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# Indigenous language and social justice as recognition: a participatory study with a Mapuce school

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## ABSTRACT

The structure of the national educational system negatively affects the recognition of indigenous Mapuce people, who have been affected with regards to love, equal treatment and social esteem, as understood from the social justice approach of recognition described by Axel Honneth. This is evident in the indigenous knowledge and practices that have been removed from the Chilean school curriculum. This research was carried out through a participatory study using the dialogic-*kishu kimkelay ta che* methodology, forming a research community with professors, *kimces* and academics. The results relay, from the voices of the community, the work developed to reverse injustices such as disparagement toward the indigenous language at school, this was achieved through actions for reciprocal recognition based on the incorporation of educational practices associated with the language regarding sonority, nature and territory.

## KEYWORDS

Recognition; disparagement; indigenous language; social justice; education

## Introduction

This study focuses on the issue of Mapuce indigenous education in Chile, as seen from a social justice approach. In the current equal rights policies of inclusion and appreciation of different cultural minorities, we find coherence with the approaches of social justice as recognition (Flórez & Olave, 2020; Taylor, 1993), which within the indigenous educational theme help to the understanding of the injustices suffered by the Mapuce people, especially due to demands related with their territory, the use of their language and education (Ferrada & Del Pino, 2021). Notable social justice approaches as recognition are: the proposal of Nancy Fraser (Butler & Fraser, 2016; Fraser, 2008; Fraser & Honneth, 2006) and that of Axel Honneth (1997, 2006, 2011) as the most influential on issues referring to overcoming injustices produced by failed recognition or disparagement.

Nancy Fraser's approach (Butler & Fraser, 2016; Fraser, 2008; Fraser & Honneth, 2006), explains the consequences of injustices from an understanding of emancipatory social movements. For Fraser, the problems of injustice can be understood from a three-dimensional perspective (Fraser, 2008): 1) when there is a denial of goods and resources, the distributive dimension is affected, which requires redistribution justice; 2) when people's sphere of social value is negatively affected, it leads to a failed recognition and this requires recognition justice, and 3) when people do not feel represented in the public sphere, justice is required for representation in the political dimension. According to this author: "... the normative nucleus of my conception is the idea of participative parity. According to

this norm, justice requires social agreements that allow all (adult) members of society to interact on an equal footing” (Fraser, 2006, p. 42).

However, for the time being, we will focus on the social justice approach as recognition according to Axel Honneth (1997, 2006, 2011), who proposes three normative principles -from a moral theory of the construction of the subject- that guide the analysis of injustices in its historical process, realizing that there has been disparagement toward the subjects in the spheres with regards to love, equal treatment and the social sphere.

In this sense, Honneth’s recognition approach to address indigenous issues is interesting: in order to understand the educational problem of native peoples not only as a “social movement” (according to Fraser, 2006), but rather as an attempt “to respond to a problem immanent to the theory and not a response to current development trends” (Honneth, 2006, p. 101).

This leads us to understand that disparagement is not a current movement in the context of social problems; instead, it dates as far back as colonialism to the present. School education developed by the Chilean State in an indigenous context has focused on establishing processes of cultural assimilation, creating the idea of belonging to the State and the denial of identity, self-knowledge and *being* indigenous (Muñoz & Quintriqueo, 2019). Due to this, the different indigenous peoples that inhabit the current Chilean territory brought to light a set of social, territorial and educational demands during the 1970s which sought to reverse the colonialist policies and the damages experienced by their incorporation into the State.

In response to the educational demands of these indigenous peoples, the Bilingual Intercultural Education Program (PEIB) was created in the mid-1990s; its purpose has been to promote the processes of linguistic revitalization and the contextualization of the education offered in schools located in indigenous communities (Ministerio de Educación, 2017). However, for authors such as Webb and Radcliffe (2013), it is a failed policy as it only reproduces the monoculturalism and colonialism of the school system. The PEIB is based on a functionalist interculturality which promotes the continuity of the processes of domination by the State.

According to this idea, the theory of recognition would help us understand the phenomenon in its embryonic form of social suffering and injustice/moral disparagement. Honneth wrote: “even distributive injustices must be understood as the institutional expression of a lack of social respect or, in other words, of unjustified relationships of recognition.” (Honneth, 2006, p. 92). This explains why the indigenous educational problem does not only involve the inclusion of indigenous knowledge in the school curriculum, such as bilingual intercultural education programs that have been developed in Latin American countries (López-Hurtado, 2019); but rather, knowing the history that has mobilized indigenous peoples and revitalizing the necessary knowledge to identify injustice/disparagement and working in the search for justice/recognition in education.

In this regard, the present study is participatory and work was done in an indigenous territory with a group of Mapuce people who run a school with its own study plans and programs (documents that help organize and guide the educational work of the school year, divided by subjects), a unique experience in Chile. The issue of disparagement that their community manifests both historically and currently was addressed with these people, an issue that helped us understand the disparagement suffered. In turn, the same people have worked for the revitalization of their knowledge and language through participatory work for more than a decade, an issue that has to do with their indigenous identity and that helped them address the recognition that they themselves perceive now. Thus, the present study focused on the following questions: what are the educational situations that are identified as disparagement, from the experience of members of a *Mapuce* community? How did the colonialism exerted in the processes of evangelization and schooling build in the Mapuce people such

disparagement? And how do these experiences affect recognition and social justice toward the *Mapuce* community in a school located in their territory?

