

¿DE LA ASIMILACIÓN A LA ACEPTACIÓN DEL OTRO? POLÍTICA EDUCATIVA PARA PUEBLOS INDÍGENAS EN AMÉRICA LATINA Y LA POLÍTICA DE “EDUCACIÓN INTERCULTURAL BILINGÜE” EN CHILE.

Resumen. Durante períodos largos en la historia de América Latina, la educación para la población indígena – generalmente marginalizada – intentaba integrar estos pueblos en y así asimilarlos a las naciones “europeas”, “blancas” o “mestizas”. Solamente al final del siglo veinte, gracias a las luchas de los pueblos indígenas mismos y a la emergencia de un concepto de nación “multicultural”, las estrategias educativas empezaron a cambiar. Ahora el objetivo de las políticas educativas es la preservación de las culturas y lenguas indígenas y la aceptación o el reconocimiento de estas. Como muchos otros países latinoamericanos, Chile, que generalmente no es considerado un “país indígena”, en los años noventa también adoptó una política de “Educación Intercultural Bilingüe” con estos fines. Pero, a pesar de un discurso muy ambicionado y la implementación de una serie de medidas al respecto, la educación intercultural bilingüe chilena todavía existe más bien en la teoría que en la práctica.

Palabras clave: Pueblos indígenas, educación, asimilación, Educación Intercultural Bilingüe, América Latina, Chile.

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EDUCATIONAL POLICY FOR INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN LATIN AMERICA
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CHILE.**

Abstract. Over a long period in Latin American history, education for the –mostly marginalized – indigenous population aimed at its integration into and thereby its assimilation to the “European”, “white” or “mestizo” nations. Only at the end of the 20th century, due to the struggles of the indigenous peoples themselves and the emergence of a concept of “multicultural” nations, the educational strategies started to change. Now, they aim at the preservation of the indigenous cultures and languages and proclaim their acceptance or recognition. As did many other Latin American states, Chile, which usually is not seen as an “indigenous country”, in the 1990s also adopted a new policy of “Intercultural Bilingual Education” with these aims. However, despite a quite ambitious discourse and a wide range of implemented measures, Chilean intercultural bilingual education above all exists in theory than in practice.

Key words: Indigenous peoples, education, assimilation, “Intercultural Bilingual Education”, Latin America, Chile.

DE L'ASSIMILATION À LA RECONNAISSANCE DE L'AUTRE? POLITIQUE D'ENSEIGNEMENT POUR LES PEUPLES INDIGÈNES EN AMÉRIQUE LATINE ET LA POLITIQUE DE L' "ÉDUCATION INTERCULTURELLE BILINGUE" AU CHILI.

Sommaire. Suivant une longue période dans l'histoire de l'Amérique Latine, l'éducation de la population indigène – souvent marginalisée – avait l'intention d'intégrer et parallèlement d'assimiler ces peuples aux nations "européennes", "blanches" ou "métisses". Cependant à la fin du 20ème siècle, grâce aux luttes des peuples indigènes mêmes et l'émergence d'un concept de nation "multiculturelle", les stratégies éducatives ont commencé à changer. Maintenant, elles veulent préserver les cultures et les langues indigènes et prétendent leur reconnaissance. Comme beaucoup d'autres pays de la région, le Chili, qui en général n'est pas considéré comme un pays indigène, a aussi introduit une nouvelle politique d' "Education Interculturelle Bilingue" après 1990 avec ces objectifs. Mais, malgré un discours très ambitieux et beaucoup de mesures implémentées, l'éducation interculturelle bilingue chilienne existe plutôt en théorie qu'en pratique.

Mots-clés: Peuples indigènes, éducation, assimilation, "Educacion Interculturelle Bilingüe", Amérique Latine, Chili.

**FROM THE ASSIMILATION TO THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE OTHER?
EDUCATIONAL POLICY FOR INDIGENOUS PEOPLES
IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE “INTERCULTURAL
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1.- INTRODUCTION.

At the end of the twentieth century a lot of Latin American states adopted a new discourse on multiculturalism, recognized the multiethnic character of their nations in the constitutions and passed laws which named a range of special rights of the indigenous peoples. When this recognition happened 500 years had passed since the conquest of the Latin American subcontinent and the submission of the native population. Today, despite the negative impacts of the colonization, there are still around 40 million members of indigenous peoples and 500 different indigenous language groups in the region. But this wealth of cultures and languages often contrasts with a social situation characterized by marginalization and discrimination.

Since the Europeans settled in Latin America, they had to deal with a great number of unknown peoples and with the question of how to get along with those “others”. The intercultural relations between Europe’s and the indigenous cultures were, from the beginning on, asymmetric. The elites were dominated by the ideals of their European mother countries and of culturally homogeneous nations. The indigenous cultures were considered subordinate to the European “civilization” and were therefore supposed to integrate in new and “modern” societies. The governments intended to reach this via different policy strategies whereas education played a central role. Due to the ideal of “homogeneous” nations, the consequence of the educational policies was the assimilation of the indigenous languages and cultures.

When cultural pluralism was increasingly recognized at the end of the 20th century, education was given a new function. Instead of leading to the assimilation of the indigenous cultures and languages, its intention now was to preserve and develop them. The new educational strategy, called “intercultural bilingual education” (IBE)² seeks the integration of indigenous cultures and languages together with Spanish and Latin American national cultures into the classroom. Thus educational policy now expresses an increased recognition or “acceptance of the other” and aspires at more equal intercultural relations.

