This thesis must be used in accordance with the provisions of the Copyright Act 1968.

Reproduction of material protected by copyright may be an infringement of copyright and copyright owners may be entitled to take legal action against persons who infringe their copyright.

Section 51 (2) of the Copyright Act permits an authorized officer of a university library or archives to provide a copy (by communication or otherwise) of an unpublished thesis kept in the library or archives, to a person who satisfies the authorized officer that he or she requires the reproduction for the purposes of research or study.

The Copyright Act grants the creator of a work a number of moral rights, specifically the right of attribution, the right against false attribution and the right of integrity.

You may infringe the author’s moral rights if you:

- fail to acknowledge the author of this thesis if you quote sections from the work
- attribute this thesis to another author
- subject this thesis to derogatory treatment which may prejudice the author’s reputation

For further information contact the University’s Director of Copyright Services

[link] sydney.edu.au/copyright
Music Inside the Walls:
Mapuche Expressive Culture and Identity
in the Context of a Southern Chile Boarding School

Sarah Butler

A Thesis submitted in fulfilment
of requirements for the degree of
Master of Music (Musicology)

Sydney Conservatorium of Music
University of Sydney

2013
Declaration

I, Sarah Butler, hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that it contains no material previously published or written by another person except where acknowledged in the text. This thesis contains no material that has been accepted for the award of a higher degree.

Ethical approval has been granted for the study presented in this thesis from The University Human Ethics Committee. Participating subjects and perceptual judges were required to read and to sign an information document. Informed consent was given individually prior to the collection of data and to the collection of the judges’ results.

Signed: ___________________________ Date: ___________
Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Dr Michael Webb for his encouragement and energy throughout this study. His constant belief in and support for the project made a tremendous difference to its progress, and I am very grateful to have had such an incredibly inspiring and supportive supervisor. Thanks go to Dr Peter Dunbar-Hall, Dr Helen Mitchell, and all the staff of the musicology department at the Sydney Conservatorium of Music for all their help and support.

The study would never have begun without the encouragement and ideas of Jason Thornton. Jason initially suggested that I submit an application to The University of Sydney after I described to him my many visits to and from, and adventures in, South America.

I would like to thank Rhys and Georgia who stuck by me through this project with all their amazing positivity and support. Also thanks go to my dear friends Helene and Kristina Bruveris for their support. I am also indebted to my dear friend Rose Grausman. Without her support, my final research trip would not have gotten off the ground. I am also most grateful to my father, David Liddle, for coming with me to Chile in 2009. His artful photographs of the Mapuche are a wonderful historical record of an indigenous group so often forgotten, and depict a group of Mapuche friends whom I will always treasure. Thank you to my mum for all her encouragement and support. I thank Elizabeth Clarke for her translations from English to Spanish and her support and positivity towards the project, and Rosemary Whitecross for advice and timely guidance regarding postgraduate study, as well as assistance with thesis writing.

Thanks are due to the International Grammar School for supporting my time off on research trips. Thanks to Alison and Gary Housley, who gave their support.
unconditionally, even in late-night endnote dramas. Thanks to Eleanor Baker for her help and encouragement. Thanks also to Damien Demaj of Demap for his wonderful work in preparing the maps.
Language considerations

All interviews were conducted in Spanish and the excerpts that appear in the text have been translated by the author. Translations have been rendered as literally as possible. A degree of smoothness has been sacrificed in order to render the original Spanish meaning as accurately as possible. Wherever translations of Spanish sources are cited, these are also by the author as indicated throughout in footnotes.

Use of Spanish words follows standard South American Spanish spelling. Transcribed into four different written alphabets, the Mapudungun language has seven different dialect areas. One of the most commonly used alphabets, the Alfabeto Unificado, is employed in this thesis wherever possible.
Abstract

This is a case study of the ways involvement in Mapuche expressive cultural activities inculcates a sense of cultural identity among Mapuche students at the Liceo Técnico Particular Guacolda, Chol Chol. Liceo Técnico Particular Guacolda is a boarding school just outside of Temuco, the capital of the Cautín Province, region nine, Chile, South America. The study examines aspects of the place and significance of the expressive culture of this indigenous minority group in the broader curriculum of an intercultural bilingual education (IBE) school, and the extent of student exposure to this curriculum over their four-year residence. More specifically, the study seeks to understand how participating in what has been identified as an ‘extended indigenous cultural curriculum’ contributes to the development of students’ senses of ethnic identity, that is, to how they conceive of themselves as being Mapuche. Based on data collected during ethnographic fieldwork, and interpreted through a reading of the related literature, this study discusses the effects of the integration of ethnic expressive culture and educational policy on this fragmented indigenous minority group.
# Table of Contents

Abstract.......................................................................................................................... vi

1 Introduction .................................................................................................................. 15
   1.1 Background to the study....................................................................................... 15
   1.2 Research questions .............................................................................................. 16
   1.3 The scope of the study ......................................................................................... 17
   1.4 Location ............................................................................................................... 22
   1.5 History of the Mapuche ....................................................................................... 25
   1.6 Cosmovision ......................................................................................................... 25
   1.7 Religion ................................................................................................................ 27
   1.8 The research site .................................................................................................. 30
   1.9 Founders of the school ......................................................................................... 33
   1.10 School curriculum .............................................................................................. 34
   1.11 Overview of the study ......................................................................................... 36

2 Literature review ......................................................................................................... 38
   2.1 Background to the literature ............................................................................... 38
   2.2 Mapuche ethnic identity ....................................................................................... 39
      2.2.1 Mapuche history ............................................................................................ 40
      2.2.2 Mapuche anthropology ............................................................................... 43
      2.2.3 Gender ......................................................................................................... 46
   2.3 Mapuche expressive culture ................................................................................. 48
      2.3.1 Mapuche music in a broader context ............................................................ 48
      2.3.2 Sound and healing ...................................................................................... 51
      2.3.3 The Mapuche cosmology ............................................................................ 53
5 Findings part 2 – Inside the walls ................................................................. 128
  5.1 The ‘significant four’ – staff participants in the study ......................... 128
    5.1.1 Head of technical studies ............................................................... 129
    5.1.2 The History teacher ..................................................................... 131
    5.1.3 The machi .................................................................................... 134
    5.1.4 The lonco .................................................................................... 137
  5.2 The music teacher ............................................................................. 142
    5.2.1 Cultural fusion – a music lesson .................................................. 143
  5.3 Interviews ........................................................................................... 147
    5.3.1 Staff ............................................................................................. 148
    5.3.2 Student participant interviews ....................................................... 148
    5.3.3 Alumni participant interviews ....................................................... 150
    5.3.4 Community interviews - the making of a kultrun ......................... 152
  6 Discussion and Conclusion .................................................................. 157
    6.1 Discussion ......................................................................................... 157
    6.1.1 Cosmology ................................................................................... 157
    6.1.2 Music and dance .......................................................................... 159
    6.1.3 Teachers ....................................................................................... 162
    6.1.4 Identity .......................................................................................... 163
    6.2 Conclusion ......................................................................................... 164
  7 References .............................................................................................. 166
Figures

Figure 1. Map of South America and Chile (top); the province of Cautin, the research site in Chol Chol, and associated towns (below). Prepared for this thesis by Demaj Maps (used with permission) ................................................................. 24

Figure 2. The kultrun (ritual drum), shown with a traditional design painted on the skin ................................................................. 26

Figure 3. ‘Mapuche symbolic attachments to right and left hand’ (after Faron 1962, 1153) ......................................................................................................................... 44

Figure 4. Traditional symbols on a kultrun representing the mapuche calendar ........ 55

Figure 5. Market day outside the research site of Liceo Técnico Particular Guacolda (Escuela Guacolda), located in the rural town of Chol Chol, Cautin Province, Chile ... 86

Figure 6. Privately produced pamphlet: The kultrun (drum) illustrated as representing the earth, with the placing of two kultruns face to face ........................................ 87

Figure 7. A traditional ruka or Mapuche house ............................................. 88

Figure 8. The original school sign, displayed for twenty-two years until 2011.
Photograph by David Liddle, June 2007 (used with permission) ...................... 89

Figure 9. The school’s current sign from 2011 to the present ............................ 90

Figure 10. The school flys the Chilean flag (left) and Wenufoye, the Mapuche flag, one day each week ................................................................. 91

Figure 11. A section of a drawing photographed in the library at Escuela Guacolda .... 92

Figure 12. A sign in Mapudungun at Escuela Guacolda that reads, ‘Energies of thought’ ................................................................................................................................. 93

Figure 13. A wall mural at the end of a corridor at Escuela Guacolda, approximately nine feet high ................................................................. 94
Figure 14. The display cabinet in the foyer at Ecsuela Guacolda, displaying school trophies and Mapuche ceramics ................................................................. 95

Figure 15. An off site campus used by Escuela Guacolda, a ruka or Mapuche house (left); Inside the ruka (right) .................................................................................................................. 98

Figure 16. A photograph of a plan of the existing intercultural hospital at Nuevo Imperial, region nine, Chile .................................................................................................................. 104

Figure 17. A student project from the history and society class at Escuela Guacolda. 111

Figure 18. Student project on discrimination and racism undertaken in a history and society class at Escuela Guacolda .................................................................................................. 113

Figure 19. Left, a student spin wheel designed for kindergarten children as a resource to teach Mapuche cultural symbols and ideas. Right, a trutruka hanging on the wall in the intercultural kindergarten classroom ............................................................................ 120

Figure 20. A student at Escuela Guacolda prepares the pfilka (wooden flute) to be played by moistening the inside of its tubes with water .............................................................................. 121

Figure 21. As part of intercultural nursing training, a medical dummy is used for students to practice on at Escuela Guacolda .................................................................................................. 123

Figure 22. ‘Mapuche Cooking and Fusion’ written on the board for a nutrition and cooking class at Escuela Guacolda ............................................................................................ 127

Figure 23. The dance of the choike purrun, as learned at Escuela Guacolda ............ 137

Figure 24. Diagram of recorder fingerings on the class whiteboard for students to play during a music class in 2011 at Escuela Guacolda ............................................................... 143

Figure 25. The bingo board (left) provided to play bingo at a fundraising event for Escuela Guacolda, Chol Chol. On the right are empanadas ready for deep-frying to serve at the fundraising bingo event .................................................................................. 152
Figure 26. The outdoor workshop of an instrument maker in Puerto Saavedra, Chile, comprised almost exclusively of kultrun bases ................................................................. 152
Tables

All tables were translated by the author.

