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Exploring the Keys to Citizen Formation in Teacher's Discourse: Implications of Teaching Citizenship in the Araucanía Region, Chile

The present article addresses the main points observed during a series of interviews carried out between 2008 and 2009 with teachers of the 8th grade subject, Citizen Formation. All of the interviewees come from private and municipal educational institutions from the Araucanía region in Chile. The study revolved around two initial questions: how do teachers of the ninth region of the Araucanía deal with the notion of citizenship? And, in what way do they make sense of this concept? In this way we look to identify the elements in the discourse that form the notion of citizenship starting with the beliefs and interpretations given by the interviewees. In the results we can observe a tension between the concept the teachers have of themselves and their social role and, on the other hand, the way they should conceive the subject as a tool of the institutional character of the state.

1 Introduction

In this article I examine discursive forms of citizenship expressed in the testimony of six teachers from the Araucanía Region in the south of Chile. This region was incorporated into the Chilean national territory in the 1880s, after a long war of resistance led by the Mapuche people, the original inhabitants of that land before Hispanic conquest. Currently Araucanía is one of the Chile's poorest regions in terms of GDP per capita and home to the Mapuche indigenous population (Gobierno de Chile 2013[1]).

According to Lucy Taylor and Fiona Wilson the notion of citizenship "cannot be reducible to a single defi-nition" (2004, 155) because its meaning is fluid and flexible. In the case of Chile, since the processes of democratization and the consolidation of a neo-liberal economic model until the recent arrival of the right wing government in 2010, we have witnessed citizen demands by self-proclaimed groups - ethnic, student, labour, gender and ecological - in the face of their exclusion from the political-economic model. In the case of ethnic minorities, these tensions within Chilean society speak of a larger conflict stemming from the project of national homogeneity driven by the Chilean government since its inception in the nineteenth century; since that time the Chilean go-vernment's national self-image meant the integration of indigenous communities under the assumption of the denial of diversity (Pinto, Casanova, Uribe,

Matthei 1988; Bengoa 1996). To completely fulfill this purpose it was nece-ssary to put forward an essentialist construction of a single history, single-origin, one fundamental prin-ciple, which must be transmitted through the school, which in turn acted, in terms proposed by Michel Foucault (1999, 2001, 2002) as a device for the re-production of knowledge for the domination, control and subordination to an ideological paradigm.

In this sense, the driving questions of this work concern the structures of domination and differen-tiation of class and ethnicity that historically have been legitimized through language (Wodak & Meyer 2001). As such, it is justified to analyze the relation-ships of power and control that circulate and are reproduced within the school and the teacher's iden-tity. It is possible to observe the implications of power on the practices of teachers, since we assume that all discourse is historically produced, interpre-ted, and incorporated into a network of domination in a given time and space (Fairclough 2001; Wodak & Meyer 2001). Accordingly, all critical discourse analyses seek to clarify the pressure effects of this network of domination, and also differentiate the gaps from which resistance to instituted discourse becomes possible. Just as Miguel Zabalza (1987) points out, in the school environment one appro-priates a set of regulations, decisions, suggestions, and guidelines that allow individuals to form under a common horizon; deviation from this particular norm extends and redefines the notion of "conflict", which can been observed with the criminalization of acts associated with indigenous right claims, and the media's biased coverage portraying the indigenous as the only responsible entities.

2 Methodology

This research was heavily inspired by a notion proposed by Norman Fairclough (2003) calling for the study of the "order of discourse." As the author points out "the elements of the order of discourse are not things like nouns and prayers, however the discourses, genres and styles are" (Fairclough 2003, 24), understood as the network of social practices expressed in language.

