

Mapudungun, interculturality and inclusion in the Chilean education system

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ABSTRACT

Mapudungun is one of the heritages that defines the identity of the Mapuche people. Its survival over time is mainly due to the processes of re-ethnification that have occurred in the last decade. However, it is necessary to follow the strategies briefly developed in this work, to maintain their validity and revitalization in the Chilean sociocultural context. A program to maintain this indigenous language must have due state support to become a healthy and self-sufficient language. All this will allow the continuation of the way of life of its users, as well as the faithful reflection of their culture within the multicultural world.

Keywords: Mapudungum, Identity, Interculturality.

INTRODUCTION

The objective of Intercultural Education is to respond to the cultural diversity that prevails in developed democratic societies. To this end, it starts from approaches that respect cultural pluralism, as something intrinsic to today's societies, valuing it as a source of wealth for all members of a society. From a pedagogical point of view, cultural differences are understood as an important educational resource. Intercultural Education proposes an educational practice that makes the cultural differences of individuals and societies the focus of reflection and research.

It should not be forgotten that Intercultural Education is ultimately a form of attention to diversity. From this perspective, its contribution in the educational and social field is much better understood, since it constitutes the final stage in the process of acceptance and assessment of cultural variables. To understand this better, it is necessary to know what are the existing models in the treatment of diversity, whatever it may be, including linguistic and cultural diversity.

We live in a diverse world in which biodiversity has been talked about for a long time. On the other hand, diversity is one of the defining characteristics of humanity and, therefore, of our societies. The school is a reflection of this social variability and must deal with all the diversities that converge in it, from cultural to physical or able-bodied. When dealing with this diversity, they have started from different assumptions that responded to ideological and political wills. Traditionally, two theories have been used: the deficit theory and the difference theory Arroyo González, M^a José. (2012).

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Both aim to address diversity, although from completely different approaches. Each of them has given rise to different educational models to deal with this diversity inherent to people and societies.

Both theories are based on the close relationship between diversity and inequality, but they offer completely different solutions to that relationship. The deficit theory proposes to eliminate these differences through educational models based on assimilation and compensation, while the difference theory does not propose to eliminate them, but proposes mutual enrichment by developing specific educational models: multicultural and intercultural. AS POINTED OUT BY TUTS (2007:34)

Intercultural education is too often confused with attention to immigrant students and the vehicular language is imposed as a factor of integration, forgetting its necessary transformation into a linking language of communication. Respect for difference often borders on the promotion of cultural relativism, while coexistence is seen as a utopian situation. As for social cohesion, this is often confused with homogeneity, monolingualism or monoculturalism. It therefore seems that cultural and linguistic diversity tends to be disconcerting and suspicious.

Intercultural education and inclusion present multiple connections that can and should guide our educational practice. As we will analyze later, intercultural education is a way of doing school and educating.

CONTEXT CHILE

Today, several indigenous groups in Chile still use their language, which constitutes one of the heritages that define their identity, including their way of life, their history, their rituals, their philosophy and their customs.

Indigenous people in Chile face several linguistic challenges. When they are in the city or in environments where Spanish is spoken exclusively, they must adapt to this situation, leaving the native language to communicate sporadically with a member of their group who speaks the language at family or friendship gatherings. The groups that reside in rural centers maintain to a greater extent their language and culture that allows them to perpetuate some ancestral rituals. However, only older adults speak the native language in many of these places, including the rural areas of Arauco, Malleco, Cautín, Mehuín and Panguipulli, mainly. There are also Mapuche people who speak their language in the cities where a large number of them migrate as seasonal or permanent workers, more specifically in Santiago, Concepción and Temuco.

Indigenous languages have been strong enough to survive over time, facing enormous assimilation pressures from Spanish as an official language. There is still a significant number of speakers of each of the languages that are still in force, such as Aymara, Rapa Nui and Mapudungun. The current process of re-ethnification has activated the development of the vitality of these languages in several communities,



both rural and urban. Within this motivation, it is necessary to plan the resources available to guide all these efforts under the tutelage of a program with realistic goals and effective procedures. This means obtaining the necessary information to diagnose the conditions in which the tongue is found, and thus choosing the appropriate intervention strategies conducive to its revitalization. Approaches, resources, ideas and goals should be based on the experiences and knowledge of indigenous groups, as well as on the theoretical and practical experiences and knowledge of linguists, educators, anthropologists and other social scientists.