Table 1. Weekly academic program for years one and two at Escuela Guacolda, 2010.......................................................................................................................... 109
Table 2. Weekly academic program for years three and four at Escuela Guacolda, 2010.......................................................................................................................... 109
Table 3. Technical program for a year three student, intercultural kindergarten teacher, 2010.......................................................................................................................... 118
Table 4. Technical program for a year four student, intercultural kindergarten teacher, 2010.......................................................................................................................... 119
Table 5. Technical program for intercultural nursing in year three, 2010............ 122
Table 6. Technical program for intercultural nursing in year four, 2010............ 122
Table 7. Technical program in intercultural administration in year three, 2010.......................................................................................................................... 124
Table 8. Technical program in intercultural administration in year four, 2010.......................................................................................................................... 124
Table 9. Technical program in intercultural nutrition/cooking in year three, 2010.......................................................................................................................... 125
Table 10. Technical program in intercultural nutrition/cooking in year four, 2010.......................................................................................................................... 126
Compact Disc

The following recorded excerpts accompany the text at various points as marked therein. All recordings were made by the author:

Track 1. 00:54, ‘Mapuche applause’ Workshop day at Escuela Guacolda, September 2011……………………………………………………………………………………… 100

Track 2. 00:54, Songs by year four students in the intercultural kindergarten teacher course, September 2011………………………………………………………………………………… 118

Track 3. 02:08, Instrumental composition workshop by year four students in the intercultural kindergarten teacher course, September 2011………………………………………………….. 119

Track 4. 01:08, ‘Inspiration with god’- A Trutruka performance by the lonco, September 2011…………………………………………………………………………… 139

Track 5. 10:02, ‘Karaoke recorder-pfilkas’-A school music lesson, September 2011. 145
1 Introduction

1.1 Background to the study

The Mapuche are an indigenous group living in the southern tip of Chile and Argentina in South America. With a population of 692,192, the Mapuche represent only 2.5 percent of the Chilean population (INE, 2002). While 66.4 percent of the Chilean Mapuche population are in diaspora spread across the five main Chilean cities, 33.6 percent reside in semi-rural areas in the eighth, ninth, and tenth regions of Chile.1 This case study aims to contribute an understanding of aspects of Mapuche ethnic identity, in particular its performance-oriented and performance-related aesthetic aspects. The study concentrates on cultural transmission processes and considers the relationship between the teaching and learning of expressive culture and Mapuche ethnicity within a formal educational setting, the Liceo Técnico Particular Guacolda. As such, the study addresses gaps in the Mapuche literature in the area of contemporary music and dance transmission processes, as well as the place of minority indigenous performance culture in formal education.

Liceo Técnico Particular Guacolda is an intercultural bilingual education (IBE) school participating in a system established throughout Latin America whereby students study various subjects within a wider context of their indigenous language and culture (Ortiz 2007). The majority of the school’s students come from rural indigenous

---

1 The difference in Mapuche population census figures from 1992 and 2002 are a matter of disagreement. The figures according to Course (2013) are known in the south as ‘statistical genocide’ (Course 2013, 11), as 1992 figures report a population of 928,079 and 2002 figures report a population of 604,349. The 323,723 people who have supposedly vanished are victims of a rewording of the census. According to the International Red Cross, the estimated current Mapuche population is 1.2 million, 600,000 of whom live in the capital, Santiago (Course 2013).
communities and board at the school for the duration of their studies. Liceo Técnico Particular Guacolda appears to be unique among such schools in the ways it immerses all of its students in an intensive program of study relating to aspects of Mapuche culture, including language, music, dance, costume, cuisine, healing, indigenous wisdom or philosophy, and spiritual beliefs. By focusing on the transmission of expressive culture, this case study aims to establish the extent to which a school and its unique curriculum can be a viable site for the maintenance and preservation of ethnic identity, while attempting to identify contexts, pedagogies and resources that enable such viability.

1.2 Research questions

The study addresses the following questions:

1) To what extent and in what ways does Liceo Técnico Particular Guacolda value Mapuche expressive culture as indicated by its curriculum and the involvement and responses of its teachers, students, and broader community?

2) What means are employed at Liceo Técnico Particular Guacolda in the transmission of Mapuche expressive culture?

3) In what ways does Liceo Técnico Particular Guacolda’s emphasis on Mapuche expressive culture lead to the inculcation of Mapuche ethnic identity?

4) Is there a unified approach to the transmission of Mapuche expressive culture at Liceo Técnico Particular Guacolda, or are competing ideologies at work at the school? If so, how might these be described, and in what ways, if any, might they pose a threat to the school’s educational vision?

\[\text{In the evening, at the conclusion of the school day, the boys are taken to an off site location to sleep. The girls stay on site in a dormitory at Liceo Técnico Particular Guacolda.}\]
Question one considers the importance of Mapuche expressive culture at Liceo Técnico Particular Guacolda (hereafter Escuela Guacolda) and ways this expressive culture is transmitted via the curriculum from teachers to students, as well as through the broader community. This question explores how teachers and the community at Escuela Guacolda participate and contribute to the valuing of Mapuche expressive culture at the school. The involvement of teachers in the imparting of knowledge and skills relating to expressive culture throughout a student’s life at the school is examined. The influence of the wider community is explored by assessing its contribution to the transmission of Mapuche expressive culture at the school.

Question two involves an examination of the methods employed at Escuela Guacolda to transmit Mapuche culture. Addressing this question requires close scrutiny of the school’s curriculum, as well as the involvement of its teachers, students and community.

Question three seeks to understand the importance of expressive culture within the life of Escuela Guacolda, and how and to what extent it contributes to nurturing Mapuche ethnic identity.

Question four considers competing ideologies within the school, and how and to what extent they may hinder the transmission of expressive culture within the educational vision of the Liceo (secondary school).

1.3 The scope of the study

In Mapudungun, the Mapuche language, there is no word for music (Arce 1998; Course 2011). Music is not an isolated phenomenon in Mapuche expressive culture, but a many faceted mode of communication that serves as a bridge between the physical and spiritual
world (Bacigalupo 2004c). Music is a medium through which ceremonial practitioners move between these two worlds during religious ceremonies and certain life events, as well as a cultural link that connects both performer and listener to a spiritual space and the ancestral world (Dillehay 1990).

Mapuche music is not performed or demonstrated in a separate performance for an audience outside the life events or religious ceremonies with which it is connected. According to Mapuche culture, this severely limits its accessibility for winka (non-Mapuche people), and gathering data on Mapuche music is therefore quite challenging (Course 2011). To experience Mapuche musica (Mapuche music), one must be present when the cosmological, spiritual or life event is taking place.³

*We Tripantu* (New Year’s Eve) and *Ngillatun* (fertility festival) are two Mapuche festivals at which outsiders are usually allowed to be present. It is however, at the discretion of each community to decide which outsiders may attend which festivals. Winka are also allowed to participate in ceremonies such as *mafũns* (funeral ceremonies), however they are not allowed to make video or audio recordings.

More recently the Mapuche have begun a process of preserving their cultural expression through producing videos and photographs of ceremonies and uploading these onto YouTube and social media websites. There are also a small number of academic articles and theses produced in Chile that are written by Mapuche. Since 1986, members of the Bahá’í faith have undertaken extensive audio recordings of Mapuche music (Bacigalupo 2004c). The radio station, Radio Bahá’í is just outside of Temuco and

---

³ There are many Mapuche ceremonies that cannot be recorded or referred to in academic research. I have respected such requests when they have been made.
records local Mapuche songs at ceremonies and community gatherings. However, apart from such music on the radio, archival recordings are not made publicly available.

Taking into account the holistic nature of expressive performance and the difficulty of gaining direct access to Mapuche music, I resolved to concentrate on the teaching and learning of indigenous Mapuche expressive culture, in its integrated forms, within the structured educational program of Escuela Guacolda, Chol Chol, located in the ninth region of Chile. For the Mapuche, the connection between performing music and engaging in ceremonial events in their culture is reflected in the ways their expressive culture is transmitted in the school. As Mapuche culture is a sensitive subject for the Mapuche, close rapport and trust with teachers, alumni, and community leaders had to be established before research could begin (Course 2011).

This research project was envisioned over several preparatory visits to region nine in Chile, 2007—2011. Whilst I did not formally undertake ethnographic fieldwork at Escuela Guacolda until I was granted ethics clearance by my University in 2011, it would not have been possible to explore the transmission of expressive culture without preliminary research and visits to the local community and school. The personal names of teachers and students have been withheld at the request of the University ethics committee.

In the school, Mapuche expressive culture is represented in a wide range of learning activities. In order to fully understand the scope of how such expressive culture is transmitted and how it invokes a sense of ethnic identification, teachers, kimches (sages and community leaders), visiting teachers, and auxiliary staff have been consulted.

4 Mapuche culture and identity has become a well-guarded subject due to the political tensions of region nine in Chile.
regarding both on and off campus workshop days and cultural ritual activities. A craftsman who makes musical instruments for the school has also been included in the study in order to explore the musical and community connections the school maintains with such experts.

As an ethnomusicological case study, then, this research aims to determine the extent to which the school’s expressive cultural programs nurture and reinforce a sense of cultural belonging and identity among a marginalised minority group within a large nation-state. More specifically, the study considers the following:

- The ways expressive culture is transferred from teacher (or community elder) to student in the forms of music, dance, song, sound producing instruments, instrument making, and traditional Mapuche dress.
- The ways music and dance performance, as well as cultural festivals, contribute to defining students’ understanding and sense of belonging to a minority group within a dominant culture.

During my third visit to Escuela Guacolda in 2011, I gained access to information that had previously been unavailable to me. Escuela Guacolda allowed me to have more liberal access in observing classes and ritual events. I was also permitted to attend more off campus activities. Additionally, I was invited to interview students and staff. In their remote rural communities, the Mapuche greet academic researchers with indifference. Their experience is that researchers typically conduct their studies and then leave, failing to return to show those who participated in their research the results of their study in written form. However, multiple visits over a three-year period to gather research for this thesis signalled to the Mapuche elders my commitment to understanding their culture.
The Mapuche community expects visiting academics to return to the community where they achieved their academic goals. However, this expectation typically goes unfulfilled. The principal of Escuela Guacolda and other teachers at the school expressed to me that the school had previously opened its doors to academics expecting to hear from them later regarding the results of their research, yet despite promises of further communication, no such responses were given from the academics to the Principal. There was also concern that interviews with researchers might make the participants vulnerable to political harassment from authorities and local officials, which was a further disincentive to become involved in the research.

