


Collective and collaborative actions among peers in school as a form of cultural resistance of Mapuche children in La Araucanía, Chile

Journal of Social and Personal Relationships
2022, Vol. 0(0) 1–17
© The Author(s) 2022
Article reuse guidelines:
sagepub.com/journals-permissions
DOI: 10.1177/02654075221126543
journals.sagepub.com/home/spr


Ana M. Alarcón¹, Paula Alonqueo² , Carolina Hidalgo-Standen³ and Marcela Castro¹

Abstract

Based on a participant observation, this article reports children actions and activities that may identified as ways of cultural resistance in the school. Three elementary rural schools participated in this study. The research team visited each school taking field notes during school routines. The analysis consisted of textual and conceptual codification of the three contexts in which the mapuche children deployed their patterns of cultural interaction. The results demonstrated that despite the traditional school system, mapuche children display their own patterns of cultural interaction to promote collaboration, collective organization and supporting and care for others. This work invites us to questioning the ways in which the learning strategies of the western school, are suitable to the mapuche indigenous children. In order to be effective in education, we must integrate the cultural framework of family learning. Thus, may be necessary, to deconstruct hegemonic teaching practices that stimulate individualism instead cooperation.

Keywords

Collaboration, cultural patterns, cultural resistance, indigenous education, Mapuche children

¹Department of Public Health, University of La Frontera, Temuco, Chile

²Department of Psychology, University of La Frontera, Temuco, Chile

³Department of Education, University of La Frontera, Temuco, Chile

Corresponding author:

Paula Alonqueo, Department of Psychology, University of La Frontera, Francisco Salazar 01145, Temuco 4780000, Chile.

Email: paula.alonqueo@ufroterra.cl

In Chile there are nine indigenous peoples, and the Mapuche are the most numerous with over a million people (1,745,147 inhabitants) distributed mainly in the Metropolitan and La Araucanía Regions. La Araucanía is located 600 km south of Santiago, the country's capital, and 32.8% of its population are Mapuche ([Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas \[INE\], 2017](#)). In this region there are counties with a population up to 90% indigenous who mainly live in rural communities ([Ministerio de Desarrollo Social, 2017](#)).

On the cultural, social, historical and political levels, the Mapuche have not yet been recognized as a nation by the Chilean state. However, mapuche communities have maintained an independent cultural, social, political and territorial organization that stems from ancestral times, but that also has been invigorated by Chilean urban modernity ([Mariman et al., 2006](#)). Thus, they preserve the bases of their culture for example, the model to nurture, help to raise and educate their children called *kumeltuwün*.

Kumeltuwün is an intracultural education model based on ancestral knowledge of Mapuche families. The goal is to guide children to become a full member of the Mapuche people, who are respected and socially recognized ([Carihuentro, 2007](#); [Llanquiao, 2010](#); [Melin et al., 2016](#); [Ñanculef & Cayupan, 2016](#); [Quidel & Pichinao, 2007](#)).

The essential characteristics of this model are:

- (a) The goal of learning is the construction of the *che*, i.e., an integral person. It implies that from birth children have high social and cultural value for the Mapuche people and their education is a sociocultural and political project ([Alarcón et al., 2018](#)). Thus, to become a *che* is a responsibility shared among the children, their family and community; a child is a small person with rights and duties according to their abilities ([Quidel & Pichinao, 2007](#)). Consequently, during their process of growth and development, they must express their cultural identity, personifying social and cultural roles, recognizing the history of their territory and taking care of nature. The achievements associated with the process of becoming *che* include autonomy, self-efficacy, and self-regulation ([Alarcón et al., 2018](#); [Murray et al., 2015](#)).
- (b) A learning model based on respect, solidarity and balance with the universe. Respect for elders, nature, the spirits in it as well as for their origin as people. Solidarity means helping, cooperating, contributing so that everyone can reach the goals according to their own abilities. Balance with the universe is expressed by reciprocity, mutual aid, no one shaming another; thus, there is protection from adversity and when, by chance, this happens, solidarity must be shown openly ([Quidel & Pichinao, 2007](#)).
- (c) Promotion of the values that define a Mapuche person, as for example: being *kimche*, a person who acts with knowledge and wisdom and having good thoughts demonstrated in actions; being *kümeche*, a person who is good with others, who supports, helps, is sympathetic and has a positive effect on the group; being *norche*, a correct person with reasoning and has balanced thinking; and finally, being *newenche*, a spiritually strong person capable of supporting and showing support in adverse situations. But, it is also a person who can express and defend its culture in adverse situations ([Quilaqueo, et al., 2016](#)).

- (d) Integration, participation, communication and conscious listening as learning strategies. The *Kumeltuwün* model indicates that Mapuche children learn by incorporating actions of adults and older siblings, either passively or actively. The children participate in central activities of the family and community, helping care for younger siblings and performing various minor domestic chores. Mapuche children also participate in the political arena along with their families, because they are included in all activities even in protests and meetings.

Other indigenous peoples of the Americas also have their own education models that guide the formation of children and adolescents, which share some of the values and strategies of Mapuche education, including collaboration, collective organization and care (Gaskins, 2010, 2020; Martínez-Pérez, 2016; Szulc, 2019).

The Mapuche learning model *Kimeltuwün* has important similarities with the *Learning by Observing and Pitching In* (LOPI) model. Both models recognize that learning occurs in the context of the daily activities of the community.

The LOPI model is a paradigm that, through seven interrelated facets, allows us to understand cultural learning (Rogoff, 2016; Rogoff et al., 2017). This model has been widely used to understand how the community organizes itself to generate learning opportunities for children (and adults), through observation and collaboration. At the same time, it recognizes the sense of belonging to the community as a learning engine. In this sense, the motivation to participate in the activities of the community encourages the child to establish flexible communicative interactions with other members of the community that allow him to intervene in collective actions. Adults, meanwhile, guide such learning, facilitating and providing feedback for children's participation (Rogoff et al., 2014).