INTERCULTURALITY AND EDUCATION

Interculturality is a dimension that is not limited to the field of education, but is present in human relations in general as an alternative to authoritarianism, dogmatism and ethnocentrism. However, the search for more democratic and plural societies presupposes educational processes that affirm and provide experience of living in democracy and respect for diversity. As educators we have an inescapable responsibility.

Interculturality in education appears to be closely linked to the new spirit of equity and quality that inspires current educational proposals, thus overcoming the egalitarian vision that predominated in the Latin American social scene since the arrival of the first liberal waves on the continent. Interculturality in education implies a double path: inwards and outwards, and that one of the necessary directions to which an intercultural educational project must be directed, particularly when it comes to peoples who have been subjected to cultural and linguistic oppression (such as ours) is precisely towards the roots of one's own culture and one's own vision of the world. To structure or recompose a coherent universe on which dialogue and exchange with cultural elements can be better grounded from a better position that, although alien, are necessary both to survive in today's world and to achieve better standards of living, taking advantage of those scientific and technological advances and developments that are considered necessary.

Intercultural education must be understood as a pedagogical process that involves several cultural systems. It is born from the individual and collective right of indigenous peoples that entails, not only to enjoy the right to education like all citizens, but also the right to maintain and cultivate their own traditions, culture, values, but also from the need to develop intercultural competencies that allow any citizen anywhere in the country, whether he or she belongs to the hegemonic culture or not. To be able to live democratically with others.

Based on the experience accumulated in the first years of implementation of bilingual intercultural education in the Chilean education system, and having clarity about the fundamental role of the indigenous language for the recognition, appreciation and respect of the culture, worldview and history of



the native peoples, the challenge is to turn the school into an educational space in which its students are assured the opportunities to learn this language. in a systematic way and relevant to their reality.

Thus, in 2009, the Ministry of Education of Chile established the Fundamental Objectives and Minimum Mandatory Contents for the creation of the Indigenous Language Sector in Basic Education; which made it possible to initiate the design of Study Programs for the Aymara, Mapuzugun, Quechua and Rapa Nui languages. The foregoing, considering at least three different realities of access to the indigenous language by children: those who have one of these four languages as their mother or family language, those who listen to the indigenous language only in their social environment, and those who only hear it at school.

The subject of Indigenous Language, with four hours per week assigned, seeks to strengthen the cultural and linguistic knowledge of four native peoples who still maintain their native language: Aymara, Mapuche, Quechua and Rapa Nui. To this end, a pedagogical duo is formed, composed of a classroom teacher (who supports the pedagogical aspects) and a traditional educator, a person in charge of imparting traditional knowledge, especially the indigenous language.

The teaching of the Aymara, Mapuzugun, Quechua and Rapa Nui languages was articulated around two axes, conceived as complementary:

- Orality: understood as a dynamic and contextual form of knowledge, and recognized as the traditional way of transmitting and accumulating knowledge of native peoples.
- Written communication: understood as of great complexity for indigenous languages, due to the history of oral tradition in the transmission of knowledge. However, knowledge of the written code of the indigenous language is promoted, through the graphemes of Spanish.

The subject of Indigenous Language has been implemented gradually, starting in 2010 in the first year of basic education to reach 2018, the teaching and learning of Indigenous languages in eighth grade.

In addition, schools can autonomously develop their own plans and programs around indigenous knowledge, which are incorporated into the school curriculum as subjects or as extracurricular workshops. These initiatives have allowed educational communities to generate content relevant to their territories and the particularities of their students.

As an example, within the plans and programs that the establishments develop, there are workshops on ethnic cooking, interculturality and development, Mapuche-Huilliche worldview and language, traditional Mapuche medicine, and Chedungun language, among others.