IBE programs in Latin America constitute a means for governments to attempt to counteract some of the negative effects of colonisation in an educational setting (Szulc 2009; Ortiz 2007; Hornberger 2000). In many world locations, IBE schools have been studied to understand their cultural impact on students and communities. Providing a learning space for parallel forms of knowledge and varying degrees of both formal and informal learning, IBE schools are widely known to facilitate the transmission of indigenous knowledge and language acquisition (Henze and Vanett 1993; Szulc 2009; Arratia 1997).

As stated, this study considers Escuela Guacolda’s expressive cultural program, which is particularly comprehensive and innovative when compared with programs in the other region nine schools in Chile, including some IBE schools that were considered for inclusion in this study in the initial stages of research (further details on this subject will provided in section 3.2.1). Despite the supportive environment Escuela Guacolda
provides to students as an IBE school, this study does not focus on the IBE program as the central base for indigenous expression and cultural learning at the school.

The IBE program and the Mapuche curriculum at Escuela Guacolda are organised in such a manner that they are separate from the school’s official and unofficial Christian religious activities (these will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2). Escuela Guacolda is co-managed by the Catholic Church and the Fundación de Educación Beato Ceferino (also a Roman Catholic Church based organisation). However, the school focuses fundamentally on the development of Mapuche culture and identity and not on nurturing students in the Catholic faith, despite the school’s deep connection with the Church.\(^5\)

Although close ties with the Catholic Church are discernable at Escuela Guacolda, there is an understanding that this affiliation will not interfere with or influence the development of the IBE program, nor the growth of the student body’s sense of ethnic identity. Whilst students are free to belong to any religious denomination, such membership does not entitle them to reduce the extent of their involvement in Mapuche cultural activities. All students must participate in each class or activity that the school offers in its curriculum. Students are not excused from classes that include Mapuche cosmology and language on the basis of denominational or moral objections.

1.4 Location

Chile occupies a long, thin strip of land 4,300 kilometres long and on average 175 kilometres wide, which is divided into fifteen regions. The ninth region, immediately

\(^5\) This study makes no attempt to compare Roman Catholic managed schools with those operated by Protestant Evangelical groups, nor between state or private schools.
south of the Bio Bio River, is considered Mapuche heartland both historically and by its current population, where the estimated Mapuche population is fifty thousand (INE 2002). Escuela Guacolda is situated here, in Chol Chol, a small semi-rural town in the Cautin province. The capital, Temuco, is thirty kilometres away from Chol Chol (see Figure 1).
Figure 1. Map of South America and Chile (top); the province of Cautin, the research site in Chol Chol, and associated towns (below). Prepared for this thesis by Demaj Maps (used with permission)
1.5  History of the Mapuche

The Mapuche reside mostly in the southern tip of Chile and Argentina. Considered the direct descendants of the pre-Hispanic cultures of Pitren (100—1100 CE) and El Vergel (1100—1450 CE), the Mapuche of Chile traditionally inhabited the lands between the Bio Bio River and Reloncavi Sound, Puerto Montt (see Figure 1, top map) (Dillehay 2007). The Mapuche currently living in a rural or semi-rural setting in Chile reside predominantly in the eighth, ninth and tenth regions. Che in Mapuche translates as ‘people’, and mapu means ‘of the land’. Hence, Mapuche means ‘people of the land’.

A deeply held belief that they are people of the land sustains the Mapuche psyche, and is pivotal to the political and social struggles of this group. As an indigenous nation, the Mapuche dwindled from occupying and overseeing some ten million hectares south of the Bio Bio river to 344,422 thousand hectares by 1929 (Course 2011). This drastic reduction in land ownership, combined with an unwavering sense of connection to the land, initiated Mapuche socio-political development and their effort to maintain a strong sense of identity and culture. The history of the Mapuche will be explored further in Chapter 2.

1.6 Cosmovision

The Mapuche cosmovision, or understanding of their place in the world, is metaphorically bound up in the design and significance of the kultrun (drum), a sound-producing instrument with profound and powerful symbolic resonances for the Mapuche (Grebe 1970). The kultrun is the most sacred of all Mapuche instruments, and a central icon of their culture. Used in ritual ceremonies by machi (shaman), the kultrun acts as a
sonic bridge between the physical and the spiritual worlds, affording connection to ancestral spirits through sound-making practices. Because the drum embodies the fundamental structure of Mapuche cosmology, this thesis includes an investigation of its significance and its relationship with Mapuche expressive culture. Indeed, in some ways this study can be understood as being primarily organological, given the symbolic pervasiveness of the kultrun, my repeated encounters with the instrument, and my constant pursuit of iconographic, symbolic, and performance practice knowledge relating to it.

The study explores ways the kultrun is employed as a powerful, multivalent cultural symbol at Escuela Guacolda, from the entrance to the school and on into its corridors and curricula. A round drum with a hemispherical base, the kultrun embodies the entire Mapuche cosmos and calendar (Grebe 1970). The markings on its face represent the Mapuche calendar, lunar cycles, seasons, and four cardinal points (Figure 2) (Bacigalupo 2004a). The instrument has a significant impact on the expressive culture at Escuela Guacolda, and for this reason, is given particular attention in this thesis.

Figure 2. The kultrun (ritual drum), shown with a traditional design painted on the skin

---

6 All photographs that appear in this thesis are by the author unless otherwise indicated.
1.7 Religion

I accept Jesus Christ but I also accept Chau [Master of true people – God] ... I am a Mapuche Christian ... I don’t have to lose my identity if I am a Christian ... if I accept Jesus Christ ... they do not stop me from celebrating Ngillatun [fertility ritual], singing; they do not have the right to stop me from speaking in my native tongue ... everyone is equal, this is the one thing.\(^7\)

In an interview, the lonco (chief) and head Mapudungun language teacher at Escuela Guacolda outlined his connection with the Roman Catholic Church and the relationship between Catholicism and Mapuche rituals. His understanding that he is able to retain his indigenous identity within Catholicism reflects a view held by many rural Mapuche (Course 2011; Ortiz 2007). Catholicism is interpreted as permitting the Mapuche freedom to practise their traditional beliefs and ceremonies without impinging on Catholic principles (Course 2011; Ortiz 2007).

In Becoming Mapuche, Course (2011) notes how religion is a complex issue for the Mapuche. Mapuche history has ‘… been punctuated by Spanish colonialism [and] missionization by Catholic priests …’ (Bacigalupo 2004c, 502). While statistics from the 2002 census reveal that 70 percent of Chileans are Roman Catholic, 15.1 percent are Protestant or Evangelical, 4.4 percent identify with another religion or creed, and 8.3 percent have no religion at all or are agnostic (INE 2002), there are no specific statistics for Mapuche Christian denominational affiliations in the census. Despite this lack of data

\(^7\) Interview with the lonco (chief) and head Mapudungun language teacher at Escuela Guacolda on 4 October 2011, in Chol Chol, Chile. Translated by the author.
on what religion the Mapuche practise, it is clear that rural Mapuche have religious affiliations that are local in context (Course 2011).

While a constitutional clause permitted only Roman Catholicism to be practiced in Chile up to 1865, in the late nineteenth century an Anglican mission had been firmly established in the southern region of the country, starting with a British-speaking consular church in Valparaiso, where missionary work began in 1844 (Dawson and Nicoletti 2008). A voluntary British Anglican society, the South American Mission Society (SAMS), was formed to assist with the evangelisation of Tierra del Fuego and the southern regions of Chile. Alan Gardiner, who formed SAMS, starved to death whilst travelling in Patagonia and attempting to create a mission church. In 1860, Gardiner’s son, Allen, had limited success following in his father’s footsteps, given the strong opposition from the Roman Catholic Church.\(^8\) It was ultimately the missionary work of William Wilson in Chol Chol in 1898 that introduced the Anglican Church to the people more broadly. Wilson began an Anglican mission school in Chol Chol that operates to this day. Many Chilean Anglicans consider Chol Chol to be the foundational site of the Anglican Church.

Roman Catholic Church activity began around 1943 in the region of Chol Chol (Dawson and Nicoletti 2008) when eighteen Maryknoll priests came from the United States to establish missions in the region. After this initial burst of Catholic missionary activity, in the 1960s Pope John XXIII called to lay missionaries of the United States to assist in building the kingdom of God, which was tied to promoting the United States’

presence in the South American region to counter communist influences. Many
Maryknoll lay missionaries responded to the call at this time, and the Maryknoll presence
has been strong in Chol Chol ever since. Missionaries of the region came to realise that
Pope XXIII was initially more concerned with the influence of communism in the
indigenous population. However, this was only part of the work required in the region.
As this initial concern receded, missionaries addressed other urgent needs such as
Mapuche poverty, which set the precedent for establishing mission schools. ⁹

The Roman Catholic Church has a strong influence in rural Chol Chol and
throughout Chile at large. The majority of the Mapuche I encountered during fieldwork
revealed that they were members of the Roman Catholic Church whilst adhering to
Mapuche cosmological beliefs. Nearly all of the Mapuche people involved with this
study were Roman Catholics, since the Church allowed them to believe in two very
different spiritual worlds.

Catholic doctrine permits consumption of alcohol whilst Evangelical churches do
not (Course 2011, 2013). This is a significant factor in the Mapuche peoples’ choice of
church, since alcohol plays an integral part in their indigenous festivals and ceremonies.
To belong to an Evangelical sect would mean abstaining from alcohol and thus no longer
being able to take part in religious ceremonies and cosmological activities (Course 2011).
Ortiz (2007) notes how Evangelical beliefs and Mapuche cultural practices are
fundamentally incompatible:

Wherever Evangelical beliefs are dominant within a Mapuche community or
school, the processes of re-ethnification, recovery and maintenance of Mapuche

ancestral traditions, cosmology and language will face a very tough opposition coming from the parents and that community. (Ortiz 2007, 74)

Ortiz (2007) further states that Mapuche rituals and community celebrations receive no support from Evangelical sects. The relevance of religious factors in educational contexts will be expanded upon in Chapter 4, but for now it is sufficient to note that Escuela Guacolda mandates total student involvement in all activities, whether they are Catholic or Protestant. Interestingly, as Course (2011) explains, many Mapuche fluidly switch between Catholicism to Evangelicalism and back again as their personal circumstances change.