Indigenous child collaboration has been studied mainly in the family-community context and early childhood. Gutiérrez (2017) for example, has analyzed how children of a *nāhnu* community participate and collaborate in community social activities. For their part, Martínez-Pérez (2016) posits that the collaboration of children in family and community activities is part of an education and learning process (*xchanel-xchanubtasel*) based on responsibility and the motivation to contribute. Other studies conducted with indigenous children from Mesoamerican communities show that they offer help and collaboration of their own accord in various family tasks (Coppens et al., 2014; Coppens & Alcalá, 2015).

On the other hand, collective organization, understood as a form of social coordination to achieve a common goal, has also been noted in the interactions of indigenous children. The organization of collective work takes the form of an assembly with a flexible leadership and the roles of the participants are interchangeable; this structure allows for fluid coordination to articulate the ideas and actions of others to make shared decisions around a shared objective (Alcalá, et al., 2018; Correa-Chávez, 2016; De León, 2015).

Additionally, the care, help aid and responsibility for others are very present in the practices of indigenous communities in the Americas (Good, 2013; Murray et al., 2017). Taking responsibility for other people and living beings through the participation of the children in community life is a way to learn the cultural value of care in daily activities. In everyday life, indigenous children contribute to their family by aiding in the raising of

siblings and small children, and in the care of animals, plants, and other beings (Lorente, 2015). Thus, it is a system of care in which the relationships between people are mutual, reciprocal and beneficial, and that activate personal autonomy and responsibility in the children.

La Araucanía region is a complex social reality characterized by high levels of unemployment, poverty associated with structural conditions of inequality, high school dropout rates and significant ethnic density. There is a permanent presence of conflicts between the Chilean state and the Mapuche communities, the origin of which lies in the process of military occupation during the 19th and 20th centuries (Pinto, 2001).

The Mapuche people have fought with colonizing hegemonic processes that have brought about asymmetric and subordinate intercultural and interethnic relations with the institutions of the Chilean state (Mariman et al., 2006; Ortiz Ocaña & Arias, 2019). In fact, some colonialist policies, understood as processes to advance imperialism in order to subordinate the indigenous people culturally, economically and socially, have oriented the manner of relating to the Mapuche people (Mariman et al., 2006).

Confronted with colonizing processes, currently called neo-colonizing or post-colonizing (Tuhiwai, 2016), cultural resistance is a concept that expresses the way in which indigenous peoples challenge the policies of the hegemonic State, constructing true strategies of cultural survival and struggle, which are often not totally visible and conscious (Hall & Du Gay, 2010). According to Tuhiwai (2016), these actions are phenomena of contrast and otherness against another hegemonic one; for example, valuing the indigenous language, maintaining the philosophy of the world and life, being taught the elders, preserving cultural models of learning, maintaining collective or community behavior guidelines from the communities of origin or dressing according to the culture. All these are considered phenomena in which the culture resists the attacks of modernism or forgetfulness of the indigenous traditions in an adverse context. In fact, acts of resistance are the silent struggle, seeking dialog and incorporating new perceptions, as well as giving security to the great task of preserving cultural processes (Godelier, 2009).

In the context of cultural resistance, children are considered a sociopolitical project for the Mapuche people, through which the culture endures so, they are called *weichafe*, which means warriors, because they are learning to defend their Mapuche culture in several ways (Alarcón et al., 2018, 2021). In the school children express their culture despite the norms and prohibitions of the educational system; thus, they develop particular forms of participation and learning in contexts other than those from their own culture (Alonqueo et al., 2020). For example, children speak the language, help each other despite of teachers promotes the individual achievement.

In this context, it is possible to point out that Mapuche children take diverse forms of resistance that try to reverse the secular relations of integration and subordination to the national society (García-Canclini 2006). Bonfil-Batalla (2004), identifies cultural resistance as a tactic of the indigenous peoples, in order to persist and resist as subordinates. Scott (2008), outlines that there are various strategies, both public, collective, individual, discursive, covert, anonymous or not, of resistance that subalterns reproduce, among these, the language, education, and worldview. Thus, children become people who expose their subaltern cultural frameworks within dominant spaces, to preserve their own family

and cultural ways of acting. Thus, they become for the Mapuche people small *weichafe* (little Mapuche warriors), without them even noticed.

In this vein, [Paradise \(2009\)](#) suggests that the informal learning of the indigenous children of Mesoamerica accounts for an education tradition based on cultural values and processes that promote children's autonomy and agency in various daily contexts. In the same way, studies conducted with children in independent schools (organized by the same indigenous community) in Chiapas show that children present high degrees of autonomy in the development of school tasks, integrating cultural practices inherent to the community, like care for the children, and collective participation in school organization ([Corona & Pérez-Zavala, 2000](#); [Rico et al., 2018](#)).

Chilean schools have been historically an enclave of colonization for the Mapuche people. The forced annexation into the Chilean State not only took place through military conquest and territorial dispossession; religious missions, schools and commerce drove a process of cultural change in families and in childhood ([Nahuelpan & Antimil, 2019](#)). Furthermore, the school had a central role in the construction of the Chilean State. Through an assimilationist, Eurocentric and nationalistic public education, it was possible to extend the system of formal education, to legitimize the Chilean school curriculum in Mapuche territory, and to impose Spanish as the official language ([Donoso, 2010](#)).

