

## **Ethno-Cultural Identity Formation in Mapuche Youth Biographies: A Case Study from the Perspective of Colonial and Transgenerational Historical Trauma**

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**Abstract:** In this paper, we present evidence from a case study exploring the intricate relationship between transgenerational historical and colonial trauma and the process of ethno-cultural identity formation among young Mapuche individuals residing in rural communities in Chile. Our analysis centers on two prominent themes derived from their personal narratives, shedding light on the intergenerational dynamics that significantly influence the current development of their ethno-cultural identities. These themes are the communication and transmission of family history and memory, and the valuation of Mapuche culture. Our methodology employs biographical narratives and adopts a grounded theory approach, specifically in its constructivist variant. The findings of this study reveal that the biographies of these young individuals reflect distinct elements of emotional impact and coping strategies linked to historical and colonial trauma, which are transmitted across generations. In one case, there appears to be a tendency to conceal family history, while in the other, active preservation of memory seems to underpin reflections on identity, belonging, and the appropriation of Mapuche culture. Furthermore, our analysis highlights the significance of emotional connections with family, as well as individual expectations and future aspirations, which play pivotal roles in shaping motivations and expressions concerning Mapuche ethno-cultural affiliation or disassociation. We contend that these intricate dynamics mediate the formation of ethno-cultural identity among Mapuche young people.

**Keywords:** youth, indigenous, biographies, ethnic identity, historical and colonial trauma

The complex processes of ethnic identity formation are ongoing throughout life and result from both sociostructural and individual aspects (Barth, 1969; Hummell, 2014). In this regard, colonialism, as a historical-contextual factor, influences the processes of identity formation among young individuals belonging to ethnic communities (Loftsdóttir, 2019). Although the process of

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colonialism may have varied from one region to another, its effects on indigenous communities today have led to the integration of this past into their current identity constructions (Todorov, 1984).

To such an extent, the conceptual framework of colonial and transgenerational historical trauma has been addressed in the literature to elucidate a phenomenon shared by various indigenous cultures worldwide. Some studies consider that the repercussions of these historical trauma continue to resonate in contemporary times and become relevant in the process of ethnic identity formation (Bradley, 2020; Lloyd, 2000; Masson & Smith, 2019; Urrieta Jr, 2019).

The effects of trauma on indigenous communities have manifested in diverse ways. Empirical evidence indicates the loss of cultural practices and norms, spirituality, social and community fragmentation, as well as issues such as migration, displacement, alcoholism, and community violence (Garcés-Pérez & Zambrano Constanzo, 2021; Mitchell, 2019; Williams et al., 2018). Additionally, individuals from these communities experience poorer health outcomes compared to the broader population, affecting both physical and mental health conditions (McNaught et al., 2023; Powell et al., 2023; WHO, 2023).

Therefore, we aim to contribute to the existing literature from an interpretative and comprehensive analysis that delves deeply into the intricate aspects of transgenerational historical colonial trauma and its impact on identity formations. This study endeavors to contribute to our understanding of how experiences of violence and suffering persist across generations, shaping responses within communities and families. Specifically, we aim to explore how these dynamics influence the identity formation of young Mapuche people in Chile from a biographical narrative perspective.

The indigenous population in Chile constitutes approximately 10%, with 8.5% identified as Mapuche (MIDESO, 2020). The historical relationship between the Mapuche people and the Chilean National State has been consistently unstable and marked by periods of conflict. The fundamental approach from Chile toward the indigenous population has historically been one of assimilation (Balbontin-Gallo, 2020; Correa, 2021). Over the past decades, the conflict between various Mapuche communities and the Chilean State has intensified, giving rise to some Mapuche movements aimed at demanding recognition and the reclaiming of their culture, land, and language, among other aspects (Briones & Lepe-Carrión, 2023). Simultaneously, this reveals that these demands are not uniformly supported across different Mapuche communities (Fuentes, 2021). The discourse surrounding the meaning of Mapuche identity has become a central topic of discussion and disagreement.

In this broad context, it is relevant to understand how current ethnic-cultural identities are configured in young Mapuche individuals. We aim to comprehend the dynamics and elements that intervene in the processes of self-identification and/or cultural assimilation, considering the historical aspect of colonial trauma and the present context of their lived experiences.

In the article we will present two biographical cases of young people. We will explore forms of generational transfer of responses/reactions to the adversities experienced by previous generations and how these would influence the formation of ethno-cultural identity. The adversities experienced are linked to the difficult living conditions of many Mapuche families, whose history dates back to the period of occupation and post-occupation of La Araucanía region, where the border with the Chilean State was established (Correa, 2021). In this article, we will present evidence on how these forms of responses to historical, colonial, and transgenerational trauma influence the processes of identity formation of young people ascribed to the Mapuche ethno-cultural identity.

To this end, the analysis is focused on two topics that emerge relevant in the biographical narratives, which allow for a specific understanding of the intergenerational dynamics that influence the current formation of ethno-cultural identity. These are: (1) Communication and transfer of family history/memory and (2) Valuation of Mapuche culture. Both categories are analyzed by contrast in the study of two cases: one where communication and transfer of family history/memory and a positive valuation of Mapuche culture are effectively observed, and in a second case where veiling, concealment of family history, and devaluation of Mapuche culture are perceived, which at the same time is manifested in the narratives of young people with the appropriation/disaffection of Mapuche culture. It is argued that both categories correspond to family dynamics of coping with aspects of historical and colonial trauma that currently affect more or less latently the identity formations of young Mapuche people.

We will present firstly a brief contextualization of the Mapuche people in Chile, followed by the theoretical framework of the transgenerational, historical and colonial trauma and the state of the art regarding the complex processes of ethno-cultural identity formation of young individuals from native peoples. Subsequently we will discuss the results and analysis of both biographical cases.

### **The Mapuche People and the Chilean State**

In Chile, the indigenous population is primarily concentrated in the Araucanía region, situated in the ancestral territory of the Mapuche people—Wallmapu—which spans parts of both Chile and Argentina. The relationship between the Mapuche people and the Chilean National State has historically been unstable and marked by periods of conflict. The military campaign of 1861-1883, referred to as the "pacification" of Araucanía, entailed the death and systematic expropriation of their land, identity, and the right to independence throughout the southern region of the country (Balbontin-Gallo, 2020; Correa, 2021).

The Chilean State has employed various mechanisms to assimilate the Mapuche people, including land dispossession (Correa, 2021; Rioja, 2023), demographic disintegration through forced displacements, confinement in reductions, and forced peasantization (Bengoa, 2004; Nahuelpan & Antimil, 2019). Additionally, institutions related to religion, health, education, and productive development have distinctly aimed at cultural assimilation (Nahuelpan & Antimil, 2019).