The creation of this subject is based on the following laws and decrees:



- The Indigenous Law (1993), which favored the beginning of a systematic process for the teaching of native languages and cultures, by indicating the establishment of a programmatic unit that would make access to this knowledge possible.
- General Law of Education (2009), which establishes obligations and principles, one of them being that of interculturality, which states: "The system must recognize and value the individual in his or her cultural specificity and origin, considering his or her language, worldview and history." Articles 28, 29 and 30 commit to the teaching of the Indigenous Language in establishments with a high indigenous population for pre-school, basic and secondary education.
- Decree No. 280/2009, which incorporates the Fundamental Objectives and Minimum Compulsory Contents of the Indigenous Language Sector for the basic education level and establishes the obligation to implement this subject in all establishments with an enrolment of more than 20% of indigenous students.
- ILO Convention 169, ratified by Chile in September 2008. Convention on the Rights of the Child, ratified in August 1990. Both normative instruments refer to the right of children belonging to indigenous peoples to receive education and respect their language and culture.

INTERCULTURALITY FOR ALL

Interculturality allows us all to get to know each other, value each other and live with different cultural universes, enriching our experiences as people and as a society. In this sense, interculturality seeks to generate a reflection in the educational system that makes it possible to recognize, value and understand the richness of diversity, thereby questioning, for example, the imposition and hierarchization of a certain type of knowledge or the establishment of social relations.

In terms of native peoples, from the recognition of their existence and social, cultural, spiritual, and economic development, among others, as cultures that inhabited this territory centuries before colonization, the Ministry of Education (2015), in a process that aims to pay off the historical debt that the State has with these peoples, assumes the policy of relieving the languages of the indigenous peoples, cultures, histories and worldviews of indigenous cultures in the processes of comprehensive quality educational improvement of the country's establishments, with the aim of promoting intercultural citizenship. As of 2016, 223,087 indigenous students were identified in the school system in 9,335 educational establishments (79% of the total number of schools in the country, according to the State Institute of Statistics (INE)).

In the same way, the Ministry of Education has decided to develop its own concept of interculturality, seeking to reflect the reality and the environment in which we are immersed as a society:



Interculturality is an ethical-political social horizon under construction, which emphasizes horizontal relationships between people, groups, peoples, cultures, societies and with the State. It is based, among others, on dialogue from otherness, facilitating a systemic and historical understanding of the present of the diverse people, groups and peoples who interact permanently in the different territorial spaces. Interculturality favors the creation of new forms of citizen coexistence among all, without distinction of nationality or origin. To this end, symmetrical dialogue is possible by recognizing and valuing the richness of linguistic-cultural, natural and spiritual diversity. In the case of indigenous peoples, it reveals their characteristics and different systems that problematize, and at the same time, enrich the constructions of the world, ensuring the exercise of individual and collective rights.

BILINGUAL INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

Children and young people belonging to indigenous peoples have the right to learn in contexts of greater equality, in conditions that fit their cultural particularities, their language, and their way of seeing the world.

As in the rest of the countries of the region, our educational system assumed a role of cultural and linguistic homogenization that left out of the discourses of "national identity" an important part of the knowledge, values and ways of life of the native peoples. This pedagogical imbalance over time has had a negative influence on the identity and self-esteem of people belonging to the native peoples, as well as on the possibility of building a multicultural and multilingual country.

In this context, the State assumes the duty of laying the foundations for enabling bilingual intercultural education that will enable children to learn the language and culture of their peoples, by incorporating, in the national curriculum, the subject of Indigenous Language (currently in Aymara, Quechua, Mapuzugun, and Rapa Nui) for basic education.

This subject, which aims to enable children of indigenous peoples to communicate in their vernacular language, is implemented in educational establishments that want to promote interculturality and in those that have an enrollment equal to or greater than 20% of indigenous students, and is developed by the traditional educator. person responsible for transmitting cultural and linguistic knowledge to the students of the establishment.

The implementation of this subject is not the only way to transmit this knowledge; The school can also develop intercultural workshops, strategies for the revitalization of endangered languages and cultures, and linguistic immersion in specific contexts.



TRAINING IN INTERCULTURALITY

Teacher training is a key aspect in the implementation of intercultural education. Chile needs to train its teachers as mediators and facilitators of the development of schools that value and integrate the cultural richness of indigenous peoples into the learning experience of their students.