1.8 The research site

In conjunction with the Catholic Church in Araucanía, the Central Training Institute Indian Foundation founded Liceo Técnico Particular Guacolda in 1984. The school’s website discusses the beginning of the school’s formation:

Lyceum Vocational Technical Intercultural Guacolda, born to the institutional life of this land of thistles [Chol Chol] or Tripantu (rising of the new sun) in 1984 ... the spiritual strength of our people found that over time the new shoots appeared in June of that year, this noble academic pursuit created twenty-seven generations of souls of Mapuche students.10

These words from the school website illustrate a conceptualisation of education in Mapuche terms. That is, education is understood as being fundamentally spiritual, and

metaphorically as an organic extension of Mapuche cosmology: new shoots grow in place of thistles, or new ways of acquiring knowledge and becoming a person are an extension of traditional ways.

The Department of Education Chile provides course guidelines for the secondary school however Escuela Guacolda is run by the Catholic Church in Araucania, while the Fundación de Educación Beato Ceferino supports it in a managerial capacity. The same foundation assists other educational institutions in vulnerable sectors of region nine. Escuela Guacolda offers a secondary school education to students drawn from a wide regional area, as well as from within Chol Chol. The school provides a Mapuche indigenous education for rural Mapuche and non-Mapuche students alike, and offers all students the option to board at no cost for the duration of their school years (Chol Chol residents generally do not board).

The school currently has 425 students and 420 of these are boarders. 80 percent of the student population is Mapuche. Students come from remote rural communities, such as Tirúa, Cañete, Puerto Saavedra, Lonquimay, Lumaco, Traiguén, Lautaro, Galvarino and Victoria (see lower map, figure 1).11 Escuela Guacolda is an Escuela media (middle school), that is, a student spends four years at the secondary level. All students study the Mapudungun language and the extent of knowledge and understanding of Mapuche culture students bring with them varies. Families rely on the school to develop and maintain understanding and respect for their ancestral identity.

In 1984, Mapuche women rarely attended secondary school, and generally did not know how to read and write in either Spanish or Mapudungun. Female illiteracy was a

matter of concern for the Catholic Church in Araucania, and this contributed to the establishment of Escuela Guacolda. In the early years of its formation, the school assisted adult women with their education in Chol Chol. The school offered Mapudungun language classes to the women, and inculcated a sense of pride in being Mapuche.\textsuperscript{12} Preparatory classes for work in an office as well as artisanal classes formed part of the curriculum to teach viable skills for earning an income, such as learning to weave rugs for sale prior to entering into the workforce. The women also studied horticulture in the early years of Escuela Guacolda’s foundation.

This original focus shifted after several years to accommodate new demands on the school. In the early 1990s, fewer than 17 percent of Mapuche youth in rural areas attended secondary school or higher education.\textsuperscript{13} Escuela Guacolda was transformed into a \textit{Liceo} (a technical secondary school) that required students to focus on areas of specialty, such as health management (nursing), administration, institutional food service (cooking and nutrition), and kindergarten teacher assisting. Now as a functioning technical secondary school, Escuela Guacolda began to provide a pathway for students to become certified in a trade in one of these fields.

A unique aspect of obtaining such a qualification at the school is that each subject is taught through a dual curriculum. Alongside the standard Chilean Department of Education course curriculum the IBE curriculum is taught. Additionally, during my research I observed there to be operating what might be considered an, ‘extended Mapuche curriculum’, one that took students beyond both the traditional and IBE

\textsuperscript{12} Information in this paragraph was supplied by the Head of technical studies, in an interview, 28 September 2011, in Chol Chol, Chile.
\textsuperscript{13} The most current 2002 Census does not have any information about Mapuche rates of schooling.
curricula. While this facet is not formally articulated at the school, teachers and community members deliver such as an integral part of the teaching and learning program.

1.9 Founders of the school

Although the Central Training Institute Indian Foundation along with the Catholic Church of Araucanía officially established Liceo Técnico Particular Guacolda in 1984, its true founders were Roman Catholic missionaries. The school principal informed me that Bishop Manuel Camilo Vial Risopatrón, along with several other bishops from Temuco, were responsible for founding the school. With the other bishops of Temuco, Risopatrón is currently an official proprietor of the school under the Roman Catholic Church in Araucanía. However, when I spoke to Bishop Risopatrón at a gathering that the school hosted for the current Nuncio (Rome’s Papal representative to South America), he explained that the early religious founders were Maryknoll lay missionaries. The founding of the school is described on the school website as follows:

This represents an important step of deep institutional commitment, born of the bishopric of Temuco and the Vicariate Apostolic of Araucanía to accompany the Mapuche people in their quest for justice, freedom and dignity. This accompaniment contains a deep democratic ethic, which favours the direct participation of the beneficiaries of this great educational project for the Mapuche.14

---

Despite the current Roman Catholic and earlier Maryknoll missionary influence on the school, the Escuela Guacolda is not presented solely as a church or religious school.

The Central Training Institute Indian Foundation co-managed Escuela Guacolda from its inception, handling fundraising and financial support. When Chilean government legislation for all charitable foundations changed in 2011, the Fundación de Educación Beato Ceferino took over management of the school.

1.10 School curriculum

The central focus of the curriculum at Escuela Guacolda is for Mapuche culture to pervade all subjects. All school classes, activities and events are motivated to teach Mapuche culture in tandem with the school’s dual curriculum, including the IBE component, which incorporates both the foundational indigenous content, the four technical school elective subjects referred to in section 1.8, and the Chilean government component.

As the focus on language is at the core of the IBE program, all students participate in compulsory intensive language classes in Mapudungun from the outset of their education. Teachers who do not speak Mapudungun are also expected to learn the language, which is always spoken in the classrooms and heard in the corridors. In their first year, students have five hours of Mapudungun instruction per week, while in their second year this is reduced to four hours. Although most of the students are Mapuche and are from rural communities, at the time of commencing school at Escuela Guacolda, they do not necessarily speak Mapudungun fluently. Many do not speak the language at

---

15 A ‘Community’ is the official designation for indigenous reservations allocated for Mapuche groups of Southern Chile, formed between 1883 and 1929 (Course 2011).
all. Irrespective of ethnic or even religious objections, all students at Escuela Guacolda are required to learn Mapudungun.

The IBE curriculum is ideologically undergirded by an acknowledgement and appreciation of the Mapuche cosmology or worldview, while a standard curriculum is supplied by the Department of Education, Chile. IBE elective subjects are taken in the students’ final two years at the school, so that, for example, a student who qualifies in health management will study both modern medicine and indigenous or shamanic practices.

Teachers working within this dual curriculum structure often meld contrasting philosophical perspectives, leading to the creation of what some of the teachers have referred to as a ‘fusion’. Through what I designate an, ‘extended Mapuche curriculum’, the school’s educational vision is further broadened and enhanced, and this is achieved by the presence and contributions of a number of especially influential teachers. As will be seen, it is this ‘extended Mapuche curriculum’ that I am particularly interested in exploring in this study.

Escuela Guacolda has won a number of awards, including the Monte Grande Project Award for Intercultural Excellence, and the Especial Singularidad, which was granted by the Department of Education, and which gave the school independence from the state in curricular matters. The school has the ability to implement additional programs to the core curriculum, as well as change the standard or intercultural curriculum without being accountable to the Department of Education. I only became aware of the Especial Singularidad award towards the end of my research. The award

---

16 The Monte Grande Project Award applicants undergo thorough external assessment and ranking by members of a national board from education, sciences and the humanities.
represents the school’s ability to self-govern. The decision the school has made with this unique opportunity has led to a distinctive setting for the transmission of Mapuche expressive culture in an atypical or non-traditional setting.

1.11 Overview of the study

This thesis comprises six chapters. Chapter 1 provides a background to the study, including its research questions, scope, and location, as well as the history of the Mapuche, including their cosmology, religion, and site or location. Also, the chapter provides background regarding the foundation of the Liceo Técnico Particular Guacolda, the school’s curriculum, as well as an overview of the study.

Chapter 2 includes a review of literature relevant to this case study. It begins with a summary of the current body of literature on the Mapuche. Mapuche ethnic identity is explored with subsections on the history of the Mapuche and on regional anthropological studies. The general paucity of Mapuche-related anthropological and ethnomusicological literature as well as reasons for this lack of literature is considered. A short section on gender and its impact on Mapuche identity is included. The second section of the review discusses literature of Mapuche expressive culture, and places Mapuche music in a broader context. This section incorporates subsections pertaining to sound and healing, Mapuche cosmology, the ül (song), and Mapuche organology. It also examines literature on the kultrun and how it embodies Mapuche cosmology. The review concludes by considering literature on the Mapuche and education, concentrating on intercultural bilingual education in Chile, South America, and North America. This section evaluates the impact that intercultural bilingual education has in schools in Chile and in indigenous programs in proximal parts of the world.
The ethnographic methodology employed in this study is described in Chapter 3, beginning with participant observation as the foundation of the study’s qualitative approach. A description of the research journey follows, tracing it from its beginnings when the researcher travelled as an Australian musician to Chile. Selection of school, the making of field notes, data collection, and observational methods are all described in this section.

Chapter 4 presents the first set of findings, demonstrating how the campus site and off-site buildings of the school are utilised to shape students’ sense of Mapuche identity through a visualised, material representation of Mapuche cosmology. It outlines the cultural significance of the architecture of the school buildings, and how these buildings relate to the Mapuche belief system and the supreme Mapuche sound making instrument, the kultrun drum. The intertwining of cosmology and architectural design, and the effects this has on the teaching and learning at Escuela Guacolda is analysed. That is, the relationship between the kultrun, Mapuche cosmology, and the school’s physical structure as a site of learning are examined. The academic and intercultural curriculum of the school is also reviewed, including the ‘extended Mapuche curriculum’.

