

LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND REVITALIZATION OF INDIGENOUS  
LANGAUGES IN CHILE

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## **Introduction**

The goal of this thesis is to assess the effectiveness of Chile's policies aimed at reversing language shift in indigenous languages by looking at the number of speakers and/or understanders of indigenous languages since the institution of these measures. Chile is a country that houses different indigenous groups that are even fractured among each other such as: Mapuche, Aymara, Rapa Nui, and other smaller indigenous people. The Mapuche people make up the large majority of the indigenous population; therefore, they will be highlighted among the other groups. The history of these people is defined by repression and discrimination by the Chilean state and non-indigenous Chileans. Through this repression and discrimination the indigenous people have lost pride in themselves, their culture, and their language. Since the return of democracy, these groups have received recognition by the state. There has been government measures put forth to protect these groups and foster their culture and their language. The remaining chapters will attempt to give a better understanding of the process reversing the language shift by looking at what caused it, why it is important, and how Chile is trying to reverse it. This chapter will introduce my question by explaining why and how I came up with my question for this thesis, its design, and gives a brief outline of the rest of the thesis.

Before studying abroad I knew I had to write a thesis. I knew I was going to Chile, but did not have an idea of any subjects in Chile that could merit a thesis topic. I talked to multiple professors before going to garner insight in how to be open-minded while going down there, and to not forget I need to write a thesis upon my return. I took linguistic, phonetic, and history of Spanish classes the semesters before my departure, which sparked an interest in the importance of language. I thought I might be able to

study the significance of the rare Chilean Spanish I found, but instead developed an interest in the Mapuche people in Chile. Typified as a semi-terrorist group, the Mapuche were a topic mentioned in almost every class I took. The Mapuche made the news for fighting for land rights, but they were also fighting for their culture and language. Meeting with A Mapuche man himself, he gave me sources that detailed public policy and the current language situation of the Mapuche people. He spoke fluent Spanish, but did not speak fluent Mapuzugun. It struck me that I would only have known him as a Chilean if he was not introduced to me as a Mapuche. He was an urban Mapuche, which often lends itself to stronger assimilation to the Chilean society than the rural counterparts. This led to more questions such as, why is language important for this grown man to learn and are there much differences in the modern Mapuche and Chilean?

This thesis is to explain the importance of language policy in reversing language shift that threatens indigenous culture and heritage. Stronger language policy has developed since the return of democracy and is still in development, but the current language situation seems to be on a downward trend. Researching what causes language attrition and the importance of language to indigenous people has helped me to realize the importance of the revitalization of indigenous languages.

### **Research Question and Rationale**

The research question for this thesis is ‘Are the policies enacted by the Chilean government reversing language shift in indigenous languages?’ Speakers and understanders of the indigenous languages have become smaller with each generation. This happens with language policy starting in the early 1990s. So, has the language policy enacted reverse language shift?

This is important as language revitalization and maintenance efforts have long been doubted and questioned. Chile is a country with relatively new language policy that effects a minority indigenous population. The reasons for language revitalization are not similar to other Latin American nations where the indigenous population is large such as in Peru and Bolivia. Additionally Chile is not like Israel where Hebrew was revived either. Therefore, Chile provides a specific case that provides insight into what policies are either effective or not. For that reason, this thesis can be an example to show the ability to reverse language shift, and also it can help point to either effective or ineffective language policy.

### **Data and Methods**

There is “no overall agreement as to what constitutes ‘success’”<sup>1</sup> in language policy. For this thesis, the population that can speak and/or understand their indigenous language will be the measurement used to evaluate the success of Chile’s language policy. Additionally, I will take into account other attributes of successful policy such as “Prior ideological clarification; feasible, attainable goals; understanding of local contexts and linguistic ecologies; to take into account sociolinguistic, economic, cultural and political factors, including gender issues; support at all levels (addressing attitudes and ideologies); a ‘bottom-up’ approach which empowers local communities; and practical measures to support speaker’s use of endangered languages.”<sup>2</sup> These factors will frame the argument for or against Chilean policies and their usefulness.

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<sup>1</sup> Spolsky, Bernard. *The Cambridge Handbook of Language Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2012, 122

<sup>2</sup> Spolsky, Bernard. *The Cambridge Handbook of Language Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2012, 123

The thesis analyzes quantitative information on the state of the language from the *Encuesta Casen*, which is a Chilean poll, and quantitative information on the attitudes towards the language from *Perfil sociolingüístico de lenguas Mapuche y Aymara en la region metropolitana* (Sociolinguistic profile of Mapuche and Aymara languages in the metropolitan region). In addition to these documents, the thesis looks at the domestic and international language policy of Chile. This includes the *Ley indígena*, Decree 280, Decree 1619, Decree 0741, Decree 1479, ILO Convention 69, and UNESCO's Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights. These have helped to form the Intercultural Bilingual Education Program, which is the main tool for reversing language shift. The thesis looks at curricula of this program and studies on the implementation of the program.

The thesis relies on literature on language death, language maintenance, and language revitalization to help contextualize the importance of language. The topics of what is lost when a language dies, identity and language, and effective policies support why reversing language shift is important and how to do it. These topics detail the significance of reversing language shift in Chile.

### **Structure of Thesis**

Chapter one discusses the research of language death, language maintenance, language revitalization, and language policy. The first part investigates how languages die, the impact of language death socially and scientifically, and how to typify an endangered language. The second part defines what language maintenance and revitalization are, methods of maintenance/revitalization, and the challenges of both. The third part delves in to language policy detailing the importance of language policy domestically and internationally.

Chapter two analyzes attitudes of the Mapuche towards their language after detailing the history of the Mapuzugun language and the Mapuche people. The attitudes are formed by this history. It analyzes the reasons for these attitudes and how they will affect the potential of policy to reverse language shift.

Chapter three presents the language policy in Chile. Beginning with domestic policy, the chapter gives international policy as well. The final part of this chapter details the Intercultural Bilingual Education program, which is the main institution in reversing language shift. The domestic and international policies have shaped and influenced this institution.

Chapter four analyzes the data on the current situation of indigenous languages in Chile. Using quantitative data, this chapter tries to explain the reasons for results and diagnose Chile's language policy as successful or not. It details weaknesses in the study and analysis of data presented. Finally it gives suggestions for Chile's future language policy.

## **Chapter One: Language Death, Maintenance, and Revitalization**

Why should Chile try to revitalize their indigenous languages when they are slowly fading from use in society? To answer this question, we must examine the importance of language and ask these questions: can each language express the same ideas, is language vital to cultural and social identity, and do the difference in languages enlighten us about human cognition? If so, then the death of a language means the death of more than words. Harrison in *When Languages Die* comments that, “language disappearance is an erosion or extinction of ideas, of ways of knowing, and ways of talking about the world and human experience.”<sup>3</sup> Language is in constant motion reacting to its own environment. Individual languages embody history, culture, and intellectual creativity of the people/individuals that speak it, so when a language dies so do these innate qualities that are embodied within language. In this section I will examine why language death should be a concern, what language maintenance and revitalization aim to do and how they are achieved, and finally how public policy can influence the life of a language.

### **Language Death**

#### *How Does a Language Die?*

Language death can take place suddenly by a genocide or natural disaster that wipes out a tribe; however, it is more likely to see a gradual death. This happens for many reasons such as: low economic advantage, low social prestige, and even political/social discrimination. These factors inhibit the youngest generation from learning the language, which Harrison describes as the “tiny social barometers” that can

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<sup>3</sup> Harrison, K. David. 2007. *When Languages Die: The Extinction of the World's Languages and the Erosion of Human Knowledge*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. 7

show the status of a language.<sup>4</sup> Language shift occurs when these social barometers choose to speak a different tongue and an eventual language shift takes place. Joshua Fishman defines language shift as a phenomenon in which “speech communities whose native languages are threatened because their intergenerational continuity is proceeding negatively, with fewer and fewer users (speakers, readers, writers and even understanders) or uses every generation.”<sup>5</sup>

Languages shift because something has caused them to lose their importance for the individual. Individuals will stop speaking their tongue if it prohibits economic mobility or subjugates them to discrimination. For this reason we can see language shift happening “out of self-defense as a survival strategy” in a modern world.<sup>6</sup> Parents will either “make a conscious or unconscious decision not to transmit the ancestral language to their children” to avoid discrimination or promote a better economic outlook for their children.<sup>7</sup> Children can also decide not to pursue the acquisition of their minority language outside of the home even if the parents choose to relay it to them. A new language will take the place of a weaker language in certain social realms such as in the workplace and education, until the weaker language is only spoken at home. This crowding out of smaller languages by larger languages could appear positive as it breaks down communication barriers, but linguistic diversity and bilingual societies have been around much longer than the monolingual societies that are rapidly increasing.

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<sup>4</sup> Harrison, K. David. 2007. *When Languages Die: The Extinction of the World's Languages and the Erosion of Human Knowledge*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 8

<sup>5</sup> Fishman, Joshua A. *Reversing Language Shift: Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1991, 1.

<sup>6</sup> Nettle, Daniel and Suzanne Romaine. 2000. *Vanishing Voices: The Extinction of the World's Languages*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 6

<sup>7</sup> Grenoble, Lenore and Lindsay J. Whaley. 1998. *Endangered Languages: Current Issues and Future Prospects*. Cambridge University Press, 3

Suzanne Romaine argues, “language shift involves bilingualism (often with diglossia).”<sup>8</sup> Diglossia refers to the varieties of speech in a single language that occur in different situations. For example, there are certain variations of a language that have more status and prestige that will be used outside of the home in schools or workplaces when talking to teachers or bosses, and the other variety that has less status and prestige that is used in more informal situations with friends and family. Bilingual communities can have this diglossia when two languages begin to develop roles in everyday lives of their speech community. Diglossia in bilingual communities means that one language can be seen as more important than another due to its use in schools and workplaces, which can eventually lead to language shift. Romaine uses the term ‘high’ and ‘low’ to differentiate the socially prestigious language/variation from the less prestigious language/variation.<sup>9</sup> Due to the importance given to the ‘high’ language/variation, users stop using the ‘low’ language/variation in pursuit of the ‘high’ language’s benefits. There are instances where bilingual diglossia is stable, where there become standardized societal situations to use the ‘low’ language or the ‘high language.’ Unfortunately, the ‘high’ language takes over all social situations and eliminates even the most private environments for the transmission of the ‘low’ language.

### *Impact of Language Death*

Not only does language shift slow the transmission of minority languages from one generation to the next, but also “there is also massive disruption of the transfer of traditional knowledge across generations.”<sup>10</sup> Languages have been shaped over time to

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<sup>8</sup> Romaine, Suzanne. *Bilingualism*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Blackwell, 1995, 40

<sup>9</sup> Romaine, 33

<sup>10</sup> Harrison, 16

give significance to and express certain ideas specific to their own culture. Basic ideas can be transmitted through all languages, but certain languages have the potential to communicate in a clearer, more creative way an idea or an image than others. Therefore, when a language dies we substitute its precision and clarity of certain ideas and nomenclature for an inferior replacement in another language. “Traditional knowledge is not always easily transferred from small, endangered languages to large global ones,” because there lies a difficulty in translating these ideas and names packaged into a language.<sup>11</sup> The way humanity looks at the world is shaped by the language it uses to describe it. Views of time, nature, and creativity are seen through the various structures of different languages, and these views are “the result of millennia of development,” and make “the loss of these languages irreparable.”<sup>12</sup>

### *Scientific and Social*

Obviously languages have been lost before, and the world appears remorseless in their absence: so why should we worry? There are scientific and social ramifications for the loss of language. There is much to learn from the variation between two different languages in how the human mind works. There is also much to discern about certain concepts, events, and relationships in a culture from its language. We can see this in the fact that “languages do not contain perfectly equivalent vocabularies” and in that “languages differ in their repertoires of grammatical categories”.<sup>13</sup> These vocabularies and grammars shed light on the topic of universal grammar. Linguistics as a science seeks to discover and define a universal grammar. Universal grammar seeks to

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid, 16

<sup>12</sup> Grenoble, 190

<sup>13</sup> Grenoble, 189

understand how the mind comes to express thoughts, emotions, and events. Linguistic theories on universal grammar can be enlightened, reinforced, and/or challenged by these minority languages. The isolation and separation from the major world languages makes them good points of reference on linguistic characteristics that can be defined as universal.

Scientifically, language can even give insight on how memory works, especially minority languages which are largely oral and not written. Speakers of these oral languages have to memorize stories, lists, and basic knowledge with the absence of writing; therefore, every language gives insight “into how humans fine-tune memory to preserve and transmit” information.<sup>14</sup> This way of memorization that seems impossible shows “how powerful a tool language is for packaging and transmitting information.”<sup>15</sup> Our speech is a manifestation of thought; therefore, the more languages can be studied scientifically the more help they provide in unlocking the human mind and its functioning.