Furthermore, a significant process of miscegenation occurred in Chile, particularly between Europeans and indigenous people, reinforcing the assimilationist objectives of public policy aimed at dissolving ethnic minorities within a homogeneous national citizenship (Richards, 2014). In this context, claims grounded in indigenous collective identities are viewed as illegitimate and unfair to other citizens (Richards, 2014).

Following the restoration of democracy in the 90s and under the neoliberal constitution imposed during the dictatorship, Chile adopted neoliberal multiculturalism as a governing framework (Brablec, 2021; Richards, 2014). This paradigm acknowledges the existence of indigenous peoples and guarantees specific rights, including improvements in health and intercultural education in regions with a substantial indigenous population, as long as these rights do not impede the State's objectives in the global economy. Nevertheless, calls for increased redistribution, territorial autonomy, and self-management are deemed counterproductive (Richards & Gardner, 2013). Consequently, there is cultural recognition without the essential economic and political restructuring needed to achieve greater social equality.

This model, as discussed by various authors (Hale, 2014; Richards, 2014; Rivera-Cusicanqui, 2004; Rivera-Cusicanqui, 2012), has given rise to two distinct categories of indigenous people: the “permitted” and the “insurgent.” This logic has also influenced the collective participation of Mapuche organizations (Brablec, 2021). The permitted Indigenous individuals (and compliant collectives) adhere to integrationist policies and unconditionally engage in government programs. In contrast, the insurgent category actively challenges the tenets of multicultural neoliberalism, advocating for the recognition of ancestral rights and the redistribution of power and resources (Richards, 2014).

In Chile, the social unrest of October 2019 led to the establishment of an assembly for constitutional change. Despite the profound social significance of indigenous demands, particularly advocated by Mapuche movements, seeking greater recognition and vindication of collective and territorial rights, and proposing a plurinational State (Briones & Lepe-Carrión, 2023). In the Araucanía region, which is home to a substantial percentage of the Mapuche population, the new constitution was rejected by 73.69% of voters (Becerra Valdivia, 2022).

In this context, Fuentes (2021) posits a lack of a unified perspective among indigenous people in Chile regarding the acknowledgment of their rights and a consensus on forms of identification. Consistent with Fanon’s ideas (1973), Nahuelpán (2019) suggests that colonialism is internalized in bodies, subjectivities, and identities, leading to contradictions and heterogeneity.

The apparent contradiction between identities, wavering within gray areas, appears to be influenced, to some extent, by everyday social interactions shaped by the painful experiences of Mapuche individuals living in socially marginalized conditions—a consequence of colonialism (Nahuelpán 2014). According to Nahuelpán (2014), this contradiction and identity fragmentation are linked to being part of the subalternization and invisibilization of official and indigenist historical narratives.

### **The Colonial Trauma: A Transgenerational Lived Experience**

The nature of trauma is a lived experience that persists with those who have undergone it, shaping both their everyday lives and those of their descendants (Bradley, 2020). In the case of cultural groups, colonialism manifests as a form of trauma due to the various ways colonization takes shape: occupation, displacement, extractivism, assimilation, and even genocide, to name a few (Masson & Smith, 2019; Todorov, 1999; Urrieta Jr, 2019). Urrieta (2019) reflects on its intergenerational character, labeling this trauma as “enduring legacies of colonialisms” (p.1) with a profound impact on an entire community over time. Consequently, many current events and experiences are the outcomes of a traumatic event from the past that still influences the daily lives and meanings of those living today (Rosenthal, 2010)

Transgenerational, historical, and colonial trauma, has been a global theoretical framework, composed of multiple dimensions to understand the processes of sociocultural disintegration and psycho-emotional suffering experienced by native peoples who have been subject to colonization processes (Denham, 2008; Evans-Campbell, 2008; Heart & DeBruyn, 1998; Mitchell et al., 2019; Morgan & Freeman, 2009). This paradigmatic framework analyzes systemic and historical factors of transculturation processes to make sense of the processes of identity construction, adaptation, and internal consequences for native peoples (Robertson, 2016).

In this sense, transgenerational, historical and colonial trauma, as a social construction of reality, is approached from the phenomenon of biography. Rosenthal (1993), in the study of the transgenerational trauma experienced by the victims of the Holocaust in World War II, suggests that the life experiences of subjects who share a common social and cultural reality are a vehicle

for understanding the dialectical relationship between the individual and society, encompassing the transformations of social reality, the intersubjective worlds of experience and the constructive processes of the surrounding world based on shared social and cultural patterns.

Thus, it is possible to speak of a transgenerational trauma. Rosenthal (2002) defined it as traumatic events experienced in the past by the members of a family, and which have important implications for their offspring. These implications often become a burden that must be borne by several generations, not only by those who experienced it. In this regard, the work of Rosenthal (1998) reveals that the experiences of survivors affect various aspects of family and community dynamics, as well as questions of identity and belonging (Rosenthal, 1997). Based on the reviewed approaches, we posit that the study of the biographical narratives of the young Mapuche people gives access to transgenerational dimensions of historical and colonial trauma. Therefore, we understand that transgenerational historical and colonial trauma, at the intersubjective, level is a trauma that becomes shared social worlds at a temporal level that transcends the subject under study.

### **Youth and Processes of Ethno-Cultural Identity Configuration**

The evidence produced on indigenous youth in Latin America and the world shows significant inequalities in health and well-being (World-Bank, 2015). They have vulnerabilities associated with rural-urban migration (Wierucka, 2021) and weakened ties with their community networks. In their life paths, they are more likely to suffer physical and sexual violence than non-indigenous white youth (Pereira et al., 2020), or commit suicide (Anderson et al., 2016; Grande et al., 2020; Pollock et al., 2018). In short, indigenous youth around the world face major challenges as a result of the intergenerational effects of colonization and assimilation policies (UN, 2021).

The literature shows that the processes of identity configuration of indigenous youth in Latin America and the world are characterized by being influenced by macro-social or global dynamics of national States in their relationship with indigenous peoples, and micro-social dynamics at the community and family level (Markstrom, 2011). Some of these dynamics are rural-urban migration on a national and international scale, the commodification of cultural identities and symbols, and assimilationist policies (Huusko, 2017) through educational and health systems, indigenous activist movements, new ethnic essentialisms (Bello, 2016), and, at the local and community level, experiences of stigmatization, discrimination, and identity conflict (Garcés-Pérez & Alarcón-Muñoz, 2022). Indigenous youth experience complex socialization processes that imply navigating between diverse worlds and managing them for their adaptation (Murrup-Stewart et al., 2021; Serrano Santos, 2015; Steele, 2018). Therefore, this interweaving of worlds that they embody involves them in a challenging web of often problematic experiences that requires reflective elements for their coping (Garcés-Pérez & Alarcón-Muñoz, 2022).