The Chilean government also implemented an educational program of “intercultural bilingual education” after the restoration of democracy in the 1990s. Chile’s situation within Latin America is in so far interesting concerning the indigenous question, as the country considers itself to be of great ethnic homogeneity. If people speak of Latin America’s ethnic character they usually don’t mention Chile (Bengoa, 1992). Thus, it was surprising when in a census in 1992 about a tenth of the Chilean population declared itself as feeling part of an indigenous people.³ Similar to other Latin American governments, Chilean leaders had either ignored the “indigenous question” throughout history or intended to solve it through the assimilation of the indigenous cultures. The first democratically elected president after the dictatorship, Patricio Aylwin, declared that his government did not want to continue the policy of assimilation but announced to implement policies of recognition (Foerster & Vergara, 1988). This new discourse was in fact followed by concrete steps, like the public policy of “intercultural bilingual education”. The question remains, however, if the establishment of such a new policy did lead to a real reorientation of the educational policy and if this policy can now instead contribute to the preservation and the development of the indigenous languages and cultures.

The article is structured as follows: For a better understanding of the important shift in the education for the indigenous peoples in Latin America it starts with an overview of the respective educational ideas and strategies throughout the region’s history. It then addresses the Chilean case presenting the situation of the Mapuche as largest indigenous people and introduces Chilean educational policies up until the 1990s. Then the article presents and critically comments the new Chilean policy of “intercultural bilingual education”.

2.- EDUCATIONAL POLICY FOR INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN LATIN AMERICA – A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW.

The first educational measures specifically directed towards the indigenous population date back to the colonial rule of the Spanish Crown. Via education, native persons were supposed to be converted to the Catholic faith, to adapt to the European culture and thus to be civilized (König, 1998). Education goals aimed at the assimilation of the indigenous cultures to European ideals. In this era, education was mainly a domain of the Catholic Church. Public education policy started with the emergence of the Latin American national states.

2.1. Educational policy of “Omission” – 19th century

With the founding of the independent Latin American republics at the beginning of the 19th century, indigenous peoples usually did not appear in the respective national projects (Stavenhagen, 2002a). The founders of the nation states ignored the demographic realities and imagined the societies as “Western, Catholic, racially

European people” (Stavenhagen, 2002b, p. 25). The existence of the indigenous peoples was either negated, or these were regarded as obstacles to homogeneous nations and modern states (Stavenhagen, 1988; Boeckh, 1999). Thus the function of the education was to modernise the indigenous peoples (Mires, 1991) and to adapt them culturally (Varese, 1983).

Nevertheless, there was no specific policy directed to the indigenous peoples. This was due to the political ideas of liberalism which proclaimed the legal equality of all citizens. The indigenous were granted the same full civil rights as other citizens but there was no space for special treatment (Bengoa, 1995). The educational strategy of the Latin American nation states consequently was a uniform national education in the Spanish language which aimed at levelling the cultural differences and spreading the ideologies of the dominant elites (Varese, 1983). Such an educational policy inevitably led to the assimilation or the complete disappearance of indigenous languages and cultures (Stavenhagen, 1988).

2.2. Educational policy of “Assimilation”: Indigenism

The ideal of culturally homogeneous nations remained dominant among politicians and intellectuals through much of the 20th century. But their image of the indigenous peoples changed. They still believed that indigenous peoples were an obstacle to national unity and progress but recognized that many communities suffered from extreme poverty. Thus, the idea that indigenous peoples needed special policies prevailed.

The theories and activities developed by anthropologists and politicians in the various Latin American countries after the 1930s can be summarized under the concept of “indigenism” (Stavenhagen, 1988).⁴ Within this thinking a special focus was put on school instruction. The aim of the indigenists was to integrate the indigenous population into the economic, social and political life of the nation. They wanted to let them take part in the modern societies but simultaneously preserve their cultural particularities (Maihold, 1986). Thus the idea was to replace the “negative” (Gamio cited in Nuñez Loyo, 2000, p. 30) aspects of the indigenous cultures by elements of the modern culture while the “positive” (Gamio, 2000) aspects should be preserved. One main instrument therefore was seen in education:

“La educación indígena fue el primer y el gran tema del indigenismo. Era la manera moderna de producir la integración, la “asimilación” blanda del indígena en oposición a las formas represivas y violentas ocupadas en la antigüedad.” (Bengoa, 1995, p. 175). “Se trataba de integrar al indio a la sociedad y se empleaba la educación como principal instrumento. Los indigenistas eran educadores del indígena. Pensaban que la marginación del indio provenía de su falta de conocimientos del castellano, de los códigos de la sociedad global.” (Bengoa, 2001, p.115).

With the aim of integration the indigenous populations the indigenists proposed bilingual instruction which should use the indigenous languages next to Spanish in the classroom. They had realized that the indigenous pupils learned Spanish faster and with less traumatic experiences after they had been alphabetized first in their mother tongue (Barnach-Calbó, 1996). But the aim still was to learn (only) the national language while the indigenous languages had merely instrumental character (Küper & López, 1999). The indigenous languages were used only in the first school years and later the instruction continued only in Spanish. Therefore this strategy is also labelled “*educación bilingüe de transición*” (López, 1998, p.57). Assimilation of the indigenous languages and cultures was unavoidable and was openly accepted as such (Maihold, 1986).

