spreading racial and cultural prejudices against the Mapuche people and is used by the authorities when they need to justify the assimilation policy” (Mariqueo 2003). There is sufficient evidence of such a process happening when looking at a paper like *El Mercurio* which has published countless articles that stated in some way or other that the Indigenous law 1990 made to defend Mapuche rights is “an Indigenous policy which is mistaken and unwise” and that land given back to the Mapuche is “a paternalistic approach towards the Mapuche community, on the one hand providing them with land, and on the other restricting their chances of selling it.” (Mariqueo 2003) and so essentially communicating that integrating the Mapuche and selling what was once theirs (the land) is rationally necessary for economic progress to continue in Chile. Furthermore, they have been using words like ‘Indian’ and ‘terrorists’ to signify a meaning to the Mapuche in general. According to Ferdinand de Saussure and Roland Barthes, “a sign is the association of the signifier (a picture, word or thing) with the signified (an idea, concept, mental picture or meaning)” (Law 2010) which in this case is the racist shared common characteristics of the Mapuche constructed by the media.

4. Criminalising The Mapuche and the Fight Back

In 2010 it was reported that The Mapuche had created a body of legal support for unlawful and immoral state actions against their people (Sepulveda 2010). This was just the beginning of the ethnic group doing things on their own and tackling discrimination setting up autonomous bodies. For many indigenous people who live in Chile and resist the unfair actions made upon them, they face countless crimes against humanity. The legal bodies set up by Mapuche intellectuals are attempting to hold the government accountable for the countless “illegal searches, interrogations, intelligence-gathering operations, use of armed force and human-rights violations” (Waldman 2012) justified under ambiguous laws. A few other lawsuits to note were ones written in the report by Sepulveda; “one is against members of the police, for allegedly torturing a Mapuche man from the Temucucui community, and the other was lodged by the Mapuche Autonomous Legal and Social Defence unit against prison guards, for alleged torture and illegal coercion of a Mapuche woman from the Juan Paillalef community.” (Sepulveda 2010).

On a similar note, Mapuche rights groups and lawyers are making a stand against violations of indigenous rights and ancestry have also begun to challenge a stigmatisation of the Mapuche over recent decades that has significantly reduced their rights to liberty and freedom. The “terrorist” label enables the state to continue legalised oppression to control indigenous minorities. According to one report “In the first months of 2010, 106 people (Mapuche) were jailed, of whom 58 were charged under the Anti-Terrorism law” (Spain 2011). The same report documents further evidence of the abuse of the Anti-Terrorism law. For instance “On November 26th 2011 police raided the Temucucui Tradicional community in Malleco province, throwing teargas canisters into homes where children were sleeping” (Spains 2011). It was claimed that “they forced their way into the house and, as usual,

destroyed property, beat up the people living there, held them at gun point and threatened to kill them” (Spains 2011). The number of reports of police brutality on the Mapuche is extensive. An example of this was during a Mapuche protest against a supposed evacuation from land. It was claimed that “12 people including three girls under age 12, were allegedly hit, insulted, and sexually harassed by Carabineros while being transported from the scene in a police bus” (hrw 2012). And another, “In February 2008 in what appeared to be an arbitrary arrest nine Mapuche were detained at a peaceful festival under charges of public disorder. Once in custody, four of the detainees allegedly were tied to posts for more than 13 hours while being interrogated and beaten by Carabineros” (Minority Rights). The Special Rapporteur when visiting Chile in 2013 noted that “Mapuche protests have not taken the form of recognizable terrorism; that the use of the anti-terrorism legislation in connection with Mapuche land protests is counterproductive to the promotion of a peaceful resolution to the Mapuche question” (Emmerson 2014). This is far from the appropriate use of the law and for many other countries, it would be a clear abuse of power; a criminal offence. Ironically, these reports of police action against the Mapuche are quite similar to the actions Mapuche are accused of carrying out on the Chileans. The question one must ask is how the Chilean state plans to create peace with the Mapuche if the authorities are treating them this way.