The Ministry of Education has developed joint work with two universities to strengthen a teacher training plan in Pedagogy of Intercultural Bilingual Basic Education. In this sense, it has established collaboration agreements with the Catholic University of Temuco (UCT) and with the Arturo Prat University (UAP) of Iquique.

In the case of UCT, this plan has two target groups: Mapuche students from the regions of Biobío, La Araucanía, Los Lagos and Los Ríos; and students of the Pedagogy in Bilingual Intercultural Basic Education career in the Mapuche context. Meanwhile, the initial training plan of the UAP of Iquique is aimed at Aymara, Licanantai and Quechua students from the regions of Tarapacá, Arica and Parinacota, and Antofagasta.

Other activities are also included within the agreements such as: developing language immersion activities for students; disseminate the career among young people in secondary education in municipal establishments in communes with a high density of indigenous population; and to hold reflection colloquiums with students from other careers and schools of other training disciplines, among others.

In the same way, the Ministry of Education intends to strengthen intercultural training for teachers from municipal and subsidized private establishments through the development of a Postgraduate Degree in Interculturality, and through a B-learning course, in charge of the Center for Improvement, Experimentation and Pedagogical Research (CPEIP).

On the other hand, the Ministry of Education accompanies traditional educators who implement the subject of Indigenous Language or develop intercultural workshops through a Training Course that aims to provide tools in the pedagogical, cultural and linguistic aspects to promote the work of this figure within schools.

ROLE OF THE TRADITIONAL MAPUCHE EDUCATOR

The first lines of work of the Ministry of Education, in terms of bilingual intercultural education, were linked to community participation, in order to promote meetings and collect knowledge with a territorial approach, from the voice of traditional authorities, communities, families, and indigenous professionals; In the same way, it sought to identify practices and knowledge in force in the communities, in order to replicate some of this knowledge in the training of children belonging to these educational communities.



It is in this context that the figure of the Community Cultural Advisor, now known as the Traditional Educator (ET); which is governed at first as a binding actor between indigenous communities and educational establishments for the transmission of knowledge about their culture and language.

This figure has been strengthened in the educational communities, achieving, among other things: recreating learning strategies specific to their communities, developing didactics for teaching indigenous languages, collecting oral stories, and systematizing knowledge associated with mathematics, science, cosmogony, among others.

In this context, and since the creation of the subject of Indigenous Language, the ET becomes relevant as it is responsible for specifying the teaching of the Aymara, Quechua, Rapa Nui and Mapuzungun languages in establishments that have 20% of indigenous enrollment, or in those that want to promote interculturality through intercultural workshops. bilingualism, or cultural and linguistic revitalization.

Some aspects to consider in the fulfillment of their functions are the following:

- To accredit sufficient linguistic and cultural competences to work in the teaching of the languages and cultural knowledge of the native peoples. Be validated by the Indigenous Communities or Associations linked to the educational establishment.
- Preparation of teaching, understood as the ability to structure the teaching-learning process with learning objectives to be achieved in students from the point of view of indigenous knowledge,
- Creation of an environment conducive to learning, that is, the ability to promote conditions in the use of multiple spaces and diverse methodologies, which favor intercultural learning,
- Teaching for the learning of all students, that is, the ability to deliver linguistic and cultural knowledge in diverse realities to achieve learning objectives and propose strategies according to these.

TRAINING AND ACCOMPANIMENT

For more than fifteen years, community cultural advisors, in the first instance, and currently traditional educators, have received training through training and accompaniment courses in the linguistic, cultural and pedagogical fields, with an emphasis on the development of competencies, both at the curricular and extracurricular levels.

The main objective of these training courses is to enable better performance and an adequate and relevant insertion by traditional educators in the educational system; and therefore, they acquire specific characteristics according to the territory where they are carried out, respecting regional autonomy and promoting their own strategic development.



The trainings, carried out in a face-to-face format and with an average duration of 150 hours, are financed by the Intercultural Bilingual Education Program and developed by three entities according to regional realities: a) universities together with organizations with a focus on indigenous language, b) regional ministerial teams (Regional Ministerial Secretariats of Education), and c) consultants and/or independent professionals.