At the moment, the education system is governed by a national curriculum designed and implemented by the Ministry of Education. Education is obligatory for children and adolescents between 6 and 18 years, with a total duration of 12 years. The system consists of two levels of education: elementary and secondary (8 and 4 years, respectively), and both are available in private and public institutions ([MINEDUCACION, 2017](#)).

There are 3509 rural schools ([Ministerio de Educación, 2020](#)) with an enrollment of approximately 35,000 students ([Elige Educar, 2020](#)). Most rural schools are less equipped with infrastructure and resources, and have a small number of students (10–100 students). Also, some of those schools work as multilevel classrooms, i.e., one teacher is responsible for students in two or more grades, working with different curricula simultaneously ([Gallegos et al., 2007](#); [Little, 2008](#); [Ministerio de Educación, 2020](#); [Vera et al., 2013](#)). In terms of standardized assessment of learning outcomes, rural schools do not perform as well as urban schools ([Agencia de Calidad de la Educación, 2019](#); [Muñoz & Muñoz, 2013](#); [Preston & Barnes, 2017](#); [Vera et al., 2013](#)), a gap that increases in the case of rural schools in Mapuche communities.

In Chile, the enactment of Indigenous Law N° 19.253 in 1993 made bilingual intercultural education in schools with Mapuche students compulsory. Thus, in 1996 the Bilingual Intercultural Education Program (PEIB in Spanish) was created to promote the incorporation of the culture of indigenous peoples within the school system ([Williamson, 2012](#)). In 2009, as a result of demand from indigenous communities, the Indigenous Language and Culture course was created; this must be taught in schools with more than 20% indigenous students. Nevertheless, there is consensus among specialists that implementation of this course poses several problems, among which they emphasize the lack of assessment of the subject, the absence of participation by the local community, the lack of relevance of language teaching methodologies, and the lack of suitable education

resources (Espinoza, 2016; Lagos, 2015; Luna et al., 2014; Quilaqueo & Quintriqueo, 2008).

The PEIB in Chile, as in other countries in the Americas was implemented based on education policies developed from western and normative institutions, responding to a learning model very similar to the Assembly Line Instruction (ALI) model, which does not consider the inherent characteristics of an indigenous learning model (Fajardo, 2011). ALI model comes from the western epistemology of learning which is centered on goals and apprentice skills. Thus, the model promotes personal and individual achievements, an education centered on the figure of the teacher, who rules the learning process, and individual strategies to evaluate the learning goals (Rogoff, 2014). For the ALI model, the learning occurs mainly in the classroom. In addition, the transmission of the information from the teacher to the students contributes to the decontextualization of teaching-learning processes.

Thus, when mapuche children begin their formal education, they experience without noticing it consciously, the first cultural impacts of the shocks or tensions between their family's education and the traditional school system. Nevertheless, Luna and Contreras (2019) report that in Mapuche territory some rural schools have been transformed into spaces of cultural resistance, for both the Mapuche teachers that incorporate cultural contents into the curriculum and the communities that use the school to meet and organize.

As previously noted, the cultural resistance of indigenous peoples is a result of the dynamics of subordination to the globalized world and denotes a movement of re-affirmation of national or local identities, in the face of which it can feel like a hegemonic threat (Godelier, 2009).

The strategies of cultural resistance reproduced by the so-called subordinated peoples vary widely, and they are expressed on the individual and collective planes. These strategies include maintaining the language, ancestral models of learning, world view, social organization and everything that reaffirms the peoples' cultural identity in a context of domination (Scott, 2008). In the indigenous world, and for the Mapuche in particular, collaboration, collective organization and care for children and nature are cultural patterns for the formation of childhood, and the preservation of the culture.

Finally, this study seeks to describe forms of collaboration, collective organization and care as expressions of cultural resistance in Mapuche children in rural schools.

Method

This study is part of a greater ethnographic project undertaken between 2017 and 2019 in the commune of Galvarino in the Region of La Araucanía, Chile. This commune has a total population of 11,996 inhabitants, from which 69% is Mapuche. The 72% of galvarino population lives into rural areas. There are 21 public schools in Galvarino's county; 18 of these are located in Mapuche rural areas, (there are schools with up to 100% indigenous students (Agencia de Calidad de la Educación, 2019)).

Context and participants

Galvarino is an indigenous commune with a Mapuche mayor who decreed Mapudungun as an official language in his territory. Also, many Mapuche communities in Galvarino have carried out processes of resistance and territorial recovery against the invasion of forest and agricultural companies. Some of these conflicts have resulted in the unwarranted imprisonment of Mapuche leaders. We invited three schools to participate in this study considering their high percentage of Mapuche students (80–100%). The schools are in the middle of rural indigenous communities whose houses are far from one another (1–2 km.) and surrounded by forests and crops. The nearest city is 20 km away. Some children walk to school, while others are picked up by a school bus close to their homes. In all the schools there is a bilingual intercultural education teacher (PEIB) because the Chilean state mandated the promotion of the Mapuche language in places with a large indigenous population.

The children who participated in this study were between 6 and 13 years, attended grades one to four of elementary education, and were approximately 15 children per course equally distributed between boys and girls.

The researchers made visits to get to know the school community and analyze the feasibility and willingness of the communities to participate in the study. They explain purpose, data collection procedures. In addition, the researchers met with parents and traditional authorities of the community to explain the objectives and procedures of the study. A traditional authority is a political figure of the Mapuche community, who leads the decisions of the community. Parents signed an informed consent to allow their children to be observed in the schools, ensuring the confidentiality of the children's identities. This study was approved by the Science Ethics Committee of the Universidad de La Frontera.

All decisions made during the contact and data collection process were guided by the experience and cultural background of the principal investigator and team. In addition to belonging to the Mapuche people, the researchers have vast experience in working with the indigenous community of this territory.