### **Ethno-Cultural Identity in the Biographical Trajectories**

In order to understand the processes of identity formation, we adopt the approaches of Barth (1969), of constant transformation and interaction with other societies “that the actors themselves consider significant” (p. 15). Hence the importance of the definition crafted by both collective and individual subjects themselves. Equally crucial is the differentiation between culture, which encompasses specific contents, and ethnic identity, a self-ascribed concept perpetually evolving. These processes exhibit distinct dynamics of change and persistence over time (Poutignat & Streiff-Fenart, 1995).

Hall and Du Gay (2003) put forth the concept of strategic and positional cultural identity, challenging the notion of unified identities as well. Identities are increasingly fragmented and fractured, constantly undergoing radical historicization and transformation. In this context, the concept of identity pertains to self-ascribed and context-specific categories through which both individual and collective subjects establish criteria or differentiation factors (Appadurai, 2001; Grimson, 2014). These criteria serve to identify them as part of a cultural group with cohesive elements.

Brubaker (2002) delves into another facet of ethnic identity by challenging the conventional understanding of groupism, which often underpins the analysis of ethnicity. He argues that examining ethnicity through the lens of categories allows us to shift the focus from fixed representations of group identities towards the exploration of processes and relationships. In essence, this approach enables us to conceptualize how people employ ethnic and national categories as tools to channel and structure processes and relationships. It prompts us to consider how these categories become institutionalized and the repercussions thereof. This encompasses a range of questions, such as how and why ethnic categories are utilized (or not) to make sense of the daily life. In response to the intricate nature of identity formation from a theoretical standpoint, Rosenthal (1997) delves into the theoretical concept of biography which offers a more precise framework for understanding processes related to multiculturalization or loss of belonging. This becomes especially relevant when these multicultural biographical processes mean that, in future generations, the often-rigid social construction of identity becomes a limiting rather than a clarifying element for those who must resolve traumatic events of the past, in which belonging to an identity is ambivalent.

However, we will nuance this problematization in the light of our interest in understanding the processes of formation of ethno-cultural identity at the individual level, as it is appropriated and redefined or resigned as a particular discursive horizon, to which young people give meaning and sense; in the same way we welcome the notion of biography, and its analysis of process that allows us to understand from the temporalized experience the forms of ascription and meaning attributed to the Mapuche ethnic identity.

## **Research Context and Methods**

To comprehend and analyze the biographical processes involved in the formation of identity and belonging among the interviewed young people, the interpretative qualitative research adopted a biographical-narrative approach based on the methodological analytical proposal of Gabriele Rosenthal, which will be explained further (Rosenthal, 1993, 2010, 2018). It is also a case study, involving an intensive analysis of contrasting cases related to the formation of ethnic identity (Flyvbjerg, 2011; Rosenthal, 2018).

Rosenthal's methodological approach to biographical analysis explores the interplay between life history (lived experience), remembered history, and narrated life stories (the narrative). The aim is to comprehend how past experiences, situated within socio-structural contexts, are recalled, recounted, and imbued with meaning by the interviewees (Rosenthal, 1993, 2010, 2018). Through this analytical method, Rosenthal intends to reconstruct cases that exemplify the various forms in which the studied phenomena manifest. This is, the case reconstruction, seeks to gain insights into how individuals interpret and perpetuate social phenomena in their daily lives over time, as well as how they are defined by others. The biographical research seeks to interpret the lived experience in terms of the relationship between individual and society (Berger & Luckmann, 1993; Elias, 1990; Rosenthal, 1997; Schutz & Luckmann, 1973; Simmel, 2001).

The biographical methodology proposed by Rosenthal (2018) is rooted in a grounded theory approach. It involves several aspects central to this methodological design, including the incorporation of theoretical sampling (Charmaz, 2014). However, in Rosenthal's case, a noteworthy aspect of theoretical sampling is the selection of individuals who have experienced the phenomena under study. Furthermore, Rosenthal's proposal aligns with the openness principle of the research question, which is subject to adjustment through multiple iterative cycles of data collection and analysis. It is crucial to emphasize that following each data collection phase, researchers analyze the data and may either revisit the sample with newfound insights or incorporate new sampling to cross-examine the gathered data. This approach aims to reconstruct cases that represent the phenomena under study. In essence, the methodology for approaching the sample and the iterative cycles for data collection and analysis follow a grounded theory approach (Rosenthal, 2018). A distinctive biographical characteristic is evident in the initial interview with any new participant, which is called narrative-biographical interview, encouraging the participant to narrate their life history through one in-depth initial question (Rosenthal, 2010).

For data collection and analysis, Rosenthal's proposal regards the narrative-biographical interview as the initial step for reconstructing life histories. The first analytical phase involves a sequential analysis of the narrative-biographical interview. During this step, we chronologically reconstructed all the lived events of the interviewee, their family members, and ancestors to comprehend the socio-structural contexts in which they lived. At this juncture, we begin gathering additional data that facilitates the reconstruction of life trajectories (Rosenthal, 2018). In our case we conducted narrative- biographical interviews, participant observation, analysis of documents and images, as well as construction of family trees and family interviews. We held five meetings with each of the young people. The process of data production and the proposal of biographical narratives allows the interviewees to process the biographical aspects in their own terms and rhythms. By contextualizing the narrative, with field research and participant observation, it also gives the possibility to the interviewees to elaborate a contextualized narrative, respecting their dialectical process (Chase, 2018).

After this step, we initiated a thematic content analysis to grasp the life story, the meanings, and events remembered by the interviewees, allowing us to identify how the ethnic identity formation process took place. This analytical process adopted a phenomenological perspective, aiming to recognize the actual lived experiences and how the participants remembered and narrated them. The data analysis followed the abductive principle (Rosenthal, 2018) and the development of interpretative phenomenological hypotheses (Schutz & Luckmann, 1973). The objective was to understand the themes recalled, narrated, and silenced in relation to the meaning attributed by the interviewees to their lived experiences.