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In the Araucanía region a series of studies about pedagogical practices linked to social inclusion from the critical analysis of discourse and the study of the inter-ethnic and intercultural relations have been undertaken (Merino & Pino 2010; Barria, Becerra, Orrehgo, Tapia 2009; Cayulef, Huaiquilaf, Huenupi, Painemilla, Paillacoi, Saavedra 2004; Carmona 2001). They have, however, focused on problems of putting into pedagogical practice forms of inclusion and recognition as related to the Mapuche students. Consequently, when the vision of the teachers was studied, efforts have been focused on educational contexts for the intercultural development of the curriculum or on the experiences of schools and programmes for the conservation of the Mapuche culture and language — understood as ethno-education. (Bello, Willson, González, Marimán 1997; Moya 1997). Their contribution has been invaluable, allowing for the generation of educational pro-grammes and projects that have helped change conventional patterns of monolingual education. However, it is necessary to identify in the teacher's discourse conflicts of ethnic character as well as to explore how teachers are challenged by the school's cultural plan. As such, it became important to gather evidence through the testimony of teachers, their concerns about inclusion, democratic participation and social development in an area where the educational lag is very deep (PNUD Chile 2003, 2004).
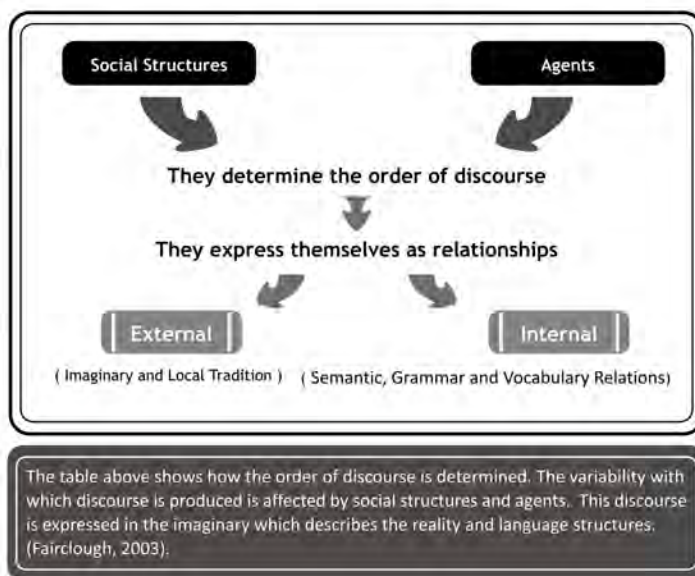
In the case of the teachers interviewed, it was possible to observe how throughout the interviews they selected words emphasizing certain aspects, giving a logical order to reality. According to Fairclough, discourse exists in all external and internal relations. In the first case one observes the links that a given speech establishes with social events, practices and more abstract structures; in the second, one would deal with semantic order relations, grammar and vocabulary. Thus, for this study we were inspired by the interpretation proposed by Fairclough, focusing on external relations —in order to illustrate the symbolic dimension with which to reconstruct the environment —, aiming to perceive background information on the imaginary and the tradition of a social group, as shown in the table 1.

Although this research did not seek to be representative of the population studied, the sample tried to be diverse in age, gender and experience in training of respondents. These points are essential in study of discourse as it starts from the premise, as stated by Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (2003), that the social actors involved in the discourse are supported by collective frameworks of perception of social and not only their individual experiences; in other words, here the study tried to capture a view of what the authors themselves highlight as "social representations" (Wodak & Meyer 2003,44). In this way four criteria were considered when selecting teachers: i) by provincial and capital division, three schools were selected as members of the province of Cautín (cities of Temuco and Villarrica) and three of the province of Malleco (cities of Angol and Collipulli) and that at least one in each group belonging to the provincial capital; ii) out of necessity, publicly funded as well as privately funded schools were considered, in this way teachers from four municipally dependent and two privately funded schools were interviewed; iii) by number of roll and school staff; iv) finally, the kind of education provided by the analyzed institutions, considering schools that not only have basic education but also secondary education.