Data collection

The data were collected between May and December 2017. The research team visited each school three times. Each visit last between 5 and 7 hours. During visits, the team participates in class routine children became familiar with the investigators and the audiovisual recording instruments. The data were collected through participant observation (Delamont & Atkinson, 2021; Johnson & Sackett, 2014) accompanying the children in each grade in their daily activities such as classes, group work, school celebrations, recess and lunchtime. The observations were video-recorded, photographed and registered in a field notebook that contained the log of each visit to the school. The center of the observations was the interaction among the children and between them and the adults, either the teachers or school staff.

Data coding and analysis

The field notes and observations were transferred to digital format and organized in an Excel database. Initially, three analysts from the research team individually read the data; they discussed the coding criteria, clarified doubts and eliminated ambiguities in the definition of codes. (Booth et al., 2016; Johnson & Sackett, 2014; Saldaña, 2016). Then, these analysts –all together–reviewed the codes' similarity and heterogeneity, in order to create groups of meanings that would represent patterns of children cultural interactions.

Data analysis showed the presence of three cultural patterns: collaboration, group working and care. Collaboration is understood as a set of social intersections that flow synchronously, and with the purpose of benefiting all integrant who participates in the interaction (Mejía-Arauz et al., 2018). Group working, implies the deployment of actions and skills that contributes to community or group goals (Rosado-May et al., 2020). Finally, care means the act of being attentive. It is to recognize the needs of another and to maintain an alert attitude to helping when it is necessary (Murray et al., 2017).

Each pattern of cultural interaction was assigned a name that represented the context where those actions occurred, which were exemplified with vignettes extracted from the observations and, in some cases, from dialogs between participants. Two criteria were used for the selection of vignettes: (1) there was a dense description of the observed situation and (2) that the situation illustrated the cultural patterns addressed in the study.

Results

Throughout this section we illustrate three patterns of cultural interaction that express values of the Mapuche culture stemming from family and community, and that could be interpreted as phenomena of cultural resistance. First, collaboration in the classroom demonstrates through various classes' observations that the children insist on helping each other to carry out the task assigned, despite the teacher repeatedly indicating that it is an individual action. Second, group working: the game of *palin* (stick and ball game) that occurs in the schoolyard; here the children begin to play a Mapuche traditional game, incorporate the associated cultural rules and speak their own language in a spontaneous situation. Third, care of the small children is how the older children protect and help the younger ones when they need it.

Collaboration in the classroom

In a fourth-grade classroom (ages between 8 and 9 years), the teacher writes three exercises on the board and instructs the children to quietly solve the problems individually. The teacher insists several times that the task is individual. The children who finish the task early begin to help those who are slower, some get out of their seat to go help a classmate. The teacher insists they are not to help each other and sends the children standing up to go and sit down. The teacher walks around the tables and explains more and more emphatically that the exercise is individual. Some children listen to the teacher carefully, but they help their classmates all the same. The teacher points to one of the

children who has not finished their exercise and tells them to solve the problem on the whiteboard, but another child responds by saying “...I'll go, because he hasn't finished yet...”, but the teacher refuses. Clearly the boy at the whiteboard does not know how to solve the exercise; he is standing in front of the board doing nothing, with the marker in his hand, and the same time looking at his classmates. At that point, several children offer to help, but again the teacher refuses. Nevertheless, another boy goes to help by showing him a notebook with the solved exercise. The teacher reprimands them and tells the entire class they are not to help each other with their work. At another point, teacher asks to some students: “¿what time do you wake up in the morning?” the students altogether answered to the same time. The teacher shut up them all because they have not to speak at the same time. Teacher said: “Felipe sit down!”; then she said: “Pedro shut up!! I asking you please to work by your own!”. Again, the teacher asks to the students, not to talk if she doesn't ask them, and she said that they have to work by their own. (Field note record – Math Class).

In an indigenous language class, the following observation is recorded: “A girl asks her classmate if the *achawall* is a rooster or a hen. Her classmate answers her, but the teacher tells them off for sharing answers. The teacher insists that it is an individual assignment and that they must be prepared for the test. While the teacher observes the work of some students, the children share the assignment and their results. The teacher approaches one of the children and asks her not to help her classmates, he tells her it is impossible to know how much each student knows if they are copying. Despite the teacher's insistence, the children share the assignment” (Field note record, Indigenous Language Class).

These examples show the instructional form of the organization of learning, where an expert defines the manner of learning, the dynamics, type of interaction and its pace. The children, on the other hand, cooperate in more flexible roles, trying to take the classmate's place, getting involved, showing initiative and expressing a collective way of organizing their own learning.

Group working: The game of *palin*

Palin is a traditional Mapuche game that consists of running a small leather ball along the ground, pushed with a firm wooden stick. Traditionally, it is played between two teams of adult men. In the schoolyard, quite isolated, we observed that boys from different ages and courses, but all very young (5–7 years old), spontaneously began to reproduce the game of *palin*. “First there are two boys who play spontaneously, then a girl who is nearby intervenes and organizes the game a bit. A boy younger than them appears and intervenes, one of them says: “let's play the four of us”. The game stops for a moment, the girl says: “but the ball is not played with this” (the ball indicates that it is actually a stone). Other two children appear, bringing a real ball of *palin* they found. Suddenly two girls appear on the scene, one of them leaves, they go to look for more winks and now there are seven boys and girls playing all together. Then, they argue about whether they make a team, one of them says: “but there are no teams to play *palin*”. group of students established the rules and everyone contributed with what they knew about the game. Some girls wanted to play, but the boys insisted that, “you can't play, no girls allowed, girls don't play *palin*”. The girls insisted to the point where the boys let them play, but not without first warning

them that “*it’s a hard game for girls and it’s not like this in the community*”. The boys shared the rules, taught the youngest girls and even showed them physically how to play by moving the stick. Before beginning the game, they also reproduced a cry called *afafân*, which is used in community competitions to encourage the players and begin the game by counting “*¡kiñe, epu, küla!* which means one, two, three”, in the Mapuche language. (Field note record-Game of *Palin*).