5. Cultural Exclusion

The clear marginalisation and dissipation of Mapuche culture has occurred alongside the conquest, oppression and exclusion of the Mapuche people. Any nation should be able to preserve its culture and identity, as these are fundamental rights and necessary for its survival and people’s well-being. Mapuche see their land directly connected to their culture in its essence: “cultural identity is linked to the land” (Culliney, Peterson, Royer 2013). “Water, crops, and soil are interconnected to the Mapuche people. Mapuche is translated into ‘people of the land.’ They believe the reason they were put on this earth is to protect nature” (Culliney, Peterson, Royer 2013). This links the existence of The Mapuche with the land they own as the customs and rituals of their culture is carried out on fertile land. The expropriation of Mapuche land (see section 6 below) “undermined the traditional family ties and the transmission of the Mapuche culture” (Caniguan 2012). This has led to a situation where “in many respects, the Mapuche have become indistinguishable from the non-Mapuche of the same social class” and because of the lack of resources provided to the ethnic group “in rural regions they live the life of poor peasants and in the city they perform simple manual work” (Carcamo 2014). Mapuche culture in present day reservations has begun to disappear as a consequence of oppressive measures pursued by the government since the “construction and consolidation of the Chilean State and economy encouraged and required the assimilation of indigenous populations” (Simon, Parra, Fenelon 2009) which essentially meant the government wanted to strengthen the economy by providing the industries with a stream of low-paid workers by pushing them out of land and making them migrate to the city. This required The Mapuche to wholly integrate and work with the non-Mapuche Chileans in the cities. As a result, it is known that nowadays “80% of The Mapuche live in urban areas” (Mario 2000) and “present-day Mapuche who often do not speak Mapudugun, presents a certain opening towards the dominant culture and have adapted their lifestyles to favour major integration.” (Simon, Parra, Fenelon 2009). Officially “The Mapuche language, Mapudungun, has still not been recognised as an official language” (Macdonald 2014). Furthermore “it was estimated 30–40 per cent of The Mapuche spoke Mapudungun” (Macdonald 2014). To extend this point, the World Bank study found that “urban indigenous peoples report difficulties to express and carry out their religious beliefs and ceremonies” (Mario 2000). This indicates the erasure of the ancient Mapuche culture, as evidenced by the slow eradication of their language, religion and ceremonies, and is the catastrophic outcome of inclusionary assimilation and neoliberal policies.

6. The Mapuche’s Claim for Land and the discrimination

This takes the analysis on to the next dimension; the Mapuche’s claim for their old land. “In 1541, the Mapuche occupied 5.4 million hectares and numbered about one million” (Culliney, Peterson, Royer 2013). As a result of colonisation and assimilation, it is estimated the Mapuche land is now just 400,000 hectares (Macdonald 2014). The Mapuche were forced into reservations under the Indigenous Reservations Law of 1866. The Spanish settlers were given the land because it was seen that “this land was considered to be “empty” since The Mapuche were no longer considered to be people” (Simon, Parra, Fenelon 2009). Many of the Mapuche could no longer survive in the rural areas since

all the fertile land had been given to companies and affluent farmers. They have moved to the cities for work in menial jobs in order to escape rural poverty. In critical race theory, Robert Park saw “racial prejudice as instrumental in reducing competition and maintaining control over social territory” (Law 2010). The Mapuche were the competition over the land and the state had to get rid of that so they disseminated racial stereotypes and justified forcing the Mapuche off their land. In accordance to the conditions of the land given to the Mapuche in rural areas that was mainly unliveable to first world standard is explained by Cooper; she states that poverty, destitution, homelessness and insanitary housing conditions” (Law 2010) went hand in hand with discrimination and forced assimilation. This is redolent with the old reservations that are still populated by Mapuche communities where it was reported that many shelters “did not have running water or plumbing” (Baran 2013) and where “only 41% of the indigenous households have sewerage, compared to 76% for non-indigenous” (Mario 2000). Poverty of the rural Mapuche is connected to the fact that “indigenous Chileans in rural areas, who are more likely to rely on the land for survival, are faced with decreased access to land, and receive less of the infrastructure benefits of urban areas”. Essentially “rural reservations might be described as rural concentrations of the Mapuche underclass” (Wilson 1987).

Another reason that the Chileans had for placing the Mapuche in reservations was the need for the fertile lands that the Mapuche occupied. However, this was a miscalculation by the Chilean government at the time. The early reserves created for the Mapuche were located on agriculturally important areas of Chile and was land that farmers and businesses much desired. They created an uproar over the land that was being used by The Mapuche solely to live on. This created a name for farming areas of Temuco owned by the Mapuche known as the ‘suicidal belt’. The name portrayed the Mapuche reducciones as “strangling any progress” (Merino, Quilaqueo 2003). To Chilean companies, the land is a needed resource, and because the land is closely connected to the culture of the Mapuche “eradication of their [Mapuche] culture would be the best thing for national unity” (Culliney, Peterson, Royer 2013). Removing the indigenous people from their land was necessary to appease investors and land speculators as well as reducing racial violence with the farmers and the indigenous, thus facilitating further economic progress. This view of necessary action by the Chilean state is consistent with Robert Park’s theory whom gives an optimistic account of assimilation and integration; “integration of all cultural groups” is parallel to “the decline of racial stratification” (Law 2010) because in areas where minorities “changed their language, institutions and other practices they became accommodated and discrimination lessened” (Law 2010). However, Park neglects key factors including class differentiation within racial and ethnic groups and the misuse of power and violence in the restructuring of society (Law 2010), and were inflicted on the Mapuche.