Chapter 5 presents this study’s findings, which detail the processes by which the school transmits Mapuche expressive culture and fosters Mapuche ethnic identity, from the perspectives of four of the school’s key teaching personnel, as well as its students, alumni, and community members. The place and role of the school music teacher, a Chilean musical identity, is also discussed.

The thesis concludes in Chapter 6 with a discussion and conclusion of the findings.
2 Literature review

2.1 Background to the literature

The Mapuche of lowland South America have to date received little comprehensive attention from researchers (Course 2011; Seeger 1979). Course discusses the current paucity of comprehensive ethnographic research and the reasons for this in *Becoming Mapuche*. Course (2011) asserts that within the academic community there is the assumption that ethnographic research on the Mapuche has already been undertaken. He also argues that one of the reasons for a lack of cohesive contemporary ethnographic research is that the Mapuche do not fit into either of the two main cultural areas of South American research, the Andes and the Amazon (Course 2011).

To date, ethnographic research on the Mapuche has been limited, and studies comparing them to other indigenous groups are equally scarce (Course 2011). Historically, the Mapuche have been isolated from other indigenous groups by their unique social and economic relationship with European colonialism (Course 2011; Faron 1968; Seeger 1979). Economic isolation led to the Mapuche being overlooked for serious comparative research as a discrete indigenous group.

In the twenty-first century, the Mapuche are known for their unique method of economic production ‘… based almost entirely on raising huge herds of animals …’ (Course 2011, 5) that is not practised among any other indigenous group in South America. Such disparity, coupled with the Mapuche’s ‘… presumed linguistic isolation …’ (Course 2011, 5), has further separated the Mapuche from other South American tribes and from the attention of academic researchers (Course 2011).
2.2 Mapuche ethnic identity

There is no consensus about the definition of ethnic identity, although it is defined by Trimble and Dickson (2005) as occupying the domain of self-perception. Essentially, ethnic identification is defined by a person’s psychological attachment to an ethnic group or heritage (Cheung 1993). Ethnic identity is usually placed in a social context where other members acknowledge ethnic markers within a group. Once a group validates these markers, these declarations then contribute to an ethnic consciousness.

A sense of unified ethnic consciousness has spread among the Mapuche both in Chile and among those who have emigrated. Historically an undefeated people, this ethnic marker has served to motivate an indigenous resistance movement and create a remarkable awareness of ethnic distinction among the Mapuche in Chile. Interestingly, rural Mapuche identity is clouded by the perception in region nine that the Mapuche do not have their own rural ethnic identity and are related more towards a social class than an ethnic group (Course 2011, 165—166).

Mapuche ethnic identity is further influenced by rural identity politics that are very different from urban forms. For the Mapuche, identity politics are everywhere and exists as a major issue in culture and society. The wide gulf between indigenous rights activists in regional areas and main cities such as Temuco is revealed in the way that such main centres have developed ‘a certain objectification of Mapuche culture and society, and ... the monopolisation of the right to define what Mapuche is’ (Course 2011, 7). Such

---

17 In 2013 when I borrowed from my university library a copy of a book on aspects of Mapuche anthropology, I came across a note made by a previous borrower containing a message to the next one. On this note was a hand-drawn picture of a kultrun with traditional markings on its face or skin, indicating the four cardinal points. The words in Mapudungun, ‘Mari Chi Wei!’—a thousand times we’ll prevail!—were written underneath. Mapuche identity-as-resistance appears to have become an enduring concept around the world.
objectification has, as Course (2011) notes, had a profound impact on academic research influenced by the main centre approach, leading many to ignore further research on the Mapuche people.

To better understand issues related to Mapuche ethnic identity an overview of the Mapuche history in Chile is outlined in section 2.2.1. Anthropological research presenting a broader view of Mapuche ethnic identity is discussed in section 2.2.2, in section 2.2.3; gender distinctions for the Mapuche are considered.

### 2.2.1 Mapuche history

Due to nearly four centuries of resistance to outsiders, a fiercely protective nature has developed in contemporary Mapuche culture (Course 2011). As a consequence of territorial battles, the Mapuche developed a unique and enduring determination to guard and sustain their culture. This sustaining of distinctive traditions resulted in the amalgamation of several different indigenous groups, which began to forge close cultural ties following the arrival of the Spanish in the sixteenth century (Course 2011; Faron 1961a).

Developed as a result of wars against both Incan and Spanish invaders, the fierce struggle and effective resistance of the Mapuche people has been investigated by anthropologists to some extent, yet there remain large gaps in the literature (Course 2009, 2011, 2013; Faron 1961a, 1961b, 1962, 1968; Dillehay 1990, 2007). Literature produced by Spanish officials, priests, and soldiers in the sixteenth century provide some understanding of the daily lifestyle of the Mapuche (Course 2011; Faron 1961a). However, most accounts are heavily biased in their generally negative view of the
Mapuche and cannot be relied upon for objective information (Course 2011; Dillehay 2007).

Before the arrival of the Spanish, the Mapuche lived in small, kinship-based groups with no class structure and no centralised leadership (Faron 1968). Between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries the Inca conquered northern Chile, yet they failed to subjugate the southern region, which was inhabited by the Mapuche. In 1530, the Inca guided the Spanish into region nine to assist with the subordination of the Mapuche. The war between the Mapuche and the Spanish became known as *la Guerra de Arauco*, or the Araucanian War, and ran from 1541 to 1883 (Faron 1962; Guevara 1908). The Spanish enlisted the help of Peruvian indigenous groups, the Picunche and Yanacona, to assist in overwhelming the Mapuche’s fierce resistance. The war cost fifty thousand Spanish and sixty thousand Picunche lives (Faron 1968), leaving both groups severely depleted in numbers and marking Spain’s greatest defeat in all of the Americas. The conflict outwardly came to an end when Chile gained its independence from Spain in 1810 (Course 2011). From their battles with the Inca and the Spanish, the Mapuche developed a fierce warrior tradition and a reputation as a proud, undefeated nation.

Mapuche land ownership was formalised in 1817 when the Mapuche signed a treaty in Temuco with Chile and Spain to conclude the war. At this time, Chile made an agreement with the Mapuche that the land south of the Bio Bio River was to be Mapuche territory. However, the encroachment of German colonists in the 1800s led to the loss of some sections of this land, and by 1866 the Chilean government passed a law whereby a reservation system was created for the Mapuche. Thus, the Mapuche went from initially owning ten million hectares to 475,000 hectares by 1929 (Course 2011). Despite this loss,
the reservation system offered a glimmer of hope that the Mapuche could live peaceably on their own land. Land titles were given to the heads of the different Mapuche communities, and these communities were expected to share the plots among themselves. Placing the communities together prevented their breakup, but also led to overcrowding.

The reservation system had severe limitations. Mapuche were forced to live in groups whether they wished to or not (Course 2011). Of the original 3078 reservations, 784 were divided into private land holdings while another 168 simply disappeared. The Mapuche holdings were ultimately reduced to a total of 344,422 hectares (Course 2011). The Pinochet government (1973—1990) passed an ‘infamous piece of legislation’ (Course 2011, 13) that abolished the communal nature of the reservations. They could now be leased for a period of ninety-nine years, although they could not be sold to non-Mapuche. This legislation had a severe impact on many communities, some of whom leased out previously unattainable land to winka and hence lost the use of the land. The government also established anti-terrorism laws that were used as a political tool against the Mapuche. Such laws are still in use, and many Mapuche political activists have faced terrorism charges. Course notes that once Chile’s indigenous peoples were perceived as a threat to national security, the Mapuche became ‘the enemy within’ (Course 2011, 14).

In 1993 the Chilean Government instituted Law 19, 253, the Ley Indígena, which officially recognised the Mapuche people and seven other ethnic minorities. It also recognised the Mapudungun language and culture. With the establishment of this law the previously prohibited Mapudungun language could be included in the curriculum of elementary schools around Temuco. Although many Mapuche felt very positively about
this legislation, it unfortunately ‘failed to deliver much of what it promised’ (Course 2011, 14).

A history of land rights struggles and lack of cultural recognition has served to develop the socio-political psyche of the Mapuche with acute problems and a lack of confidence in government agencies.

2.2.2 Mapuche anthropology

Modern anthropological Mapuche research of the twentieth century is divided into two strands (see Course 2011). The first strand, cultural traits, (Course 2011) was analysed as part of an effort to discover the historical origins of the group, and includes work by Guevara (1908, 1925), Latcham (1908, 1924), and Robles (1942). Research in a subsequent strand focused on the means by which ‘individuals are integrated into society’ (Course 2011). This second group of anthropologists, including Titiev (1951), Faron (1961a, 1961b, 1962, 1964, 1968), and Stuchlik (1976), comprises what is known today as the central contemporary group of Mapuche researchers.

While these two groups have focused on individual and social development in the Mapuche community, little critical ethnographic research has come from these studies regarding the Mapuche’s relationship with other South American groups. Course, who discusses this lack of research specifically, makes reference to the ‘scarcity of ethnographic studies’ (Course 2011, 4) and general lack of lack of commitment to the subject.

Although these gaps in the ethnographic literature limit our contemporary understanding of the Mapuche, during the 1960s noted anthropologist Louis Charles Faron shed light on Mapuche daily life, focusing on agriculture, military resistance,
history, domestic life and spiritual after-worlds (1961a, 1961b, 1962, 1964, 1968). The anthropological investigation by Faron (1962) into the ‘Symbolic Values and Integration of Society Among the Mapuche of Chile’ probes the significance of Mapuche ancestral worship and the effect it has on Mapuche social structure. In this research Faron unearths the symbolic attachments of good and evil associated with left and right that make up the ‘dualistic order of the Mapuche universe’ (Faron 1962, 1155). This symbiotic relationship between good and evil is outlined in Figure 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Left (inferior)</th>
<th>Right (superior)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>evil</td>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>death</td>
<td>life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>night</td>
<td>day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sickness</td>
<td>health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wekuwe (evil spirits)</td>
<td>ancestral spirits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sorcerer</td>
<td>shaman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>underworld (renu)</td>
<td>afterworld (wenmapu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman</td>
<td>man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poverty</td>
<td>abundance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hunger</td>
<td>fullness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>west</td>
<td>east</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>north</td>
<td>south</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 3. ‘Mapuche symbolic attachments to right and left hand’ (after Faron 1962, 1153)**

These symbols relate to the Mapuche cosmological values of inferior and superior associations (Faron 1962).