In this example, the children reproduce cultural roles learned in their community, without the presence of an adult guiding the activity. The communication of ideas is blended to construct a game collectively, they also speak in the Mapuche language, they teach the youngest through practice, and they even repeat aspects of the ceremony that the adults perform. Motivation is observed to contribute to this common goal, where they also accept suggestions from the girls, demonstrating flexibility in the behavior.

Support and care of younger children

In several situations, especially during recess or eating —when the children are all together— the older children were seen protecting and supporting the youngest. They help them up on the swings, take them away from any risky activities on the schoolyard, help them tie their shoes or just keep an eye on what is happening with them. One of the most exemplary situations was when a boy was being admonished by the teacher during lunch time: “as the teacher approaches a younger boy to tell him to do not bother his classmate or he would be punished. In that moment, an older sibling gets up from his seat and goes towards them; he stands approximately a meter from the younger boy, watching the situation attentively. Once the teacher finishes the scolding, the older boy takes the younger by the hand and leads him to sit at the table to continue with his lunch”.

In another example, the older children teach the younger ones “For teachers’ day, the children in eighth grade are setting up a stage for the celebration. A group decorates the stage with garlands and drawings, another group checks the sound saying: *¡testing, testing!* The adolescents are surrounded by smaller children, who watch them and try to approach the equipment. The older children do not prevent them from approaching; on the contrary, they explain and answer the questions that the little ones ask.

The situations of help and support show a cultural form of care in the Mapuche community. In this, the children are incorporated as natural contributors in a wide range of family tasks, including the care and protection of the youngest children, regardless of which family they belong to. Support and solidarity in the face of adversity must be an explicit action.

Discussion and conclusions

The aim of this study was to describe three patterns of cultural interaction: collaboration, collective organization, and care in Mapuche children. We consider that these patterns are expressions of cultural resistance, because they are cultural behaviors manifested in external and hegemonic spaces. As declares, resistance is spontaneous, and it has multiple

ways of appearance; from valuing the indigenous language, maintaining the cultural philosophy, or preserving cultural models of learning against a adverse context.

Regarding collaboration, it was noted that children propose collective actions by collaborating with their classmates, in this way, they challenge the school standards which promote individualism and personal achievement. Children seek that all members of the group achieve the goal; for this reason, children collaborate with whoever requires it, in order to pursuit the goal of the group (Mejía-Arauz et al., 2018). This process is spontaneous, and it is the way that they have learnt as a family cultural practice.

The collective organization of a cultural activity - such as palin-shows how children organize themselves defining roles and representing rules of their culture. Children seek to develop skills which are based on cultural values recognized and transmitted through generations (Rosado-May et al., 2020). The practice of palin (in the school) illustrates that these children had participated as attentive observers in this cultural game in their own communities.

Care is expressed in behaviors of solidarity and support among children, and especially with the smaller ones. Taking care of the youngsters is considered a way to contribute to the objectives of caring Mapuche children. Care is a cultural practice among Mapuche people, and it is encouraged through generations (Murray et al., 2017).

These results were consistent with the collaboration, collective organization, and care observed in children of other indigenous groups (Alcalá et al., 2014; Alcalá, et al., 2018; Coppens et al., 2014; Correa-Chávez, 2016; De León, 2015; Lorente, 2015; Martínez-Pérez, 2016; Murray et al., 2017), and they can be interpreted by throughout LOPI lens (Rogoff, 2016). Children from indigenous communities carry out a cultural and family model of learning. They learn from participating; collaborating, and caring of others (Mejía-Arauz et al., 2018). At the same time, the activities carried out by Mapuche children reproduce the cultural values of their families and communities.

The behaviors observed in children such as collaborative actions, solidarity, care and support, and collective organization derives from the principles that form the foundation of the Mapuche learning model *kimeltuwün*. Whereas these principles have been described in family and community contexts (Alarcón et al., 2018; Murray et al., 2015; Quidel & Pichinao, 2007), the present study shows that in the school space children also display behaviors based on the principles and values of their own culture.

Furthermore, these results illustrate cultural patterns of the Mapuche model of learning, that children carry to the school. The Mapuche children maintain their cultural ways of being, even though, the hegemonic and neo-colonial school system of the Chilean state promotes individualism and personal achievements. Thus, in more political terms it may be suggested that Mapuche children try to permeate the spaces of school domination of the Chilean model with their own cultural forms of learning.

Also, it is proposed that the children develop a series of spontaneous behaviors, invisible and sometimes unconscious as an expression of cultural resistance and behaviors of confrontation supported by cultural knowledge (García-Canclini, 2006; Rosado-May, et al., 2020; Scott, 2008). Hence, in this study, the Mapuche children embody a subtle form of resistance to oppose an imposed model, becoming *weichafe* of their culture, i.e., people who fight to maintain the Mapuche identity in an adverse institutional context.

Similar expressions of cultural resistance in other contexts make it possible to recognize the various ways in which indigenous children participate, resist and construct identities (Nuñez-Patiño & Baronnet, 2017). The children in Zapatista schools in Chiapas are independent in performing school activities (Rico et al., 2018). Another habitual practice observed in Indo-American children has been silence, which works as a political strategy of resistance (Deyhle et al., 2008).