Regarding the characteristics of the teachers interviewed three men and three women were selected whose teaching experience ranges from 5 to 30 years of practice. It should also be mentioned that none of the teachers declared belonging to any specific ethnicity. This is a relevant issue because as we shall see below, this point will be highlighted in the discourse of teachers when they relate the difficulties of their professional performance in a region with a strong presence of indigenous communities. Moreover, teachers involved in the sample are qualified to teach eighth grade as well as history and basic subjects in secondary school: two of the teachers interviewed having specialty in History of Chile, three with the specialty in basic training (Primary School) and one from the Normal School training[2]. The study was conducted through semi-structured interviews that were organized under four specific themes: i) the ideal dimension of "I" in which respondents were asked their opinion about what should be the ideal history teacher in the contexts described above; ii) the aspects and content that discipline should strive for; iii) the dimension of participation and contribution that discipline delivers to civic education and formation of values related to human rights; and iv) the

Table 1:

Social Structures — Agents

They determine the order of discourse

They express themselves as relationships

External (Imaginary and Local Tradition)   Internal (Semantic, Grammar and Vocabulary Relations)

The table above shows how the order of discourse is determined. The variability with which discourse is produced is affected by social structures and agents. This discourse is expressed in the imaginary which describes the reality and language structures. (Fairclough, 2003).

appraisal and changes that the teacher could observe after the recent curriculum changes. The interviews were analyzed using software for quali-tative data analysis (Atlas-ti) gathering information according to the model proposed where "social structures" and "agents" determine the "order of discourse," and this in turn is expressed in "external relations" that make up an "imaginary" and a "local tradition". Each quotation of the interviews has been characterized according to the next example "I4, M; 175:176". In this case, the first code "I4" means "Interviewee 4" of a total of 6 teachers interviewed; the second code means the gender of the inter-viewed with a M for male and F for female. Finally, the code "175: 176" means the number of the paragraph or hermeneutic unit in the transcription. In the example there are two numbers (175:176) which means the quotation was taken from two paragraphs or hermeneutic units. The table 2 is designed to guide the reader to the most relevant data of the teachers interviewed.

Table 2:

Training received by teachers and the educational institutions where they were working at time of interview (2008)						
Interviewee ID #, and years of teaching experience	Sex	Description of training received by teachers and Educational Institution	Province and city where facility is located	Type of establishment according to grant	Level of education offered by the educational institution	Total enrollment year 2008	Total # of teachers in each establishment
Interviewee # 1; 20 years of experience	F	Pedagogy in History and Geography and Civic Education, Universidad de La Frontera.	Cautín / Temuco	Municipal	Elementary, Art and Sciences high school education	2442	90
Interviewee Number 2; 5 years of experience	M	Professor of Primary Education. Universidad Católica de Temuco. Field of expertise: Study and comprehension of the society.	Cautín / Villarrica	Partialy funded	Preschool, elementary and Art and Sciences high school education	745	40
Interviewee Number 3; 28 years of experience	F	Pedagogy in History and Geography Universidad de Chile, Temuco. Master in Education major in Enviromental Education (1996).	Cautín / Temuco	Municipal	Elementary and Art and Sciences high school education	577	42
Interviewee Number 4; 39 years of experience	M	Professor of Primary Education, Colegio Universitario Universidad de Chile, Temuco.	Malleco / Collipulli	Parcialy funded	Preschool, elementary, Art and Sciences high school education and Vocational Education	1316	62
Interviewee Number 5; 20 years of experience	M	Professor of Primary Education. Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, Victoria	Malleco / Collipulli	Municipal	Preschool, elementary	368	19
Interviewee Number	F	Escuela Normal de Angol	Malleco / Angol	Municipal	Preschool,	472	24

3 Analysis

The study allowed us to distinguish a variety of factors, which influence history teachers at the time of citizenship education. One of these factors relates to the difficulties that teachers had to go through in times of intense political repression during the dictatorship. For most of the teachers interviewed the conceptual underpinnings and theories of citi-zenship are strongly determined by their own experi-ence in times of repression.

I4, M; 175:175: It was complicated, because Collipulli is a small city. It turns out that the authorities were looking over our shoulder, aware of what the teachers were doing and what the teacher was explaining. So that led to lots of

content related to citizenship education having to be put aside and it got lost. Also, use a wrong word and it would immediately became known to the parents [...] Making a comment about the current situation? This was unheard of, a difficult period arrived, a difficult history: another year more bad news.