Not much has changed under recent governments either. The lack of recognition of the Mapuche has meant that their rights to land mean nothing. Many Chileans passionately believe that The Mapuche were not using their land properly, yet The Mapuche had lived off such land for hundreds of years before colonization and clearly prospered as a social group having obtained the resources to hold off the Incas and Spanish conquerors in the past. The way Mapuche use their land doesn’t support economic global flows associated with neoliberalism, as they have been “traditionally surviving on what is basically subsistence agriculture”(New World Encyclopaedia) and “various governments have promoted productive investments and the development of infrastructure in Mapuche territory” (Herrera 1999). This is consistent with national neo-liberal economic policies that aim at making sure that “Chile can participate fully in the global economy” (Herrera 1999). A consistent lack of protection over the Mapuche and their territory by the governments has meant that “many of these projects have had a negative effect on the Mapuche community as it has led to the expropriations of indigenous lands” (Herrera 1999) because it concerns people whom have “a way of life that is sustained by the territorial spaces that they occupy” (Herrera 1999). The law made in 1993 to protect the indigenous lands still fails to recognise Mapuche land rights due to a lack of ratification in some areas of the policy; it does not give them autonomy to maintain their cultural practices on appropriate territory, practices that cannot be done on inept rural space. This demand for precious land is illustrated by a protest on government farmland by 70 Mapuche protestors, for whom, as a result of little to no state help in restoring land, took direct action. The protestors occupied the land “to further their demand for 60 hectares of land that they say belong to the community” (Weekly News Update

on Americas 2015). The occupiers claim that the land was “usurped illegally by the owner of the private estate, for more than 20 years” (Weekly News Update on Americas 2015) which of course was done right under the nose of the state at the time with no repercussions. Land occupation had become, as for so many others, the only form of hope and “in practice, it is this approach that often delivers the quickest results” (earthsfirstjournal 2014).

There is also pressure on the land from logging in Chile. Trees which demand a lot of water that are valuable for logging have been planted, and with no recognition of nearby Mapuche lands. The trees sucked out all the water from underground; “The cultivated trees are insatiably thirsty, absorbing far more groundwater than the local native forests they replaced” (earthsfirstjournal 2014.) As a result, “Mapuche subsistence farmers, often living on tiny plots immediately downhill from the tree farms, saw their wells and springs go dry” (earthsfirstjournal 2014). Whether the government is going to help the subsistence farmers, is yet to be seen.

7. Struggles for education, work and poverty

Historically the education for indigenous peoples, imparted originally through the hands of the missionaries and later the public schools, has had not only a strong evangelizing and assimilationist character, but also an ethnocide orientation.

Marimán, 1997

The final dimension in this analysis is one of great importance, and has been briefly mentioned earlier in the discussion. This is the discrimination in education and urban city work between Mapuche and non-Mapuche citizens. As it is thought that “around 400,000 Mapuches live in Santiago” (Jara 1997) the capital city of Chile, and the limited employment of The Mapuche in the cities shows how discrimination and racism has pushed them into a poor quality of life. It was observed in a study of Mapuche in the city that “Mapuche people experience verbal, behavioural, institutional and macro-level discrimination” (Merino, Becerra, Mellor 2015) in multiple working environments. Though the typical Mapuche city worker has low skills, “even when an indigenous worker has technical skills he or she faces a strong labour market discrimination” (Mario 2000). Examples of this were seen in “hiring and dismissal practices affecting categories such as secretarial work and construction” (Mario 2000). This has contributed to the high level of poverty that the Mapuche face where in the city “poverty rates for indigenous households at the national level are approximately 10 percentage points higher than for non-indigenous households” and Mapuche “are 56% more likely to be in poverty, and receive half the income of non-indigenous people” (Mario 2000). The cheap labour that the Mapuche population provide in the city is however a benefit to the Chilean industry bosses. It can be seen that colonisation, the low paid work offered and discriminatory assimilation/ integration into the job market for the Mapuche connects with an argument made by the Marxists; that “global racism is embedded in the ideologies and structures of global capitalism to the point that they created unequal systems of social relations in which cheap labour was essential and that colonized people were regarded as inferior and could be bought and sold like any other commodity rather than as people” (Dikotter 2008).