Language is a large part of life to the users. It does not make their culture, but rather is “a monument to every culture it has been vehicle to.”<sup>16</sup> It is the method of expressing human thought. Language, if anything, is a limitation/culmination of expression due to a language’s contact with specific environments. For this reason, the loss of a minority language erases “indigenous knowledge, perceptions, and strategies” which are filled by a majority’s language own knowledge, perception, and strategies.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Harrison, 159

<sup>15</sup> Harrison, 147

<sup>16</sup> Nettle, 14

<sup>17</sup> Grenoble, 230

Because language is the vehicle of expression, everything culturally is shaped by the use of it. For this reason, Culture is affected by language shift.

### *Identifying Endangered Languages*

Because the youngest generation is the social barometer of a language, the level of language transmission to the youngest generation is a good measure of a languages endangerment. There have been multiple attempts to put this inter-generational transmission into a scale to measure the level of endangerment with the GID (Graded Intergenerational Disruption) scale being the most famous by Joshua Fishman. The scale has eight levels with eight having the least transmission of a language/highest level of disruption of a language to the youngest generation, and 1 having the highest transmission/lowest disruption. Also the scale assumes that the higher score of disruption includes all lower levels of disruption as well. Bernard Spolsky paraphrases this 8-level scale in his book *Language Policy*:

8 Only a few isolated older people still speak the language, which needs to be reconstructed and taught to adults

7 There is a socially integrated group of speakers of the language, but they themselves are beyond child-bearing age. The management task is revitalization, re-establishing the practice of speaking the language to young children.

6 The language is still used by a good number of speakers, who live close enough to each other to use it and who share certain institutions. Most important, they speak the language to their children. The language thus has what Steward (1968) called vitality, and there is natural intergenerational transmission. Languages without this characteristic are generally assumed to be obsolescent or dying.

5 As well as oral vitality, the language has literacy functions within the home, the community and the schools supported by the community. There is not, however, external support for these activities. This level is

implied by recognition of the right of a language community to conduct its own schools.

4 The language is used in pre-school and compulsory elementary school education, either in state-supported community schools or in state schools.

3 The language is used in the workplace outside the community or neighborhood in interaction with speakers of other languages.

2 The language is used by local government services and the mass media but not on higher levels.

1 There is some use of the language in higher levels of education, occupations, government and media, but there is not political independence for the speakers of the language.<sup>18</sup>

There are Other methods that have been developed and are discussed in

*Endangered Languages* by Grenoble and Whaley. They focus on the Edwards model, which has two categories, A and B: Category A divides human groups into Geography, Psychology, Religion, etc., while Category B gives examples where the groups in Category A apply such as: Speaker, Language, and Setting.<sup>19</sup> Grenoble has three extensions to this model which include literacy, macro-variable column be further refined, and that the variables need to be arranged in a hierarchy.<sup>20</sup> Fishman and Edward's models show that there is no absolute method to typify an endangered level, but both point to important factors that can be targeted in language maintenance and revitalization.

### **Language Maintenance/Revitalization**

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<sup>18</sup> Spolsky, Bernard. *Language Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004, 188-189

<sup>19</sup> Grenoble, 24

<sup>20</sup> Grenoble, 32-41

Language maintenance, according to Spolsky in *Language Policy*, happens when a person or a group directs “efforts to manipulate the language situation” to stabilize or reverse language shift.<sup>21</sup> This can be manifested in various ways, from government imposed language laws to grass-root led movements for language recognition. Reversing language shift aims to stabilize, if not increase ‘intergenerational continuity’ of a language.<sup>22</sup> It has been achieved in the past; however, it seems to be far more likely for minority languages to become obsolete than to revitalize. Key factors play toward success or failure: the number of speakers, the level of fluency of the speakers and their descendants, the attitude towards the language, and government language policy. Furthermore, the Language managers, or the people who influence a language situation, are the actors within governments, special interest groups, or even families.<sup>23</sup> To reverse language shift these language managers have to work with others to insure intergenerational continuity.

A key factor in language maintenance is clarifying the goals of the affected group. Every endangered language is at a different point in its life. Some have no hope of revitalization, while others have a large population of speakers that is slowly decreasing. For these reasons, language revitalization must take into account what can be done for each individual language instead of giving a blanket diagnosis. There are specific actors in every speech community that must be mobilized for any revitalization to occur. Government action is important in reversing language shift, but is not obligatory. Instead “much smaller societal units such as families, clubs or neighborhoods” have a more

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<sup>21</sup> Spolsky, Bernard. *Language Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004, 8.

<sup>22</sup> Fishman, Joshua A. *Reversing Language Shift: Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1991, 1.

<sup>23</sup> Spolsky, Bernard. *Language Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004, 8.

important role in intergenerational language transmission, as these are situations where language occurs more frequently and less formally.<sup>24</sup>

### *Methods of Maintenance/Revitalization*

There are multiple ways to revitalize a language. The varying methods have certain strengths/weaknesses and different end goals, but all want to increase mother tongue transmission. Low-prestige in a language makes their “own potential speakers prefer to distance themselves from it and adopt some other language”<sup>25</sup> Therefore, it is important for the state to adopt policies that put forth institutions that can help raise the prestige. Also, outlets to actually speak the language arise in these programs that before were absent. The most frequent methods are “(1) school-based programs; (2) children’s programs outside the school (after-school programs, summer programs); (3) adult language programs; (4) documentation and materials development; and (5) home-based programs.”<sup>26</sup> Looking into each of these methods will put into perspective the goal of Chile’s methods and how they could further enhance their revitalization process.

The first option of revitalization is school-based programs, which can take different shapes in order to address languages where they lie. A language with few speakers, especially young speakers, can teach the endangered language as a subject to instill respect and value to the language while diminishing negative stereotypes and shame that could be associated with it. Languages with younger speakers can have a more profound educational opportunity by having a bilingual education. A Bilingual

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<sup>24</sup> Fishman, 12

<sup>25</sup> Grenoble, 3

<sup>26</sup> Hinton, Leanne, and Kenneth L. Hale. *The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice*. San Diego: Academic, 2001, 7

education aims to “result in true balanced bilingualism.”<sup>27</sup> This can be a point of controversy for the language communities if they expect a full revitalization of their language. Bilingual education many times promotes maintaining the language instead of a proliferation. This works well in situations where the minority language community seeks to become a bilingual community “within a dominant culture that speaks another language.”<sup>28</sup> A bilingual society will allow the minority language to survive while not diminishing the ability of the speakers to enhance economic mobility. This helps create a stable bilingual diglossia where the minority language takes precedence in certain environments, and the majority language takes other realms. A disadvantage of this system is the ability to speak the minority language outside of the classroom. The majority language usually takes this place because of its status in working and social life. Therefore if the minority speech community is not speaking the language outside the school setting, it is hard for students to practice the minority language. Language maintenance is more plausible with bilingual education than revitalization. However, bilingual education can even deter language maintenance if not carried out correctly by transitioning speakers of the minority language to the majority’s language.

A school-based program option more set on full language revitalization is immersion education. This is where classes are fully taught in the minority language. This encourages revitalization as students are forced to talk and understand in the language over an extended period of time in various topics. This will encourage them to speak outside of class to classmates in the endangered language. Revitalization is an

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<sup>27</sup> Hinton, 8

<sup>28</sup> Hinton, 8

attempt to “foster, to fashion, to attain and to assist a particular language in culture content and pattern” in addition to saving the language.<sup>29</sup> One misconception is that “traditional modes of thought” and the culture associated with the language will be revived as well.<sup>30</sup> Instead language revitalization will add new words and concepts to adapt it to the modern day. Immersion programs can draw criticism from language purists since school subjects such as math or science will have terms not used before in the minority language. This promotes new words and changes the language. To some this change is seen as dirtying the language. Immersion schools are rare for two reasons: 1) fears of hurting economic mobility and 2) the difficult legal regulations and limited resources needed to fund immersion schools. Unfortunately “even the immersion classroom is not sufficient unto itself to turn around language death” without aid from the minority language community.<sup>31</sup>

The second option of revitalization is children’s programs outside the school. They take two forms: after-school programs or summer programs. The Summer programs “have advantages over after-school programs” because they are not limited by the short time frames that plague after-school programs.<sup>32</sup> Both options mix recreation with language to develop the language skill. Unfortunately, advances in the summer programs or after-school programs can be reversed if language is not “reinforced during

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<sup>29</sup> Fishman, Joshua A. *Reversing Language Shift: Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1991, 17

<sup>30</sup> Hinton, Leanne, and Kenneth L. Hale. *The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice*. San Diego: Academic, 2001, 9

<sup>31</sup> Hinton, 9

<sup>32</sup> Hinton, 10

the school year.”<sup>33</sup> Therefore, these are best when used as supplements to school programs.

The third option of revitalization is adult language programs. Like the outside school programs mentioned previously, adult language programs are a great supplement to school-based programs. They can be evening or night classes for adults that meet once a week that are actually a family component of school based programs, or they can be community events where the community plays games or cook together. This method performs two functions – “teaching the language and bringing it into use in daily life.”<sup>34</sup> Language acquisition takes more time and effort for adults than youth, and for that reason adult language programs “rarely involve immersion.”<sup>35</sup>

The fourth option of revitalization is documentation and materials development. This option of revitalization is seen as secondary to the other options described because a language with no speakers is considered dead. The documentation preserves a language that will die; however, the documentation and development of materials is indispensable in passing the knowledge of a dying language especially one with “no children or young adults speaking it.”<sup>36</sup> This has to accompany other measures of revitalization to be effective. Additionally, the development of materials such as books, CDs, and videos can help teach language where there is an absence of capable teachers.

The fifth and final option of revitalization is family-based programs at home. This option insinuates that the child would learn their native tongue as their first

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<sup>33</sup> Hinton, 10

<sup>34</sup> Hinton, 10

<sup>35</sup> Hinton, 10

<sup>36</sup> Hinton, 10

language. This can be problematic when the native language takes place of that national language, so parents may decide against this in “fear of potentially handicapping a child in his or her fluency in the nation’s mainstream language.”<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, a strong language community that encourages the use of the native tongue helps minority language users to transmit their language to the younger generation.

### *Challenges*

Unfortunately, there are some languages that are moribund and revitalization is unattainable. For these languages, written records or video recordings are sometimes the only step, but still lack to capture the life of the language when it had many speakers. Reversing language shift has had more failures than successes because it is hard to control the thoughts of groups and individuals. The reason language shift happens in the first place is because one language in a bilingual community holds more status or economic opportunity. Therefore it is smarter, in the mind of the individual, to learn the language with more status or economic opportunity for personal benefit. In this sense, reversing language shift “will need to be carried on primarily by the minorities themselves, rather than by any of the ‘big brothers’ or international integrative frameworks that exist today.”<sup>38</sup> The leadership of the minority comes in speaking at the home with the family and in local communities. When a family chooses not to pass its language to its offspring, this is when languages lose hope of continuity. Not all members of a community see maintaining their native language as positive and actually see “language shift as progress.”<sup>39</sup> This mentality is fatal for languages in indigenous

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<sup>37</sup> Hinton, 12

<sup>38</sup> Fishman, 3

<sup>39</sup> Harrison, 9

communities. Government or societal pressure in addition to the indigenous communities themselves can encourage language shift. Consequently, “a combination of government power and ideological strength” are needed to fully combat language shift.<sup>40</sup>

### **Language Policy**

Much of the language policy seen in the world has pressed for monolingualism instead of multilingualism. These language policies historically have been used as a nation-building tactic. Like a flags and national anthems, language can be seen as a tool for unification and nation building. Now in the globalization era there are calls for a common language among all people instead of multilingualism. The main argument for this point is that true democracy and equality “requires that access to a common language be comprehensive, that is, available to all.”<sup>41</sup> Yet we still see in monolingual countries inequalities and disparities. Therefore, one universal language does not solve problems that people associate with to multilingualism. For this reason, Domestic and international institutions can help protect these minority language communities and promote equality by promoting their minority languages to be seen as equal to the majority languages.

However, in today’s globalized world language barriers do not pose such an impediment to unification as they used to be. Individual nation states have lost certain degrees of power, and international organizations have a role in the protection of these minority language communities as “globalization allows for the devolution of power to the sub-state level as well as relocating it to supra- and international spheres”.<sup>42</sup>

Historically, minority languages were locked into societies promoting a majority

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<sup>40</sup> Spolsky, 223

<sup>41</sup> Spolsky, Bernard. *The Cambridge Handbook of Language Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2012, 42

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, 75

language, but with the globalization phenomenon minority languages are able to reach past borders for protection and markets. Translation tools are disposable so that fluency in another language is not as pertinent to economic success globally. This has a huge impact on the micro-level for minority languages. The internationalization of language rights can be seen in organizations like ILO (International Labor Organization) and UNESCO.