The story of Luis (interviewee 4) shows a sense of vulnerability to social agents like "school authorities" or "parents" who served during the dictatorship as regulators of teaching. His explanatory thesis re-veals that the teaching of civic education found itself limited in the possibility of generating knowledge in the students by installing a rigid explanatory matrix lacking analytic depth. Thus, the teacher compares and reiterates the harshness of the experience with knowledge crystallization, and compares this pheno-menon to the flow that produces a "school of thought."

An important part of the interviews allowed us to observe the teaching of the concepts associated with citizenship which are closely anchored to the teacher's own biography. In this way, Margarita (inter-viewee 3) recalls when she was a student of History Education at the Universidad de la Frontera, Araucanía Region.

I3, F; 150:150: I came to open my eyes – how can I explain, when I arrived at the university - little by little. When I started to work, from the first day one didn`t know what one could not [teach]... Civic edu-cation should be taught according to the texts, according to the authors that were authorized by the regime, who were conservative and traditional au-thors. We were careful about what we said in class. One was taught the concept of democracy, for exam-ple we taught according to the concept of demo-cracy that the regime [Pinochet] wanted or according to what came with the texts. We knew

that at any moment if we strayed from the line or margin, the very same students could accuse us or could let the superiors know.

In the case of the two witnesses presented, the question of ideology implicit in the training of history teachers as well as in the performance of the discipline in the classroom, yield a disturbing problem each teacher has had to resolve in an intuitive and careful way. While many of them state that "things changed" once democracy came, forms of power persist with which the teacher feels she still must coexist, more so when confronted with civic education in a historical context in conflict. From this, the study allowed us to observe that teachers continue to experience much difficulty in openly expressing their political position or opinion on history in front of students. As we can observe below with José (interviewee 5).

I5, M; 45:47: When one is a history teacher, their political position has to be a-political. Sometimes [the students] ask me for whom I voted - I do not know if they had asked the other teachers, but they asked me, well, I have my position and the vote is secret and I can not tell them, because in a certain way I would be telling them what political tendency I have. [...] So one, especially in historical situations, as a teacher has to be very careful especially in how to treat certain subjects.

The distrust of the teachers is justified in most cases under the precept of "not to influence the political opinion of the students," noting with apprehension the possibility to generate in students a tendency or preference that may be questioned later by school authorities, family or community. However, this suspicion remains in confrontation with a fundamental aspect of "I" teaching, which indicates that teachers tend to recognize that students ask questions not only to question their environment, but also to generate their own ideas about reality, their values and shared knowledge (Guichard 1995; Prado de Souza 2000).

I3, F; 150:150: Now, gradually, as democracy is starting to return and already the students start to ask forward questions [like] What team do you support? [...] I have, as a policy, never to tell which soccer team I support. My religion I definitely tell them!, with its pros and cons, but not if I am registered or not in some political party, no! I try to give them both sides of the story and sometimes play the devil's advocate. I put myself in an extreme position to make them debate in favour or against.

Like Margarita, many teachers argue that their political position should be guarded to strengthen the debate among students. However, this argument tends to disappear when referring to other topics that could be dealt with similar fairness, given that they also influence the opinion that students can generate regarding coexistence in society. This is the case of religious choice, where, as indicated by Margarita, she is ready to accept the consequences of an open approach to this issue. It has been shown to be like, that in cases of teachers with more

than ten years of teaching service there is still a conflict between the duty to the subject and the personal conditions that the teacher has to reflect and face the consequence of their actions.

This refers to the dilemma that teaching history has meaning for many of the interviewees, as it covertly involves teaching a plan dominated by the state - history reflected in textbooks distributed by the Ministry of Education, educational software, videos, maps and songs, ideals and intentions of a whole society for the preservation of its culture. Hence, when referring to public school in La Araucanía, most teachers interviewed say they are aware that this process led to social consequences expressed in forms of exclusion towards the indigenous promoted by the traditional school model. Consequently, many teachers involved in this process faced the dilemma of teaching history of a Chilean culture that is alien and foreign to the Mapuche. The following excerpt from Margarita, gives us a recent evidence of social exclusion expressed in the use of Spanish instead of the Mapuche language.