## Framework

### *Social justice as recognition*

Based on Hegel's philosophy of consciousness and on the struggle for recognition of differentiated identities in multicultural societies (Blanco et al., 2017; Ferrada, D. 2018a), the recognition approach emerges. For the purposes of our work with *Mapuce* indigenous communities in Chile, we selected from the wide range of social justice approaches the one created by Honneth (1997, 2006, 2011), because it "establishes a link between the social causes of generalized feelings of injustice and the normative goals of emancipatory movements" (Honneth, 2006, p. 91).

For Honneth (2006), recognition is a constitutive part of the structure of social integration and it determines the development of the subjects' personal identity (Ferrada & Del Pino, 2021) based on "a few reliable forms of mutual recognition, whose insufficiencies and deficits are always linked to feelings of misrecognition, which in turn can be considered a motor of social change" (Honneth, 2006, p. 182).

For this author, the differentiated spheres of recognition obey three normative principles: love, equal legal treatment and social esteem. This way, social interactions based on love help people to understand themselves with their own needs, thus generating self-confidence. "The recognition that people reciprocally bring to this type of relationship is a loving attention to the well-being of the other in light of their individual needs" (Honneth, 2006, p. 111).

Additionally, social relations based on equal treatment allow people to understand themselves with the same legal autonomy and rights as others, guaranteeing equal recognition and thus generating self-respect. People are respected "with the same rights as all other members of society" (Honneth, 2006, p. 111).

Social interactions based on social esteem allow people to understand each other with valuable skills and talents for society, thus generating self-esteem.

However, when these forms of recognition are unsuccessful or erroneous, disparagement appears in any of the spheres already mentioned, which are manifested through social conflicts in various fields, such as ethnic, cultural and educational, among others. Disparagement is observed when 1) the sphere of love is affected with the absence of affection, care and protection of people, damaging self-confidence; 2) when legal equality is affected with the dispossession of rights, dishonor and legal nonrecognition, damaging self-respect, and 3) when social esteem is affected with the devaluation of people's abilities and talents when these do not respond to official value standards, harming self-esteem (Honneth, 1997, 2006).

This model is highly interesting for the analysis of the transformations produced within *Mapuce* educational communities that manifest injustices/disparagement expressed through social rejection, ideological imposition, devaluation, disinterest in people, among others, as starting points for redefinition of their contexts.

### *Indigenous policies*

From an international perspective, the Universal Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (United Nations, 2007), emphasizes the right to live with dignity, strengthen and maintain their institutions, culture and traditions, and to pursue their development, determined in accordance with their own interests and needs. In the area of education, indigenous peoples have the right to "revitalize, use, promote and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures . . ." (United Nations, 2007, Article 13). They also have the right to "...establish and control their

educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning. (...)” (United Nations, 2007, Article 14).

Therefore, this is a document that addresses the individual and collective rights of indigenous peoples, as well as their rights to culture, identity, education, health, employment and language (Ministerio de Educación, 2017).

Convention No. 169 (International Labor Organization on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples, International Labour Organization on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples, ILO, 2006) on education indicates that measures must be adopted in order to guarantee members of indigenous peoples the possibility of acquiring education at all levels. These objectives should be relevant to the needs of the peoples themselves and developed and implemented together with them.

Sustainable development goal 4 of the Education 2030 Agenda (United Nations, 2018), addresses the idea of ensuring inclusive and equitable quality education and promoting lifelong learning opportunities for all. On its website,<sup>1</sup> specifically the aforementioned objective states that “By 2030, it is expected to eliminate gender disparities in education and ensure equal access to all levels of education and professional training for vulnerable people, including people with disabilities, indigenous peoples and children in vulnerable situations.”

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The American Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (Organization of American States, OAS, 2016), recognizes the rights with regards to the maintenance and revitalization of their languages, philosophies, knowledge system, oral traditions, as well as the right to all levels and forms of education, particularly for indigenous boys and girls.

On a national level, in Chile, Law No. 19253 (Ministerio de Planificación & Cooperación, 1993), establishes the modality of bilingual intercultural education in the areas of the country with the highest indigenous concentrations. Likewise, Decree No. 280 (Ministerio de Educación, 2009a), created the Indigenous Language sector. Also, General Education Law No. 20370 (Ministerio de Educación, 2009b), establishes the principle of interculturality, specifying that curricular adaptations will be made for specific educational needs of interculturality. Bilingual intercultural education can be seen in the curricular sector aimed at children and young people who recognize cultural diversity and in which they are taught the language, worldview and history of their town of origin.

This normative framework, both international and national, can be summarized in that indigenous peoples have the right to a declared well-being in health, territory, revitalization of their languages, and above all, they have the right to an equitable, egalitarian education based on their language, traditions and ways of teaching.

All of the above is contradictory when observing the current reality in Chile, especially when it is the same indigenous peoples themselves who continue to fight for the return of their lands, revitalization of their languages, respect for their customs and traditions, and in educational matters, the pursuit of an education that effectively respects and recognizes their culture and language.

In recent studies regarding educational policies and social justice (Ferrada, 2018a, 2018b), it can be noted that, in Chile, most of the policies related to education are subject to an epistemic framework of justice as equity, based on equal opportunities. And although these issues of inclusion, cultural appreciation of both indigenous peoples and other social groups defined as “minority groups” have been considered, they have always been observed from the principle of affirmation Fraser & Honneth (2006). That is to say, within the framework of Liberal States, as in the case of Chile, “Affirmative strategies aimed at repairing injustice try to correct the unequal results of social agreements without touching the underlying social structures that generate them.” (2006, p. 72).

<sup>1</sup><https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/es/education/>

For the purposes of this research, Ferrada (2018a) reports a relevant aspect in a study regarding the various educational policies in Chile from different approaches to social justice: in terms of bilingual intercultural education regulations, when analyzed from a recognition theory, they comply with a failed recognition.