Language policy has been questioned in its necessity or effectiveness. As discussed earlier, reversing language shift cannot happen without the support of the speakers of the minority group affected. Yet language policy can greatly aid the minority language groups in reversing language shift. Policy can come from international organizations such as the ILO or from individual states. No matter if it is international or from local governments, it is important that the language policy developed stem from a discussion led by the language minority group whose language is affected. While the manifestation of language policy can vary, Spolsky argues there are four main features to the theory of language policy. the first being “the tripartite division of language policy into language practices, language beliefs and ideology, and the explicit policies and plans resulting from language-management or planning activities that attempt to modify the practices and ideologies of a community.”<sup>43</sup> This accentuates the point that each language should be handled individually to assure what is wanted can be achieved and encouraged through government policy. Governments are responsible for addressing and defining their ideology of whatever language policy it may be to avoid ambiguity and conflict. The second feature is that language policy is “concerned not just with named varieties of

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<sup>43</sup> Spolsky, 39

language, but with all the individual elements at all levels that make up language.”<sup>44</sup> This, again, tries to avoid ambiguity by defining what they believe the language actually is and how it should be viewed, taught, and spoken. The third feature is “that language policy operates within a speech community, of whatever size.”<sup>45</sup> This aims at the relationship of the speech community with the government. Language can be used as an instrument of power and centrality or as a tool of division. It is important for speech communities to define their beliefs in their language before a government tries to aid them in revitalizing it. The fourth feature is “that language policy functions in a complex ecological relationship among a wide range of linguistic and non-linguistic elements, variables, and factors.”<sup>46</sup> The final function describes the unreliability of language policy to influence language change. The administering of a policy has to occur for any results to be achieved, and the wanted results are never guaranteed even if the policy is carried out. Although there are many players in language policy “there is no central decision-maker or authority, but orderly change happens nonetheless.”<sup>47</sup>

Domestic policy is vital in manifesting programs of maintenance within the minority language community. Language death many times is seen as natural because the group “acquiesces in its subordination.”<sup>48</sup> Therefore, domestic policy can give status to a language to erase stereotypes and discriminatory views towards a minority language. This can be achieved by making a minority an official language or giving it legal recognition as a language used within the country. Furthermore, policy is important in putting in

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<sup>44</sup> Spolsky, 40

<sup>45</sup> Spolsky, 40-41

<sup>46</sup> Spolsky, 40-41

<sup>47</sup> Harrison, 208

<sup>48</sup> Spolsky, Bernard. *The Cambridge Handbook of Language Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2012, 116

place the infrastructure to help maintain the language. There is no standard way to applying this, but school systems are “not only a practical measure: [they] also play a symbolic role in many language revitalization campaigns.”<sup>49</sup> The goals of policies differ according to the state of the language, but most language maintenance policies will aim to increase the number of speakers, raise the status of the language, and create a domain for its use in everyday life.

The main detractors from language policy are the language community’s interest to revitalize language and the economic costs of maintaining a language. Without government support many language communities cannot support themselves. Furthermore, without the minority language community’s support even government support cannot aid in revitalization of a language. An economic benefit for maintaining a minority language is the language community being used as a tourist attraction. However, monolingualism has the benefits of not spending money or time trying to maintain the language. Yet, economic benefits/costs of maintaining a language is not definitive. To measure the success of a language policy, one would have to look at the principal goals of the language policy, but there is no standard to which language policy can be held.

If no one can direct language change, then why should we have language policy? First, it becomes a question of basic rights. Groups can be seriously limited in political power if they cannot communicate with their own government. Aside from political power, individual and cultural identity has been rooted in language even if it is just the method of expression. If the government abuses minority languages, then so are their speakers, as they have to struggle to be able to communicate and fight for their own

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<sup>49</sup> Spolsky, Bernard. *The Cambridge Handbook of Language Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2012, 117

personal rights. More practically, governments many times have the resources necessary to provide an “educational infrastructure of the necessary size.”<sup>50</sup> Minority groups usually are more impoverished, less educated, and socially subjugated. For this reason, the resources are not in their hands to support institutions that promote intergenerational language transmission and/or bilingual societies. Therefore, governments are important in giving voice to minority groups and aiding them in building a structure to build their language needs.

In looking at the case of the Mapuche in Chile, it is important know the history of the Mapuche in Chile to understand why it has declined. Their history of discrimination and loss have created negative stereotypes that have disrupted intergenerational transmission. The Chilean government is now trying to undo the damages it has produced. The following chapter will detail the history of the Mapuche, the history of Mapuzugun as a language, and how these histories have created the current attitudes of Mapuche towards Mapuzugun.

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<sup>50</sup> Grenoble, 6

## **Chapter Two: Historical Perspectives and Current Attitudes of Mapuzugun**

Mapuzugun as a language has been marginalized with its people since the beginning of colonization, a trait shared by indigenous languages globally. Colonization is not the sole enemy of the indigenous language, but also the Chilean statehood, the Pinochet regime, and the recent return to democracy, which have had lasting effects on the state of Mapuzugun. The repression of the people has affected the language directly and indirectly. Before the return of democracy in 1990, the damages against the Mapuche people and, in effect, their language are easy to discern through open war, taking of lands, and loss of recognition under the Pinochet regime. After the return of democracy, the divide between the Chilean state and Mapuche people has become harder to find with autonomous Mapuche government institutions and ratification of laws protecting and developing the indigenous culture. Fortunately even with drastic declines, revitalization for Mapuzugun is “not too late.”<sup>51</sup> This section will give a brief history of the Mapuche people and their language to help clarify the state of the language and attitudes held by the Mapuche people today.

### **History of Mapuche**

The Mapuche fought and won their independence against different civilizations beginning with the Incas. The battles against the Incas helped them to fight the Spanish. Their culture helped them in this as well. The Mapuche were not a hierarchal group but "people of the earth"; therefore, unlike the Incas, they could lose their leaders and still have the strength to fight. The Mapuche were a warrior society because "everyone

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<sup>51</sup> Ray, Leslie. *Language of the Land: The Mapuche in Argentina and Chile*. Copenhagen: International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, 2007 p. 25

suffers from the war and all prepared for her." <sup>52</sup> The lack of concentration of power in the Mapuche society made it harder to conquer them and their lands.

The nineteenth century saw a change. The Mapuche were more or less in peace with the criollos that came to colonize their lands. The Mapuches did business with foreigners, and their domestic society had changed. They learned much from their neighbors in business and agriculture, and in this time of peace the Mapuche were able to "increase the population." <sup>53</sup> However, the organization of Mapuche society began to change. They had a large part of the country, especially for only one ethnic group. This gave them good conditions for an agrarian way of life. Something Different from other indigenous groups, the Mapuche were economically oriented. The organization of society began to change for this new wealth. The economy divided the Mapuche into different groups that depended on their societal role. The chiefs accumulated money, and the cattle herders expanded their livestock to new lands while the warriors protected them. The Mapuche were not centralized, which made it difficult for the Spanish to fight them. However, the augmentation and expansion of these different groups began centralizing the Mapuche and created contact among different groups due to "its commercial livestock." <sup>54</sup>

The liberal republic is a reference to the Chilean government between 1861 and 1891 and is also called “‘expansion period’, because it expanded the territory" of Chile. <sup>55</sup> Within this time, Chile increased its land with the additions of the north Pacific War,

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<sup>52</sup> Bengoa, José *Historia del pueblo mapuche: siglo XIX y XX*. Serie Historia. P. 37

<sup>53</sup> Bengoa, José, op. cit. pg. 44

<sup>54</sup> Bengoa, José, op. cit. pg. 45

<sup>55</sup> Orígenes de Chile, <http://www.biografiadechile.cl/contenido.phpIdCategoria=9&IdArea=42> Biografía de Chile

Easter Island, and most importantly the Mapuche pacification and the addition of Araucaria, the Mapuche's nation. The taking of Araucaria from the Mapuche forever changed the lifestyle and power of the Mapuche in Chile.

The early twentieth century saw a Mapuche people different from the beginning of the previous century. The livestock society who was autonomous in Araucaria had changed to "a poor peasant society."<sup>56</sup> The Mapuche people lost their society of livestock and farming. They were rich, but now became poor and "ignorant."<sup>57</sup> In the early twentieth century they were dependent on others in many ways and subject to abuse. The state also imposed a land tax on indigenous properties, but the Mapuche did not recognize or understand the idea of private property. Therefore, the Mapuche "had to change the idea they had about earth, its value, its use, its rights," which caused internal divisions and challenged their cultural heritage.<sup>58</sup>

The twentieth century was a time of poverty and marginalization until the presidencies of Frei and Allende. The integration of the Mapuches was not complete or smooth, but the government was trying to integrate the Mapuche through the legal routes that in the past were discriminatory. Unfortunately with the coup, the Mapuche lost many of their legal earnings under Frei and Allende's land reforms aimed at giving back land seized from the Mapuche.

The Land reform was stopped under the military's rule, and the persecution of the Mapuche was worse under the Pinochet regime. The help of Frei and Allende towards the indigenous made the Mapuche a target opposed by Pinochet. Besides personal injustice,

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<sup>56</sup> Bengoa, 366

<sup>57</sup> Bengoa, 367

<sup>58</sup> Bengoa, 368

"65% of the recovered lands were restored to their former owners" by the state.<sup>59</sup>

Pinochet created the 2568 law that divided indigenous lands for not recognizing their belief of communal property. With the approval of this law, the government invaded Mapuche land "replaced native forests for thousands of hectares of monoculture of exotic species such as pine and eucalyptus."<sup>60</sup> The regime tried to eliminate or weaken the Mapuche culture and people with this law. The idea of communal property was one of the most important beliefs in the Mapuche culture.

The transition to democracy in Chile gave the leftist coalition, La Concertación, power. The coalition was the hope of the Mapuche and other indigenous groups to be heard and achieve reforms. In 1989, President Patricio Aylwin signed the Pact of the New Imperial that gave "constitutional recognition of indigenous peoples, the creation of a National Indigenous Development Corporation and a background of ethnic development, the enactment of a law on indigenous and ratification of Convention 169 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples of the ILO."<sup>61</sup> The failure to keep these promises has frustrated the Mapuche. A commission was created under Aylwin called the Special Commission of Indigenous Peoples (CEPI), but the ratification of ILO Convention 169 "underwent major changes," in the discussion in Congress.<sup>62</sup> The *ley indígena* was enacted in 1993 and created the National Indigenous Development Corporation (CONADI), but the constitutional reform "was rejected."<sup>63</sup> Unfortunately the Mapuche people protested violently against corporate intrusion in their ancient lands. Therefore, many Chileans

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<sup>59</sup> Brinkmann, Beatriz. "Pueblo Mapuche: Titular De Derechos." *CINTRAS* 36 (2008): <http://www.cintras.org/textos/reflexion/r36/pueblomapuche.pdf>, 2.

<sup>60</sup> Brinkmann, 2.

<sup>61</sup> Brinkmann, 2.

<sup>62</sup> Brinkmann, 3.

<sup>63</sup> Brinkmann, 3.

view the Mapuche as a terrorist group. However, the Mapuche achieved much in the *ley 19.253* that created CONADI and gave basic rights to indigenous peoples. This history has affected the state of Mapuzugun today and the attitude of the Mapuche towards it.

### **History of Mapuzugun**

Mapuzugun, along with its people, has been affected by the wars with the Incas, the conquistadors, the early Chilean state, Pinochet's regime, and the recent democratic governments. As seen, they traditionally were a land-oriented people with livestock and farms. The word "Mapuche" means people of the land. This gives insight in how their knowledge, culture, and ultimately their language, were tailored to express ideas about land, agriculture, and livestock. Traditionally their language, like many indigenous languages, was oral; therefore, the history of the Mapuche people "prior to the conquest often comes from Spanish texts written by military or ecclesiastical historians" since they passed their traditions and knowledge orally instead of orthographically.<sup>64</sup> The shift of the oral tradition to a written history coincides with the imposition of western civilization in their society and, as a result, their language.

The repression of Mapuzugun began with the repression of the Mapuche people under the jurisdiction of the Chilean state. The subjugation, taking of lands, fragmentation of society, and racial discrimination created a change in Mapuche culture and language, which were tailored throughout time for their traditional agrarian/warrior society. The assimilation made the Mapuche culture "suppressed and denied."<sup>65</sup> The suppression and denial of the culture meant the suppression of the language that expressed these ideas and ideals in the culture. In Chilean society it was seen as

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<sup>64</sup> Ray, 26.

<sup>65</sup> Ray, 29.

“offensive to speak Mapudungun.”<sup>66</sup> These circumstances conditioned the language for decline and eventual death.<sup>18</sup> The passing of knowledge and culture through oral tradition among the Mapuche made the language more vulnerable to language shift than a written language. Without the written tradition, ceasing to speak means the actual disappearance of the language altogether. Ironically, the oppressors were the first to record the language.