I3, F; 68:68: [...] 25 years ago Mapuche parents did no teach the language to their children, so they would not experience the embarrassments they experienced, so they would be discriminated. [...] at home they spoke Mapudungun. Upon arriving to the city Spanish was more difficult for them. It occurred to the parents to stop teaching them Mapudungun so they would not have those setbacks in the city and it was noticable. I asked many of my students: Do you speak Mapudungun? Are you bilingual? -No teacher, I only speak Spanish, my dad never wanted to teach me-.

As we have seen, for years we have witnessed the construction of identities under a state plan with a heritage linked to its colonial past. This has created an architecture of contempt that expresses itself not only as a rejection of ethnic, sexual, and economic claims but also as xenophobic. Consequently, in the narrow mindedness to value and tend to the cultural structure of a society these identities also shut themselves up in a complex way, buried in poverty and lack of social participation (Williamson 2004). In this way we will continue to examine, in the discourse of the interviewees, the concept of citizenship and the teachers' responsibility in addressing their role within the classroom of this specific region. Since the last unit of the eight-grade Study and Understanding of Society programme examines the concept of human rights, some of the respondents associated the education of citizenship with values of and respect for human rights[3]. Thus, for example, when asked "What does citizenship education mean to you?" respondent 2 said:

I2, M; 269:269: [It means] shaping people that can develop well in society autonomously. As I have repeated all the time, that they are also able to respect others. That they have clear principles. To sum it up respect others, be autonomous and that they know the rights and responsibilities of citizens.

Meanwhile, for respondent 5, whom we will see below, civic space is linked to human rights understood as an area of "struggle." The approach also means a game measured between personal and collective rights.

I5, M; 041:041: Because well, one can see into what human rights are, right!? That the person has to fight for their rights and everything else. But one conveys that [to the students]. That all people have to fight and that they have certain rights. But they have to go about looking at the ways and methods of how that sets off a chain reaction or one can make them see it within society. Because, What is happening today!? If you transmit these contents in pure form..., the kid does not channel them, they do not internalize it well.

The previous extract allows us to visualize the complexity in the argumentative framework of the interviewee when talking about human rights using expressions like, "and everything else" or "have certain rights." In this way we can see that the teacher expresses an unresolved point, a conflict in his/her own scheme of addressing personal freedoms. When he/she uses a "but" as a precaution, "what is happening today!? if you transmit these contents in pure form" the implication is that (from the perspective of the interviewee) the student does not know how "to channel", ie, orientate, regulate, effectively their own civic behavior. In many cases, our interviewees expressed frustration with non-existant policies to integrate the cultural perspective of Mapuche students into public schools of the region. They concluded that they had to generate their own strategies where ingenuity, patience, frustration and their own prejudices and guilt have shaped an ideal form of the "educational I" in this complex social fabric. As interviewee 3 points out.

I3, F; 052:052: ... I was never trained at the university from the perspective of multiculturalism, I was never trained in the Mapudungun language in order to understand students and by God it was hard, and it took me years!: to change my mindset, to get to know their world view, of trying to know how they think, how they relate to the world and I'll tell you that it was years. So maybe there was a failure on my part not to have understood that reality in advance.

Thus we are confronted with the need to think critically about teachers' pedagogical practices and reflect upon how they affect the everyday experience of students. The latter would test the ability of educators to build an ethical proposal about the role that fits the school in a democratic public life. According to Henry Giroux and Peter McLaren (2004) educational actors should strive to pass on to new generations attitudes and values conducive to an awareness of man and his historic, aesthetic, cultural and social reality. In this sense, the problem iden-tified here, is reflected in words of interviewed teacher 4, who made a deeply felt self-criticism on the ability of some teachers and school adminis-trators to deal with public issues and diversity with greater depth.

I4, M; 159:161: [In] respect to diversity I think that we are wrong. We are lacking!, We are lacking a lot! But I think, that we ourselves are lacking, and the culprits are often the same teachers, the same schools. For example, frequent expressions made by some colleagues, with a vocabulary that does not include or even get close to respect. Afterwards what can we ask of the students!?"