Thus, interculturality is only assigned to indigenous Mapuce peoples, recognizing their status in a lower dimension when compared to the school status of “non-indigenous” students. For this reason, we agree with Honneth (2006) when he says that in “the phenomenon of multiculturalism, the idea of an ‘identity policy’ predominates, according to which cultural minorities fight more and more for the recognition of their collective axiological convictions.” (p. 93).

### **Mapuce people: language and territory**

The *Mapuce* are the most representative indigenous people at a national level. The total population in Chile is 17,574,003 inhabitants, of which 13% belong to indigenous peoples (2,185,792 inhabitants), of these groups the *Mapuce* represent 79.8% (1,745,147 inhabitants) (National Statistics Institute, Instituto Nacional de Estadística, INE, 2017).

Specialized literature indicates that Mapuce communities have different territorialities which give their names to the group of communities that inhabit them: “pewenche, pewen people or fruit of the araucaria in the mountains; wenteche, people of the plains and also called arribanos by the Spanish; nagche, people of the bass and also called abajinos, and finally the lafkenche, people of the sea or who live near the coast” (Cayuqueo, 2017, p. 41).

Two different terms can be used when referring to the language of the *Mapuce* people: *mapunzugun* or *mapuzugun*. In the term *mapunzugun*, the extra “n” refers to their culture, ways of life and ways of understanding, which is why *mapunzugun* would be the language of the human group that culturally lives off the land (in its different dimensions: spirituality, food, health and human connexion).

*Mapuzugun* is the term the Chilean State legalized to refer to the *Mapuce* language and which spread and unified in different territories. However, etymologically *mapuzugun* and *mapunzugun* are concepts that have different meanings, since the former was used in the post-Pacification period of La Araucanía to denounce before the State and its courts the existence of territorial problems with the settlers, mainly regarding borders. According to Correa and Mella (2010), this occurred during the expansion process of latifundia in La Araucanía, where Chilean or foreign settlers, using deception or force, took control of *Mapuce* territories legally recognized under Merced Titles (possession deeds given by the State). Therefore, with the legalization of *Mapuzugun* as a *Mapuce* language, the State took away the concept from the communities to refer to the problems that occurred in their territory. Similarly, dialect variations such as *chedungun* or *chezugu* from more remote *Mapuce* territories were marginalized (Salamanca et al., 2017).

Paillalef (2018) makes some clarifications regarding *mapunzugun*, explaining that the expression “*mapu*” is not exhausted in its meaning: it is also used in other dimensions, such as sociopolitical one, or in a religious or sacred sense. At the same time, the expression “*zugun*” means the language of the land where man lives and spends his life in close communication with the rest of living beings and other elements of nature.

The *Mapuce* society of ancient times bears little relation to what is currently observed; their way of doing things politically, socially and culturally, was linked to the principles of equality, reciprocity, redistribution and horizontality, “which prevented practices linked to the verticality of power and its hierarchy, as well as to social stratification and the consequent accumulation of resources in a few hands” (Marimán, 2006, p. 65). According to Latcham (1924), the nucleus of the Mapuche social organization was the *lof ce* (community centered on the people that belong to it), which presented a high degree of stability in its conformation and leadership; there was a set of temporary alliances between communities and territories that depended on the event that brought them together.

All of the above opens up for analysis two political-constitutional situations where greater pressure has been placed on the *Mapuce* people. [1] One of them is the demand for territorial political recognition.



This process dates back to the beginning of the 20th century, once the process of Reduction of Indigenous Peoples implemented by the State was completed, mainly linked to the conflicts between the communities and the Chilean and European settlers who violently or deceitfully took possession of an important part of the territories given to the Mapuche communities (Correa & Mella, 2010). These demands became more prominent toward the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, a time when multi-ethnic constitutionalism began to develop in the region (Bengoa, 2007). This demand rests on Agreement No. 169 International Labour Organization on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples, ILO, (2006) in the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (United Nations, 2007) and the American Declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples (Organization of American States, OAS, 2016), which configure the right to self-determination of a political status or self-determination. In the case of Chile, the principles of unity of State and equality before the law exist, which means: unity of political power, territory, the Constitution and the people, creating the principle of equality before the law. How does this affect indigenous people and their demand for territorial recognition? Constitutionally, all cultures are “accommodated” in a shared political space. That is, lands are granted to indigenous people, but they do not have territorial autonomy as territorial self-governments.

[2] In the context of education, the *Mapuce* people have been fighting for inclusion based on socio-cultural and linguistic recognition. Although there are regulations that support and promote intercultural and bilingual education, indigenous demands have not been fully assumed by the State; indigenous peoples do not have constitutional recognition, they do not they have linguistic rights nor is there an intercultural policy for all (Loncon, 2017). The PEIB has “a tendency to continue favoring Western and colonialist visions of knowledge and, therefore, it strongly emphasizes the national curriculum over the necessary modifications to address (and incorporate) the cultural diversity present in various educational contexts” (Espinoza, 2016, p. 2).

Finally, in addition to the entire frame of reference, the notion of situated context must be considered which allows the assessment of a specific and particular indigenous context, with notions of time and space, with community values, history, territory and their language (Chilisa, 2020; Del Pino et al., 2019). Moreover, this context allows this research to identify injustices/disparagement and justice/recognition in indigenous educational situations, having a sense of reality for the people, understanding their particular educational requirements and demands, respecting their identity principles such as language, their elders, their community and immediate territory (Cram & Mertens, 2016).