2.3. Educational policy of “Acceptance”: Critical Indigenism

From the 1970s onwards, a new consciousness about cultural pluralism in the Latin American societies arose (López, 2001). Especially anthropologists started to criticize the policy of indigenism (Bengoa, 1995).⁵ They pointed out that the integration project in practice led to the assimilation of the indigenous cultures despite the postulation to respect them (Marzal, 1993). The idea of choosing “negative” elements of the indigenous cultures and replacing them with aspects of the national culture could only end up assimilating the indigenous peoples (Nuñez Loyo, 2000). Based on this insight, the critical indigenists questioned the ideal of a homogeneous nation itself (Marzal, 1993) and postulated instead the recognition of cultural pluralism within the Latin American nations (Maihold, 1986).⁶

Corresponding to this new ideal the aim of the educational policy now was to preserve and foster the indigenous languages and cultures and the new educational strategy was “intercultural bilingual education”:

“La Educación Intercultural Bilingüe supone el desarrollo de los aprendizajes propios de las culturas originarias, junto con estudiar los aspectos y conocimientos de la cultura no indígena. Se trata en definitiva, de buscar la apertura y permeabilización de ambas a modo de diálogo, de manera de no restringir ni limitar a los educandos en los ámbitos de sus culturas tradicionales. Esta modalidad de educación busca reafirmar la identidad étnica de los alumnos indígenas evitando la situación de menoscabo cultural generada desde los planes habituales de estudio, para mantener y promover el desarrollo de las manifestaciones propias de su etnia. El trabajo que en educación se realiza a partir de la interculturalidad tiene como objetivo ante todo el reconocimiento del “otro”, lo que significa la aceptación de la condición natural de los educandos. Tal aceptación supone el respeto que permite aprender a vivir con la diversidad cultural.” (Poblete, 2002, p.161).

In this new model, the indigenous languages should no longer merely serve as an instrument to learning Spanish, but were supposed to be part of the instruction during the entire schooling (Mires, 1991) and to themselves be languages of instruction (Küper & López, 1999). Moreover, the knowledge, cultures and values of the indigenous cultures were to be treated equally next to the national or “occidental” cultures. The term “intercultural” refers to the idea that education should correspond with the social and cultural background of the pupils. Moreover it refers to an ongoing search for dialogue between the traditional and the occidental cultures and to their mutual enrichment (Küper & López, 1999). Because this educational model aims at the preservation and strengthening of the indigenous languages and cultures, it is also called “*modelo de mantenimiento y desarrollo*” (Küper & López, 1999, p. 47).

The critical indigenists though claimed still another point: They wanted the indigenous persons to take part in the elaboration of the new education policy. They accused the indigenists of ethnocentricity and lamented their not having consulted the indigenous (Nuñez Loyo, 2000). The critical indigenist, in contrast, believed that no one knew better what was good for their development than the concerned person themselves (Stavenhagen, 1988). Consequently, their objective was to in the future keep in mind the interests of the indigenous peoples and to let them participate in the respective decisions (Nuñez Loyo, 2000).⁷

“Una de las modalidades que ha adoptado el nuevo indigenismo es la política de participación, o indigenismo participativo. En resumen se puede formular así: ya no se trata de una política para los indios sino con los indios. [...] Los propósitos son claros: involucrar a la población indígena en todas las etapas de la acción, desde la identificación y jerarquización de los problemas hasta la decisión de las medidas a tomar y la ejecución de las mismas. No se trataría simplemente de dar voz a los pueblos indios y escuchar sus opiniones, sino de garantizar que esa voz y esas opiniones tengan el peso que les debe corresponder en la toma de decisiones. Si no hay una participación india real en las decisiones, el indigenismo participativo no pasará de ser una engañosa promesa más” (Bonfil Batalla, 1989, p.141).

Table 1: Ideas and Models of Education Policy for Indigenous Peoples in Latin America.

	Policy of Omission (19 th Century)	Policy of Assimilation: Indigenism (20 th Century)	Policy of Acceptance: Critical Indigenism (from 1970s onwards)
Ideal of the Nation / Society	Culturally homogeneous nation	Culturally homogeneous nation	Cultural pluralism within society / “intercultural society”
Educational Strategy	Mono-cultural education in one language for the whole population; no special treatment of the indigenous population	Transitional bilingual mono-cultural education	“Intercultural Bilingual Education”
Aim and Consequences of the Educational Policy	Linguistic and cultural assimilation / loss of the indigenous languages and cultures	Linguistic and cultural assimilation / loss of the indigenous languages and cultures	Acceptance / recognition, conservation and development of the indigenous languages and cultures
Relation between States and Indigenous Peoples in the Policy Elaboration Process	No participation of indigenous peoples	No participation of indigenous peoples	Participation of indigenous peoples

3.- THE MAPUCHE IN CHILE AND THE CHILEAN EDUCATIONAL POLICY UNTIL 1990

3.1. *The Mapuche in Chile –historical, demographic, social and socio-cultural facts*