School has historically been an enclave of colonization for indigenous peoples. Mapuche children are sent to school early and experience strong tension between the education they get from their family and community, and the one they encounter at school. In this context, the children take unexplored steps in forms of resistance to confront the tensions derived from the relations of integration and subordination to the national society (Bonfil-Batalla, 2004; García-Cancelini, 2006) such as displaying their cultural identity and values in a space like school.

One of the limitations of this study is that the results are limited to a single territory in La Araucanía with its cultural particularities, which might not represent other Mapuche territorial identities. Also, in future studies it would be important to complement the data collected using other data harvesting techniques to enrich and triangulate the results.

The interaction patterns illustrated in this study are the first step to generating a pedagogical proposal with cultural relevance. Their projections would be to advance the incorporation of the principles of Mapuche culture in teachers' pedagogical practices and the building of bridges between the community's and the school's education models.

In view of the complexity of the phenomenon presented, a critical and interdisciplinary view is needed that addresses the subjects of colonialism at school to recognize how Mapuche children share and reclaim their culture, with demonstrating other ways... theirs.

Declaration of conflicting interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) disclosed receipt of the following financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article: This research is part of the FONDECYT Project N° 1170360.

ORCID iD

Paula Alonqueo  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4582-1262>

Open research statement

As part of IARR's encouragement of open research practices, the author(s) have provided the following information: This research was/was not pre-registered. The aspects of the research that were pre-registered were xxx. The registration was submitted to: xxx. The data used in the research

are/are not available. The data can be obtained at: xxx. The materials used in the research are/are not available. The materials can be obtained at: xxx.

References

- Agencia de Calidad de la Educación. (2019). *Estudio calidad en escuelas pequeñas 2019*. Agencia de Calidad de la Educación.
- Alarcón, A., Alonqueo, P., Castro, M., & Hidalgo, C. (2021). ¡Memo te vienen a ver! El proceso de investigación como protocolo de visita en la cultura mapuche. *Revista de Psicología*, 30(1), 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.5354/0719-0581.2021.60642>
- Alarcón, A., Castro, G. M., Astudillo, P., & Nahuelcheo, Y. (2018). La paradoja entre cultura y realidad: El esfuerzo de criar niños y niñas mapuche en comunidades indígenas de Chile. *Chungará*, 50(4), 651–662. <https://doi.org/10.4067/S0717-73562018005001601>
- Alcala, L., Rogoff, B., & Fraire, A. L. (2018). Sophisticated collaboration is common among Mexican-heritage US children. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 115(45), 11377–11384. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1805707115>
- Alcalá, L., Rogoff, B., Mejía-Arauz, R., Coppens, A. D., & Dexter, A. L. (2014). Children's initiative in contributions to family work in indigenous-heritage and cosmopolitan communities in Mexico. *Human Development*, 57(2–3), 96–115. <http://doi.org/10.1159/000356763>
- Alonqueo, P., Alarcón, A., & Hidalgo, C. (2020). Motivación y colaboración como maneras culturales de aprender entre niños y niñas mapuche rurales de La Araucanía. *Psicoperspectivas*, 19(3), 171–181. <http://dx.doi.org/10.5027/psicoperspectivas-vol19-issue3-fulltext-1862>
- Bonfil-Batalla, G. (2004). Pensar nuestra cultura. In *Diálogos en la acción* (pp. 117–134). Primera Etapa.
- Booth, W., Clomb, G., WilliamsBizup, J.J., & Fitzgerald, W. (2016). *The craft or research* (4th ed.). The University of Chicago Press.
- Carihuentro, S. (2007). *Saberes mapuche que debiera incorporar la educación formal en contexto interétnico e intercultural según sabios mapuche (Tesis de Magister no publicada)*. Universidad de Chile.
- Coppens, A. D., & Alcalá, L. (2015). Supporting children's initiative: Appreciating family contributions or paying children for chores. *Advances in Child Development and Behavior*, 49(1), 91–112. <https://doi.org/10.1016/bs.acdb.2015.10.002>
- Coppens, A. D., Alcalá, L., Mejía-Arauz, R., & Rogoff, B. (2014). Children's initiative in family household work in Mexico. *Human Development*, 57(2-3), 116–130. <https://doi.org/10.1159/000356768>
- Corona, Y., & Pérez y Zavala, C. (2000). Infancia y resistencias culturales. La participación de los niños en los movimientos de resistencia comunitarios. En N. del Río (Coord.). *La infancia vulnerable de México en un mundo globalizado* (pp. 127–214). UAM-UNICEF.
- Correa-Chávez, M. (2016). Cultural patterns of collaboration and communication while working together among US Mexican heritage children. *Learning, Culture and Social Interaction*, 11, 130–141. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lcsi.2016.08.001>
- Delamont, S., & Atkinson, P. (2021). *Ethnographic engagements encounters with the familiar and the strange*. Routledge.