## Method

Our work was done from a participatory research perspective (Heron & Reason, 1997), with the dialogic-*kishu kimkelay ta che* approach (Del Pino & Ferrada, 2019; Ferrada & Del Pino, 2018). This approach assumes an epistemological expansion that is understood from the western and indigenous dialogic episteme. The first episteme occurs through egalitarian dialogue. Dialogue is essential to what is human and what is dialogic implies being open to the possibilities of generating new meanings (Bakhtin, 2020). For the *Mapuce* indigenous episteme it is assumed that the construction of knowledge is participatory and for this reason it is expressed in “*kishu kimkelay ta che*” which means “no person knows and/or learns by themselves” (Ferrada et al., 2014, p. 35). Therefore, it is from this dialogical-*Mapuce* conjunction that the formation of research communities is assumed by all the people participating in them, breaking the hierarchy between the researchers and those who are researched; rather, they decide together what and how to investigate about the problems located in the territories where these communities are formed (Ferrada & Del Pino, 2018).

## Context and research community

The *Mapuce* community in this research currently manages a school, which from 1975 to 2005 was run by the Catholic Church and a private educational institution whose motto today is “Educate and evangelize,” with the clear intention of evangelizing boys, girls and families in the area. However, the

school was built on land that was owned by one of the authorities called *papay* (elderly woman), who, together with other community authorities (*logko*, political leader and *kimces*, wise men), started a process of repossession of their lands in 2005. Being one of the main struggles the recovery of the territory where the school is located. This repossession was achieved in 2006.

After 2006, the territory where the school is located, the *Mapuce* authorities together with their *lof* (community), decided to create an education proposal as an alternative to the Bilingual Intercultural Education Program (PEIB in Spanish) imposed by the Chilean State, in order to maintain the culture and language of the territory and the community while still interacting with Western Chilean culture.

In this context, the *Mapuce* community, benefiting from Decree 40 of the Ministry of Education (Ministerio de Educación, 1996), which grants educational institutions the possibility of creating their own plans and programs, decided to invite a team of researchers to provide technical support in the design of their own curricular proposal.

It is important to explain that the official Chilean school curriculum applies to the entire national territory and its structure is based on the different educational disciplines, such as: Language and Communication, Mathematics, History, Geography and Social Sciences, Visual Arts, Music, Physical Education and Health, Orientation, Technology, Natural Sciences and Religion. For each discipline there is a Curricular Program with its corresponding Curricular Study Plan for each educational grade. These programs “contain the definitions of the competencies and their capacities; the approaches that form the frameworks that provide the theoretical and methodological elements that guide the teaching and learning processes (...) present transversal competencies to the curricular areas with guidelines for their development.” (See <https://www.edugestores.pe/docs/curriculo-nacional-de-la-educacion-basica/>).

In this regard, the proposal for a *Mapuce* Curricular Study Plan is introduced into the state curricular structure proposed by the Chilean Ministry of Education.

It was during 2018, after more than a decade of work, that this *Mapuce* community, together with the team of researchers that supports them, managed to have their curriculum approved by the Chilean State. This way, the school today has its own study programs which include knowledge of local culture and language (Calfuqueo et al., 2018; Del Pino & Ferrada, 2019).

The following research community was formed for the current participatory research: six *Mapuce* teachers (Millaray, Mailen, Lihuen, female; Nahuel, Antilef, Aukan, male); three undergraduate students who collaborated in the school (Antia, Ayén, Aylen), 2 *kimces* (Aliwen, Eluney) and three academics (Ale, Antonio, Octavio, the authors of this article). A pseudonym is used for each person so as not to harm ethical and scientific confidentiality.

### ***Participatory procedures in the construction and analysis of knowledge***

The aforementioned community decided to systematize their information from 2018 to 2020 in order to show the progress of the educational experience, but without omitting the socio-historical disparagement. Precisely, in order to communicate the experience of the teachers and the rest, it was collectively decided to use oral information collection procedures which were consistent with their way of building knowledge. Based on this, the dialogic conversation (DC) (Ferrada & Del Pino, 2018) was used, which consisted of an in-depth dialogue with a person that the community considers key to deepening the object of study, according to their experience. Thus, a conversation first took place with those people considered experts in sociocultural and ancestral issues, such as *kimces* and teachers. Three dialogic conversations were held with each person throughout the current study in order to collect in greater depth and in a considerable period of time different appreciations, reflections and descriptions of people according to the injustices/disparagement suffered and the search for justice/recognition. A total of 24 dialogical conversations were held in school facilities, in the case of the teachers, and at home, in the case of the *kimces*; each conversation lasted approximately one and a half hours, and was based on a semi-structured script with questions; these



conversations were recorded on audio and later transcribed for analysis. The topics of each dialogical conversation were the evangelization attempt of the church, the recovery of the community's territory, the Chilean educational system and its understanding from an indigenous worldview, and the community's struggle to develop a *Mapuce* education and how their educational experiences influence practices of recognition and social justice. These topics were consistent with the research questions.

*Az kintun* (AK) (Ferrada & Del Pino, 2018) was the analysis technique used, which in the *Mapuce* language means “to look at something carefully among several people and carry out their interpretation together” and in the context of this research, this refers to a process of analysis and production of the *Mapuce*'s own knowledge, focused on a collaboration that is developed from its own epistemic base. From an operational perspective, it consisted of the entire participating community carefully observing and discussing each result obtained from the dialogic conversations. To this effect, the research team organized the information collected and analyzed in concept maps to be shared with the participating community, thus making the volume of data collected more approachable. These maps collected the main concepts that came out of each dialogic conversation. For example: omission of language or unequal treatment between Chileans and *Mapuce*, among others. These maps were shown to every member of the community collectively which gave every one the opportunity to form an opinion on the concepts and the definitions given in their indigenous language, and thus agree on the concepts, toponymy, practical dimensions, traditions, elements of spirituality and concepts in their own language in order to generate the research categories. In this way, this procedure allowed us, along with the entire participating community, to carry out a recognition analysis that included a polyphony of voices (in terms of Bakhtin, 2017). This means that the plurality of voices – of all the participating people – included through this methodology enriches the depth of the analysis, building “living” knowledge that is immediately installed in the community for its use.