According to the national census from 2002, the indigenous population accounts for around five percent of Chilean inhabitants. With over half a million persons, or almost 90 percent of the indigenous, the Mapuche (“people of the earth”)⁸ are by far the largest group (INE, 2003).⁹ The traditional settlement area of the Mapuche is in the middle south of the country (VIII., IX. and X. Region). They were one of the few Latin American indigenous groups that had never been subordinated by the Spanish crown

(Heise, 2000). Only at the end of the 19th century the Chilean State incorporated the Mapuche's area into its national territory (Salazar and Pinto, 1999). Via a variety of laws and political measures the governments then tried to settle the Mapuche, to integrate them into the Chilean society and to control their former land (Heise, 2000). During this process, the Mapuche lost a huge part of their territory and many migrated to cities (Boccará & Seguel-Boccará, 1999). At present almost one third of them lives in the Metropolitan Area of Santiago. Because the land is the most important base of the Mapuche culture, many lost their cultural roots (Heise, 2000).¹⁰

The educational situation of the Mapuche is usually worse than that of the non-indigenous population (Valenzuela Fernández, 2003) and they suffer from higher incidences of poverty and inequality.¹¹ As far as their socio-cultural situation is concerned, the language of the Mapuche, the *Mapudungun* – along with the other indigenous languages in Chile – does not have official status (Loncón, 2002). There are no national studies on the exact number of speakers of *Mapudungun*, but regional surveys indicate an increasing loss of the language. Generally speaking, one can say that in the older generations there are bilingual speakers where *Mapudungun* is dominant. In the generation of the parents Spanish is used as well as the mother tongue. The younger Mapuche predominately speak the Spanish language. Their knowledge of *Mapudungun* is only passive (CONADI).

3.2. Overview on the Chilean Educational Policy (for the Mapuche) until 1990

The first educational measures directed towards the Mapuche were undertaken the same way as in other Latin American countries during the colonial rule by Christian missions. The educational policies of the Chilean national state did not differ very much from the practice of the other states in the region either. One difference was though that Chile's elites felt more close to European ideals than those of other Latin American countries (Pinto, 2000). Therefore the Mapuche did not play a crucial role in the official national history (Boccará & Seguel-Boccará, 1999) and there was no space for a special education for them in the school system (Marimán, 1997; Serrano 1995-1996). The education was mono-linguistic and mono-cultural for all citizens. The Mapuche were supposed to become fully integrated in the nation and to be "chilenized" via education (Bello, 2002). In the first decades of the 20th century this strategy was basically maintained (Boccará & Seguel-Boccará, 1999).

A significant shift in the policy towards the Mapuche did not occur until the presidency of Salvador Allende. His government passed a bill in which the indigenous question was concerned in a much more holistic way (Bello, 2002). For the first time the cultural particularities of the indigenous were recognized and they were also invited to participate in the elaboration of the new law (Boccará & Seguel-Boccará, 1999; Heise, 2000). Even if there was no special education program for the indigenous under Allende either (Boccará & Seguel-Boccará, 1999), his government undertook first measures of revitalization of the *Mapudungun* and gave grants to indigenous students of all

educational stages (Hernández, 2003; Bello, 1997). Within the historical context Allende's politics towards the indigenous were quite progressive (Rupailaf, 2002).

After the military coup of 1973 the treatment of the indigenous changed radically. The militaries under Augusto Pinochet fully negated the existence of indigenous peoples on the national territory. The doctrine of national security was based on the concept of a homogeneous nation and of a unitary national state. Cultural pluralism was regarded as threat to national unity. Thus the aim was to fully integrate the indigenous peoples into the Chilean society, to assimilate them and to finally solve the "indigenous question" (Heise, 2000). Some authors describe the policies of Pinochet era as "termination policy" (Boccaro & Seguel-Boccaro, 1999) or as policy of ethnocide (Bello, 2002). When in the rest of Latin America the ideas of the critical indigenists found more and more acceptance, in Chile the implementation of those new ideas was undermined by the establishment of the military dictatorship (Boccaro & Seguel-Boccaro, 1999). To summarize: During history, Chilean educational policy explicitly or implicitly always led to the cultural assimilation of the Mapuche.

4.- THE "INTERCULTURAL BILINGUAL EDUCATION" POLICY IN CHILE¹²

The political transition from military rule to democracy from 1989 onwards facilitated the reformation of the Chilean educational policy towards the indigenous peoples and the introduction of the "intercultural bilingual education" (Heise, 2000). Another fundamental reason for the new design of the educational policy was the demands of the indigenous political groups, especially organizations of the Mapuche. Already during the military dictatorship they had entered the political scenario as important actors (Heise, 2000).

The Mapuche had been among the first to openly criticize the Pinochet regime and had played an important role in the process of re-democratization. Thus, the new democratic Chilean governments were disposed to integrate the indigenous' claims into their political agendas (Iturralde Guerrero, 1997). Having adopted the discourse of the Latin American indigenous movement, the Mapuche also asked for a more adequate school instruction in the form of the "intercultural bilingual education" and for the possibility of participation in its elaboration (Cañulef, 2003).¹³ In fact, in following years a new IBE-policy was developed in Chile. This policy's theoretical conception, legal frame, institutional setting and the implementation of the program in the schools are presented here followed by a critical examination of the same.

4.1. *The theoretical conception of the IBE.*

The theoretical conception of the intercultural bilingual education in Chile is described in some official publications of the IBE-department¹⁴ of the Ministry of Education.