- De León, L. (2015). Mayan children's creation of learning ecologies by initiative and cooperative action. *Advances in Child Development and Behavior*, 49, 53–189. <https://doi.org/10.1016/bs.acdb.2015.10.006>
- Deyhle, D., Swisher, K. G., Stevens, T., & Galván, R. T. (2008). Indigenous resistance and renewal: From colonizing practices to self-determination. In F. Michael Connelly, M. F. He, & J. Phillion, (Eds.) *The SAGE handbook of curriculum and instruction* (pp. 329–348). Sage Publications.
- Donoso, A. (2010). *Educación y nación al sur de la Frontera: Organizaciones Mapuche en el umbral de nuestra contemporaneidad, 1880-1930*. Pehuén.
- Elige Educar (2020). *Análisis y proyección de la dotación docente en contextos rurales. Resumen ejecutivo*. Elige Educar.
- Espinoza, M. (2016). Contextos, metodologías y duplas pedagógicas en el Programa de Educación intercultural bilingüe en Chile: Una evaluación crítica del estado del debate. *Pensamiento Educativo. Revista de Investigación Educativa Latinoamericana*, 53(1), 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.7764/PEL.53.1.2016.11>
- Fajardo, D. (2011). Educación intercultural bilingüe en latinoamérica: Un breve estado de la cuestión. *LiminaR. Estudios Sociales Y Humanísticos*, IX(2), 15–29. <https://doi.org/10.29043/liminar.v9i2.45>
- Gallegos, F., Rodríguez, C., & Sauma, E. (2007). Provisión de educación en zonas rurales de Chile. Incentivos, costos y calidad. In I. Irrazábal (Ed.), *Camino al bicentenario. Propuestas para Chile* (pp. 47–74). PUC.
- García-Canclini, N. (2006). *Diferentes, desiguales y desconectados*. Mapas de la interculturalidad.
- Gaskins, S. (2010). La vida cotidiana de los niños en un pueblo maya: Un estudio monográfico de los roles y actividades construidos culturalmente. In Lourdes de León Pasquel (coord.), *socialización, lenguajes y culturas infantiles: Estudios interdisciplinarios* (pp. 37–76). CIESAS.
- Gaskins, S. (2020). Integrating cultural values through everyday experiences: Yucatec Maya Children's moral development. In L.A. Jensen (Ed.), *The oxford handbook of moral development: An interdisciplinary perspective* (pp. 187–202). Oxford University Press.
- Godelier, M. (2009). *Communauté, société, culture; trois clefs pour comprendre les identités en conflits*. CNRS éditions.
- Good, C. (2013). Formas de organización familiar náhuatl y sus implicaciones teóricas. *La ventana. Revista de estudios de género*, 4(37), 9–40. <https://doi.org/10.32870/lv.v4i37.516>
- Gutiérrez, C. (2017). Obedecer o dejarse llevar. Participación y colaboración infantil en la vida cotidiana de un pueblo ñahñu. *AIBR. Revista de Antropología Iberoamericana*, 12(3), 389–409. <https://doi.org/10.11156/aibr.120306>
- Hall, S., & Du Gay, P. (2010). *Cuestiones de identidad cultural*. Amorroutu Editores.
- Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas. (2017). *Censos de Población y vivienda*. <https://www.ine.cl/estadisticas/sociales/censos-de-poblacion-y-vivienda>
- Johnson, A., & Sackett, R. (2014). Direct systematic observation. In R. Bernard, & C. Gravlee (Eds.), *Handbook of methods and cultural anthropology* (pp. 301–331). Rowman & Littlefield Press.
- Lagos, C. (2015). El programa de educación bilingüe y sus resultados: ¿perpetuando la discriminación? *Pensamiento Educativo. Revista de Investigación Educativa Latinoamericana*, 52(1), 84–94. <https://doi.org/10.7764/PEL.52.1.2015.7>

- Little, A. (2008). Increasing access through multigrade teaching and learning. CREATE consortium for research on education, access. *Transitions & Equity*, 44(5), 1–4.
- Llanquino, H. (2010). *Valores en la educación tradicional mapuche: Posibles contribuciones al sistema educativo chileno [Tesis Doctoral no publicada]*. Universitat de Barcelona.
- Lorente, D. (2015). Children's everyday learning by assuming responsibility for others: Indigenous practices as a cultural heritage across generations. *Advances in Child Development and Behavior*, 49, 53–89. <https://doi.org/10.1016/bs.acdb.2015.08.005>
- Luna, L., Benavides, P., Gutiérrez, P., Alchao, M., & y Dittborn, A. (2014). Aprender lengua y cultura mapuche en la escuela: Un estudio de caso de la implementación del nuevo sector de aprendizaje lengua indígena desde un análisis de “recursos educativos”. *Estudios Pedagógicos*, 40(2), 221–240. <https://doi.org/10.4067/S0718-07052014000300014>
- Luna, L., & Contreras, R. (2019). Educación mapuche y descolonización de la escuela. En S. Quintriqueo, & D. Quilaqueo (Coords.) *Educación e interculturalidad: Aproximación crítica y decolonial en contexto indígena*. Ediciones Universidad Católica de Temuco.
- Mariman, P., Caniuqueo, S., Levil, R., & Millalen, J. (2006). *¡ ...Escucha, winka...! Cuatro ensayos de Historia Nacional Mapuche y un epílogo sobre el futuro*. LOM Ediciones.
- Martínez-Pérez, M. (2016). Xchanel-xchanubtasel: Lenguaje, acción y enseñanza en actividades valoradas entre los mayas de San Juan Chamula. [Tesis Doctoral no publicada, Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología (CIESAS)].
- Mejía-Arauz, R., Rogoff, B., Dayton, A., & Henne-Ochoa, R. (2018). *Collaboration or negotiation: Two ways of interacting suggest how shared thinking develops*. COPSYC. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2018.02.01>
- Melin, M., Coliqueo, P., Curihuinca, E., & Royo, M. (2016). *Azmapu Una aproximación al Sistema Normativo Mapuche desde el Rakizum y el derecho propio*. Instituto Nacional de Derechos Humanos. <http://bibliotecadigital.indh.cl/handle/123456789/984>
- MINEDUCACION. (2017). Capítulo Chile. En *MINEDUCACION Sistemas educativos del mundo* (pp. 2–16). Ministerio de Educación.
- Ministerio de Desarrollo Social. (2017). Ministerio de Desarrollo social (2017). *Territorios rurales. Síntesis de resultados*. http://observatorio.ministeriodesarrollosocial.gob.cl/storage/docs/casen/2017/Casen_2017_Territorios_rurales.pdf
- Ministerio de Educación (2020). *Educación Rural. Presentación*. <https://rural.mineduc.cl/presentacion/>
- Muñoz, C., & Muñoz, G. (2013). Desigualdad territorial en el sistema escolar: La urgencia de una reforma estructural a la educación pública en Chile. *Serie Estudios Territoriales*, 1(8), 1–27.
- Murray, M., Bowen, S., Segura, N., & Verdugo, M. (2015). Apprehending volition in early socialization: Raising little persons among rural mapuche families. *Ethos*, 43(4), 376–401. <https://doi.org/10.1111/etho.12094>
- Murray, M., Bowen, S., Verdugo, M., & Holtmannspötter, J. (2017). Care and relatedness among rural mapuche women: Issues of *cariño* and empathy. *Ethos*, 45(3), 367–385. <https://doi.org/10.1111/etho.12171>
- Nahuelpan, H., & Antimil, J. (2019). Colonialismo republicano, violencia y subordinación racial mapuche en Chile durante el siglo XX. *HiSTOReLo. Revista de Historia Regional y Local*, 11(21), 211–247. <https://doi.org/10.15446/historelo.v11n21.71500>