Education is another important area in which the Mapuche have striven to protect their rights and increase their quality of life while at the same educating the Chileans regarding Mapuche history and culture. However, the reality is that there are significant inequalities and discriminatory practices within the education system in Chile that “are not merely a socioeconomic problem but also an ethn-national one” (Webb 2013). It has been observed that “Indigenous populations suffer marked educational differentials from non-indigenous dominant groups, who claim descent from European settlers in the same districts“(Webb 2013). The consequence is that younger generations of Mapuche are “among those most likely to repeat academic years, enter school late, and have among the lowest retention figures“(Webb 2013). It is reported that “approximately 80% of heads of rural Mapuche households have less than four years of schooling and less than 3% of the entire Mapuche population receives any further educational training beyond high school” (UNPO 2013) and among Mapuche students “30.4% never graduate (urban area) and often leave school before 8th grade” (Ortiz 2009). This massively hinders the ability of the Mapuche to defend themselves against complex injustices because they do not have the education to challenge them and on top of this they remain in low skilled jobs with little prospect of advancement.

The question one has to ask is how this has come about. It is mainly due to active discrimination and racism within the education system. The social and cultural elements of life for The Mapuche at school is biased and discriminates against them and their way of doing things. For example, verbal discrimination was reported including “name-calling associated with ethnic reference, physical traits or skin colour, demeaning remarks including jokes or taunts, intimidating, inferiorizing, or threats, and abuse”(Merino, Becerra, Mellor 2015). The study also found the “teacher was the main perpetrator” (Merino, Becerra, Mellor 2015) of this verbal abuse. The verbal abuse reported in the interviews reflects the dual image of the Mapuche by the Chileans discussed earlier; “the student is conscious of the contradiction in his non-Mapuche schoolmates between what is said and what is done [‘they say they respect us but they still make fun of us’]” (Merino, Becerra, Mellor 2015). The teachers at the school aren’t always doing such things out of malice and in some cases feel they are doing the Mapuche an actual favour; a teacher in one interview believed that “the low scholarly performance of Mapuche adolescents is due to the relaxed Mapuche "rhythm of life" which prevents Mapuche students from rural areas meeting the needs and requirements of the school” (Merino, Becerra, Mellor 2015). This is clear intolerance, ignorance and stigmatization of Mapuche culture from an adult in a position of authority.

When it comes to looking at the education system itself, systematic institutionalized racism and discrimination have been found in which the dualistic image of the Mapuche showed up again: “teachers and school authorities openly value diversity and the cultural richness of indigenous students but at the same time they pass on the message that these students are ashamed of being Mapuche” (Merino, Becerra, Mellor 2015). The Mapuche students’ failure at school contributes to the work profile they hold in the city of the menial worker with little to no skills. Further analysis of the education system in Chile has revealed a pattern of racial exclusion. In a UNICEF study, a Mapuche boy called Jonathon stated that in his school “Only 7 of the 1,700 pupils in Jonathan’s school are Mapuche” (Mac-Pherson 2007). This is evidence that the education system is lacking Mapuche representation so much that Mapuche students do not even attend. For the Mapuche students who do attend, the education system is a major player of forceful assimilation and it is clear that the process is still occurring: “the school does not teach topics related to his culture” (Mac-Pherson 2007). Although Intercultural Bilingual Education has been introduced in Chile in recent decades “the acceptance of IBE demands within the reformed Indigenous Law, not all the terms requested by indigenous groups were accepted by the National Congress” (Webb 2013). For example, “The IBE sections of the curriculum are fragmented and isolated, and understood by teachers as extracurricular, or additional, to the core curriculum” (Webb 2013) which is not what the IBE was first intended to be. In addition to this, “the state also controls how it is implemented” (Webb 2013). So in effect The Mapuche have no control over a course which teaches their own culture.

Conclusion

To conclude, by analysing the seven dimensions of racialisation and discrimination of The Mapuche it has been evident that there is significant multilevel exclusion and prejudice within Chile of the indigenous people, from verbal and physical attacks at an interpersonal level, to structural indirect discrimination. Although attempts have been made by recent governments to make life better and society more tolerant for The Mapuche such as with the IBE and the Indigenous Law, effective implementation has not occurred and there is still racism and discrimination towards them across various industries and areas. Furthermore, there needs to be a reform that closes the reservations and move the Mapuche residents to better land so they can in better conditions and are able to continue their traditions.