Based on the above, we decided to work with categories that were relevant to their history and language, in order to respond to their own educational needs. These categories were: the *Mapuzugun* indigenous language, as the main category because it is through its understanding that it is possible to delve deeper into topics related to it, such as biodiversity, *Mapuce* identity, loss of indigenous language, geographical and territorial context. In turn, this category was reviewed due to its disparagement aspects, that is, the injustices suffered by the *Mapuce* within the context of this study in the spheres of injustices according to Honneth (1997): lack of love, unequal treatment and social disregard. Also, the recognition aspects of the indigenous language in the educational proposal of the community were reviewed after more than ten years of experience; in other words, the search for social justice, according to the spheres of the same author: love, equal treatment and social esteem.

Once this consensus process of the study categories was completed, extracts of the conversations and the *az kintun* that referred to the mentioned categories were presented to the entire community in order to collectively decide what information corresponded to areas of injustice/disparagement which accounts for a type of exclusionary knowledge: (this knowledge) “refers to new or pre-existing knowledge that poses an obstacle to the desired transformation of reality” (Ferrada & Del Pino, 2018, p. 542), and what information corresponded to the type of transforming knowledge, namely, knowledge that is beneficial to the community itself in its search for justice/recognition. The transformative knowledge “comprises new knowledge that is constituted to further develop the situated problematization, that is, the change being sought.” (2018, p. 542). Both types of knowledge are consistent with the participatory approach of the dialogical-*kishu kimkelay ta che* research used (see Figure 1).

The implementation process of the study described above is summarized in the following figure:

All of the above was carried out within the regulatory framework of the Scientific Ethics Committee of the Universidad Católica del Maule, with informed consent (Act 89/2022).

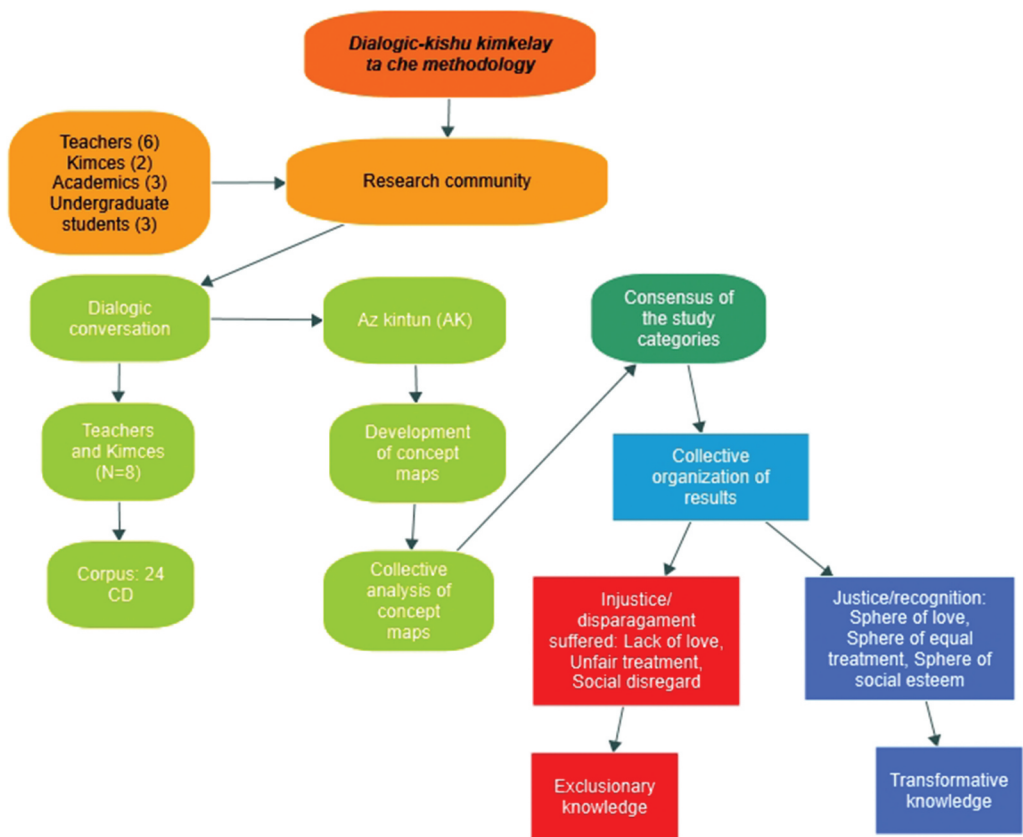


Figure 1. Source: own creation.

Results

The results are presented according to the following structure: a. Exclusionary elements, which account for the injustice/disparagement suffered by the Mapuce community, and b. Transformative elements, which account for the spheres of justice/recognition when people resignify the school and the school space.

The elements of injustice that the community seeks to revert

The results account for community manifestations that can be identified as forms of injustice/ disparagement and that occurred prior to the recovery of their territory and redefinition of the school, which are described as excluding dimensions. (See Table 1)

Table 1. Exclusionary results: disparagement suffered.