This case study examines the experiences of two young Mapuche individuals. The selection criteria of the theoretical sample (Charmaz, 2014; Rosenthal, 2018) included recognition by the Chilean State<sup>2</sup> or self-identification, being young, enrollment in tertiary education within an urban setting, and originating from rural Mapuche regions or communities in Chile. The following cases showcase two distinct perspectives regarding the transgenerational transfer of aspects of historical and colonial trauma. In one case: communication and transfer of family history/memory and a positive valuation of Mapuche culture are observed, and, in a second case, where veiling, concealment of family history, and evident devaluation of Mapuche culture. Both cases serve to present apparently contrasting biographies regarding the formation of Mapuche identity, as one rejects many aspects of being Mapuche, while the other participant embraces it. The cases

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<sup>2</sup> He or she benefits from policies designed for the indigenous population in Chile.

presented in this article corresponds to two young people: a woman and a man. In order to protect their identity, their names and the names of their places of origin have been changed.

## Results

In this section, we initially present the historical and sociocultural context in which the generations developed, this with the purpose of characterizing the situation of the indigenous communities and the living conditions of the parents and grandparents of the young participants. Subsequently, we expose a synthesis of the biography of each young person, which provides the objective facts of the life narrated (Rosenthal, 2018). In a third moment, the following topics are analyzed in a contrastive way: (1) Communication and transfer of family history/memory and (2) Valuation of Mapuche culture. These issues allow us to observe transgenerational aspects of the responses to the colonial trauma elaborated by each family and/or community. To close this section, we present a diagram that articulates the forms of transgenerational response present in each case and their relationship with processes of formation of the ethno-cultural identity of the young Mapuche people.

### Sociohistorical Contextualization of the Biographies

These stories are set in a period of post-occupation of the Araucanía region, from 1860 to 1883, when the Chilean army definitively dominated the lands south of the border, annexing them to the nation-state. This was the beginning of a period based on the eradication of indigenous peoples from the territory between the Biobío region and the city of Valdivia, and their subjection to a reductionist regime. The purpose was to quickly integrate the former Mapuche territory into the homogeneous republican legal system for the whole country, which, in the case of land ownership, aimed at an individual property regime. The government of the time sought to reduce to a minimum the amount of land given as property to the indigenous people, in order to declare the rest as wasteland and belonging to the State. This territorial dispossession of the Mapuche people was intended to provide the State with sufficient land to develop a colonization policy with Europeans and Chileans, which would have a “civilizing” and economic progress effect, also favoring the assimilation policies of the Mapuche people (Lipschutz, 1952).

Between 1931 and 1971, 832 communities were divided. Given the fragile protections of the different laws, it is estimated that around 100,000 hectares of the old communities passed into the hands of non-indigenous individuals (Boccaro & Seguel-Boccaro, 2005, p. 9). These measures had a profound impact on the Mapuche people's land use practices, their economic activities, and their way of life. By the 1950s, rural Mapuche communities found themselves mired in poverty (Pinto Rodríguez, 2012).

In the 1970s, during the military dictatorship, the State actively supported the expansion of the monoculture forestry industry by offering production subsidies. This policy inadvertently contributed to the consolidation of large land holdings in the hands of a few individuals or corporations, which, in turn, facilitated the rapid growth of this industry. Under this government, a series of laws were enacted to further the division of communal properties with the stated goal of creating a land market and addressing the ongoing indigenous conflict (Camacho Padilla, 2004). By dividing these shared spaces where Mapuche communities had historically nurtured and preserved their material and cultural heritage, Salazar and Pinto (1999) argued that it had profound consequences not only on their economic way of life but also on the depletion of communities in



terms of population and culture. According to Salazar and Pinto (1999), this division “contributed to the depletion of communities of their people and culture” (Salazar & Pinto, 1999, p. 166).

Boccaro and Seguel-Boccaro (2005) report that all of this led many young people to migrate to the cities to join the lower strata of the urban proletariat. Inserted in a society that justified interethnic stratification based on a set of stereotypes and prejudices, they were the object of an ethnocentric and assimilationist policy, typical of modern thought and the homogenizing project of an egalitarian society, ideals that prevailed since the formation of national states (Larraín, 1994). In the realm of education, primary education laws were introduced in 1926 and subsequently in 1961, enforcing a predominantly educational framework rooted in Western traditions. This impact extended not only to urban areas but also to rural regions, thereby amplifying the mechanisms of acculturation.

Additionally, the pronounced disparities in the allocation of cultural resources and opportunities, encompassing social and economic capital, further exacerbated the acculturative tendencies inherent in subordinate social integration. In turn, the process of expansion of Protestant churches began with the settlement of European colonies in the central-southern territory in the mid-19th century (Zavala Cepeda, 2008). It increased from the 1930s onwards (Corvalán, 2009), affecting the dynamics of cultural change in Mapuche communities, since conversion to the Pentecostal Christian religion implied the prohibition of Mapuche cultural beliefs and practices (Guevara, 2009). The Methodist, Adventist, and Baptist churches established schools directed at first to the immigrant population and then to Chileans and Mapuches, both in rural and urban areas of the Araucanía region and southern Chile. This led to the successive arrival of Protestant missionaries. Currently, recent studies show the growing presence of Pentecostal evangelical churches in the regions of Bio-Bío and Araucanía, reaching double the national percentage (Corvalán, 2009; UDP, 2019). These have the highest rates of rural Mapuche communities.

In more recent decades, the public educational policies implemented in Chile since the 1990s have aimed to facilitate the education of indigenous children and youth. These policies have included initiatives such as scholarships and targeted subsidies, which encompass funding for accommodations, meals, and educational fees. This concerted effort has yielded a dual effect: it has expanded access to both primary and higher education opportunities for Mapuche youth, while simultaneously bolstering assimilation processes. This is because the Chilean educational system remains primarily monocultural and monolingual (Gutiérrez Pezo, 2020). In this general framework, the cases analyzed here refer to first and second generations who have access to higher education. In this regard, although the young participants in this research have managed to access higher education and, therefore, find themselves in a dynamic of upward social mobility with respect to their families of origin and other indigenous youth, their life histories reflect the assimilative social policies of education in Chile. Currently, the relationship between the Chilean nation-state and the Mapuche people is subject to conflicts of historical development (Pinto, 2000; Pinto Rodríguez, 2012), and, at the same time, an unprecedented political juncture is taking place in the context of the elaboration of a new constitution of the republic, where indigenous demands for greater recognition have had a central place in the debates.

**Figure 1***Map of the Ancestral Territory (Wallmapu) Occupied by the Mapuche People Before Colonization*

*Note.* Source: Wikipedia. The map included territories that currently correspond to Argentina and Chile. The Araucanía region, where the research is located, is highlighted in red.