Bibliography:

Baran, S. 2013. *Los Mapuche: A Native Culture Struggling for Survival in Chile*. Berkley Centre. [Online]. 30/03/2016. Available from: <http://berkeleycenter.georgetown.edu/posts/los-mapuche-a-native-culture-struggling-for-survival-in-chile>

- Becerra, S and Merino, E, M and Mellor, D. 2015. *Ethnic Discrimination against Mapuche students in Urban High Schools in the Araucania Region, Chile*. International Education Studies. 8(10). pp 96-107.
- Carcamo, L. 2014. *Childcare in Chile: The role of ethnicity and socioeconomic inequalities*. Doctoral Thesis. Leiden University.
- Culliney, M, S and Peterson, M and Royer, I. 2013. *The Mapuche Struggle for Land and recognition: A Legal Analysis*. [Online]. 1st edition. USA. Lewis and Clark. [Accessed 24/04/2016]. <https://law.lclark.edu/live/files/18663-2-mapuche-reportpdf>
- Dikötter, F.2008. *The racialization of the globe: an interactive interpretation*. Ethnic and Racial Studies. 31(8). pp1478 — 1496
- Earth's First Journal. 2014. Mapuche Land Struggles Scorch Southern Chile. [Online]. 2/04/2016. Accessed here: <http://earthfirstjournal.org/newswire/2014/06/18/mapuche-land-struggles-scorch-southern-chile/>
- Emmerson, B. 2014. *On the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms while countering terrorism*. United Nations- General Assembly. pp 1-97.
- Herrera, A. *The Mapuche in Chile and their territorial rights*. Unpublished.
- Human Rights Watch. 2012. *Chile: Investigate Police Violence Against Mapuches*. [Online]. 27/03/2016. Available from: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2012/08/10/chile-investigate-police-violence-against-mapuches>
- Jara, A, J. 1997. *Urban Mapuches: reflections on a modern reality in Chile*. [Online]. 10(3). 27/03/2016. Accessed from: <http://www.mapuche.info/mapuint/ancan00.htm>
- Law, I. 2010. *Racism and Ethnicity*. 1st edition. UK. Pearson.
- Macdonald, B. 2014. *The Mapuche: The People of the Land and their Struggle to Retain it*. Critic. [Online]. 30/03/2016. Available from: <http://www.critic.co.nz/features/article/4504/the-mapuche-the-people-of-the-land-and-their-strug>
- Mac-Pherson, S. 2007. *Facing discrimination, Chile's Mapuche youth speak out*. [Online]. 7/04/2016. Accessed here: http://www2.unicef.org:60090/adolescence/chile_39013.html
- Mariqueo, R. 2003. *The Mapuche and the Chilean Media*. Unpublished.
- Mario, G, E. 2000. *Indigenous Peoples in Chile Current Situation and Policy Issues*. World Bank. 7(1). pp 170-198.
- Merino, E, M and Quilaqueo, D. 2003. *Ethnic Prejudice against the Mapuche in Chilean Society as a Reflection of the Racist Ideology of the Spanish Conquistadors*. American Indian Culture and Research Journal. 27(4). pp 105-116.
- Minority Rights. [No date]. *Chile-Mapuche*. Unpublished.
- Ortiz, R, P. 2009. *Indigenous Knowledge and Language: Decolonizing Culturally Relevant Pedagogy in a Mapuche Intercultural Bilingual Education Program in Chile*. Canadian Education of Native Education. 32(1). pp 93-116.
- Sepulveda, P. 2010. *Mapuche Indians Set Up Autonomous Legal Defence Unit*. Inter Press Service. [Online]. 27/03/2016. Available from: <http://www.ipsnews.net/2010/02/chile-mapuche-indians-set-up-autonomous-legal-defence-unit>
- Simon, W, J and Parra, G, C and Fenelon, V, J. 2009. *Contradiction in Multicultural Indigenous Policies: A Systematic Analysis of the Chilean State's Response to Mapuche Demands*. Thesis. Universidad de Concepcion.
- Spain, T. 2011. *Chile Accused of Racist Use of Anti-terrorism Laws Against Mapuches*. Council on Hemispheric Affairs. [Online]. 27/03/2016. Available from: <http://www.coha.org/chile-accused-of-racist-use-of-anti-terrorism-laws-against-mapuches>
- Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization. 2013. *Discrimination Suffered by the Mapuche in Chile*. [Online]. Unpublished. <http://unpo.org/article/16270>
- Waldman, G. 2012. *Historical Memory and Present-day Oblivion: The Mapuche Conflict in Post-dictatorial Chile*. Time Society. 21(1). pp 55-70.
- Weekly News Update. 2015. Chile: Mapuche continue to struggle for land. [Online]. 30/3/2016. Accessed here: <http://ww4report.com/node/13967>
- Wilson, W, J. 1987. *The True Disadvantaged*. Chicago. The University of Chicago Press.