The conquistadors and missionaries are actually responsible for the beginning writings of Mapuzugun. The first works on Mapuzugun came from German missionaries in the late 1800s and early 1900s, but until 1986 there was no “unified system for the phonemic transcription.”<sup>67</sup> However, this system, called the Unified system, developed by the Summer Institute of Linguists, a Christian foundation that translates the Bible to lesser-known languages globally, has come under criticism by indigenous as an outside “interference and imposition.”<sup>68</sup> Therefore, there has been a preference by certain groups to use the Ragileo system developed the same year by Anselmo Ragileo Lincopil. In addition to these two systems there are the spellings from the *Diccionario Araucano* from 1915 by Fray Felix José de Augusta.<sup>69</sup> This allows up to three options of writing for certain words, which is not ideal for the teaching of Mapuzugun.

The lack of cohesion and standardization of a written system of Mapuzugun hurts the language in a variety of ways. First, it divides the already minority group on an issue. Second, it diminishes the ability to teach and increase language use in schools. Third, it questions the credibility of the education of the language in schools and government

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<sup>66</sup> Ray, 28.

<sup>67</sup> Ray, 27

<sup>68</sup> Ray, 27

<sup>69</sup> Ray, 27

institutions. These problems hurt the leadership of the minority group in making decisions that the whole group holds credible. Defining which system is appropriate could help facilitate a better-standardized education that would more easily maintain the language, but the issue has been politicized and ethicized.

### **Current State of Mapuche and Mapuzugun**

Today, the Mapuche live in an environment that is receptive to the rescue of their culture and language that was lost from the interactions with the Spanish and the Chilean state. Living standards are higher for indigenous people in general today than before. The government's Ministry of Planning does a study on indigenous peoples of Chile that shows the changes of the indigenous people's situation throughout time. The Mapuche are the largest ethnic group in Chile. In 1996 the study says that 35.1% of the indigenous population was in poverty compared to 22.7% of the non-indigenous population, but in 2009 19.9% of the indigenous population was in poverty compared to 14.8 of the non-indigenous population.<sup>70</sup> The study also shows that illiteracy has dropped, average labor income has risen, and level of education has risen. The indigenous are not equal yet, but the situation is improving. The largest inequality in the indigenous community is between rural and urban dwellers. One of the largest concentrations of Mapuche in Chile resides in the metropolitan region. The importance of this is that Mapuzugun was developed in a rural society not an urban.

As noted, the indigenous population, while a minority in Chilean society, has steadily increased as the number of people able to speak and understand their indigenous languages have steadily decreased. In the Ministry of Planning's 2009 poll, the

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<sup>70</sup> "Pueblos Indígenas Encuesta Casen 2009." *Gobierno De Chile - Ministerio De Educación*. N.p., n.d. [http://www.ministeriodesarrollosocial.gob.cl/casen2009/casen\\_indigena\\_2009.pdf](http://www.ministeriodesarrollosocial.gob.cl/casen2009/casen_indigena_2009.pdf), 8.

indigenous population has increased throughout the years to make up 6.9% of the population in 2009, but only 12% can speak or understand their indigenous language.<sup>71</sup> The loss of language does not coincide with a marginalization of Mapuche society within Chilean society. It could be seen as the opposite. As the Mapuche's living standards become closer to the non-indigenous Chilean society, they have abandoned their native tongue and use Spanish for "social interaction in the city, and ... for virtually all written purposes."<sup>72</sup> The end of the discrimination against Mapuzugun "began in the early '90s," with the transition to democracy.<sup>73</sup> At this point many parents of today's youth do not speak the language or if they do they encourage the use of Spanish as it is seen to be "socially advantageous to speak it fluently, on account of the perceived stigma attached to having a 'Mapuche accent,'" as Ray suggests.<sup>74</sup> Recently, from the lack of discrimination, the Mapuche youth are in favor of learning Mapuzugun, but there is a lack of "people with the skills to teach it."<sup>75</sup> With the recent diminution of discrimination of the Mapuche people and their language, the Mapuche community and Chilean institutions have a great chance to rebuild what was lost. This depends, however, on their ability to work together and the attitudes of the Mapuche community as a whole with regard to revitalizing their language.

### **Attitudes towards Indigenous languages**

#### *Chile's Attitude towards Indigenous Languages*

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<sup>71</sup> "Pueblos Indígenas Encuesta Casen 2009.", 4.

<sup>72</sup> Ray, 28.

<sup>73</sup> Ray, 28.

<sup>74</sup> Ray, 26.

<sup>75</sup> Ray, 26.

The state of Chile does not recognize any indigenous language as an official language, but there are government laws that recognize and protect them. These laws such as the *Ley indígena*, *Decree 0280*, and *ILO-Convention 169* have given the indigenous people protection in various aspects of society of which is language protection is one of these. Chile supports a multilingual society, but does not see itself as a multilingual state necessarily due to the absence of recognition of these indigenous languages in the state constitution. It is a Spanish-speaking country that protects the rights of its minorities.

Language death can be attributed to states that encourage a monolingual society, which Chile has shown is not the case in recent years. Nevertheless, historically we can see the decline of indigenous languages as a result of repression from the Chilean state. Now the effects of years of repression, discrimination, and fragmentation have imbedded societal attitudes towards Mapuzugun and its use. The recent language shift seen in the indigenous community can be seen as a fault of the indigenous community's unwillingness to speak it, but this unwillingness is rooted in the historical attitudes against Mapuzugun in a Chilean society that frowned upon indigenous languages. Today the Chilean state is trying to reconcile and help maintain these languages and people, but the wounds already made will take time to heal.

#### *Indigenous Community's Attitude towards Indigenous Language*

Obvious language shift occurred from the repression and discrimination of the Mapuche people by the Chilean state, but now the shift is still occurring in an environment that promotes instead of represses the Mapuche language. The state is even creating institutions that help maintain these indigenous languages. Nevertheless “a

language law does not guarantee observance” by the minority language community.<sup>76</sup> Therefore, the language community has to support and aid in fostering its use in the community and public spaces for revitalization to occur. However, there appears to not be a modern-day outlet to speak Mapuzugun among the Mapuche people themselves. The attitudes expressed towards the revitalization of Mapuzugun are mostly positive in surveys conducted among Mapuche people in the metropolitan region, which has the second highest concentration of Mapuche people in Chile. Interestingly 97.9% of the population views the maintenance of Mapuzugun as their society’s main concern; however, revitalization is not a guarantee after looking at attitudes on other issues.<sup>77</sup> This section will break down certain attitudes important to the revitalization or shift of Mapuzugun.

*Attitudes that Aid in Revitalization*

**Table 2-1**

Proposals concerning the native language	Agree	Indifferent	Disagree	Total
Greatest concern for Mapuche is to maintain Mapuzugun	97.9%	1.4%	.7%	100%
Feels sorry for the possibility of the disappearance of Mapuzugun	96.2%	3.3%	.5%	100%
Satisfaction for whole families dominance of Mapuzugun	91.1%	5.5%	3.4%	100%
Sadness for the interruption of transmission of Mapuzugun from parents to children	89.1%	7.8%	3.1%	100%
Satisfaction because Mapuche authorities and public officials use Mapuzugun	89.1%	9.1%	1.8%	100%

Table 2-1 shows attitudes of the metropolitan Mapuche population on various proposals concerning their native language that are important predictors of their willingness to revitalize their language. As stated before, 97.9% of the population

<sup>76</sup> Spolsky, Bernard. *The Cambridge Handbook of Language Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2012, 5.

<sup>77</sup> Saavedra, Luis G., and Mario T. Alcayaga. *Perfil sociolingüístico de lenguas Mapuche Y Aymara en la región metropolitana*. CONADI. LOM Ediciones, 2009.  
 <[http://www.educarchile.cl/Userfiles/P0001/File/perfil\\_mapuche\\_y\\_aymara\\_en\\_RM.pdf](http://www.educarchile.cl/Userfiles/P0001/File/perfil_mapuche_y_aymara_en_RM.pdf)>, 34

believes the greatest concern for Mapuche is to maintain Mapuzugun. This overarching concordance on the importance of the maintenance of Mapuzugun shows not only the possibility, but also the ability of the Mapuche people to maintain their mother tongue. State support is helpful in reversing language shift, but maintenance needs “to be carried on primarily by the minorities themselves,” as Fishman points out.<sup>78</sup> The language community plays the role of giving a public atmosphere for the language to be used, but also gives a private domain in the case of the home. Therefore, the maintenance of a language is impossible without the support of the minority language community itself.

The Other categories shown indicate the importance of Mapuzugun in their lives. The proposals gather a sense of pride and pain. The Mapuche applaud the usage of the language, but they also mourn the loss of transmission. The supportive position for using the language puts a positive pressure in learning and transmitting the language. The disappointment in the loss of transmission also dissuades not transmitting the language to the younger generation if possible. These sentiments create a sense of pride and responsibility among the Mapuche community in transmitting Mapuzugun, but it does not guarantee transmission.

The next important issue to look at is how the Mapuche feel about the instituting of maintaining the language. Table 2-2 shows us the sentiments felt on implementing maintenance.

**Table 2-2**

Proposals concerning the native language	Agree	Indifferent	Disagree	Total
Mapuzugun is an important instrument for the transmission of native history	96.8%	.7%	2.5%	100%

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<sup>78</sup> Fishman, 3

Disposition to learn more Mapuzugun	89.2%	5.6%	5.2%	100%
Mapuzugun as a tool for the continuing of Mapuche customs.	79.5%	1.9%	18.6%	100%
Responsibility of grandparents in teaching Mapuzugun to the children	77.7%	3.7%	18.6%	100%
Rejection of ridicule suffered by bilingual students	74.0%	13.1%	12.9%	100%
Annoyance because Mapuche leaders don't speak Mapuzugun	72.5%	14.9%	12.6%	100%

There is an obvious role of Mapuzugun in the Mapuche culture. As the language has been tailored for the indigenous culture, it also would be the best language to tell the history of the people. The high levels of agreement that Mapuzugun is an instrument to tell the history and continue customs show the precise nature of the language. This narrow niche limits the ability to use Mapuzugun in the public or even at the home level. The implementation of transmission would be rational in these areas of culture and history, and for this reason we can see the agreement of the responsibility of the older generation, the source of history and culture, in the transmission of the language. Nevertheless, the other proposals let us see the Mapuche's ability to accept the possible modernization and change of Mapuzugun outside its traditional use. Table 2-3 demonstrates the attitudes of the Mapuche towards the modernization and use of Mapuzugun in daily.

**Table 2-3**

Proposals concerning the native language	Agree	Indifferent	Disagree	Total
Beneficial for Mapuche to learn to write Mapuzugun	96.4%	1.3%	2.3%	100%
Mandatory nature of teaching children Mapuzugun	94.6%	2.2%	3.2%	100%
Learning and use of Mapuzugun by authorities and government officials	82.3%	14.3%	3.4%	100%
Satisfaction of listening to radio programs in Mapuzugun.	74.1%	19.4%	6.5%	100%

The positive attitude towards teaching Mapuzugun to children and the beneficial ability to write in the language shows the hopes for the utility of the language in everyday

situations. The teaching of Mapuzugun will strengthen the traditional culture of Mapuche as Mapuzugun developed over time to express it. Also teaching the language will give the children opportunities to use the language in public settings. A “sociocultural self-sufficiency, self-help, self-regulation and initiative” in the Mapuzugun language community is the basic building block for language maintenance and revitalization.<sup>79</sup> The learning and use of Mapuzugun by authorities and government would create another environment for Mapuzugun to develop. It also would give the language a certain status that could help eradicate the negative connotations the language has developed throughout history. In addition to the status gained by usage in schools and government jobs, the usage of Mapuzugun radio stations aids in creating environments for the language. This medium helps reach listeners to listen to the language that is not heard in streets.

The positive attitudes show the general willingness of the language community to foster maintenance of Mapuzugun. This is the beginning step in reversing language shift. They are more reliable to implement and support their language maintenance with these positive attitudes towards maintenance. They justify and show the Mapuzugun language community feels there is something lost with the loss of their language. The attitudes supporting measures of implementation guarantee the language community’s aid in the manifestation of maintenance. Furthermore, the attitudes dealing with the environments in which Mapuzugun would be used support the spread and evolution of the language. Mapuzugun comes naturally in the historical and cultural sectors of Mapuche society, but with the use of Mapuzugun in schools, government, and radio add new and less

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<sup>79</sup> Fishman, 4.

traditional areas for the language to develop and evolve to something able to be used daily.

*Attitudes that Hurt Revitalization*

The older generations of the Mapuche have the highest competence of language; however, they have a “low level of linguistic loyalty,” as Saavedra asserts.<sup>80</sup> They do not pass the language to their whole family, which disrupts the intergenerational language transmission. These older generations are pivotal in reversing language shift, because they have the tool to transmit the language to others. The majority of the metropolitan indigenous population learns “Castilian as their first language.”<sup>81</sup> This could be changed if the older generations were adamant about continuing their language, but their choice not to have passed it to their children or their grandchildren reflects the history of repression. The low-status and the economic practicality of the language hurt the incentive to pass it on to their children and grandchildren.