**Synthesis of Biographies**

**Case 1.** Pedro (24 years old) is the son of a father and mother from Mapuche communities in Loncoche and Nueva Imperial, Araucanía Region. Both parents have life histories marked by poverty, abandonment, and violence. Pedro's father (José) was born in 1961, the result of an extramarital relationship between his mother and a man (also Mapuche) close to the community. José is the third of three siblings. José's mother, when he was a young boy, marries the lonko (chief) of the community. She leaves her children from previous relationships alone and they must take care of each other. José had to start working at the age of five in order to feed himself and survive. This story of abandonment is an issue that has not been openly addressed within Pedro's family. From his mother's relationship with the lonko, José has two brothers, one of whom has inherited the role of lonko. José's biological father legally recognized him when he was an adult and met his grandson, Pedro, (when he was about 15 years old).

On the other hand, Pedro's mother (Juana), born in 1963, comes from a family of 6 siblings, she is the oldest sister. Juana's father is an alcoholic, mistreated his wife and children and spent the little money he earned on drink. Juana's mother died when Juana was 17 years old, and she was left with her alcoholic father to raise her five siblings. Juana attended school until second grade. The living conditions in the countryside were very hard because self-consumption production (animals and vegetables) worsened over the years due to the father's alcoholism and the river flooding the land in the area. Juana met her first partner and went to live in Nueva Imperial. She became pregnant from a dating relationship and had a daughter (1991), whom she raised alone, and returned with her to her father and siblings in the countryside.

Juana left her daughter with her family and in a boarding school in Nueva Imperial and went to work as a seasonal worker in the Rancagua and Metropolitan regions. In this work context, she met José in 1995. They got married and Pedro was born. The family continued working in the central zone in a vineyard, where José worked as foreman. When Pedro was three years old, they returned to the south, to the city of Nueva Imperial, where his mother obtained a house from a state subsidy. They live in this house at the time of the interviews.

Pedro attended school in Nueva Imperial until he enrolled at university. His mother worked in this city throughout Pedro's childhood and adolescence, and he spent long hours alone. His mother worked as a housemaid, mainly for her son's teachers, and as a seasonal worker, while his

father worked as a forestry contractor and spent periods away from the family home. His maternal family professes the evangelical Christian faith, the mother converted to the Christian faith as an adult, she says that both parents were Catholics.

Pedro says that he would have liked to study gastronomy at a technical institute, but he had to choose a university and a bachelor's degree program where he was eligible for a full-tuition scholarship. He began studying architecture for a year, traveling daily to Temuco to attend classes. In his second year, he decided to switch his studies and to pursue a bachelor's degree in nutrition, which he says is closer to his interests. The young man continues to travel to Temuco daily to study. He is currently in his fourth year.

**Case 2.** Maylén (23): She is also the daughter of a Mapuche father and mother, both from rural communities. Her father (Raúl) was born in 1971 in the commune of San José de la Mariquina, Los Ríos region, and her mother (Fresia) was born in 1972, and is originally from the commune of Carahue, Araucanía region. Fresia's parents converted to the Adventist religion before she was born, so they did not participate in traditional religious festivities or ceremonies. Fresia grew up in the countryside where she received elementary education and was raised by her grandmother who spoke Mapuzungun. Then she went to the Liceo Intercultural Guacolda boarding school for women in Chol-Chol, where she completed her secondary education and deepened her appreciation for the Mapuche culture. Afterwards, she enrolled in a regional university to study intercultural bilingual education, where she met Maylén's father (Raúl). He studied in San José de la Mariquina and arrived in the city of Temuco to join a boarding school for Mapuche students.

Both parents were actively involved in protest activities and of revitalization of Mapuche culture. They did not finish their higher education, as their brother was born first (1997) and then Maylén (1998). Both continued their technical studies in the field of community development and intercultural health in Osorno and Temuco. When Maylén started elementary school, her family moved to San José de la Mariquina, where she attended a public school. In high school, she boarded at the Liceo Intercultural Guacolda de Chol-Chol and is currently pursuing a health degree at the university. Her father works in rural and community development. Her mother works as an intercultural facilitator in a health center. Maylén is currently in her fourth year of university study.

## Figure 2

*Map of the Araucanía Region*



*Note.* The communities of origin of Maylén and Pedro's parents are indicated in light blue and yellow respectively. The red circle indicates the regional capital, the city of Temuco, where both interviewees are attending university.

In the following, two topics are presented to analyze transgenerational aspects of the historical and colonial trauma: Communication and transfer of family history, and Valuation and appropriation/disaffection of Mapuche culture. Both cases are presented with the emerging subcategories (Table 1).

**Table 1**

*Synthesis of Topics, Categories, and Subcategories of Analysis of the Biographies*

Topic I	Communication and transfer of family history	
Category (1)	Case 1 “Pedro” <i>Limited Family History Interest</i>	Case 2 “Maylén” <i>Interest in learning about origins.</i>
Subcategories	-Family does not engage in reminiscing. -Diffuse and forgotten family memory.	-Communication and intergenerational transfer of family history.
Topic II	Valuation and appropriation/disaffection of Mapuche culture	
Category (2)	<i>Mapuche Culture Non-Internalization</i>	<i>Mapuche Culture Internalization</i>
Subcategories	-Significance of ceremonies and traditional spaces as recreational. - The family does not participate in the culture. -No identification with the Mapuche culture.	-Parent's interest in Mapuche culture. -Mother speaks the Mapuche language. -Parents transmitted appreciation of Mapuche culture. -Ambivalence or fragmented cultural recognition

**Topic I: Communication and Transfer of Family History**

During the interviews, Pedro expresses disinterest in learning about aspects of his family’s history. At the same time, he indicates that both parents are reluctant to talk about their life histories, the childhood of both parents. This is evidenced in the following quotes:

*Q: And what does she tell you about her grandparents, her ancestors? You were telling me that they lived in a Mapuche community... right? They are the xxxx, that is your mother’s last name?*

*Pedro: xxxxxx, yes, it is xxxxx xxxxxx,*

*Q: And what does your mother tell you about those memories, and her ancestors, about the history... of her family?*

*Pedro: Mmm, (...) I really don't know...I have never asked her (laughs) from further back than my Grandparents...*

In this quote, the young man states that his mother does not like to evoke memories of her past.