CURRENT CHALLENGE

The rescue of native languages is of great relevance, not only because it strengthens the culture and identity of the native peoples who inhabit Chile, but also because it gives identity to our country and allows us to project ourselves as a more democratic, inclusive and respectful society.

The current situation of the languages recognized by indigenous law is critical and represents a complex challenge that summons all of us, not only those who belong to a certain indigenous people, since it is society that is responsible for the revaluation of the vernacular languages that we have been relegating to increasingly reduced spaces. to the point of endangering their existence.

The condition in which the different languages of the native peoples that inhabit Chile find themselves today is complex; Although it is a multilingual and multicultural country, Spanish continues to be the language of communication, teaching, and regulation, which is why it has the greatest number of functions. The studies, research and reports consulted indicate that the main problems identified are the following:

At the macro level:

- Lack of status of languages: understood as the possibility of giving functionality to the language in the different institutions and media from which the minority or minoritized language has been excluded.
- Lack of language corpus: refers to a series of actions that are carried out with the aim of standardizing the language, such as defining a graphemary, creating dictionaries, grammars and creating specific entities that deal with the subject (academies), among others.
- In the context of speech and communication, lack of spaces of use and possibilities of use, functionality beyond the local or familiar.
- Spanish is the official language of communication and teaching; This can be seen in the hegemony of Spanish in the media and transmission of languages: texts, media, arts, among others. The same is true for formal and informal education.



At the micro level, the main obstacles refer to the attitude of the speakers, due to self-discrimination, the lack of motivation to deliver knowledge about the mother tongue to the next generations, adverse local contexts, the decrease in the number of communities or speakers in a territory and the lack of external support to promote the indigenous language because it is not part of the economy. work, vocational training.

Another challenge in this area is related to the lack of quantitative and qualitative data that allow us to know more precisely the situation of languages and their speakers in Chile today. There are only two official sources with general information on the 9 indigenous peoples: CASEN (MIDEPLAN) and CENSO 2002 (INE).

The indigenous languages of Chile that maintain some degree of sociolinguistic vitality are Mapudungun, Aymara, Rapa Nui and Quechua. According to the 2009 CASEN Survey, only 24% of the population belonging to these peoples would have some degree of competence in their languages, with significant geographical and regional variations in terms of the number and proportion of speakers. (Source: BCN)

Year	Speakers	Just understand	Doesn't speak or understand
2000	14%	13,8%	72%
2003	16,8%	18,9%	64,4%
2006	14,2%	14,1%	71,7%
2009	12%	10,6%	77,3%
2011	11%	10,4%	78,6%
2013	10,9%	10,4%	78,7%
2015	10,7%	10,7%	78,6%

Source: Casen

THE TREATMENT OF A LANGUAGE IN DECLINE

When it is noticed that a language is entering a state of decline, it is possible to develop a program to maintain that language. This depends on the state in which it is found, the historical causes of its decline, access to funds and human and financial resources, and the interest of the community. At first, many members of the group want to develop fluency in the use of the language, thinking that it will be easy to acquire the ancestral linguistic code again. Unfortunately, this is not a difficult task, since most indigenous children are fluent in Spanish as their first language and are poorly acquainted with their indigenous cultural traditions.

Therefore, Spanish becomes the model of correctness or naturalness and learning another language causes them difficulty in producing new sounds or in combining words in patterns that are different from those of the first language learned. Researchers warn that, after the puberty stage, it is difficult to process information using different rules and structures in a second language.



In reality, the best way to keep a language alive is through communication with children, using the indigenous language in its first stage of language acquisition. The fact of handling two languages in the family environment allows the child to acquire two linguistic codes simultaneously and without difficulties. Certainly, parents have their own preferences regarding the use of one language over another. This can become setting rules for children who perceive in which contexts they can speak the indigenous language or Spanish. Generally, they speak Mapudungun with their grandparents at home, but they speak Spanish with their peers in other contexts. Finally, they prefer to use Spanish in all situations.

A language maintenance program should include as a goal the gradual increase in the number of speakers. This requires the participation and preparation of teachers who speak the language fluently and handle the difficulties involved in teaching it. It is advisable to locate some members of the indigenous community who are willing to collaborate and undergo an intense stage of preparation, to carry out this task in order to acquire formal knowledge in a process of evaluation within the community itself.