- Nanculef, A., & Cayupan, C. (2016). *Kuifike dugu. Discursos, relatos y oraciones rituales en mapuzugun*. Editorial Comarca.
- Núñez-Patiño, K., & Baronnet, B. (2017). Infancias indígenas y construcción de identidades. *Argumentos*, 30(84), 17–36.
- Ortiz Ocaña, A., & Arias, M. (2019). Hacer decolonial: Desobedecer a la metodología de investigación. *Hallazgos*, 16(31), 147–166. <https://doi.org/10.15332/s1794-3841.2019.0031.06>
- Paradise, R. (2009). ¿Cómo educan los indígenas a sus hijos? El cómo y el porqué del aprendizaje en la familia. In S. Frisancho, M. Moreno, P. Ruiz, & V. Zavala (Eds.), *Aprendizaje, cultura y desarrollo. Una aproximación interdisciplinaria* (pp. 41–58). Fondo Editorial Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- Pinto, J. (2001). *La Formación del estado y Pueblo Mapuche. De la inclusión a la exclusión*. IDEA-USACH.
- Preston, J., & Barnes, K. (2017). Successful leadership in rural schools: Cultivating collaboration. *The Rural Educator*, 38(1), 6–15. <https://doi.org/10.35608/ruraled.v38i1.231>
- Quidel, J., & Pichinao, J. (2007). Xemunkagen puchuke che mapun kimeltun mew. Formación de los nignos y nignas en la educación mapunche. In T. Durán, D. Catriquir, y A. Hernández. *Patrimonio cultural mapunche. Derechos Sociales y patrimonio institucional mapunche*. Ediciones Universidad Católica de Temuco.
- Quilaqueo, D., & Quintriqueo, S. (2008). Formación docente en educación intercultural para contexto mapuche en Chile. *Cuadernos Interculturales*, 6(10), 91–110.
- Quilaqueo, D., Quintriqueo, S., & Torres, H. (2016). Características epistémicas de los métodos educativos mapuches. *Revista Electrónica de Investigación Educativa*, 18(1), 153–165. <http://redie.uabc.mx/redie/article/view/673>
- Rico, A., Corona, Y., & Núñez, K. (2018). La participación política de la niñez en Chiapas. Enseñanza y aprendizaje de la organización y la resistencia indígena. *Sociedades e Infancias*, 2, 79–101. <https://doi.org/10.5209/SOCI.59455>
- Rogoff, B. (2014). Learning by Observing and Pitching in to family and community endeavors: An orientation. *Human Development*, 57(2/3), 69–81. <http://doi.org/10.1159/000356757>
- Rogoff, B. (2016). Culture and participation: A paradigm shift. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, 8, 182–189. <http://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2015.12.002>
- Rogoff, B., Aceves-Azuara, I., & Dayton, A. (2017). Learning by observing and pitching in. In K. Peppler (Ed.), *The Sage encyclopedia of out-of-school learning*. Sage.
- Rogoff, B., Najafi, B., & Mejía-Arauz, R. (2014). Constellations of cultural practices across generations: Indigenous American heritage and learning by observing and pitching in. *Human Development*, 57(2–3), 82–95. <https://doi.org/10.1159/000356761>
- Rosado-May, F., Dayton, A., & Rogoff, B. (2020). Innovation as a key feature of Indigenous ways of learning: Individuals and communities generating knowledge. In N. S. Nasir, C. D. Lee, R. Pea, & M. M. de Royston (Eds.), *Handbook of the cultural foundations of learning*. Routledge.
- Saldaña, J. (2016). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. SAGE.
- Scott, J. (2008). La domination et les arts de la résistance. *Fragments du discours subalterne*. Editions Amsterdam.
- Szulc, A. (2019). Más allá de la agencia y las culturas infantiles. Reflexiones a partir de una investigación etnográfica con niños y niñas mapuche. *Runa*, 40(1), 53–63. <https://doi.org/10.34096/runa.v40i1.5360>

- Tuhiwai, L. (2016). *A decolonizar las metodologías. Investigación y pueblos indígenas*. LOM.
- Vera, D., Salvo, S., & Zunino, H. (2013). En Torno al Cierre de las Escuelas Rurales en Chile. Antecedentes para la implementación de una Política de Estado. *Investigaciones en Educación*, 13(1), 123–143.
- Williamson, G (2012). Institucionalización de la educación intercultural bilingüe en Chile: Notas y observaciones críticas. *Perfiles educativos*, 34(138), 126–147. http://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0185-26982012000400009&lng=es&tlng=es