Although Faron presents his left and right groups in three different figures, I have synthesised these to provide an overview of the ‘socially significant polarities’ (Faron
1962, 1153) in abbreviated form. These polarities are represented in left and right associations and are central to the Mapuche social system. They represent the central theme of the Mapuche worldview (Faron 1962) in connection with the kultrun (Grebe 1970), which is discussed in more detail in section 2.3.6.

Anthropologist and archaeologist Tom Dillehay (2007) has analysed lineage architecture of the Mapuche, including earthen burial mounds, earthworks and wooden statues, both historic and contemporary, and the link this architecture forms with Mapuche cosmology. He discusses Mapuche monuments and their use of conceptual space as follows:

It is only when we consider the concept, building, use, abandonment, and variability of monuments and their relation to the general population that we are forced to account for other kinds of relations, which link specific social forms to the production of monuments and determine their design, size, location, and function with respect to religious and economic institutions, as well as to technological and environmental conditions. (Dillehay 1990, 223)

Dillehay discusses the geographic and spatial positions of communal earthen burial mounds that are central to understanding the Mapuche’s architectural use of space and the significance of shapes in their society and cosmology (Dillehay 1990). The burial mounds follow a ‘U’ shape and include circular patterns that distinctly relate to the Ngillatun and reflect the use of circles in the Mapuche cosmology (Dillehay 1990; Grebe 1970). Ngillatun, a large religious festival, takes place usually twice a year in rural communities and can include between three hundred and eight thousand participants (Dillehay 1990).
Ritualised music performed as part of a festival and practised by machi has been the subject of extensive ethnographic research by Bacigalupo regarding Mapuche machi and gender concerns (Bacigalupo 2004c). Describing machi as healers, musicians, doctors, shamans or sorcerers, Bacigalupo’s research confirms that the kultrun is almost exclusively used for ritual purposes (Bacigalupo 2001).

2.2.3 Gender

Gender is the distinction machi invoke to mark polarisations, boundaries, and tensions between local and national identities, as well as a way to express integration and create broader understandings of humanity, health, and healing (Bacigalupo, 2004a). Gender as perceived by the Mapuche, and specifically by the machi, is not determined according to sex. Gender is a metaphor to express an amalgam of humanity, health and healing in both local and national contexts (Bacigalupo 2004a). Machi have often been described in dominant cultural discourses as homosexuals, transvestites, or hermaphrodites (Bacigalupo, 2004d), however Bacigalupo argues that none of these terms are an accurate reflection of the machi concept of gender, as none take into account the dimension of spiritual gender.

Although the role of a machi is usually given to a woman (Bacigalupo 1998), machi are able to access several different spiritual identity genders. Traditional rituals conducted by the machi are based on four identities: old man, old woman, young man, and young woman (Bacigalupo 2004d). These four ritual categories are used by the machi to connect spiritually and to achieve healing work (Bacigalupo 2004d). Most machi achieve a ‘co-gendered’ identity, although one machi in a study by Bacigalupo embodied only the feminine aspects of Ngenechen (God) despite being born as a man and
living as a Mapuche woman. This machi considered herself a woman, not a transsexual person (Bacigalupo 2004d).

Non-ritualised gender issues also specifically affect Mapuche women. Richards (2003) studied the Servicio Nacional de la Mujer (SERNAM), a Chilean organisation designed to coordinate public policies and put an end to the discrimination of women in family, economic, political, and cultural spheres. Their concerns were constantly overshadowed by the more fundamental concerns of Mapuche women regarding land rights issues and the continuous struggle to have their culture recognised by Chilean society.

Discussion of equality and discrimination amongst Mapuche women can be divided into three main threads (Richards 2003). Firstly, Richards (2003) discusses how Mapuche women live with types of discrimination that differ from those experienced by other Chilean women. For instance, Mapuche women experience discrimination from non-Mapuche women. Richards gives examples of a ‘feminist’ Chilean woman treating a Mapuche woman as a mapuchita (dirty Indian) (Richards 2003, 50). Secondly, gender relations between men and women in Mapuche culture are different from those in mainstream Chilean society. Thirdly, as mentioned above, in addition to such gender issues, Mapuche women must carry an additional concern for the Mapuche people as a whole, including their land rights struggles (Richards 2003).

Gender and identity discourse regarding Mapuche women is multifaceted and complex. Projecting western notions of gender identity onto indigenous women is problematic, and understanding the relationships between Mapuche men and women requires further research (Richards 2003).
2.3 Mapuche expressive culture

2.3.1 Mapuche music in a broader context

Mapuche cultural consciousness has emerged through years of political and social struggle in relation to rights to their land. This socio-political climate has led to the inculcation of a sense of a distinctively Mapuche way of life and cultural expression, one that called for acknowledgement within contemporary Chilean society (Bengoa 2007). Connections to cosmology in Mapuche expressive culture are ever-present in music, dance and speech of contemporary performance-oriented events.

Anthropological research, including studies of the historical, economic, and social isolation of the Mapuche, has left a wide gap in its lack of ethnomusicological research. The research on Mapuche expressive culture falls into two categories: the first are anthropological studies that include ritual music (Dillehay 1990; Bacigalupo 2001, 2004a, 2004b, 2004c, 2004d, 1998), one of the single most important characteristics of Mapuche expressive culture that includes the use of the kultrun to connect sonically to ancestral spirits and facilitate healing. The second category is the study of non-ritualised music. The researchers involved in this field include a combination of musicologists and anthropologists. This category includes several studies of the Mapuche wind instruments, the supremely important kultrun, and Mapuche song. Each of these will be explored further in sections 2.3.5, 2.3.6, and 2.3.4. The above investigations provide an overview of Mapuche expressive culture and its dependence on music as a bridge between the physical and spiritual.

Robertson De Carbo (1976) writes that no word for ‘music’ exists in Mapudungun, while Course (2009) confirms that there is ‘no generic category of music in Mapuche society’ (Course 2009, 298). This is because the Mapuche do not consider music as a discrete phenomenon. Uniting songs, rhythms, vibrations, harmonics, and performance, Mapuche expressive culture is a deeply rooted, essential requirement to communicate tribal identity and cosmology.

Although the Mapuche have no word for music, they recognise two dimensions to their musical universe: the sacred and the profane. Deities and spirits (which include the machi) that belong to the four square platforms of the Mapuche sky (meli nom wenu) generate sacred music (Grebe, Pacheco, and Segura 1972). The profane dimension of music exists as a method of communication amongst earthly Mapuche.

Music is further categorised amongst Andean communities by Stobart (1994). Within these communities music cannot be encompassed, ‘by being categorised under such general concepts as music or sound’ (Stobart 1994, 36). Stobart (1994), Robertson De Carbo (1976), Course (2009), and Seitz (1998) reinforce that understanding music and sound within communities, means acknowledging that they are not abstract forces unrelated to everyday objects or indigenous life. The difficulty of analysing music as an entity separate from other parts of a community’s artistic, philosophical, and social life can be seen in the following two examples. From the Suya Indians of Mato Grosso, Brazil, who combine the concept of ‘song’ and the aesthetics of singing Seeger (1979) explains:

19 (Course 2009; Robertson De Carbo 1976)
Whenever I sang, the Suya called what I was doing was *ngere*. But *ngere* means both a song (melody) and the movements that accompany it. Stance and dance are thus an integral part of music, all part of a single communicative act called *ngere*.

(Seeger 1979, 375)

This synthesis of music and dance as explored by musicologist Anthony Seeger (1979) is referred to as a communicative event. For Seeger (1979), it is important to understand the integral connection between music and its social context. Secondly Stobart (1994) echoes this thought in his study of the music of a Quechua-speaking farming community in Bolivia and its indivisible nature from their culture. Every time he asked about the community’s music, he was directed to neighbouring towns and told to enquire about their brass bands. When the community eventually realised that he wanted information on their indigenous music, Stobart found that the conversation almost always motioned toward agriculture and potatoes. This integral connection between potatoes and the community’s music formed the basis of his research (Stobart 1994).

Seitz (1981) has explored the integration of indigenous music with the seasons, agriculture, and spirituality as ‘a critical act in a larger communication event’ (Seitz 1981, 223). Seitz’s (1981) research on the Quichua songs from the jungle lowlands of East Ecuador revealed a connection between the Quichua shaman and the use of songs in combination with the stuffed dead bodies of particular animals, soul stones, and alcoholic beverages served to create visions during the songs (Seitz 1981). The bond between the songs and items was said to link the physical and the spiritual worlds.

These ethnographic studies offer enormous assistance to understanding the music of the Mapuche. Understanding how music permeates a people’s way of life allows us to
understand the expressive culture of the Mapuche community. The connection between the physical world, agriculture, land rights and music is fundamental to further discussion in this thesis.

2.3.2 Sound and healing

For the Mapuche, sound is the glue of ritual. It brings meaning together and defines the boundaries of ritual space. Music, sound, and song have a therapeutic value in and of themselves, and serve as catalysts for the medicinal qualities of herbs. (Bacigalupo 1998, 9)

Sounds, vibrations, and rhythms during healing rituals are integral parts of the active process of a Mapuche ritual. To facilitate a communication healing ritual, the machi uses sound to create a spiritual link to the community’s ancestors. Bacigalupo has analysed the ritual use of sound, musical instruments and song and how they channel the medicinal qualities of herbs, facilitating healing and creating ritual space (Grebe 1970; Bacigalupo 1998).

This ritual space involves the machi’s assessment of a patient’s illness. For the Mapuche, illness originates outside the ‘biological, domestic, social or ritual body’ (Bacigalupo 1998, 5). Ritual space includes all the elements of wellness that exist inside a person’s spiritual and social life. Whilst inside and outside definitions are case-specific in Bacigalupo’s study, her understanding of returning an unwell person to their inside space (wellness) reflects the Mapuche belief that people must remain in balance with the universe (Bacigalupo 1998).
Diagnostic healing therapies of the Mapuche include the *ulütun* and the *machitun*, two curing rituals that ‘bring to life’ (Bacigalupo 1998, 9) a male and female energy reflected in the choice of musical instrument for a ritual. Musical instruments involved in healing rituals have a male or female symbolic energy. Female instruments reflect the womb that contains life, and are used in female ceremonies. Two kinds, the *kadkawilla* (bells) and *guada* (gourd) are associated most frequently with the machi during ritual healing ceremonies, which are accompanied by the *kull kull* (horn). The kull kull is a male instrument, associated with male fertility and festivity rituals (Bacigalupo 1998). In ceremonies, the kull kull produces vibrations in the natural harmonic series that act as a medium for healing (Schneider 1993). Other male instruments used in rituals are the *trutruka* (a long trumpet made from cane with usually an ox horn at the base) and the *pfilka* (flute) (Bacigalupo 1998).