The older generation’s choice not to transmit their language has created an environment where speakers don’t feel like there is an outlet to use the language in today’s world, and the language has become “far from being a tool of internal communication of massive or frequent use.”<sup>82</sup> One of the biggest detractors in the revitalization of Mapuzugun is its lack of use outside of the classroom and its lack of economic utility. Table 2-4 reflects attitudes that gravitate towards a maintenance and reformation of the language to have a niche in the lives of the Mapuche rather than a full revitalization.

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<sup>80</sup> Saavedra, 53.

<sup>81</sup> Saavedra, Luis G., 23

<sup>82</sup> Saavedra, Luis G., 26

**Table 2-4**

Proposals concerning the native language	Agree	Indifferent	Disagree	Total
Dislike for the little utility of Mapuzugun to improve life	57.4%	11.4%	31.2%	100%
The continuing of Mapuzugun as a government assignment more than of a Mapuche job	52.0%	17.0%	31.0%	100%
Necessity for children to learn Mapuzugun to come up in life	48.2%	8.4%	43.4%	100%
Utility of Mapuzugun to communicate in modern life	46.0%	7.4%	46.6%	100% <sup>83</sup>
Pertinence of learning of Mapuzugun by Chileans (not Mapuches)	63.3%	5.4%	31.3%	100%

These categories show the language community’s belief in the utility of the language in economic and modern-day life. Unfortunately, Spanish has replaced Mapuzugun in day-to-day communication as, “speakers abandon their native tongue in adaptation to an environment where use of that language is no longer advantageous to them.”<sup>84</sup> This replacement has made Spanish a tool for the economic improvement of the Mapuche people. Interestingly only 57.4% of the population has a dislike for the little utility of Mapuzugun to improve life. This reinforces that Mapuzugun is to be efficient in only transmitting the Mapuche culture and history. For this reason, we see the low levels of agreement for the necessity for children to learn Mapuzugun to come up in life and its utility to communicate in modern life.

The discriminatory past can be eradicated if Chileans generate knowledge of Mapuzugun and its role in the Mapuche life. The niche of Mapuzugun as a historical and cultural transmitter will be easier for Chileans to accept than the full revitalization of Mapuzugun as a language that competes with Spanish. Instead of competing against a monocultural society, the teaching of Mapuzugun to non-natives will “encourage inter-communal interaction and respect for other points of view, defusing inter-ethnic

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<sup>83</sup> Saavedra, Luis G., 34

<sup>84</sup> Gernoble, 22

tensions,” as Spolsky affirms.<sup>85</sup> Non-indigenous Chileans will have the opportunity to understand the culture of Mapuche and importance of their language in the transmission of their ideals and culture. Yet a large portion of the population disagrees with this being useful or necessary.

The final and most important disagreement in the language community deals with the role of the government in the maintenance of Mapuzugun. 52% agree with the continuance of government intervention in language revitalization. The continuance of revitalization as a government endeavor has specific advantages. First, the resources the government has are greater than what is available to the historically repressed Mapuche people. For this reason, the government is more adept at providing programs and schools to implement the maintenance of Mapuzugun. Mapuzugun’s “existence is threatened in the modern world” without government support.<sup>86</sup> It also can pay for radio programs to transmit to the general public. Second, the government support of the maintenance of Mapuzugun gives a status to Mapuzugun that is not secondary. This initiative shows governmental support that reflects Chilean support outside of the Mapuche people. This status and support outside of the Mapuche help create a safe environment to reverse language shift unavailable in the past. Third, government continuance gives Mapuzugun more economic value. The More revitalization programs there are creates more jobs aimed at carrying out revitalization. Therefore, the disagreement among the metropolitan Mapuche on the importance of the government’s role in language maintenance hurts the capabilities to reverse the language shift caused by the same government historically.

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<sup>85</sup> Spolsky, Bernard. *The Cambridge Handbook of Language Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2012, 122.

<sup>86</sup> Hinton, 3

## **Conclusion**

The attitudes of the Chileans and the Mapuche toward Mapuzugun were shaped by the history of the nation. The colonization of the Spanish, the creation of the Chilean state, and the eradication of Araucaria as a state affected Mapuzugun itself. Traditionally an oral language, Mapuzugun was used to detail the culture and history of the Mapuche people, which was tailored to the land. With the western influence, the western people themselves instead of the Mapuche slowly developed Mapuche into a written language. Misplacement of Mapuche from the land has led over the years to large migrations to the metropolitan area of Chile until one of the most concentrated populations of Mapuche resides in the city region. The state of conflict between the Mapuche and the Chilean government made Mapuzugun historically receive negative sentiments in Chilean society. The rural nature of the language combined with the recent urban nature of the Mapuche people creates a difficult situation for Mapuzugun. The Mapuche people have a general positive and supportive attitude towards the maintenance of Mapuzugun, but many attitudes lead to a narrow use of Mapuzugun in the future. This niche is found in the cultural and historical value of the language to the Mapuche people. Through the assimilation of the Mapuche into Chilean society Mapuzugun reflected poverty and ignorance that reflected the imposed state of the Mapuche in Chile. This encouraged older generations not to pass the language down to their children. Not until recently have these stereotypes been challenged and even reversed. Chile as a state is now becoming a safe place for the language to revitalize as the stigmas against the language are lessening.

### Chapter Three: Language Policy in Chile

The attitudes towards reversing language shift among the Mapuche people are the cornerstone to actual language maintenance, but the effect of these attitudes is limited without government policy. The Mapuche are the main indigenous population in Chile, but only a small portion can speak and understand their native tongue. The language community has to be in support or even lead in creating and facilitating any policies or institutions put into place to fully foster language maintenance. The Mapuche as discussed earlier, are supportive to maintenance. The Chilean state has ratified laws, created CONADI, and began the Intercultural Bilingual Education Program. The Government support has helped take away and stop reinforcing stereotypes and discrimination against indigenous languages, which is pivotal in creating positive attitudes and environments towards the revitalization of the language. Unfortunately, other than this support starting in the early 1990's, the actual standardization and implementation of language maintenance came later.

The current president of Chile, Sebastián Piñera, in 2010 issued a political statement on the indigenous policies stating that “unfortunately, the public policies implemented in our country since the enactment of Law 19.253 in 1993 have not been effective in creating the conditions that permit the indigenous to participate in the opportunities that offer economic development and at the same time maintain their identity and culture.”<sup>87</sup> There have been weaknesses in the institutions and laws passed, but in 2010 a standard curriculum for teaching language was politically enacted under the Decree 280.

Bilingual education instituted is the main manifestation and strongest component of the

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<sup>87</sup> Piñera, Sebastian. “Política Indígena del Gobierno de Sebastián Piñera”. *Sebastián Piñera 2010*. 2010, <http://www.mineduc.cl/usuarios/intercultural/doc/201104071331530.Propuestasindigenas.pdf>, 1

language policy in Chile, and it will help in reversing language shift in the younger generations. There are other options and opportunities outside of this, but the Intercultural Bilingual Program is the strongest institution in reversing language shift among the indigenous in Chile. This chapter will analyze the domestic policies and international policies ratified or recognized by the Chilean state and the bilingual education instituted by the state.

### **Domestic Language Policies in Chile**

Domestic policy is an important if not essential part of reversing language shift. Domestic policy can affectively give status, infrastructure, and support to language minorities especially effective with positive attitudes toward language maintenance by the language minority. There have been shortcomings with the policies and institutions put forth, but Chile has these foundations, on which they can build.

Efforts started in the early 1990's to reverse the language shift of specific indigenous languages. The *ley indígena* of Chile was ratified on September 28, 1993, by the first democratic government after Chile's dictatorship. This law recognized the major indigenous tribes within Chile and concurrently gave specific rights to the tribes. There are Two important features of this law that involve language maintenance. First, CONADI, which consists of "directly elected indigenous representatives," was developed simultaneously to work with the government's implementation of the Indigenous Law.<sup>88</sup> CONADI is the bridge between the indigenous community and the government. The creation of CONADI by the Chilean state allows the indigenous communities to have power through their own government branch instead of having the indigenous community

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<sup>88</sup> "Chile." *U.S. Department of State*. <<http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/2006/78884.htm>>.

and government act as two different bodies trying to make compromises. CONADI has been important not only in the development of language policy but also implementing it.

The second important feature of the *ley indígena* is found in its Article 28. In it Chile introduces actual language policy:

**Article 28**

The recognition, respect and protection of indigenous cultures and languages will include:

- a) The use and conservation of indigenous languages, alongside Spanish in areas with a high density of indigenous peoples;
- b) The establishment in the national education system of a program unit that enables learners to access adequate knowledge of indigenous cultures and languages and that enables them to assess them positively;
- c) Encouraging the spread of radio and television stations in the regions of high indigenous presence in indigenous language programs and support for the creation of radio and indigenous media;
- d) The promotion and establishment of chairs of history, culture and indigenous languages in higher education;
- e) The obligation of the Civil Registry to record the names of indigenous people in the way their parents express them and with the norms of phonetic transcription they indicate, and
- f) The promotion of artistic and cultural heritage protection and architectural, archaeological, cultural and indigenous history.

To comply with what is stated in the preceding paragraph, the Corporation, in coordination with the Ministry of Education, promotes plans and programs for the promotion of indigenous cultures.

It should consider agreements with public or private national, regional or communal, with objectives consistent with those outlined in this article. It should also be involved in the fulfillment of those purposes to regional governments and municipalities.<sup>89</sup>

This article recognizes and protects certain indigenous languages. These languages are still not recognized or protected under the constitution even though they are present in domestic policy. The use and proliferation of the languages through the education system, media, and government are supported under this law, which aids their

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<sup>89</sup> "Ley Indígena." *Centro de Documentación Mapuche*. <<http://www.mapuche.info/indgen/ley-4.html>>.

recognition. Article 28 of the *ley indigena* has been the building block and the framework for the language policy within Chile. Several decrees and the Intercultural Bilingual Education Program are the results of this policy.

Decree 280 is an important decree in the standardization of the bilingual education. Starting in 2010 under this Decree, Chile began a sector of basic indigenous language in each bilingual school. The languages that have programs under this decree are Aymara, Mapuzugun, Quechua, and Rapa Nui. This is A five-article decree by the Chilean government’s Ministry of Education that establishes goals of indigenous education in the country.

**Table 3-1**

Article #	Goal of Article
Article 1	Establishes the fundamental objectives and minimal obligations as the creation of levels of basic teaching of indigenous languages from the first until the eighth year of basic schooling.
Article 2	Outlines how this will work by having 8 years of education of Indigenous languages by adding a new level each year until 2017.
Article 3	States that schools can create additional programs or levels of Language education, but they have to at least achieve what is outlined in Article 2.
Article 4	States that this indigenous language program can be put into place in any educational establishments that favor an intercultural education. They can implement it from the first year until they get to the eighth year.
Article 5	Says in 2010 that establishments with 50% or more indigenous students and in 2013 establishments with 20% to 49% indigenous students will be obligated to offer indigenous language sections in their schools.

This Decree was passed in 2009.<sup>90</sup> Each consecutive year after the Decree 280 a new decree has been issued to implement and standardize a new level of basic bilingual education outlined in Decree 280. Decree 1619, Decree 0741, and Decree 1479 have

<sup>90</sup> Jimenez, Monica. “Decreto N. 0280,” *Ministerio de Educación*, <http://www.mineduc.cl/usuarios/intercultural/doc/201207301051420.decreto280.pdf>

established basic first, second, and third study programs respectively.<sup>91</sup> Decree 280 expands over a large time and has yet to be fully implemented. The Decree is an important language policy in that it is pushing for a centralization of curriculums to teach these indigenous languages; therefore, the schools will be easier evaluated in their ability to teach.

Chile's domestic policy, while lacking constitutional recognition, serves the indigenous population in their attempt to reverse language shift in their community. Chile's government has been able to provide a paradigm shift in how indigenous languages were viewed since 1990, and more recently have been able to help aid in the process of developing programs and plans for the realization of language maintenance through schools. Article Three of Decree 280 allows schools to make their own plans and programs that help in addressing the individual needs of each language community in the country in addition to the curriculum established by Decree 1619, Decree 0741, and Decree 1479. These Decrees have standardized the goals that should be reached by each Intercultural Bilingual School. Chile's government is an invaluable source of resources for these schools, and their support and institution of these schools gives status to these indigenous languages. It is vital in the effort towards a successful language shift reversal.

### **International Language Policy in Chile**

International policy has given language minorities support, affirmation, and even an outline of maintenance from outside their own countries' borders. These international policies have little ability to impact the state of a language if the domestic government does not recognize or support them. Chile has reinforced their domestic policies with

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<sup>91</sup> "Equipo Directivo," *Ministerio de Educación*,  
[http://www.mineduc.cl/index2.php?id\\_portal=28&id\\_seccion=3413&id\\_contenido=13936](http://www.mineduc.cl/index2.php?id_portal=28&id_seccion=3413&id_contenido=13936)

international policy. The ILO Convention 169 and UNESCO's Linguistic Rights are two international documents that aim at protecting and maintaining minority languages.