*Q: So, you tell me that your mother grew up in the countryside and was the oldest of several siblings. How does she remember her childhood in the countryside?*

*Pedro: Hard, it seems to me, I think, I haven't really delved into that, my mother doesn't like to remember it much and I think, she says they starved.*

There is a memory in which the mother tells of painful experiences of her childhood and youth: poverty, alcoholism, neglect, and abandonment, which was corroborated in the field with the young man in his field site, where we were able to interview his mother:

*...my father used to do well in farming, but then he got poorer and poorer, my father began to sell his animals, they paid him very little, my father would arrive drunk, and where is my daughter? he would say, it was very embarrassing for me, when the neighbors saw him. When he came to town, he came to drink.*

In the exercise of elaborating his family tree, Pedro, together with his mother (Juana) and his father (José), held conversations about the childhood and family history of both of them, and previously unaddressed issues emerged. The abandonment of José by his mother, who married the lonko of the community, caused neglect and painful experiences that deeply affected José's life, as he was excluded from the traditional family, where he had siblings who inherited the role of lonko and land succession.

*Q: And did the mother marry the lonko of the community?*

*Pedro: Yes, the lonko...*

*Q: Didn't that benefit him?*

*Pedro: No, it didn't help him, they were raised on their own, he started to work, and work, and later, he was so poor that he had no shoes, he lived apart from his mother. The mother got married, she got married and didn't go that far away, they were like neighbors. The brother was doing his military service, he arrived, and the mother was not there, the siblings were alone. The mother had left, she had married.*

In the process of interviews and elaboration of the family tree, it became evident that the structure of the paternal family was unknown, a veiled topic for the young man, and in the process of elaborating the family tree new conversations arose within the family.

*In fact, when I made the tree, we also laughed with my mom because we were putting it together and my dad was the only one who was alone in one part, and all his siblings were from... On my mom and dad's side they were different, and my grandfather, my grandfather was alone in one part.*

In this context, the distancing from the Mapuche culture that José transmitted to his son, Pedro, is comprehensible and makes sense, as he expresses that his father is not interested in the Mapuche idiosyncrasy, since he has not passed on to him what he had learned from his life in the community, as he reports in the following quote:

*Q: And your father, what is his position, his opinion about his origin, and about the fact that his mother is the wife of a lonko of the Mapuche culture?*

*Pedro: My dad is indifferent, he doesn't care, he doesn't care much about that, my dad is more about work and that.*

*Q: And why do you say that? Do you perceive that from him?*

*Pedro: Because he hasn't instilled it in me either, if he cared about it, I think he would have told me more about things and he has never told me anything...*

Regarding these situations, Rosenthal (2002) refers to the silencing or veiling of family history; she argues that family secrets constitute some of the most effective mechanisms that ensure the continued impact of a threatening family past. She argues that the more closed or guarded the family dialogue, or the greater the attempt to hide or conceal the past, the more sustained will be the impact of the family past on the second or third generation. This author states that, in these cases, through subliminal messages, elements of the trauma are transmitted to the descendants, and the descendants develop fantasies related to the hidden part of the family past.

Unlike Pedro, Maylén is interested in learning about her own family history. In her account, she says that she has created spaces to listen to stories, memories of her grandparents and parents. Before we conducted these interviews, she had made a family tree:

*Yes, I had heard that story before, I had asked my parents and then my grandfather about it. She (grandmother) knew it even better, but at that age I was about 10, 12 years old, she told it to me, and I asked her (...) and now... it was last year, around the pandemic, I went to spend the vacations with my grandfather, and I told him: why don't we do something nice? You always tell me things, but you forget part of it and let's make it definitive: how was the thing? I told him. I had a few sheets of paper and I started to write down everything he told me.*

Her story shows her interest in learning about elements of her family's history and the peasant/Mapuche culture that is part of her origins:

*It is called "papa buna", "funá poñi" in Mapuche (...) when there was a famine, and my grandfather was in great, great need of food. And from then on, as a child until...he is 87, he has always made buna potatoes, in fact, now he has (...) in that field there are slopes, there are estuaries with a lot of water flows, (...) so that is where he simply needs to choose where to place them, and they do a big search for stones because it cannot be just any stone, it has to be a firm stone that does not contain so many things, like dust.*

Maylén, when making her family tree, refers to an ancient history of miscegenation, which converges with passages of the official history: by paternal line, she had as ancestor the son of a Dutch shipwrecked sailor and a Mapuche woman. As he had a perfect command of Spanish and the Mapuche language, in 1820 he was an interpreter in the parliament held between Colonel Beauchef and Chief Lien de Alepúe (Saldivia Donicke, 2011), where peace was signed with the Chilean government. For these actions, he was decorated by the mayor of Valdivia. In the lineage of his paternal family, the surname is widely spread. On the other hand, in her maternal lineage, she was able to identify two Spanish nuns, who had been kidnapped from a mission in the province of Cautín, in the Araucanía region.

The young woman presents elements of recognized miscegenation, which is reflected in an acceptance of cultural hybridization in herself, with respect to her Mapuche grandfather, she says: “and my grandfather had a press that he made because he has like a very... I don’t know, like a kind of German way of thinking that we see in him, because he builds his own things by himself...” The stories of her ancestors, the young woman has listened to them at different times in her life, showing the presence of a family memory that has been discussed and transmitted to the new generations. Allowing them an appropriation and refiguration from their own experiences.

## Topic II. Valuation and Appropriation of Mapuche Culture

In the series of interviews and meetings held with Pedro, it was possible to observe that Mapuche identity and culture are absent in his narrative; they are only addressed by the young man when he is asked directly about specific situations. Through the sequential analysis, a type of rejection of elements of Mapuche culture and identity is elucidated, which is manifested, for example, in a clear intention to avoid pronouncing words of the Mapuche language (which expresses a resistance to its appropriation). In her memory, the traditional Mapuche ceremonies are considered recreational spaces, stripping them of cultural significance, as well as spaces considered sacred such as the Mapuche cemeteries (Eltun). Although he refers in his account to having attended traditional Mapuche ceremonies in the communities of his maternal and paternal family, these memories are associated with recreational activities in which cultural significance is absent:

*Yeah, we used to come here, I came like two times (Mapuche ceremony), I think, and once I lodged, and it was fun, I remember I was playing... but I didn’t care much about it.... I mostly came to play with my cousins, we would even go swimming, we would cross in boats, we would play, there were a lot of boats... like three or four and we would take turns and we would go across and get to...the bottom of the river.*

The young man states that he feels Chilean, prioritizing this identity category over that of Mapuche. He says that he would not be affected if the culture were lost. In this regard, we observe a clear position that, although he tried to evade, he finally expressed it categorically, stating that he would not transfer elements of Mapuche culture to his future children.