The program for maintaining the indigenous language must also measure the importance of Spanish and the indigenous language. Both languages are essential to the community. But one of them should not be neglected or favored to the detriment of the other. Although Spanish is officially taught throughout the Chilean school system, there is some evidence of the type of Spanish spoken by indigenous communities, which differs from the formal dialect accepted in the official environment. The two languages in contact have influenced each other over time.

The familiar dialect of Spanish, spoken by the adult generations in each indigenous group, has been passed down from generation to generation, becoming a variety with phonological and grammatical features of the indigenous language. This requires a sociolinguistic study that can provide a lot of knowledge about the difficulties that indigenous students face in learning the standard variety of Spanish taught in school. It can also provide a guideline on the differences between the indigenous language and formal Spanish.



COMMITMENT OF THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT AND THE MAINTENANCE OF INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES

Scholars agree that the ultimate goal of a maintenance program is to achieve fluency in the use of the indigenous language. If this is not possible, at least a feeling of appreciation of the language and its relevance as a means of maintaining cultural identity can be achieved. The factors that determine which goals are realistic and which are difficult to achieve can be known through the objective assessment of the needs of each community.

It is known that any language suffers a decrease in its use, due to historical reasons of competition with the language of a group that expands its area of influence through the media and access to material goods. The first contacts between Spaniards and indigenous people were negatively aggressive, due to the purposes of the conquest that included the acquisition of new territories, discovery of precious metals, conversion to a new religious doctrine and search for labor for forced labor. As a result, the indigenous people suffered a decrease in their population and the trampling of their culture, which gave rise to a feeling of frustration and of a conquered people that has hardly been overcome throughout Chilean history.

FINAL REFLECTION

Thinking about interculturality implies deepening the country's political approaches that support the different intercultural and bilingual educational proposals that are generated by different social actors, including national agencies and governments, regional education secretariats, CONADI, non-governmental organizations, civil associations, ethnic movements and organizations, among others.

Thus, Intercultural Education is not possible through the copying and/or extra-logical adaptation of identity values and the institutionalization devices of Western civilization, because, in short, they only tend to conceal the continuity of socio-civilizational evangelization, of the cultural control that they historically exercise over the various peoples of the world and that have made possible the shaping of the current global order; rather, on the contrary, they demand not only the public recognition of the socio-cultural plurality that forms the very substratum of contemporary social systems, deconstructing the modern ideal of the monocultural Nation State, but also the historical affirmation of the values inherent in the construction of identity of each of the communities existing in the world and, therefore, of the values of intercultural interaction.

Legitimizing community existence and cultural identity on the basis of the similarities that can be discovered, evidenced, assumed and implanted in the development of particular historical events, with the values and devices of civilizational affirmation of the dominant culture, in the strict sense, does not mean confirming the irrefutable presence of otherness, of the right to difference and, therefore, of the urgent



need for Intercultural Education, on the contrary, it represents the self-deception of camouflaging oneself as one's fellow man, as one's neighbor, as an authentic being, that is, an illegitimate projection of a civilized, developed society, which for this very reason needs cultural evangelization in order to be able to fully develop. Thinking about the possibility of Intercultural Education, then, entails the unavoidable need to construct new educational concepts that do not disguise the evangelizing pretensions of the dominant culture.

This has been a small reflection on Intercultural Education as a path towards educational inclusion. The aim throughout the article has been to show how both concepts share a multitude of ideas, and in the end allow very specific ways of learning and teaching in the classroom. The great challenge at this time in schools is to contribute to an interculturally inclusive education, which, as García and Goenechea (2009: 35) define us.

The recognition of social diversity and multiculturalism demands the emergent transformation of contemporary educational processes, towards the appropriation of the values of identity construction of the context in which individuals develop, so that they can build their personal life project, in addition to participating significantly in the socio-cultural and political-economic transformation of their community of life. without ignoring interaction in the order of global society. As contemporary societies are constituted in the recognition of onto-historical otherness, therefore, an education that not only respects, but also enhances identity diversity is required, within a framework of intercultural dialogue, where all individuals and communities have the right to appropriate their own cultural values, as well as the cultural capital available in today's knowledge society.



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