Exclusionary knowledge	Lack of love	Unfair treatment	Social disregard
Contempt suffered	Omission of the indigenous language at school, detachment of the indigenous person from their culture and language, lack of coverage of the need for affection	Difference in treatment in relation to others, inequality of rights regarding indigenous language	Indigenous language as an “inferior language,” low status in the social norm

Source: own creation

The *Mapuce* community claims to have suffered disparagement when the territory was occupied by the Catholic Church and the school was run by a private educational organization; this was largely due to the fact that the training of children and young people was detached from the indigenous world-view, thus detaching the *Mapuce* from their territory, culture and language, which means that the *Mapuce* “are not integrated into nature,” affecting the formation of the *ce*, person, because they are not being fully formed as “balanced emotionally, psychologically and this hinders becoming a true integral *Mapuce*” (CD1 Aukan).

### ***What the community recognizes as injustices on the sphere of love***

Injustice in the sphere of love, known as lack of love, is related to the detachment of the *Mapuce* community from its culture and language, as mentioned in the previous quote. This form of disparagement creates a lack of love because the *Mapuce* not only needs affective care with other people, but also with the *ixofij mogen* (biodiversity), because “not having a relationship with Mother Nature has negative consequences (...) because it also produces a lack of knowing our own people, so there is no affection for our own” (CD2 Nahuel).

Another aspect of this lack of love is the imposition of Western culture on indigenous culture, especially in terms of spiritual aspects: “it is an indoctrination that we received here when the school and the territory belonged to the Catholic Church, an indoctrination in evangelization, and this affects our values in the formation of the *Mapuce* person” (CD1 Aukan).

This explains why the education of *Mapuce* boys, girls and young people, detached from spiritual and socio-cultural aspects, produces a loss of language and a loss of confidence in their needs, which is why it affects the sphere of love, as a teacher stated: “. . . since they are not taught our *Mapuce* culture and language at school, our children are detached from our culture, and of course this affects the love environment, because our children lose their confidence in themselves, in their cultural roots” (CD 3 Mailen). This loss of the indigenous language has occurred for several decades, and even, “today we can see that young *Mapuce* families do not speak our language, and Chilean education is responsible for that, it affects our culture, our formation as *Mapuce*” (AK1 Aliwen).

### ***Unfair treatment as injustice for the Mapuce community***

The historical framework necessary to understand disparagement in the *sphere of equal legal treatment* toward the *Mapuce* people, is the military dictatorship in Chile (70's and 80's), when lands were taken from indigenous communities, putting an end to the agrarian reform and, at the same time, a large portion of the education sector was privatized, which is why the original peoples suffered repression and disarticulation of their social organization, as well as the evangelization imposed by religious educational institutions. In other words, dishonor is suffered as soon as there are differences in autonomy with regards to the other members of society (Honneth, 1997).

In this context, where both the territory and the school were controlled by the Catholic Church and a private body, a teacher explains that “imposition of rights from the other society, educational policy and all policies in fact, it affects that we *Mapuce* do not continue predetermined by nature, but that we are intervened politically, in everything, in education, in spirituality with religion, in our life in general” (CD1 Aukan).

Thus, with respect to the knowledge of the indigenous language, it is “the official curriculum of the Chilean State that imposes the Spanish language, and the idea of intercultural education is assimilation of the indigenous; for them (Chileans) interculturality is understood as the translation of concepts, in matters like these, but not in that we participate together with them in a society in constant construction” (CD1 Antilef). That is why, although there is an indigenous policy and an indigenous language program, it is still under the political structure of Chile, and it does not consider the

knowledge of the indigenous language for the “development of our own *rakizvam* (thought) and *kimvn* (knowledge)” (CD1 Mailen).

The aforementioned is related to the postulates of Muñoz and Quintriqueo (2019) and Webb and Radcliffe (2013) on the continuity of the colonial structure of the intercultural education proposal in Chile. As per Honneth (1997), there is disparagement, as soon as there is inequality of treatment with respect to others.

**Social disregard as injustice for the Mapuce community**

The two previous points affect of the *sphere of social esteem* is perceived, producing social disregard because, politically, the indigenous are subordinated to the educational inclusion policy in their condition of inferiority as a “minority” group. “We are not considered as culture, for Chile we are folklore” (AK1 Eluney); an example of this is when some indigenous ceremonies are practiced in schools but only superficially, such as the celebration of the *Mapuce* New Year.

The same occurs with the indigenous language, which “is used by Chileans only for ceremonial acts, and it is enough for them to know the ‘greeting’ (*mari mari*) and the ‘thank you’ (*caltumay*), for example. But many of our children were ashamed of speaking *Mapunzugun*, they felt inferior” (AZ 1 Aliwen). In terms of Honneth (1997), a failed recognition is expressed as soon as there is a low status in the hierarchy of social approval. In other words, this type of disparagement is reduced to a “scenic” exercise of ancestral practices.

The disparagement suffered translates into a conception of Western education focused on the white man, his knowledge and the Western languages (Fraser, 2016), an issue that partly affects the sphere of love, which refers not only to a loving and/or affective interaction between people, but to a harmonious interaction between people with nature in order to maintain balance with the cosmos. In the sphere of equal legal treatment, the *Mapuce* denounces disparagement suffered as a person whose language, worldview, and ancestral traditions are not recognized before the law.

Aspects that, if we review the indigenous law in Chile, are recognized from the perspective of their rights, very consistent with a policy of equity (in terms of Rawls, 2018). Melin, Mansilla and Royo (2019) directly state that unlike the vast majority of countries in the continent, especially in South America, indigenous peoples are not constitutionally recognized in Chile.