*Q: Do you feel identified with saying “I am Mapuche”?*

*Pedro: No, I feel that...I am Chilean, I am just another person there, like I don’t differentiate, I mean, I don’t walk down the street noticing, for example, if someone is dressed as a Mapuche and I am going to treat them in a different way than if they are dressed normally, I don’t make distinctions, I have never made distinctions, to be honest...*

*Q: Right, you feel it as a part of yourself, just that, or don’t you feel it as a part of yourself...?*

*Pedro: No, I don’t.*

*Q: I mean, for example, don’t you consider yourself as different? That’s my point.*

*Pedro: Mmmh... nor has anyone made me feel like I’m different, so no...*

*Q: And do you agree with the revitalization of the language and culture?*

*Pedro: Emmm, I mean, if it should not be lost, I think not, because it is part of the culture of Chile and of the region...but, I don't know, to be honest...no, I don't see myself affected if it is lost, and if I ever have children, I don't think I will be taking them to a guillatun or things like that, because I don't feel part of that, not at this moment and not later on either.*

We observe that in his discourse the young man emphasizes equality over difference, values the universal, and rejects differential treatment. This element is also observed in the discourse of the young man's mother, who does not allude to her ethno-cultural identity in her account of her own life and work experience in the north. Pedro says that his family has distanced itself from the community and traditional Mapuche activities. He associates this with the fact that, through his mother's side of the family, his relatives have converted to the Christian religion.

*Pedro: My father has never been very much part of the Mapuche communities, he is more on the side, he just works, he says he doesn't even care, my family is not very involved in that either, in fact nobody (emphatic).*

*Q: And, not even on your mom's side?*

*Pedro: No, no one either.*

In Maylén's account, on the other hand, elements of appropriation of the Mapuche culture and identity present in her family and community environment emerge, which have been transmitted from the opening of spaces for transgenerational conversation. It is important to highlight that Maylén declares her identification with the Mapuche culture and identity spontaneously since her presentation in the first interview, mentioning that she grew up participating in some ceremonies and activities of the culture together with her parents. In turn, this transfer is mediated by her motivation and interest in learning about her family history and origins, which is reflected in the search she undertakes when she attends high school at an intercultural high school.

*...and I started to look for the xxx high school, I, what it was like, and I liked a lot about the culture, and I wanted to learn about it.*

*It is an area that I like, community things, it was my idea to go to nursing, because there it was about nursing and Mapuche health, which I liked, (...) because health is not only like western health that they give you some pills, something physiological, but there can also be spiritual contexts, I don't know, I remember that I was searching for information about the ngen...*

She says that her interest was also related to finding an explanation for the abnormal and supernatural situations she encountered:

*(...) that people also reactivate like witchcraft, so I say of course that there are people who send negative energy to other people, and I believe that it does happen. So, health goes beyond that, beyond that, I saw that, at that young age I was, well I was like in eighth grade...*



The young woman says that her grandparents on her mother's and father's side did not participate in traditional Mapuche ceremonies. It was her parents' generation who, during their youth, became interested in revitalizing the culture and actively participated in the Mapuche student movement in Temuco and Osorno.

*Q: Does any part of your family participate in Mapuche rituals or medicine?*

*Maylén: Not so much the old ones, my dad and my mom do, they used to go out to guillatún, wetripantu, llelli pun, they took us with my brother.*

Maylén says she appreciates that her mother speaks the Mapuche language, which allows her to communicate with traditional authorities.

*She is a Mapuche speaker, she is bilingual, and she has very good rapport with Mapuche authorities, I have always admired that about her, she can talk to a machi, to a lonko.*

*She has very good communication, with a lawentuchefe, with a machi, because not just anyone could talk to a machi: she must speak the language and must have knowledge.*

The young woman says that her parents transmitted to her their interest and appreciation for Mapuche culture. Since they were children, they participated in ceremonies and activities related to the revitalization and appreciation of the culture.

*They always talked to me about Mapuche culture, that I was Mapuche, and, when I was younger, we used to go to the llellipun, the wetripantu, the nguillatun, the Coz Coz announcement, they would always go there, it was a very beautiful culture, I liked the ancestral things.*

*They always talked to me about the need to preserve the culture and that the relationship between the Mapuche people and nature was very important, and I liked that a lot because: there was a sense of conservation, of saving nature and everything.*

On the other hand, two aspects emerge in her narrative that are linked to her current distancing from the Mapuche elements and allow to understand her critical view of the culture, which mediates her form of ethno-cultural identification. She reports having observed inconsistencies between the discourse and practice of people belonging to Mapuche organizations, and, on the other hand, having experienced an act of sorcery against her mother that caused her a serious illness from which it took her a long time to recover, all of which, according to her, caused a disappointment with the Mapuche culture.

*Because I realized that there were several Mapuche people who, because they wanted to be better, ehh, they could screw each other, so to speak, and I had never seen that in my family, because they were very close (...) so I saw that there was a lot of envy in the culture .....*

*And when they did the wetripantu, it was as if everything fell apart for me, I said, because those who participate here gather money and do their*

*wetripantu, and here, at the Municipality, they asked for money for the meat, and I said: why? This is a Mapuche wetripantu....*

*(...) Once again my culture failed me because it is a Mapuche woman, a lawentuchefe, who they say hurt my mother and, in fact, the machi, I don't know how he does it, but he sees things that we cannot see and it is a kind of help, and, sometimes, because there are spiritual things that people do, because witchcraft does exist.*

In these stories, the young woman tells of the distancing from or critical attitude towards the Mapuche culture, due to situations in which she has been involved with her family. These situations are linked to the dynamics of sociocultural destructuring and disintegration experienced by the Mapuche communities, typical of cultural assimilation processes, within the framework of colonial dynamics (Batalla, 1988). In the young woman's narrative, elements of social and cultural control emerge (Quintero, 2005), she criticizes the incoherence of the organizations as they declare themselves autonomous and, at the same, time receive public funding for the realization of traditional Mapuche activities. The element of envy also emerges in her narrative, analyzed by Citarella (1995), as an explicit cause of the disease. Envy reveals a historical and social horizon in crisis, which expresses the transgression of reciprocity and balance as Mapuche cultural norms: in this case, Maylén's mother becomes seriously ill because of envy, for excelling in the community, for possessing goods, "for prospering economically." This is related to one of the fundamental social rules that discourages the accumulation of power and wealth that is not regulated within the traditional authority structure of the social group. Inequality alters reciprocity, a basic principle of the Mapuche ethical code (Az Mapu) and positions the person outside the place where he or she can establish an equivalent exchange. According to this author, this is where the transgression lies, "in the establishment of this inequality that will have as a projection the envy of the other person, or of the other people" (Citarella, 1995, p. 82). The young woman attributes this evil to a Mapuche element, however, what is in question is a crisis between the individual and the collective, the community. These elements relate to culture shock and transgenerational, colonial trauma; to an unstructured society, where transgression and forgetfulness of the norms of the Az mapu (or traditional ethical code) resulted in practices that they have normalized. In this regard, the presence of envy, as an explicit cause of the disease, implicitly reveals a historical and social horizon in crisis in which what is at stake is the identity of the individual with his or her reference community, which we could frame within the implications of social destructuring of historical and colonial trauma (Citarella, 1995).