These two documents are listed along with the *ley indígena* under the "Standards" section on the Intercultural Education webpage.<sup>92</sup> Therefore, it can be reasoned that language policy and maintenance in Chile is influenced and framed by these documents.

The ILO Convention 169 took place in Geneva in 1989, and deals with the rights of indigenous peoples and specifically the protection of their languages. On September 15, 2008, Chile ratified the binding international law, and it went into effect the following year. Article 28 of the ILO-convention 169 states the role of the government in maintenance of Indigenous languages as:

**Article 28**

1. Children belonging to the peoples concerned shall, wherever practicable, be taught to read and write in their own indigenous language or in the language most commonly used by the group to which they belong. When this is not practicable, the competent authorities shall undertake consultations with these peoples with a view to the adoption of measures to achieve this objective.
2. Adequate measures shall be taken to ensure that these peoples have the opportunity to attain fluency in the national language or in one of the official languages of the country.
3. Measures shall be taken to preserve and promote the development and practice of the indigenous languages of the peoples concerned.<sup>93</sup>

This article aims to maintain and revitalize indigenous language, but also foster the ability to speak the official language. This is important because the aim of the article is basic human rights instead of language rights. Individuals who can speak their native tongue in a nation that speaks another leaves the minority marginalized and susceptible to

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<sup>92</sup> "Equipo Directivo," *Ministerio de Educación*,

[http://www.mineduc.cl/index2.php?id\\_portal=28&id\\_seccion=3413&id\\_contenido=13936](http://www.mineduc.cl/index2.php?id_portal=28&id_seccion=3413&id_contenido=13936)

<sup>93</sup> Feiring, Birgitte. "Indigenous and Tribal Peoples' Rights in Practice - A Guide to ILO-Convention 169," *International Labour Organization*, ILO Publications, 2009, <[http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed\\_norm/---normes/documents/publication/wcms\\_106474.pdf](http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_norm/---normes/documents/publication/wcms_106474.pdf)>, 191.

discrimination. The fact that Fostering the official language has precedence is important in achieving human rights by allowing individuals to be able to function in a society.

Furthermore, the push for furthering the education and literacy of the indigenous language allows the individual the right to speak the language of his preference.

The ILO-Convention 169's article argues a practical measure of ensuring individual basic rights while creating and expanding the minority language. UNESCO's symposium on the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights, held in Barcelona, Spain on the 9<sup>th</sup> of June 1996, outlines a much more idealistic view of linguistic rights and their implications in nations. The preamble states three goals in order for languages to survive and develop:

“In a political perspective, the goal of conceiving a way of organizing linguistic diversity so as to permit the effective participation of language communities in this new growth model.

In a cultural perspective, the goal of rendering the worldwide communications space compatible with the equitable participation of all peoples, language communities and individuals in the development process.

In an economic perspective, the goal of fostering sustainable development based on the participation of all and on respect for the ecological balance of societies and for equitable relationships between all languages and cultures.”<sup>94</sup>

This vision is all encompassing to the society including and developing political, cultural, and economic support for the minority language community. The Declaration “takes language communities and not states as its point of departure,” pointing to an important

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<sup>94</sup> “Universal Declaration on Linguistic Rights,” *UNESCO*, June 9, 1996, [www.unesco.org/cpp/uk/declarations/linguistic.pdf](http://www.unesco.org/cpp/uk/declarations/linguistic.pdf), 3

facet of international policy. The states apportion their power when recognizing international documents and minority language communities. Additionally, minority language communities can escape the domestic powers by relying on these international polities to help. The Declaration has not been actually approved by UNESCO, but Chile supports the Declaration as shown in their inclusion of the link on their Intercultural Bilingual Schools webpage with ILO-Convention and other important domestic policies discusses previously.

### **Intercultural Bilingual Education Program**

#### *Program Development*

CONADI developed the Intercultural Bilingual Education Program with the Chilean Ministry of Education (MINEDUC) to answer the 28<sup>th</sup> article of the *Ley indígena*. In 1996, the Intercultural Bilingual Education Program set out to implement an educative system that responds to the cultural diversity of the indigenous peoples of Chile.<sup>95</sup> Pilot programs of bilingual education were started in areas with high indigenous populations. Starting in 2002, the Ministry of Education has worked with the Intercultural Bilingual Education Program to improve the “range and quality of learning for the national curriculum of general school education... considering knowledge and expertise of the reality of indigenous peoples.”<sup>96</sup> This led to the development of the Indigenous Language Sector in the curriculum, which responded to article 28 of the ILO Convention detailed earlier. To develop the curriculum of the Indigenous Language Sector, the Decree 280 “institutionalized the Curricular Learning of Indigenous Language

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<sup>95</sup> "Educación Intercultural," *Ministerio De Educación*, Dec. 2012, [http://www.mineduc.cl/index2.php?id\\_portal=28&id\\_seccion=3442&id\\_contenido=14010](http://www.mineduc.cl/index2.php?id_portal=28&id_seccion=3442&id_contenido=14010)

<sup>96</sup> "Educación Intercultural," *Ministerio De Educación*, Dec. 2012, [http://www.mineduc.cl/index2.php?id\\_portal=28&id\\_seccion=3442&id\\_contenido=14010](http://www.mineduc.cl/index2.php?id_portal=28&id_seccion=3442&id_contenido=14010)

section, which began to be implemented in 2010 with the 1st year basic and gradually until 2017 for the 8th year of Basic Education.”<sup>97</sup> The Bilingual Intercultural Education Program is the protagonist in Chile for language maintenance and revitalization of these indigenous languages. It is a young program that is still developing.

*Program Goals and Implementation*

Found in its name, The three main concepts of the Intercultural Bilingual Education Program are “education, interculturality, and bilingualism.”<sup>98</sup> These ideas and implementations aim to produce an intercultural and bilingual society through these educational programs, but certain dimensions of politics and society are needed to reach this as shown in the Table 3-2.

**Table 3-2**

Concept	Dimension	Description
Interculturality	Laws, norms, and rules	It refers to the importance to the Intercultural Bilingual Education the dimension of indigenous law or educational reforms. The Intercultural Bilingual Education is part of other state reforms therefore is related to public policy and the regulatory and legal environment.
Education	School-family-community relation	It is the most prominent dimension in terms of relationships that engages the school with its surroundings. The texts are clear in stating that Intercultural Bilingual Education should take an active role in promoting family involvement and the community in the teaching-learning process. The educational process, as indicated, should be accompanied by the family.
Bilingualism	Rescue of linguistic diversity	Corresponds to a political objective, primarily defending international organizations (IEO, ILO, and UNESCO) on the need to promote the development of the various

<sup>97</sup> "Educación Intercultural," *Ministerio De Educación*, Dec. 2012, [http://www.mineduc.cl/index2.php?id\\_portal=28&id\\_seccion=3442&id\\_contenido=14010](http://www.mineduc.cl/index2.php?id_portal=28&id_seccion=3442&id_contenido=14010)

<sup>98</sup> “Estudio sobre la implementación de la Educación Intercultural Bilingüe,” *Ministerio de Educación*, September, 2011, [http://www.mineduc.cl/usuarios/intercultural/doc/201111041303130.Estudio\\_PEIB.pdf](http://www.mineduc.cl/usuarios/intercultural/doc/201111041303130.Estudio_PEIB.pdf), 16

		languages of the world. This is what has been Regulated as language rights. <sup>99</sup>
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These three main concepts evolved through, “curriculum development; pertinent learning resources; development of professional teachers in the Intercultural Bilingual Education Program; educational assessment; and dissemination, socialization and community participation.”<sup>100</sup> Unfortunately, not all schools can add the third element of bilingualism because the language might be dead in certain regions; therefore, the intercultural aspect is highlighted in these communities. The intercultural aspects of Intercultural Bilingual Education Program facilitate creating a bilingual society outside of the classroom by enhancing knowledge and confidence in one’s indigenous heritage.

There was no standardization in the beginning of implementation of Intercultural Bilingual Education, which allowed schools to develop their own language and programs that addressed the individual and specific needs of each indigenous tribe. Certain language communities have lost more cultural identity and speak more Spanish than their native tongue than other communities. For this reason, the main concepts and guidelines of the Intercultural Bilingual Education have been applied differently to each school and region. The role of the Traditional Educator, of which “there is no model that defines” their actual function, helps address the individual needs of each community.<sup>101</sup> They should be “a person validated by the community,” and, the children of the community should “have a bond of trust with him (her) that favors the teaching of language and the

<sup>99</sup> “Estudio sobre la implementación de la Educación Intercultural Bilingüe,” *Ministerio de Educación*, September, 2011, [http://www.mineduc.cl/usuarios/intercultural/doc/201111041303130.Estudio\\_PEIB.pdf](http://www.mineduc.cl/usuarios/intercultural/doc/201111041303130.Estudio_PEIB.pdf), 16

<sup>100</sup> “Educación Intercultural,” *Ministerio De Educación*, Dec. 2012, [http://www.mineduc.cl/index2.php?id\\_portal=28&id\\_seccion=3442&id\\_contenido=14010](http://www.mineduc.cl/index2.php?id_portal=28&id_seccion=3442&id_contenido=14010)

<sup>101</sup> “Estudio sobre la implementación de la Educación Intercultural Bilingüe,” *Ministerio de Educación*, September, 2011, [http://www.mineduc.cl/usuarios/intercultural/doc/201111041303130.Estudio\\_PEIB.pdf](http://www.mineduc.cl/usuarios/intercultural/doc/201111041303130.Estudio_PEIB.pdf), 28

transfer of values and cultural customs.”<sup>102</sup> These Traditional Educators are the carriers of the community’s history and culture. For that reason, they become the example and help define the goals for the education of the children of the community. The Traditional Educator is the connection between community and school. The position has more importance in schools with inadequate teachers or the lack of teachers where it has the “responsibility of teaching the language” and transmitting culture and customs.<sup>103</sup>

The actual teaching of minority languages in schools did not have a standardized or required curriculum or goal until 2010 with the Decree 0280. The Standardization comes in fundamental objectives that have been fleshed out in five areas for the schools to stress. These are “growth and personal affirmation, development of thought, ethic formation, the person and their environment, information and communication technologies.”<sup>104</sup> Complementing these fundamental objectives are minimal obligatory contents. These minimal obligatory Contents outline the minimal goals to be reached by the education of language. This gives a standard, by which to judge the language programs effectiveness. Goals for the learning of language in the first and second level of basic education can be divided into three categories with subcategories as shown in Table 3-3.

**Table 3-3**

Oral Tradition	Oral Communication	Written communication
1. Listen and understand different types of local,	1. Know and practices norms of greetings, according to context	1. Read and write words about daily themes

<sup>102</sup> “Estudio sobre la implementación de la Educación Intercultural Bilingüe,” *Ministerio de Educación*, September, 2011, [http://www.mineduc.cl/usuarios/intercultural/doc/201111041303130.Estudio\\_PEIB.pdf](http://www.mineduc.cl/usuarios/intercultural/doc/201111041303130.Estudio_PEIB.pdf), 32

<sup>103</sup> “Estudio sobre la implementación de la Educación Intercultural Bilingüe,” *Ministerio de Educación*, September, 2011, [http://www.mineduc.cl/usuarios/intercultural/doc/201111041303130.Estudio\\_PEIB.pdf](http://www.mineduc.cl/usuarios/intercultural/doc/201111041303130.Estudio_PEIB.pdf), 32

<sup>104</sup> “Programa de estudio primer año básico: Lengua Mapuzugun,” *Ministerio de Educación*, January, 2011, [http://www.mineduc.cl/usuarios/intercultural/doc/201103311112050.ProgMapuzugun\\_1basicoFinal.pdf](http://www.mineduc.cl/usuarios/intercultural/doc/201103311112050.ProgMapuzugun_1basicoFinal.pdf), 17

familial, and territorial accounts appropriate for children.	and situation.	
2.Listen and reproduce traditional songs of the family and social aspects of the indigenous community	2. Listen to diverse forms of short literature	2. Read the letters of the alphabet, associating with the corresponding sound, from words
	3. Utilize frequent expressions and vocabulary appropriate in daily communicative situations	3. Describe images about social, cultural, and religious situations in the indigenous languages.
	4. Distinguish elemental notions of the indigenous language in order to refer to space, time, and familial relations	4. Identify written texts in the indigenous languages and show interest for their reading <sup>105</sup>
	5. Adequately distinguish and reproduce sounds of daily use of the indigenous language.	

These fundamental objectives change in the third level basic year of education. In the third year, students need to be able to understand the cosmogony of their indigenous tribe and religious events and ceremonies for the oral tradition. In oral communication, the objectives focus more on the ability to know and reproduce knowledge utilizing appropriate language and vocabulary. In written communication, the objectives require knowledge of reading and writing more thorough of nature and daily life.<sup>106</sup> The third level of basic education is the most recent level to be developed out of the eight levels that are projected. The Intercultural Bilingual Education Program has developed and standardized slowly paralleling the domestic and international policy that has framed it.