The second aspect diagnosed by the teachers is the teachers' own ability to understand the inter-cultural context and the challenges from the difference of language and cultural practices that they have had to face. The testimony of Margarita tells us the difference she was able to distinguish once her Mapuche students, influenced by the "Chileanization" of the last twenty years, managed to speak Spanish with greater ease; an issue that came to "solve," from her perspective, a series of cultural conflicts within the classroom. However, the most interesting turns out to be her self-perception regarding what she believes was a mistake on her part.

I3, F; 064:064: And at other times, it was something that used to happen to me before, students who did not express themselves neither orally nor in their writing, nor could they express themselves too much at length speak. So usually then we made the mistake and not only myself, but several, -and what I'm going to say is going to be strong -but according to me, I had Mapuche students who were super-intelligent. Mapuche students were astute, shy but at times one would label them as stupid. Not that they were stupid, maybe I was the stupid one, one did not know their worldview, did not know their thinking, they didn't dare speak.

As a final remark, we believe this study exhibits the remaining task in the field of citizenship education in the region. In the case of La Araucanía the issue of inclusion is not limited to the case of ethnicity given the large number of Mapuche students, but also to class and culture. That is why this investigation's approach took into account the proposal of Norbert Lechner (2002) when referring to the social construction of time following a traumatic event, in which the exercise of collective memory is involved. According to this, on the one hand the teachers carry the memory of the dictatorship and the abuses of human rights committed during this period of Chilean history and on the other hand, the feeling that the human rights, as an issue, have been addressed within the school more as a simulated act than a real conviction. This is how Marianela (interviewee 1) refers to this aspect.

I1, F; 89:89: It is important for one as a history teacher in these terms, that you have to live human rights, because I have had colleagues who talk a lot about human rights and "postrate" a lot, but when it comes down to it they have the least respect for them. And when the time of specific and unusual situations arrived where you have to respect others, and the rights of others, in reality there is no respect. So I always talk to my colleagues about this situation, with my colleagues of the department, we talk to the kids.

This whole complex scenario is expressed as mistrust of the school as a device for improvement and growth. This reality can be identified as "learned hopelessness" (Selignam 1975), which translates into a feeling of apathy or mistrust in which social tools or alternatives like education can assure a change in the initial setting of the individual. In accordance with what the teachers declare, many times the students are taken over by a sense of apathy in the face of alternatives that the structures or institutional mechanisms can assure them through the knowledge of history, civic culture, organization and participation as future citizens. In other words, students show suspicion and sometimes apathy to imagine being able to change the status quo: "I do not decide my life, therefore it is going to be more difficult for me to change my initial conditions."

On the other hand, despite these differences between the educational funding systems, the inter-views allow us to identify a conviction shared by the teachers in which what prevails is the exercise of educating in and of itself in any discipline. As stated by Margarita: "more than a history teacher, I had the privilege to be a teacher, that is, to me, to be a teacher first and first names come later: history, math, language." [038:038]. From this perspective, the relations that the interviewees make with their own biographical dimension turn out to be significant. When asked about their career choice, many claimed seeing a predetermined path in edu-cation even before entering to study the major. Backgrounds like these allow us to visualize that the identity of the educator is tied to an architecture of particular values and morals from a "questioned I" from different areas: sociocultural, political and psychological, spreading from two operating modes: symbolic and imaginary, so one concludes that the biographical dimension of the individual gives an important area from where to track the definitions that the teacher of the region has about their practice and their specialty.

4 Conclusion

At the beginning of this chapter, we asked ourselves about the way in which a group of teachers of the region of La Araucanía addressed the notion of citizenship in a context of complex social differences. Similarly, we asked ourselves about how they reproduce the institutional discourse and gave meaning to the said notion. However, the polysemy with which we are faced to define the notion of citizenship referred us to the processes of appropriation that teachers have been required to try in order to conduct their civic education classes.

This is how we conclude that citizenship education has formed part of a cultural project led by the Chilean government since its formation, and largely because teachers have been required to become part of this formula. This point is particularly important in a region such as La Araucanía, given its historical condition as a territorial boundary with the indigenous communities and their recent addition to the state plan in the late nineteenth century; it is also defined as an area of constant social conflict.