Those documents explain the basic concepts of “interculturality” and “bilinguality” – the two pillars of the educational strategy – and the aims and principles of the *Programa de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe*.¹⁵ In order to present the theoretical ideas of the program and to give an impression of the Chilean “IBE-discourse”, following citations are directly taken from the original documents.

One definition of intercultural bilingual education of the ministry is the following:

“Desde el punto de vista de los pueblos indígenas, la educación intercultural bilingüe es el modelo educativo que les permite ejercer su derecho natural de aprender la lengua de su pueblo y, a través de ella, conectarse con lo fundamental de su cultura de origen. Al mismo tiempo, les permite aprender la lengua nacional que les sirve para conocer y manejar los códigos culturales de la sociedad nacional.” (Huenschullán and Millacura, 2001, p. 3).

Interculturality is described as follows:

“Concebimos la interculturalidad como un principio esencialmente democrático, en cuanto significa reconocer el derecho de todos los pueblos a expresarse desde y en su propia lengua y cultura, como punto de partida imprescindible para una relación justa con los demás pueblos que conforman no sólo un país sino el mundo. La interculturalidad demanda el derecho a relacionarse con las sociedades humanas en términos igualitarios, igualdad que no significa uniformidad de culturas sino, muy por el contrario, el respeto por la diferencia entre ellas.” (Zuñiga cited from Cañulef and Fernández, s.f., p. 28).

As main characteristics of interculturality are considered interethnic relations of cooperation that are *“basadas en el respeto mutuo, en el reconocimiento y aceptación del otro como legítimo otro en la convivencia, en el diálogo, la comunicación, la reparación y la reciprocidad” (Zuñiga cited from Cañulef and Fernández, s.f., p. 27).*

Furthermore, the documents underline the necessity of the participation of the indigenous themselves when it comes to integrating their cultures into the school instruction:

“La tarea pendiente es concebir la cultura indígena desde la propia sociedad indígena, frente al reto de dar vida a un curriculum intercultural, en el que la presencia de la cultura indígena no sea algo meramente anecdótico o folclórico. Lo fundamental entonces es que la escuela, en conjunto con la comunidad, resuelva cuál es la cultura indígena que, al integrarse en el proceso educativo y, precisamente en virtud de su integración, permite fundar ese diálogo equilibrado entre culturas que preconiza uno de los postulados básicos de la nueva educación intercultural.” (Zuñiga cited from Cañulef and Fernández, s.f., p. 39)

Concerning the concept of “bilingualism” the official publications declare:

“Las propuestas educativas que tienen como meta el mejoramiento de la calidad de los aprendizajes, plantean la necesidad de fomentar el bilingüismo additivo. En este modelo educativo, la enseñanza de la segunda lengua no aspira a reemplazar la lengua materna, sino que, por el contrario, a desarrollar en los alumnos competencias lingüísticas y comunicativas en ambas lenguas, que los preparen para desempeñarse adecuadamente y en forma apropiada en ambos idiomas. Para que este desarrollo sea posible, los programas de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe se plantean no sólo la enseñanza de la lengua indígena, sino que también en la lengua indígena.” (Zuñiga cited from Cañulef and Fernández, s.f., p. 60).

Finally, the following two arguments are mentioned among others to explain the aims of and to justify the program of “intercultural bilingual education”: First, the fostering of democracy via an education that creates tolerance towards the cultural pluralism and the appreciations of others (Williamson & Fuentes, 1996, 5f) and second, the preservation, the maintenance and the development of the indigenous cultures (Huenchullán & Millacura, 2001, p. 3f).

4.2. The legal frame of the IBE.

The legal frame of the IBE in Chile is set by regulations concerning the Chilean education system in general and by special “indigenous legislations”. Without going into detail, the most important regulations are mentioned here. The basis of the Chilean education system lies above all in the constitution of 1980 and further laws of the Pinochet regime and in the educational reform from the subsequent years. The system is above all characterized by the principles of decentralization and privatization which date back to the military rule: Among others the communal level is now responsible for the administration of the schools and private actors are allowed to offer educational services as well (Aedo-Richmond, 2002).

In the 1990s, the educational system was reformed and the new guiding principles of “quality” (*calidad*) and “equity” (*equidad*) were introduced. The concept of equity implied that not everyone should get the same education anymore, but that groups with special needs should be supported with specific programs (Brunner and Cox, 1995). The possibility of introducing the IBE in Chile was facilitated by the “*Ley Orgánica Constitucional de Enseñanza*” (LOCE). This allows the schools to create their own curricula and programs within a prescribed framework from the Ministry of Education (Cañulef & Fernández, s.f.). With this it is now possible to introduce the indigenous languages and cultures and even indigenous pedagogical practices into the classes (Loncón, 1997a).