Unregulated by a fixed time cycle or any particular ritual in the Mapuche calendar, the kultrun has a female gender. It represents medicine in its most magical form, functioning as a musical medium for healing rituals away from urban areas, where its use is forbidden (Grebe 1970). The combination of the rhythms made by the kultrun and the vibrations produced by the kull kull serve as a transformative medium for the machi to transcend to the fourth square earth with sound to heal patients.

Contemporary issues of healing and sound are highlighted in research conducted by Park (2006) and Bendel (2002). Both have investigated intercultural rural hospitals in Chile and the machi who work in modern hospital settings, as well as the socio-political struggle of indigenous groups to set up indigenous healing centres within modern regional hospitals. Machi have become extremely popular in recent years in intercultural...
regional hospitals (Torri 2011), where they have developed a complementary approach to westernised medical work in both rural and urban environments. As hospitals in Chile have become privatised, the machi’s non-biomedical approach to healing has been welcomed in urban centres, and despite the ban on using the kultrun in urban settings, machi are in high demand by patients. The need for a meta-medical framework in intercultural urban hospitals has resulted in the hybridisation of machi practices (Torri 2011).

2.3.3 The Mapuche cosmology

The inclusion of a discussion of literature on Mapuche cosmology is an acknowledgement that Mapuche spiritual beliefs lie at the heart of Mapuche expressive culture. Additionally at the core of Mapuche cosmology is the kultrun, which is the essence from which Mapuche expressive culture radiates. The kultrun informs the architecture of Escuela Guacolda’s built site, and thus understanding the kultrun and its place in Mapuche cosmology is of key importance to this study.

The Mapuche cosmology and culture centre their beliefs on Ngenechen (Grebe 1970; Ortiz 2007; Hidalgo et al. 1996). Ngenechen represents an almighty God, a principal deity, who lives above at the top of seven hierarchical square platforms of deities. Ngenechen has a divine family, including Elmapun, Elchen, Ngnemapu and Ngneden, four spiritual beings representing the four elements that create and sustain nature, as well as the four central elements represented visually on the kultrun (drum). These four spirits also represent the horizontal concept of the seven square earths in Mapuche cosmology.
According to Mapuche cosmology, amongst the seven square earths there exists what is known as the vertical aspect of the cosmology (Hidalgo et al. 1996; Grebe, Pacheco, and Segura 1972). In descending order of cosmic space, these layered platforms are superimposed on each other (Grebe, Pacheco, and Segura 1972). The first four earths are controlled by constructive and beneficial supernatural powers. The sixth earth is where people live and from this level Machi are able to connect and communicate with the fourth level, which is spiritually higher. Levels five and seven are where evil representatives operate, with the seventh level containing witches that bring illness and death (Grebe, Pacheco, and Segura 1972). The distinct relationship between level six, where people live, and levels five and seven, where evil is, is where the Mapuche conceptualise their sense of duality within the interplay between good and malevolent spiritual levels (Grebe, Pacheco, and Segura 1972).

The Mapuche calendar, called the *rakin tzipantu*, is based on Mapuche cosmological systems that consist of thirteen months of twenty-eight days each year (Grebe 1970; Hidalgo et al. 1996). Figure 4 is a schematisation of *Meli huitran mapu*, the four cardinal points known as the four braces of the cosmos. The Mapuche believe that the universe is literally hanging by four tie rods that interrelate to the four cardinal points. The face of the kultrun as the Mapuche calendar is deeply embedded within Mapuche cosmology (Ortiz 2007; Course 2011). When two kultrun are placed together, they form the shape of the earth.
Figure 4. Traditional symbols on a kultrun representing the Mapuche calendar

The kultrun is the central focus of the Mapuche religion and cosmology. Its face represents the four cardinal points of north, south, east and west. *Meli huitra mapu* means the ‘land of the four places’. The kultrun also symbolises the sun and moon cycles that correspond to the earth and lunar calendars.20

Beatriz Pichi Malen, a renowned Argentinean Mapuche musician, has dedicated her life to the process of communicating and preserving ancestral songs of the Mapuche. In the YouTube video presented by Corporacion Patrimonio Sur, Cosmovision Mapuche, Malen accompanies the visual graphic demonstration of the kultrun in its cosmological representative forms through her vocal music.21 Some of the visual representations that are described through graphics are the lunar cycle and the four seasons with the earth (kultrun) as the central figure.

---

The kultrun must be central to any discussion on Mapuche cosmology (Bacigalupo 2001). Through ritualised ceremonies the kultrun is used to create a sonic bridge between the spirit and human worlds by rhythms and accompanying songs connecting the machi to their ancestors. Each machi plays the kultrun to connect to the rhythms of their ancestors. Healing, as well as praying for rain and sustainable agriculture determines the rhythms produced by the kultrun and these establish the communicative bridge (Bacigalupo 1998). The kultrun and its connection with Mapuche cosmology and identity is further analysed in section 2.3.6 and Chapter 4.

2.3.4 Ül (song)

Through singing Luz’s song, her cousin sought momentarily to inhibit and thus experience the contours of her life. (Course 2009, 296)

In ‘Why Mapuche Sing’, Course (2009) discusses the Mapuche and their personal songs, called ül. He describes how at the wake of a friend called Luz, her cousin Cornelio decided to sing an ül – a personal song that was composed by Luz – despite a lack of closeness and tolerance existing between them. The singing of a personal song of Luz’s marked ‘a process of self-creation through engagement with others, the mark by which Mapuche persons become che, ‘true persons’…’ (Course 2009, 297).

When Luz’s cousin sings her personal song, he lives for a brief moment in her existence. This is the transformative nature of the ül. Songs are part of a ‘communicative practise’ that expresses personal life events in what Course refers to as a ‘language ideology’ (Course 2009, 297). This is known as dungu, a term that Course describes as a combination of both speech and language:
… language is one of the traits through which the status of che, a ‘true person’, is ascribed. Those incapable of proper speech, such as newborn babies or drunk people, are said to ‘not be true people’ (chengelan). (Course 2009, 297)

A person must understand Mapudungun to be categorised as a true person. This categorisation plays an integral role in the singing of traditional songs based heavily on poetic and musical improvisation in Mapudungun. The adaptation of melodic content occurs frequently in both secular and ritual songs, where melody is freely altered to adjust to a certain occasion and performer. In her analysis of Mapuche songs, Grebe (1970) proposes that song and formalised speech, forms standard musical forms, and make up the most important aspects of Mapuche song. Bloomfield (2012) has stated that there is no difference between singing and speaking for the Mapuche. Oral communication remains the principal mechanism of indigenous peoples to pass on the traditions of poetry and language through song (Bloomfield 2012).

The Mapuche –Ülkantun (secular music) has three main categories of song: sad songs, songs celebrating happiness, and love songs. Men and women sing these songs, and only as solos, as the Mapuche vocal tradition does not allow for group singing (Course 2009). Vocal melodies are almost always unaccompanied and sung in a way that closely resembles regular speech (Bloomfield 2012).

22 ‘…If there is a particular cultural trait that distinguishes the Mapuche people, it is the fundamental role of language in their social fabric. For speaking is not only a medium of communication and expression, but an art form. As such, one’s ability to use language, even in contemporary contexts, is highly valued and contributes greatly to one’s social prestige. Oratory—translated into Spanish, the capacity for hablar bien (to speak well)—is so valued that one who possesses it is known as a weupin, or one who conserves Mapuzugun (literally: ‘the language of the earth’).’ (Cooke 2010, 48)
Ritual song styles are divided into four groups: Machi ul kantun are sung as part of the Ngillatun, and all dances that are accompanied by music are in this category; Machi elwun are part of shamanic funeral rites; Machilwun are initiation songs; and ngeikurrewen are post-initiation songs. When inspiration is felt in the moment, the singer bursts into song. The role of the female singer is of prime significance, as the Mapuche ancestral spirits, being male, respond only to the singing of women (feminine energy). This spiritual demand elevates the status of the women and the importance of their songs in the community.

Dances accompany these songs in ritualised music (Arce 2007). During the dance choike purrun (dance of the ostrich), male dancers often place blankets on their back to imitate the Patagonian ostrich, a sacred bird that has particular spiritual significance. The male dancers move four times counter-clockwise around a circle in signification of the four central Mapuche gods. Female dancers also participate wearing traditional dress and dancing what is known as the purrun. The purrun usually occurs in a close circle around the awün (part of the Ngillatun festival, and a central iconic form) in the centre of the spiritual field, while the choike purrun moves in a wider circle around the outside of the field (Salles, Pizarro, and Luna 1997).

More recent forms of contemporary song that have impacted the Mapuche under the umbrella of folkloric music, the Nueva canción (new song) was begun in Chile in the 1950s and was fully developed by the 1970s (Tumas-Serna 1992). Nueva canción emerged throughout all of Latin America, but each nation and regional group developed distinct regional and instrumental styles. Beginning as a reaction to the political climate during the regime of Augusto Pinochet, Nueva canción is very difficult to define as a
musical style, as it ‘seems to slip continually into other stylistic manifestations depending on its national site of origination and the specificity of the performance context’ (Tumas-Serna 1992, 148). Many folkloric artists performing Nueva canción have integrated elements from indigenous people as a way of indicating their political support of indigenous groups. This appropriation of indigenous music has subsequently moved in the reverse direction as well, with indigenous musicians expressing activist ideas in a fusion of indigenous and folkloric music. The power of this form of music is indicated by the number of musicians during the rule of Pinochet that were exiled for performing what was seen as anti-government music. During this time, many musicians went to live in Spain and France and were unable to return for over thirty years (Morris 1986).