Regarding the latter, although there are a number of previous studies devoted to distinguishing the way the government carried out the process of cultural domination, this research has sought to focus on the degree of appropriation of this process on the part of the interviewed teachers and conflicts arising from the same conditions.

This is how this study has allowed us to observe the notion of this conflict as a manipulated and distorted historical reality. As we saw, the responsibility for this lies in some cases in the politics of "Chileanization" promoted by the Chilean State, in others, in the media that have characterized the region as a conflict zone. All more or less have helped to build a state of blindness in which a cultural model differs and is considered inferior to another. How can one see this in the discourse of the interviewed teachers? Much of this situation is presented in a way in which the school justifies its institutional existence, which would be based on the adoption of a cultural project that serves a middle-class ideal model, a culture that can be defined as western-bourgeois or simply a model that promotes the foundations of the State starting from the modern age.

According to this, it is important to highlight two keys related to the perception that teachers have of their own practices in teaching of their discipline. The first of these stems in part from what we have already addressed and that exposes the ethical character of the dilemma that for the teachers means teaching a particular model of history, which excludes the narrative of the indigenous or the poor. The second is the experience that teachers had to live as educators specializing in history during the dictatorship, a period of political repression in which many issues were simply eradicated from the classrooms and in many cases omitted in their own training as teachers.

From here it has been possible to stealthily identify a second key issue, it is about the difficulties that the teachers have had to face in teaching citizenship in an intercultural context. According to this, the interviewed teachers repeatedly miss in their training a base that allows them to address issues of ethnicity, as emphasized by Margarita, who says with, "I was never taught these intercultural issues" and however, has had to build strategies to address in situ. This complexity often leads teachers to feel strained in the face of an overwhelming and often exhausting social and economic reality.

Faced with this adverse scenario, teachers claim that a large part of the problems generated today are linked to the economic hardships of their students and their families. The explanatory thesis that links ethnicity and poverty with school performance appears as the clearest diagnosis that interviewed teachers put forward to give a plausible reason for the difficulties of their students. From our perspective, it is clear that parents do not handle knowledge that the school values with enough fluency, and therefore can not help their children with homework. However, we cannot be certain to what extent this is due to a problem of a class or

ethnicity, it is probably a complicated mix of both. In any case, we understand that we would be at the forefront of other future research. From this perspective, the teachers expressed that these subjects are less socially valued even by colleagues in other disciplines. Such indifference makes them feel that the task of inclusion is a pending task that has a national scope, but that in the region expresses itself with greater need, especially in issues related to the indigenous world.

Finally, it is interesting to note that teachers recognize that in history they are required to have a broad knowledge and mastery of various themes beyond their educational background, particularly if we think about education in Human Rights and gender or race inclusion. This need for congruence between teaching citizenship and the specific knowledge of the discipline of history is demanded by various aspects, including the poverty status of the students, new classroom technology, the culture of discrimination and often the hopelessness in students and parents who fail to recognize the school as a means of overcoming the *status quo*.

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Endnotes

[1] Araucanía Region has also been the main location of the confrontations of the ongoing Mapuche conflict. (The Human Rights Brief, 2013).

[2] Normal Schools (Escuelas Normales), were created to train high school graduates to be teachers. In Chile "Escuelas Normales" were created in 1842, and disappeared during Pinochet's dictatorship in 1973. These schools represent a great effort by the liberal states in Latin America to promote standards or norms to the population, hence its name. (Nuñez, 2010).

[3] The programme of Study and Understanding of Society states at the beginning of the last unit about human rights: "It is interesting to promote reflection focused on situations of conflict or that damage the coexistence of humans. In this context it is expected that students appreciate the importance of respecting and enforcing rules, that they consider a person and their rights and appreciate the mechanisms of peaceful conflict resolution." Government of Chile / Ministry of Education. (2004). Curriculum for eighth year of Study and Understanding of Society. Santiago de Chile: Ministry of Education, p.79.