In Maylén's case, we see that, although she recognizes valuable elements of Mapuche culture and admires the knowledge that both parents possess and have transmitted to her and that she can potentially learn, she says that she finds herself in an ambivalent situation. In addition to recognizing that she has been "disappointed in the culture," she says that she is "lost" due to the demands of the university and the motivation to continue studying and pursue a postgraduate degree after completing her undergraduate studies. We see in her narrative the openness to different possibilities in the face of assuming the Mapuche culture, which she puts in a state of tension and contradiction. At the same time, this assumption of culture implies an ethical and emotional imperative, a commitment that is contracted by assuming it, which produces uncertainty.

*I could at least preserve the language and I don't do it, even though my mother speaks it (...). My mother is like a seed keeper, she tells me: "this little herb is good for this, write it down!", and I am going to do it someday... it's like they are giving me something, she wants to give me*

*something of the culture and I don't take it into consideration, it's like my feelings... are not there....*

*It's like I have closed myself a lot, like I have to finish my studies, I have to do it well, then I have to continue studying, I guess. I can't just settle for a bachelor's degree and it's like being Mapuche for me is not even in the second place, I would say it's even in the third place. Because I am Mapuche, but I don't feel so Mapuche.*

In Maylén's case, we observe that she recognizes and values the Mapuche culture in others, however, this recognition is fragmented in herself. In her testimony, dilemmas emerge, conflicts in the process of assuming the culture, and making certain commitments to herself and her environment, which translates into actions that would imply a recognition of herself as Mapuche.

*That is why the other time I told you that I am kind of lost because I really do not have the conviction I had before with the culture, I no longer see myself in a march dressed as a Mapuche fighting or defending the culture... (...) I may or may not do it. Or maybe 7 years from now, as all human beings make a change every 7 years, maybe I will come back with all my strength and say I am Mapuche and we have to continue like this, but I don't know, I don't know how far I can go with... the culture.*

**Table 2**  
*Transgenerational Articulation of Elements of Historical and Colonial Trauma in the Biographies of the Young Mapuche People*

	<b>Pedro</b>	<b>Maylén</b>
<b>3rd Generation born around 1930</b>	Veiled history of her paternal and maternal grandparents. Fragmented and disorganized memories. Alcoholism and child abandonment. Poverty. Veiled stories.	Conversion to the Christian religion of maternal and paternal grandparents, in response to alcoholism. Active family historical memory transmitted from one generation to another in both family branches. Heroic family history of racially mixed ancestor who mediates between the Chilean-Spanish army and the Mapuche communities. Poverty.
<b>2nd Generation born between 1960-1970</b>	Abandonment and poverty experienced by the father. Poverty, violence, and parental alcoholism experienced by the mother. Resistance to remembrance. Father's emotional distance towards Mapuche traditions. Mother's conversion to the Christian religion.	Revitalization and revaluation of Mapuche culture and cultural identity. Active participation in Mapuche cultural and protest movements. Both parents studied and work on issues related to Mapuche culture.

	Critical perception towards the demands of the Mapuche social movement. Focus on hard work, on meeting the basic needs of life.	
<b>1st Generation born between 1990-2000</b>	Veiled past Making the difference invisible Ideology of equality. Disinterest in recognizing and appropriating identity elements. Disinterest in transmitting aspects of Mapuche culture to their descendants. Loyalties with parents, focus on studies and future work. Assimilation life trajectory.	Development of a reflection on identity. Questioning and problematization of culture based on their experiences. Selection and valuation of aspects of the culture appropriated and in the process of appropriation (see support in data). Openness to redefine Mapuche culture.

*NOTE.* These generations developed within the historical context of post-occupation of Mapuche lands, characterized by land dispossession and the creation of reductions, the enactment of the land division law, privatization of communal spaces, poverty, migration to urban centers, and the peasantization and proletarianization of the Mapuche people.

## Final Thoughts

The biographies of both young Mapuche people express in a differentiated manner elements associated with historical and colonial trauma and forms of transgenerational coping, such as the transmission of responses to difficult and painful experiences associated with situations of community disintegration, poverty, abandonment, alcoholism, discrimination and different types of violence, which have been transmitted from previous generations (parents and grandparents) to the young people, through multiple and diverse discursive and interactional forms. We have visualized that these dynamics are directly linked to the processes of formation of their ethno-cultural identity. In this regard, Rosenthal states that certain events in family history, even when they occurred before the person's birth, "may have a stronger impact on current family dynamics and on the biographies of descendants than their socialization in different systems" (Rosenthal, 2002, p. 2), regarding the descendants, on the one hand, they elaborate fantasies or imaginations with respect to the veiled history, while at the same time, they may assume loyalties and commitments, in complicity with the histories of their parents and families.

From the two cases analyzed, we can visualize elements of affectation and transgenerational modes of coping differentiated from historical and colonial trauma: one case shows the veiling of family history and dissipation of memory as ways of dealing with the past. Together with this, the assimilation of the Christian, evangelical religiosity and the distancing towards the Mapuche culture that converges in a resignation or rejection towards the ethno-cultural identity, as a denial of the appropriation of Mapuche elements. The other case shows an active transfer of family history and memory, and the valuation and revitalization of Mapuche culture and identity, which has allowed the development of a reflection on identity from a critical position.

Therefore, we can conclude that a biographical approach allows us to recognize in biographies the traces of a historical and colonial trauma, in addition to allowing us to examine more critically the internal processes that can explain the different ways in which current young generations incorporate the inheritance of these intersubjective experiences at the transgenerational level and redefine them in their present temporalities. Thus, the notion of purist identity, sometimes reflected in an identity discourse of recognition, or in a family biographical narrative, is internally

stressed by them, and a construction process is observed that has not yet finished, but that certainly is not satisfied with binary identities: to be Chilean or to be Mapuche.

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