The most explicit legal basis of the “intercultural bilingual education” is the “*Ley Indígena 19.235*” from 1993. This law was passed in 1993 after an intense participation and consultation process among indigenous communities across the country (Heise, 2000; Rupailaf, 2002). Whereas the educational reform opened up the *possibility* of introducing the IBE, this legal text contains positive regulations concerning it (Marimán, 1997): Article 32 announces that a “system of intercultural bilingual education” will be developed in the areas of high indigenous density. The law also names other regulations concerning the indigenous languages and cultures: It speaks of the state’s and society’s obligation to care for their preservation (Art. 1) and of the indigenous’ right to maintain and develop their cultural manifestations (Art. 7). The recognition and protection of the indigenous cultures and languages shall also be fostered through the establishment of a programmatic unit in the national curriculum so that the non-indigenous can gain adequate knowledge on those languages and cultures (Art. 28). This aspect is also called “*interculturalidad de doble vía*” (Cañulef & Fernández, s.f.) in the publications of the Ministry of Education.

4.3. *The Institutionalization of the IBE.*

The Ministry of Education is the institution responsible for educational issues according to the Chilean constitution (Millacura, 2003). But it was the *Corporación Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena* (CONADI), a special institution for indigenous affairs that was charged to develop a system of “intercultural bilingual education” in cooperation with the responsible national institutions.¹⁶ Corresponding to this mandate, in 1995 a working group from the ministry and the CONADI was founded which elaborated a proposal for an IBE-program. Such a program was introduced in the margins of the 1996 educational reform in the Ministry of Education.

The educational strategy of the IBE was institutionalized through the establishment of an organizational unit, the so called “*Programa de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe*” in the Ministry of Education. Within the Ministry the IBE-section cooperates with other educational programs to integrate the IBE as new pedagogical and social practice into other programs as well (Williamson & Supanta, 1995). Within the IBE-section, moreover, there were two IBE-programs: the *PEIB-permanente*, which is the official one, founded in 1996, and the *PEIB-Orígenes*, which was started in 2001 as a component of an agreement between the Chilean government and the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) (Williamson, 2003a).

4.4. *About the implementation of the IBE.*

The IBE-department of the Ministry of Education from the beginning received its own budget (Williamson, 1998). This was expanded in the subsequent years so that the *PEIB-permanente* in 2003 was financed with almost 450 million Pesos, the *PEIB-Orígenes* with 1.5 billion Pesos.¹⁷ The primary measures concerning the implementation of the programs consisted of providing a personal and material framework for the IBE

and of supporting schools in introducing the program in their classes. Since the two programs basically followed the same guidelines,¹⁸ the main activities of both are summarized here only briefly.

The first step was the intent to develop a basis IBE-curriculum. With that aim, nine pilot plans were supported between 1996 and 1999 in cooperation with universities and indigenous communities (Huenchullán & Millacura, 1999). Because the proposals did not lead to the formation of a curriculum in the subsequent years, a working group from the Ministry and the CONADI continued with this task after the pilot projects ended (Williamson, 2003b). A further activity was the training of teachers for the IBE. Via an agreement with the Catholic University of Temuco, the Ministry supported a study program for basic education with specialization in IBE (Huenchullán & Millacura, 2001) and financed grants for participants of a Masters-program in IBE in Bolivia (Huenchullán & Millacura, 2000).¹⁹ The program organized also workshops on aims, contents and methodologies of the IBE for indigenous and non-indigenous teachers, leaders of indigenous organizations and community-members that cooperated with schools (Huenchullán & Millacura, 2001). Furthermore, the IBE-section developed informational materials for teachers about the fundamentals of the IBE, didactical materials for the incorporation of the culture and language of the Mapuche into the classrooms, text books and other pedagogical material (ebd. and Williamson, 2003a). Finally the Ministry also financed different studies for the scientific foundation of the further development of the IBE (Huenchullán & Millacura, 2000).

In 2003 within the *EIB-permanente* program the Ministry supported around 150 schools with the concrete application of the “intercultural bilingual education” (Williamson, 2003b; Millacura 2003). The schools were above all primary schools in rural areas (Millacura 2003). But there were also projects in urban areas: In coordination with CONADI, for instance, the Ministry supported 45 further establishments in the metropolitan region (Williamson 2003b). Within the *PEIB-Orígenes* 162 schools for indigenous pupils were supported, among them 145 for the Mapuche. All of them were in the Mapuche’s traditional settlement areas. Most of those schools were also limited to basic education and almost all of them were in rural areas.²⁰

4.5. A critical view on the “intercultural bilingual education” policy in Chile

When examining whether the principles and aims of the theoretical program have been realized in practice, two levels must be distinguished: On the one hand, there is the legal and institutional frame of the “intercultural bilingual education”, and on the other hand, the concrete realization of the program within the prescribed frame. Moreover, according to the government’s aim to give the indigenous the opportunity to participate in the policies concerning them this aspect will be taken into consideration as well.

Regarding the legal frame of the “intercultural bilingual education”, it must be emphasized that the simple creation of a framework which allows such a new policy

directed towards the indigenous peoples is a significant change when compared to the traditional educational policy of assimilation of the indigenous cultures and languages.

Nevertheless, the IBE's legal frame contains several problems: First of all, the indigenous people's rights not having constitutional status, the legal position of the IBE is quite weak. Only the "*Ley Indígena*" explicitly treats educational policy. However, this law could be easily altered or abolished by another government which might put less or no importance on indigenous issues. Thus, the endurance of the IBE as an official policy is by no means guaranteed (Millacura, 2003b; Cañulef, 2003b). Second, neither the reforms of the educational system nor the "*Ley Indígena*" contain compulsory prescriptions for the introduction of the IBE-strategy into the schools. A diffusion of the program to all schools, which would profit from such a policy, is thus not ensured. Moreover, the Chilean curricular system, which is based on a compulsory core curriculum and the schools' freedom to create additional courses, would have to be reformed in order to create real intercultural education (CONADI, 2001). Up to now, only few niches are reserved for the inclusion of the indigenous cultures (Pedone, s.f.).