Finally, in the *sphere of social esteem*, which in this case is very close to the previous sphere, although there are laws and regulations associated with indigenous rights and their educational inclusion, it is the *Mapuce* people who denounce disparagement in the sphere of status or cultural identity.

**The search for social justice as recognition of the Mapuce community: its transformative elements**

Knowledge that can be described as transformative tells the process of how the *Mapuce* community in this study took back their territory and took control of the school. This gave this community the opportunity to generate and develop its *Mapuce* school curriculum proposal which was validated by the Chilean Ministry of Education, and which is currently being implemented in the school, together with the official Chilean school curriculum. (See Table 2)

Table 2. Transformative results: search for recognition.

Transformative knowledge	Sphere of love	Sphere of equal treatment	Sphere of social esteem
Search for acknowledgment	Acceptance of the indigenous language at school and in everyday relationships	Incorporation of the indigenous language in the school curriculum	Indigenous language with social status in the configuration of the indigenous community

Source: own creation

### ***Social justice in the sphere of love***

The results identified in the *sphere of love*, show that its curricular proposal integrates the knowledge (*kimvn*) associated with language and territory, ancestral practices, health and well-being, and world-view, because as a teacher explains:

... there is a way of perceiving life, for the formation of the boy and the girl, here we can consider that we are a different culture, that we have a way of seeing, thinking and feeling things, and this is reflected in the formation of the *ce* (person) and that this person is respectful with all the constitutive elements that are in the *mapu* (geographical territory), because in there we interact, we interrelate with that life. (CD2 Nahuel)

These results make it clear that, in the sphere of love, the human-nature relationship/interaction is of vital importance for the *Mapuce* people as it is a normative principle. For these peoples there is a relationship between nature and sounds, which is understood as a fundamental part of the origin of society. A teacher explains:

Antonio: Is there any relationship between the origin of the *Mapuce* society and sounds?

Nahuel: Yes, there is a close relationship due to how the world is created according to our vision with the very sounds of natural phenomena (...) for example, when hills and volcanoes explode this creates explosive sounds in the language and also soft sounds, phonetic sounds that are not so strong, and in the steps, in the walk of the *lagmien*, the woman, in the process as the *Ixofij Mogen* were gestating here in the *Az Mapu*. So, there is a very close relationship between the creation of the *Mogen Mapuce* and language.

For the *Mapuce*, sound is a part of *ixofij mogen*, that is, “of all forms of life without exception, the existence of life and its different forms in each of the dimensions of the *mapu* (*wenumapu*, *nagmapu* and *miñchemapu*)” (Melin et al., 2019, p. 48). The relationship of being (*ce*) *Mapuce* with the *mapu* (geographical territory) is integral, unlike the relationship of Westernized man with biodiversity, which is a fragmentary relationship where the establishment of man-nature relationships is due to a superiority of power. So, when a teacher explains:

... when we talk about *bafkehmapu* (territory bordering the lake and sea), it is because we have sounds, //sh// that are incorporated into our language (...) because that is the sound of the sea, every time the sea splashes waves, we take that sound and it's incorporated into different words that we use. (CD 2 Millaray)

Sound comes first and then the language, unlike Spanish, which by means of the language and through it gives an account of objects, things; in *mapuzugun*, it is the “things” that make a sound. That is what, in western terms, we understand and categorize as “voice.”

The relationship between nature and language accounts for “being” in the territory and then “being” from there. For the teaching of the language, the *Mapuce* teachers indicate that first there would be a memorization of the sound (sonority-nature relationship) and then an imitation of it (sonance-orality relationship). When discussing the knowledge of the *Mapuce* language and how it is taught, a teacher says that:

[students must identify] which sounds are the ones that correspond to the words that correspond to him in his vocabulary, taking into consideration the territory where the boy or girl lives. The child must be able to make the sound, because there are children who do not have a language problem, but there are others who do and those children who are just in the initial stage acquire over time certain sounds from these elements that are typically local, from the *Bafkehce* territory. (littoral territory) (CD2 Mailén)

This intrinsic relationship between the language and the formation of the *Mapuce* person explains why it has a meaning in the emotional field that affects love, relationships/interactions between people and the social structure of the community. In correspondence with Honneth's theory (Honneth, 1997), this community strengthened its confidence in its needs, governing the normative principle of love to reconstruct the need to use their indigenous language.

### **Social justice in the sphere of equal treatment**

As forms of recognition in the *sphere of equal treatment*, the results are related to the sphere of love, since this serves as an argument to defend their educational curricular proposal. A teacher explains: “The exercise that we have performed of building a curricular proposal helped to systematize our *kimvn* (knowledge), we had to study Chilean politics and work on legal arguments so that they would accept our *Mapuce* curriculum” (CD1 Nahuel).

One of the curricular decisions is that its proposal is written in both the indigenous language and in Spanish, thus validating the use of their language in the community itself, an issue that was “highly valued by the families of the sector, who send their children to this school, because they know our educational project and they support it. Many families, the oldest ones, fought with us to achieve this goal in our curriculum” (CD2 Teacher 2). In accordance to Honneth (1997), this community develops its autonomy in order to validate its educational proposal.

### **Social justice in the sphere of social esteem**

As forms of recognition in the *sphere of social esteem*, it can be described that, for this community, from its search for legitimate recognition in the educational field that was achieved through the approval of its own study programs, language is positioned from the scope of social and cultural status for this community.

A *kimce* says that “now children are enthralled with our language, they handle concepts, themes, *zugu*” (AK 2 Eluney). Also, the approval of the Study Programs at this school has gained the interest of other indigenous communities; the administrators have assumed a commitment with their own students and indigenous families to work on educational projects with greater sociocultural and linguistic relevance. In other words, in accordance to Honneth (2006), this community developed its social esteem thanks to the use of their language and the legal approval of their own Study Programs.