### *Program Challenges*

<sup>105</sup> “Programa de estudio primer año básico: Lengua Mapuzugun,” *Ministerio de Educación*, January, 2011, [http://www.mineduc.cl/usuarios/intercultural/doc/201103311112050.ProgMapuzugun\\_1basicoFinal.pdf](http://www.mineduc.cl/usuarios/intercultural/doc/201103311112050.ProgMapuzugun_1basicoFinal.pdf), 21

<sup>106</sup> “Programa de estudio tercer año básico: Lengua Mapuzugun,” *Ministerio de Educación*, September, 2012, <http://www.mineduc.cl/usuarios/intercultural/doc/201210041826350.ProgMapuzugun-3web.pdf>, 22

Decree 280 outlined the Indigenous Language Sector that is being institutionalized each year. However, the Intercultural Bilingual Education Program lacked focalization and centralization in design of its language education and implementation at its beginning; therefore, there are still troubles in classifying the effects of the program prior to the Indigenous Language Sector. Three main challenges of the program are the relevance, human resources available, and specificity of language programs.

First of all, Intercultural Bilingual Education programs run into three main problems of “relevance, coexistence, and belonging or inclusion.”<sup>107</sup> in the case of Chile, relevance, coexistence, and belonging or inclusion are issues because the differences between indigenous and non-indigenous populations’ completion of primary education “are not significant.”<sup>108</sup> This questions the necessity of teaching indigenous language as a means to generate “confidence, mutual recognition, effective communication and dialogue” since the differences are already minimal.<sup>109</sup> This assimilation makes it hard to find relevance of teaching the indigenous language.

Secondly, the most immediate challenge in teaching Indigenous Language sectors is human resource. “The shortage of professors who can handle bilingualism and have the ability to teach the indigenous language to their children,” hinders the ability of the program. Therefore, schools are varied in their capabilities and function. Decree 280 began a more standardized curriculum that could be applied more broadly. This gives a

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<sup>107</sup> “Estudio sobre la implementación de la Educación Intercultural Bilingüe,” *Ministerio de Educación*, September, 2011, [http://www.mineduc.cl/usuarios/intercultural/doc/201111041303130.Estudio\\_PEIB.pdf](http://www.mineduc.cl/usuarios/intercultural/doc/201111041303130.Estudio_PEIB.pdf), 16

<sup>108</sup> “Estudio sobre la implementación de la Educación Intercultural Bilingüe,” *Ministerio de Educación*, September, 2011, [http://www.mineduc.cl/usuarios/intercultural/doc/201111041303130.Estudio\\_PEIB.pdf](http://www.mineduc.cl/usuarios/intercultural/doc/201111041303130.Estudio_PEIB.pdf), 18

<sup>109</sup> “Programa de estudio segundo año básico: Lengua Mapuzugun,” *Ministerio de Educación*, September, 2011, <http://www.mineduc.cl/usuarios/intercultural/doc/201109271323410.ProgMapuzugun2.pdf>, 3

template to evaluate the different schools' ability to teach the minority languages, but, as said before, the resources are scarce to reach all Intercultural Bilingual schools.

Thirdly, the ability of these schools to maintain or revitalize language is the nature of the language program and its reach in the schools and Chilean society. The language is only taught in culturally pertinent subjects leaving the indigenous population unable to speak on certain subjects. Non-indigenous children do not have various opportunities to learn about the indigenous cultures or languages. This limits a revitalization of the language by making a niche for the language in cultural and religious outings, and limits non-indigenous exposure to the language that could generate a better understanding towards indigenous people. The effects of Decree 280 in certain schools are widely varied due to the lack of centralization at the beginning of the Intercultural Bilingual Program.

## **Conclusion**

The Intercultural Bilingual Education Program is the result and most tangible product of the domestic and international policies created and ratified by the Chilean government. The structure and goals of the program have been shaped and are somewhat determined by these policies. The development of language policy came in the 90s but did not become concrete until much later. The Intercultural Bilingual schools developed in highly indigenous populated regions and held high autonomy in their methods of teaching. This was vital as indigenous groups could address their community's individual needs. The program became more centralized and focused under Decree 280 which outlines fundamental objective of basic levels of education ranging to up to the third level since 2012. The policies have helped give status to the indigenous languages

and lower discrimination. The manifestation of the teaching of language has come in cultural and religious ceremonies as the Mapuche's attitudes towards their language suggested, but math classes try to incorporate the indigenous tongues into their teaching alongside Spanish. However, the Intercultural Bilingual Education Program is young and developing so the full effects are yet to be seen.

These policies paired with the attitudes shown in the previous chapter are responsible for the current state of Mapuzugun in Chile. They have outlined and developed plans to effectively maintain and revitalize Mapuzugun. The following chapter will detail how effective or ineffective these measures are in reversing language shift in Chile by looking at quantitative government data on the number of speakers of Mapuzugun from 2003-2009.

## Chapter 4: State of Indigenous Languages in Chile

The data presented in this chapter comes from Chile's Ministry of Planning Casen poll. Casen is an acronym for "Caracterización Socioeconómico Nacional," which translates to National Socioeconomic Characterization in English. This poll is the "principal measuring instrument for the design and evaluation of the social politics that exist" in Chile.<sup>110</sup> They have issued reports of the nation every three years since 1987, but have only released three polls detailing the socioeconomic characterization of indigenous populations starting in 2003. The beginning of Chile's language policy can be said to have started with the *Ley indígena* in 1993. 1996 saw the beginning of bilingual schools, which has only begun to be formalized and structured through legislation in the 2000's. The results shown from the Casen poll will give insight into the effectiveness of these policies whose intention is to create an intercultural bilingual society.

### Data and Results

As of 2009, 6.9% of Chile's population identified themselves as indigenous. Only 4.4% self-identified in 1996 and 2000, but self-identification rose to 5.3% in 2003 and 6.6% in 2006.<sup>111</sup> Nevertheless the ability to speak and/or understand has decreased as shown by Table 4-1.

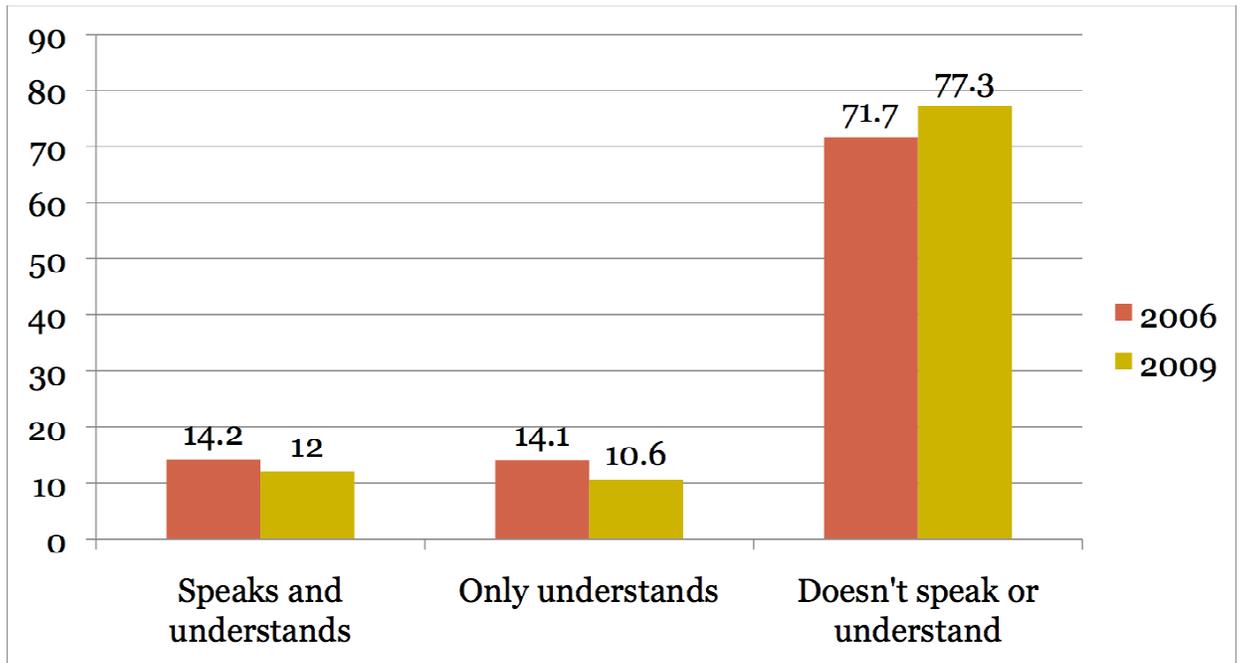
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<sup>110</sup> "¿Qué es la Encuesta Casen?," *Gobierno de Chile*, July 14, 2010, <http://www.gob.cl/especiales/que-es-la-encuesta-casen/>

<sup>111</sup> "Pueblos Indígenas Encuesta Casen 2009," *Gobierno De Chile - Ministerio De Planificación*, [http://www.ministeriodesarrollosocial.gob.cl/casen2009/casen\\_indigena\\_2009.pdf](http://www.ministeriodesarrollosocial.gob.cl/casen2009/casen_indigena_2009.pdf), 2

**Table 4-1**

**Indigenous Population that Speaks and/or Understand their Mother Language<sup>112</sup>**

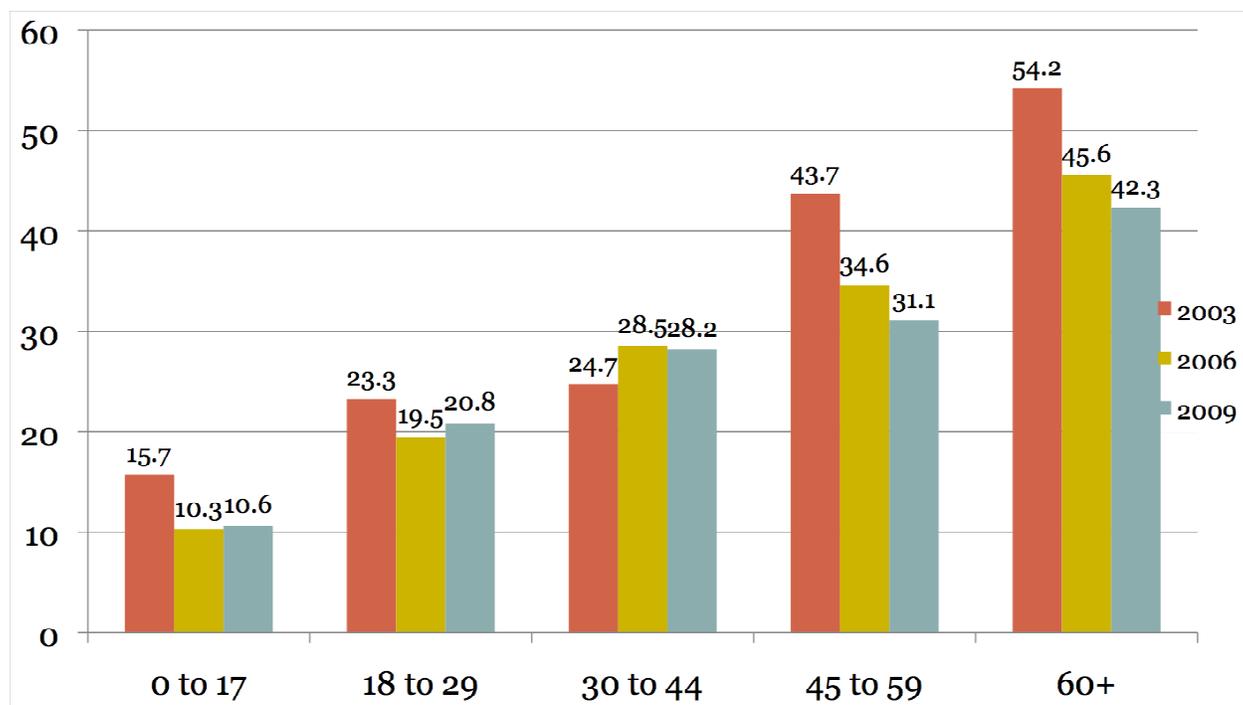


The largest decline in ability to understand and speak the mother language is seen from 2003 to 2006, but there is still a decline in the use of indigenous languages from 2006 to 2009. Surprisingly, if broken down by age groups, shown in Table 4-2, we see where the majority of losses come from.