As far as the legal provisions towards the institutionalization of the IBE are concerned, the responsibilities of the different institutions involved are not clearly set: The "*Ley Indígena*" names the CONADI as the responsible institution for the IBE; however, the Ministry of Education is actually the only legitimized institution for educational policy in Chile. Because both institutions felt somehow responsible and the cooperation between them was not definitely clarified, the realization of an efficient policy at least in the beginnings of the IBE was rather complicated (CONADI, 2001; Millacura, 2003a; Cañulef, 2003a).

The participation of the Mapuche during the process of the definition of the IBE's framework was realized only partially (Rupailaf, 2002; CONADI/Freder, 1996). This is in so far a problem that one of the main problems of the old educational policy was just the non-participation of the indigenous. Without the participation of the persons concerned, however, the integration of the indigenous peoples' real needs into the educational practice is not guaranteed. This, in the end, might lead to the assimilation of their cultures once more.

On the level of the concrete realization of the IBE program, the promising aspects were the initiatives for the development of IBE curricula, the installation of a study program for the formation of teachers for the "intercultural bilingual education" and the development of pedagogical and didactical material. A certain framework of infrastructure has thus been created for the new program. Moreover, the Chilean Ministry of Education in fact supports various schools in introducing the new educational strategy.

However, the actions for the creation of a framework for the program were insufficient. For instance, the study offers for pedagogical staff, and thus the number of qualified

teachers was far too small. Indeed, this lack is one of the most important problems of the IBE. But also, the elaborated educational material was not enough (Williamson, 2003a; Poblete, 2002). Neither was the number of schools sufficient: not all establishments with a considerable portion of Mapuche pupils offered IBE (Williamson, 2003a). For instance in Temuco, the town with the largest percentage of Mapuche population, there was no IBE-school (Haughney & Marimán, 1993). In addition to this, most of the IBE schools were situated in rural areas, whereas a large part of the Mapuche nowadays lives in towns where the pressure to assimilate is much higher. That means that the program is not applied where it is most required. Moreover, the program was limited to the primary schools, so that there was no continuity of the instruction of indigenous cultures and languages following basic education. This however creates the risk that the pupils will lose their knowledge again (CONADI, 1999). In addition to this, in many schools that had officially introduced IBE into their classrooms, education was neither bilingual nor intercultural. In some cases the indigenous cultures were treated as “pieces of the museum” (Loncón, 2003a). This was partly due to the teachers’ insufficient knowledge of the indigenous language or their lack of methodologies to realize “real” “intercultural” and “bilingual” education (Loncón, 2003a).

The participation of the Mapuche in the classroom, finally, has not been realized in the expected way either. There were a few schools where community members participated in the instruction process, but especially concerning the administration of the schools, indigenous participation was rarely realized (Williamson, 1998).

5.- CONCLUSIONS.

In the Latin American region there has been a change in thinking concerning educational policy towards the indigenous population. On the practical level, in the 1980s, this led to the implementation of educational strategies that pretend to maintain the indigenous cultures in the whole subcontinent – in contrast to the assimilatory policies of the 19th and the earlier 20th century. In Chile as well, this type of program has been implemented in the 1990s, and a range of concrete measures have been realized to put this new educational model in practice. However, despite the ambitious program and IBE-discourse, it seems rather questionable whether the actual policy of “intercultural bilingual education” is capable of contributing to the maintenance and development of the indigenous cultures and languages. There are various reasons for this: The IBE in Chile is neither designed with a long term perspective, nor does it reach a sufficient part of the Mapuche population, nor does the actual practice of instruction in many cases seem to be truly intercultural and bilingual. Therefore, “intercultural bilingual education” in Chile exists above all in theory, but rarely in reality. Hence, apparently the “recognition of the other” has gained more acceptances in the sphere of thought and in the political discourse. In concrete practice, however, it still has not been realized.

For a real recognition or “acceptance of the other” though, far more efforts –not only in educational politics and not only policies designed for the indigenous peoples – are necessary. Indeed “the Mapuche already are intercultural and bilingual”.²¹ Thus, for a real change in intercultural relations, Chilean national educational plans should be adapted in a way that all Chileans may gain adequate knowledge about the indigenous cultures. Because when people are expected to accept the “other”, they must get to know the “other”. Measures that aim towards this “*interculturalidad de doble vía*” have been proposed, but almost no concrete actions have followed. For a true “recognition of the other” though, other aspects of society must also be changed. If politicians really intend to protect the indigenous heritage, they could make the indigenous languages official and foster their use in the media, for example. These could be first steps towards a greater acceptance of the indigenous in society.

However, all these questions are not only interesting in the case of the Mapuche and intercultural relations in Chile. The “globalized” world is characterized by tendencies of cultural homogenization and is in danger of losing large parts of the human cultural heritage. But we also experience a new strengthening of cultural identities, an increase in interethnic conflicts and stronger prejudices towards other cultures. In light of these developments, it is absolutely necessary to design policies in a way that permits the preservation of the variety of the human cultural heritage as well as the peaceful coexistence of cultures. This holds true not only for Chile and the other Latin American countries, but for the entire world.