This community understood social esteem through public recognition and legitimacy before the Ministry of Education for the creation of an educational proposal generated from an indigenous worldview which at the same time respects and teaches the Chilean school curriculum.

In short, the recognition achieved as practical self-realization can be understood as a continuous struggle, not only a socio-historical one as an “indigenous social movement” that brings together all indigenous communities, but also as a “local and situated” search that does not lose its sense of transcendence because of that. Language configures knowledge and arranges the indigenous thought, its worldview and spirituality, generates ties and a socio-political structure; for this reason, it affects the emotional field, affecting the sphere of love.

With this epistemic basis, this *Mapuce* community manages to validate its study programs, positively affecting the sphere of equal treatment, but understanding it “locally.” Similarly, social esteem is evaluated by the success in the legal fight with the Ministry of Education and in the positive positioning of the indigenous language in the school and in the community.

## **Conclusions**

### **Towards a real recognition of the *Mapuce* community and their education**

The forms of educational disparagement suffered by the *Mapuce* community in this research show the concern for their loss of language and culture, an issue that affects the indigenous language and the sociocultural structure of the *Mapuce* community. However, one might think that with the current Bilingual Intercultural Education Program (PEIB) the indigenous person would be recognized as a legitimate subject within Chilean society, given that their language and part of their culture are included in formal schooling (although only for schools with a higher concentration of indigenous



population); also, today there are schools and universities that celebrate indigenous ceremonial acts, and nevertheless, institutionalized racism and the lack of inclusion still persist (Quintriqueo, 2010).

In this regard, “the main problem is not the adequate form of institutional implementation, but rather the normative nature of the demand itself” (Honneth, 2006, p. 132). Thus, it seems coherent when Fraser & Honneth (2006) states that many of the social demands in the sphere of recognition have been resolved from a policy of affirmation, which tries to correct the unequal results without touching the underlying social structures that generate them. On the one hand, that is why the normative nature to respond to injustices of disparagement suffered by indigenous communities must consider an axiological and ontological neutrality focused on the indigenous worldview. On the other hand, that is why this study focused on Honneth’s categories in order to comprehend the educational disparagement of a particular community to realize that, although the theme of disparagement is universal and shared by the majority of indigenous peoples, the content of the categories must be reviewed in “local” cases in specific territories.

However, as forms of recognition, it is found that the *Mapuce* community of this study mobilized for a specific struggle that is in tune with the indigenous “social demand:” revitalization of their language and recovery of their territory, and, along with it, taking control of a school with the ontological possibility of resignifying it.

One might think that resignifying the school would entail restructuring the regulatory framework and the underlying generator of injustice, but in this particular case, that was not the case. For the people of this school, the educational redefinition meant developing an educational proposal with its own school curriculum, but one that was taught along the official Chilean curriculum and under the political structure of the “Chilean school.” This decision was not neutral, but with a clear awareness that indigenous people must live and coexist in a society with non-indigenous people and under the structure of the State. From this perspective, the recognition that this *Mapuce* community seeks is a school with a broad sense of education that focuses not only on a Western training based on the development of instrumental skills and abilities, the way the current Chilean school curriculum is configured.

### ***Love, equal treatment and social esteem as forms of recognition for the Mapuce community***

As main conclusions, the *Mapuce* community of this study, in the sphere of love, seeks self-confidence in the use of their language; in the sphere of equal legal treatment, respect for themselves through the promotion of their own educational programs in order to understand themselves with the same autonomy for the Chilean society in which they are inserted, and in the sphere of social esteem, they seek the valuation of the use of their language as people with valuable linguistic skills and knowledge for their community and society.

Thus, this *Mapuce* community questions the Chilean school system for the disparagement suffered, characterized by: a) teaching a school curriculum focused on Western cultures and Spanish and English (as a second language), with a clear absence of the indigenous language and culture, causing disparagement in the sphere of love; b) educational practices based on unequal social interactions with the indigenous community, excluding indigenous people and their language, that is, affecting the inequality of legal treatment, and c) devaluation of the indigenous people and their knowledge in the hierarchy of cultural status, affecting the sphere of social esteem.

As a final reflection, Honneth’s (1997, 2006) approach to recognition allows us to understand the problems of disparagement suffered by indigenous communities, and in this sense, in the case of this study, the transformation produced within indigenous communities where the people themselves strive for recognition. Even so, this experience could be understood as being “intra-territorial,” where recognition remains at the family and community level over a certain period of time, but also regulatory, from the State, at the legal level in a decree approving their own *Mapuce* Study Plans. This effectively does not account for “recognition” of the *Mapuce* indigenous people, but for a specific educational experience, and that is why sharing this information is essential.

According to all of the above, we highlight the following challenges for members of the *Mapuche* communities, school teachers in indigenous territories and researchers: 1) a call to action to all researchers to place ourselves at the service of indigenous communities and contribute to the transformation that they seek; 2) to the members of the indigenous communities, to promote and support the construction of their own socio-culturally pertinent and territorialized educational projects. In this sense, this article shows a particular experience, but one that can motivate other communities to work on an educational proposal of their own; 3) to the teachers of schools in an indigenous context, to collaborate in the processes of decentralization, contextualization and territorialization of school educational processes, favoring the construction of their own plans and programs that support local knowledge and are configured as instances of transformation and recognition for indigenous people in society in general and in schools in particular. So, the challenge is to work from a type of research that is not extractivist, but participatory where people from the communities and researchers develop the research processes and generate the changes that motivate their dream of improving school education in indigenous territories.

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