<sup>112</sup> "Pueblos Indígenas Encuesta Casen 2009," *Gobierno De Chile - Ministerio De Planificación*, [http://www.ministeriodesarrollosocial.gob.cl/casen2009/casen\\_indigena\\_2009.pdf](http://www.ministeriodesarrollosocial.gob.cl/casen2009/casen_indigena_2009.pdf), 4;

**Table 4-2**

**Indigenous Population that Speaks and/or Understands their Mother Language by Age Groups<sup>113</sup>**



The older age categories have the largest losses from poll to poll, but the younger categories show stabilization if not increases from 2006 to 2009. Interestingly, the age category of 30 to 44 is the only age category to show an increase from 2003 to 2006. This is important to the future of reversing language shift. The younger generations are the most important in the future of language transmission. Therefore, the cease of

<sup>113</sup> "Pueblos Indígenas Encuesta Casen 2009," *Gobierno De Chile - Ministerio De Planificación*, [http://www.ministeriodesarrollosocial.gob.cl/casen2009/casen\\_indigena\\_2009.pdf](http://www.ministeriodesarrollosocial.gob.cl/casen2009/casen_indigena_2009.pdf), 5; "Pueblos Indígenas Encuesta Casen 2009," *Gobierno De Chile - Ministerio De Planificación*, [http://observatorio.ministeriodesarrollosocial.gob.cl/layout/doc/casen/Resultados\\_Pueblos\\_Indigenas\\_Casen\\_2006.pdf](http://observatorio.ministeriodesarrollosocial.gob.cl/layout/doc/casen/Resultados_Pueblos_Indigenas_Casen_2006.pdf), 10

language attrition in the lower generations shows strong promise for the reversing of language shift in Mapuzugun.

This progression does not give an insight on the impact of language policy since its initial institution with the *ley indígena* in 1993. It is understood that the majority of fluent speakers are in the older age categories and younger generations have grown up in homes where parents and grandparents have chosen not to speak over the years. These More recent statistics show the effects of the latest language policy such as the Indigenous Language Sector addition in 2002 towards the maintenance of Mapuzugun.

### **Interpretation of Data**

Language maintenance and revitalization in Chile can initially be looked at as a failure by analyzing the percentages of indigenous people who can speak and/or understand the indigenous language. From 2006 to 2009 the total number of people who could understand and speak fell to 12% from 14.2%. However, looking at younger age groups there are signs of stabilization and increase in the number of people who can speak and/or understand the language from 2006 to 2009. The Intercultural Bilingual schools target the younger generations. Therefore, there is support of effective language policy at maintaining the indigenous languages among the population who is being targeted.

Additionally the issue of self-identification questions why there was such a loss of speakers and understanders from 2003 to 2009. The increase of population can actually be an attributing factor to the decrease of understanding of native languages. The increase of population can be attributed to various reasons such as Chilean society's acceptance of people with indigenous backgrounds, immigration from other nations,

and/or higher birth rates and life expectancies among indigenous peoples. The first reason mentioned is the most important to explaining decrease in understanding language. The auto-identification as indigenous has become less discriminated as Chile's government has sought to aid these people to revitalize their culture. Therefore, now more than ever indigenous people are claiming their heritage that they would have otherwise denied in the past. People who speak an indigenous language are more likely to identify as indigenous; therefore, these new self-identifiers are more likely not to have been speakers or understanders of their native language. Putting this together makes it appear that the drastic drops in knowledge of the indigenous language can be attributed to the larger self-identification of indigenous people that do not know the language. Language attrition has slowed down if not stopped in some age categories from 2006 to 2009, which is the time period with the lowest increase of indigenous population since 2000.

The language policy in Chile has focused on an Intercultural Bilingual Education Program to reverse language shift. These schools focus on the children of the community and not the older generations. The older generations are important in the transmission of their culture and heritage, but they themselves are not being taught or aided by these schools. As shown in the breakdown of age groups, the lower age categories are experiencing a leveling out if not increase in language revitalization from the 2006-2009 period. Meanwhile, the older generations are experiencing larger language attrition. This large attrition can be attributed to increase in self-identification of non-native language speakers or understanders, movement of younger generations into older categories, and/or death. The older generations of indigenous experienced higher levels of discrimination

than any other age group of today. Therefore, It is reasonable to believe that these older age groups would have more people self-identifying today that previously did not because there is less discrimination and higher social acceptance of indigenous people. These new self-identifiers are more likely not to speak or understand the language since language is a strong indicator of identity. Through the passing of time, younger generations who did not receive intergenerational language transmission because of the low status of their indigenous languages have aged into older age groups; therefore, they lower the percentage of people who speak or understand the language. Additionally through the passage of time, older generations lose numbers of speakers and understanders through death. The older generation dying out has the largest number of speakers and understanders, but they are also the most susceptible to death. Consequently with their deaths comes the end of their indigenous language if they failed to pass it down. The indigenous population itself has a strong source in the older generations to help maintenance efforts now.

The goals of the Intercultural Bilingual Education are important in analyzing these results. Bilingual schools seek to “revitalize their ancestral language within a dominant culture that speaks another language.”<sup>114</sup> The program suggests an additive bilingualism, which “promotes the teaching approach of a second language, not as an aspiration to replace the mother tongue, but, on the contrary, to develop in students language and communication skills in both languages.”<sup>115</sup> Therefore, This program aims

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<sup>114</sup> Hinton, Leanne, and Kenneth L. Hale. *The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice*. San Diego: Academic, 2001, 8

<sup>115</sup> “Programa de estudio primer año básico: Lengua Mapuzugun,” *Ministerio de Educación*, Enero, 2011, [http://www.mineduc.cl/usuarios/intercultural/doc/201103311112050.ProgMapuzugun\\_1basicoFinal.pdf](http://www.mineduc.cl/usuarios/intercultural/doc/201103311112050.ProgMapuzugun_1basicoFinal.pdf), 4

more for “language maintenance than for language revival” which can be seen in the results of the younger age groups from 2006-2009.<sup>116</sup>

### **Weaknesses of Study**

There are clear weaknesses measuring the effectiveness of Chile’s policies aimed at reversing language shift. The biggest weakness is the lack of statistics of indigenous language use since the beginning of language policy in Chile. This would help generate a broader and more comprehensive look at the effects of Chile’s language policy on reversing language shift. The effects of Decree 280 and the ratification of ILO Convention 169 cannot be seen, as there is no data after 2009. Decree 280 and the legislation tied to it have standardized the teaching and goals of these language programs; therefore, they would allow a clearer effect of Chilean policy. Furthermore, the basic structure of the Intercultural Bilingual Education Program is vague and ambiguous. The schools’ autonomy over the language sectors and programs before Decree 280 allowed language maintenance to be their own responsibility more than the governments. Looking at the Casen polls does not show what schools are effectively reversing language shift and which ones are not. Nevertheless, the Chilean government did set up this system where these schools could set up programs to address their individual needs to more effectively reverse language shift.

### **Future Recommendations**

Chile has different approaches to consider in helping reverse language shift. These include waiting for the full implementation of Decree 280, adult language

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<sup>116</sup> Hinton, Leanne, and Kenneth L. Hale. *The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice*. San Diego: Academic, 2001, 8

programs, full immersion schools, addition of indigenous language in national constitution, and requirement of government officials to speak the language.

First, the full development of Decree 280 has yet to happen. The outline of 8 years of basic levels of teaching indigenous languages is due for completion in 2017. The full effects of this language policy will not be able to be determined until much further in the future. until the full execution each new level can be evaluated in its effectiveness of reversing language shift. This standardization of curriculum of the Indigenous Language Sector of the Intercultural Bilingual Education throughout Chilean schools will allow a better idea if the actual policies are aiding or hurting language maintenance.

The Community involvement has been helpful if not crucial in the implementation of the Intercultural Bilingual Education, but this program focuses on the youth of the minority language communities. The Language attrition in adults as seen has seen some of the largest declines. Intergenerational language transmission depends on the older generation's passing of the language. Therefore, language shift can be addressed and fixed on multiple fronts with the development of adult language programs. Adult language programs would not guarantee fluency among adults because the lack of "the time or means to take advantage of the type of language study that might lead to proficiency," but having older generations learning basics will foster growth and create environments for the younger generations to practice in the household with their parents or grandparents.<sup>117</sup> The home as an area where the language is used attacks language shift on an individual level. Additionally, the community as a whole can seek to create public

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<sup>117</sup> Fillmore, Lily Wong. "When learning a second language means losing the first." *Early childhood research quarterly* 6, no. 3 (1991): 335.

space outside of the classroom and the household for their indigenous language.

Augmenting the number of adults who already have knowledge of the language could aid the lack of qualified language teachers. The lack of teachers could be addressed and answered if adult language programs focused on becoming a teacher were developed and funded.

The change from an Intercultural Bilingual Education to a full immersion program might be necessary if this Intercultural Bilingual Education fails to foster a strong showing of maintenance. This is the best option for a full revitalization, but it has certain results that might not be desired in the minority language community. The indigenous population has chosen to push for a deeper understanding of culture and heritage through language instead of using the language as a tool in every aspect. The Chileans developed the Intercultural Bilingual Education to address the necessity of using Spanish for the benefit of the individual in the modern-day society. Consequently, the individual could be handicapped in Chilean society by sacrificing proficiency in Spanish because they are learning their indigenous language.

The recognition of indigenous language by the Chilean national constitution in addition to Spanish would be a viable option before opting for immersion schools. Chile is behind as “several Latin American countries with sizeable aboriginal populations have entire chapters devoted to the recognition and protection of Indian communities.”<sup>118</sup>

While Chile has much legislation outside of their constitution, the addition of indigenous languages to official status changes the comparison to Spanish as the only viable option for economic mobility. The recognition from the constitution means that society can

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<sup>118</sup> Torres, Raidza. "Rights of Indigenous Populations: The Emerging International Norm, The." *Yale J. Int'l L.* 16 (1991): 166.

function with the indigenous languages in addition to Spanish. The indigenous populations would not be living in a Spanish society anymore. Also it would protect these languages further from discrimination and help to create a true multi-lingual society. Immersion schools and full revitalization are more easily accepted in nations where indigenous languages are official. Indigenous languages' exclusion from the national constitution makes them have a disadvantage to Spanish in status and ability to use in public spheres.

Finally, the requirement of indigenous government officials to speak their own native tongue helps give status to the language and create a new public sphere to use it. Public officials are the image of their populations and therefore by speaking it in their government positions give the language political status. Furthermore, the development of the indigenous language to portray political ideas and needs helps to develop the language, but it also gives it another realm where it can be spoken outside of the classroom.

The Intercultural Bilingual Education Program still has developments under way before it can be deemed as a complete failure. The data given shows maintenance has occurred in the last 3 years, but without language revitalization occurring in the younger generations there could be a much larger lack of human resource to transmit the language to the future generations. These proposals for future language policies could aid right now in creating more human resource to transmit language and public spheres of use. The immersion schools could be used if the Intercultural Bilingual Education program is deemed a failure in the future.

## **Conclusion**

So, Are the language policies of Chile's government effective in reversing language shift?

The overall results point to no. However, The younger age generations have stopped language attrition from 2006 to 2009 so in certain pockets of the indigenous population yes. The Intercultural Bilingual Education Program targets specifically this youngest age group; therefore, the policies have reversed language shift in their target audiences.

Languages embody the history of indigenous populations as they develop in expressing ideas and life for these groups. With the death of language, the culture of the indigenous population becomes expressed through a language not tailored to its own culture. To assist in avoiding language death, language policy can be developed to reverse language shift. Minority language communities have to have certain autonomy in language maintenance and revitalization for its success. Language policy reinforces the minority language community's wants.

Mapuzugun and the Mapuche are experiencing language shift due to Chilean state's repression and discrimination. Older generations do not pass down language and many Mapuche children learn Spanish as a first language. Mapuche people view Mapuzugun as a cultural transmitter and irrelevant to raising one's social class.

The Chilean government develops language policy that focuses on Intercultural Bilingual Education Program for indigenous youth. The most important development comes in the Indigenous Language Sector started in 2002 that emphasizes the teaching and development of oral and written language. Intercultural Bilingual Education Program focuses on raising self-confidence and cultural awareness from teaching the

indigenous language and teaching in the indigenous language. Education also uses Spanish as to not isolate students from Chilean society, but focuses on increasing their appreciation towards their heritage and culture.

Speakers and/or understanders lessen from 2003 to 2009 in total, but in 2006 to 2009 the percentage of people ages 0 to 29 who could speak and/or understand their mother language increased. The Intercultural Bilingual Education touches these age groups and has shown a reverse in language attrition, whereas older age groups such as 45 to over 60 have seen large drops in the population who speaks and/or understands.

Chile's policy that created CONADI gave the power to indigenous people, which is a 'bottom-up' method of reversing language shift. The Intercultural Bilingual schools give children a chance to use the minority language in a safe environment. The development of these schools also allowed their own programs and plans to address the individual needs of language communities where they were founded. The goals are to increase confidence and self-esteem and to create an intercultural and bilingual society. These are achieved in the higher number of self-identified indigenous people and the reversal of language shift in lower age groups. The bilingual aspect helps to refrain from isolating students from Chilean society, and does not handicap their economic capabilities. All of these measures point to a successful language policy used in Chile.

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