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Notas:

¹ The following article is based on the main findings of the authors Masters Thesis in Political Science. For the study interviews with experts from the Chilean Ministry of Education and other specialists in the topic have been realized. Information via Email was also included in the research. The content reports the state of the year 2003 and has been actualized only in a few aspects for this article.

² In the following text “intercultural bilingual education” is also used with the abbreviation IBE.

³ This is about the same percentage of the indigenous population of Mexico, a state whose pluricultural character is quite known. Nevertheless in 2002’s census the result – also due to a slightly different question – laid around 5%. See also the information on the new census in 3.1.

⁴ The ideas of the indigenists were spread throughout Latin America through a range of conferences and the creation of special institutions. The first “Congreso Indigenista Interamericano” was held 1940 in Pátzcuaro, Mexico, and the foundation of the “Instituto Indigenista Interamericano” aimed at diffusing the indigenists’ ideas in the subcontinent. There were also created indigenist institutes on the national level (Stavenhagen, 1988). It is important to mention that indigenism consists of the thoughts and ideas of white or mestizo persons concerning the indigenous peoples. It is not conceived by the indigenous people themselves (Maihold, 1986).

⁵ There are different labels for this critical point of view: It is called “neoindigenism” (Maihold, 1986, 176ff), or “post-indigenism” (Bengoa, 1995, 179), or “critical indigenism” (Núñez Loyo, 2000, 7f, 65). Here the latter is used above all since it best expresses the critique of the exponents but also makes clear, that still non-indigenous speak for indigenous persons (which is a central trait of indigenism).

⁶ Like the ideas of the indigenists, also the post indigenists’ postulations were diffused in the Latin American region via different conferences, especially the two conferences of Barbados, 1971 and 1977 (Bengoa, 1995).

⁷ The ideas of the critical indigenists emerged at a time, when in Latin America the first political indigenous groups emerged. In the subsequent decades, a considerable “indigenous movement” claimed more and more explicit own demands and the participation in decisions that concerned the indigenous population.

⁸ Mapu = earth, Che = human being/person: As such the Mapuche in their language Mapudungun.

⁹ In Chile eight indigenous ethnic groups are officially recognized: Mapuche, Aymara, Rapa Nui (Pascuense), Atacameños, Quechuas, Collas, Kawashkar and Yámana (*Ley Indígena*, Article 1). In the Census from 1992 the indigenous peoples accounted for about 10 percent of the Chilean population and around one Million people were counted as Mapuche. This could be due among others to the different form of asking people: Whereas in 1992 the question was whether the person “felt associated” with one of the

named ethnic groups, the question 2002 was if the person was a “member” of one of those groups (Hernández, 2003; Heise, 2000).

10 Around the indigenous land a sharp conflict arose between some Mapuche groups and the Chilean state in the 1990s, which dominated their relationship and the media’s coverage about the indigenous groups.

11 One third of the Mapuche is considered poor compared to around one fifth of the non-indigenous. And whereas over 40 percent of indigenous but only around 20 percent of the non-indigenous belong to the poorest quintile of the Chilean society the dates for the richest quintile are six versus 16 percent (Mideplan, 2002).

12 As mentioned above, the following reports the stand of the art from 2003. Recent information on the further development of the Chilean “intercultural bilingual education” policy can be found on the website of the Education Ministry: http://www.mineduc.cl/index0.php?id_portal=28.

13 Among demands of the indigenous groups were the constitutional recognition of their and of their rights, the establishment of a special agency responsible for the indigenous-policy of the governments, as well as the elaboration of a new indigenous legislation and the ratification of the ILO Convention 169 (Rupailaf, 2002). Neither the constitutional recognition nor the ratification of the C 169 was realized up to now (<http://www.ilo.org/ilolex/cgi-lex/ratifce.pl?C169>, 30.11.2007). The constitutional recognition is currently discussed again: <http://www.ecoport.net/content/view/full/73532>, 30.11.2007.

14 For instance the document from Cañulef, Fernández et al.. Those publications were elaborated from indigenous and non-indigenous teachers with experiences in intercultural education and were distributed from the Ministry of Education to teachers in IBE-projects for orientation reasons.

15 Both the institutional unit at the Ministry of Education (see 4.3) and the respective educational program are named „*Programa de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe*”. To avoid confusions in the following the first is called IBE-section or IBE-department, the latter IBE-program or IBE-concept.

16 Even if the CONADI was the institution that was supposed to develop a system of “intercultural bilingual education”, the main program is residing within the Ministry of Education. Therefore the CONADI’s activities concerning the IBE will not be further treated here.

17 This corresponds to more than 600.000 Euro or around 2 Million Euro (exchange rate from 12/2003).

18 This information is from the Ministry of Education’s unofficial document: “Subcomponente Implementación del Programa de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe (PEIB)”.

19 Programa de Formación en Educación Intercultural Bilingüe para los Países Andinos (PROEIB-Andes): <http://www.proeibandes.org/>.

20 This information is from the Ministry of Education’s unofficial document: PEIB-Orígenes: Línea de Base 1.

21 This is a citation from a Mapuche teacher and researcher, who did not want that his name was published.

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