2.3.5 Mapuche organology

Arce (2000) and Orrego-Salles (1966) have described the lack of academic knowledge on South Andean indigenous music and the organology of Mapuche musical instruments. The categories of Mapuche instruments are aerophones, which include the pfilka, trutruka, nolkin, corneta (small trutruka), troltroklarin, and the kull kull; membraphones, which include the kultrun; and idiophones, which include the wada, kadkawilla or yuullu, trompe (The Jew’s harp acts as a plucked idiophone), chueca, and wino (Greenhill and Pisani 1986).

In Mapuche Musica, Arce (2007) offers a detailed account of wind instruments and their Mapuche makers. The wind instruments of the Mapuche as described by Arce (2007) are the basis of the original pre-Columbian Mapuche musical ensemble, only

---

This influx of Latin American musicians living in Europe led to a distinct cultural influence of Latin American music. Many of the groups that were exiled from South America to Europe were not famous in their native countries, yet became extremely famous whilst living overseas.
secondary in importance to the kultrun. Arce (2007) describes the process of making a pfilka (wooden and stone flute) by instrument makers and the long hours and many unfruitful attempts it takes to create the instrument.

In the journal article, ‘Sonido Rajado’, Arce (1998) describes the distinct ‘torn sound’ (Arce 1998, 17) made by the pfilka when blown, a distinctive quality peculiar to the pfilka that is different from any other Mapuche wind instrument. Unlike other closed-end tubal South American instruments (such as the pan pipes), the pfilka plays a group of notes as a ‘large cluster of great intensity’ (Arce 1998, 36). It has no recognisable tones, and produces clusters of notes simultaneously, generating an energetic, harsh sound. The pfilka is best when played in its upper register, although it produces a mix of upper and lower tones occurring simultaneously. The performer is only able to blow in a short burst, just longer than a second.

Arce (2000) dates such Mapuche flutes to pre-Columbian times. The pfilka, initially a single tube flute (contemporary pfilka are manufactured most often with two tubes, producing two tones), was made from wood and stone. Dating back to c1400 CE, the pfilka developed as a local variation of the antara (a four tube flute) of the Atacamero/Tiwanaku tradition. Performances on the pfilka are considered to have a defined choreographic and social structure. When performing with the pfilka, the Mapuche men wear hats covered in strands of red feathers and rainbow coloured ribbons. They blow their instrument as a preparatory alert to advise that a ceremony is about to take place, and then gather an ensemble of other pfilka players. The sound and dance created when the ensemble play the pfilkas’ is meant to create a trance-like effect (Arce 1998, 2000).
The dance accompanying the pfilka is an all-male activity. The ritualistic performance involves men jumping in a straight vertical motion. This motion is quite acrobatic, and creates a trance-like state for both performer and observer that transports and connects them to their ancestral spirits, which is the ultimate purpose of the musical performance (Orrego-Salas 1966).

Other instruments of importance to the Mapuche are in the trumpet section. The trutruka, corneta (small trutruka), kull kull, nolkin and troltroklarin (no longer in existence) are all male instruments. The trutruka, a long horn made of bamboo cane, is finished with a wrapping of dried gut (Schneider 1993). The cane has an ox horn attached to the end that acts as a bell. The Mapuche may have used plait-work or rolled leaves on the cane prior to the Spanish introducing the ox to the Americas (Arce 1986). The nolkin, also with an ox horn acting as a bell at its end, is what is known as a sucked trumpet (Schneider 1993). The nolkin, like the trutruka, has a hollow tube made from the stem of a local plant called the troltro. Rather than blowing into the instrument, the performer sucks. The vibration of the lip against the mouthpiece produces the sound, and it is thought that higher vibrations are produced by sucking rather than by blowing.

In his study of Araucanian instruments, Orrego-Salles (1966) describes the kull kull as an ox or cow horn with a hole in the side acting as a mouthpiece. The instrument is extremely effective in communicating across a forest to other tribes, and is known as the ‘Mapuche telephone’. Depending on the way the instrument is blown, it can indicate either a celebration or an alarm. Historically, elements of Spanish colonisation influenced the use of the kull kull, as the Spaniards used to sound the horns during their cavalry raids.
During resistance efforts against the Spanish, the Mapuche stole Spanish horses, and it is thought that the *trompe* or *birimbao* instruments were possibly created at this time (Dillehay 2007). The Mapuche once used a wooden trompe identical to the well-known metal Jew’s harp, though these are no longer in existence (Greenhill and Pisani 1986). Originally just slightly larger than today’s metal version, the trompe was made of wood with horse hair strung across its frame to create a twanging sound when placed between the teeth and plucked. Information on the original wooden version of the instrument is extremely limited, and represents a distinct gap in research literature (Orrego-Salas 1966). Gohring and Gohring (2012) describe the origin of the Jew’s harp as a possible pre-Columbian migration from Inuit and Siberian traditions, which may help to explain how this instrument migrated to South America.²⁴

Other idiophones include the wada, which is a gourd filled with seeds similar to a rattle (Orrego-Salas 1966). The wada is often accompanied by the kadkawilla (bells), and both accompany ritual music. Women play these instruments almost exclusively, although machi men who embody the spirit of a woman also perform on these instruments, which can be seen played with the kultrun.

### 2.3.6 The kultrun

The kultrun has been predated by researchers to before the Spanish invasion of Chile (Merino 1974). In the mid-sixteenth century, engravings were found in a cave near the south of Chile. Izikowitz (1935) describes the drawing of the membrane of a kultrun on a cave wall, evidence of its early existence. At the time of the Spanish invasion, the kultrun

---

was apparently already a well-established instrument. In 1629, a Spanish soldier, Francisco Núñez de Pineda, was held captive for six and a half months by the Mapuche (Merino 1974). He appeared to enjoy his stay, making copious notes on Mapuche musical instruments. From his diary entries it appears that the kultrun’s construction, its relationship with the machi, and the body movements required to play the instrument were similar then as they are today (Izikowitz 1935).

The Mapuche cosmology has a symbiotic relationship with the kultrun (Grebe 1970; Bacigalupo 2001). Most recent studies have focused on the cosmological and ritual relationship of the kultrun and its relationship to its spiritual owner, the machi. A second smaller concentration of research work produced much earlier in the twentieth century is comprised of ethnographic studies based on the instrument’s construction, significance of decoration, and musical range (Grebe 1970).

Classification of the kultrun using the decimal classification system of musical instruments outlined by Hornbostel and Sachs (1914) ascribes the kultrun with a double aspect. Depending on how it is played, the kultrun is a membraphone or an idiophone. Its description by Grebe (1970) as a ‘conical-shaped wide-mouth jar with [a] simple patch, executed individually with stick’ (Grebe 1979, 7) places it in section 212.11 of the decimal system as outlined by Hornbostel and Sachs (1914). The kettle drum is a contemporary neighbour of the kultrun within the same classification system. The kultrun also contains small, hard objects placed inside of it during its construction to be later shaken within its walls, which qualifies the instrument as an idiophone (section 112.13). The artisan or machi usually decides what internal objects are placed within the kultrun.
before the membrane is stretched over the top (items described later in this section).

Other Mapuche idiophones include the wada and the kadkawilla.

Hidalgo et al. (1996) and Bacigalupo (1998) describe the kultrun as exclusively intended for the machi to perform ritual ceremonies. In an ethnographic cultural study of Chile, Hidalgo et al. (1996) refers to the Mapuche musician as the machi. Assisted by the use of ancestral rhythms produced by the kultrun, music and spirit combined by and in the shaman allow for communication between the human and the divine in connection to the spirit of a female ancestor. The machi and the kultrun, as well as the kultrun and Mapuche cosmology, are inextricably joined (Bacigalupo 2001; Grebe 1970).

The sacred aspect of the kultrun prohibits commercially made instruments from being used in ritual ceremonies. A commercially made kultrun is often made by winka (non-Mapuche people) and may be played on non-ritualised, non-ceremonial occasions unrelated to the Mapuche. The sounds made by the kultrun are often heard floating out of the artisan markets where tourists visit to collect Mapuche souvenirs, in Temuco. The kultrun that are sold at markets are often miniature versions of the larger kultruns and are not playable in the eyes of the Mapuche. A larger kultrun bought at a market would not be suitable to be used by a Machi unless they have assisted in its construction with an artisan.

The making of the kultrun requires a gentle balance from its creators of physical construction and spiritual connection (Orrego-Salas 1966; Grebe 1970). Construction begins with a meeting between a machi and a local instrument maker, who discuss the instrument’s size and price. The wood for the instrument ideally comes from the machi’s property, but may be acquired separately by the instrument maker. The wood traditionally
used was from an olive tree, a very sacred tree for the Mapuche. However, with the exhaustion of this wood as a resource, the laurel tree has been substituted (Grebe 1970).

The wood is split longitudinally after a period of several months when it has had time to dry. The instrument maker carves the wooden base of the kultrun, and when this part of the process is complete, the machi places a part of their spirit and voice in the drum. They also place stones, animal or vegetable remains, feathers, medicinal herbs, or metals in the drum just prior to the skin being placed over its wooden base. Inside the kultrun the objects make a crashing sound (considered a female sound) and are ‘born’ at the moment the machi plays the drum. The drum is played softly upside down over a patient or eroded land to signify the female aspect and integrate all ritual elements of the kultrun (Bacigalupo 1998).

The Mapuche believe that the spirit and voice of the machi are inside the drum forever (Bacigalupo 2001). Each machi, or a person who participates in ritual life, paints the leather skin of their kultrun with their own design, but always to symbolise the cosmological elements of the instrument and its culture. The choice of its colour is left to the decorator. The circular shape of the drum is usually divided into four sections, representing the divine family members Elmapun, Elchen, Ngemapanu, and Ngeden who create and sustain nature.

Machi usually have someone in their immediate circle to assist them with warming up the drum prior to playing. There have been cases when, upon warming the drum, the covering membrane becomes broken or melted. Direct physical damage to the instruments membrane can be quite dramatic for the machi as the kultrun is considered to house part of the machi’s voice inside. If the kultrun is damaged Machi are noted to start
to feel sick, and are not able to fully participate in rituals or daily life. Machi usually only improve when their drum is repaired, which demonstrates how the machi and drum operate as two parts of the same soul (Grebe 1970).

A single stick is usually used on the kultrun, with the machi using their right hand to create a regular pulse and control the stick movement. When a persistent tremor develops in the stick, this is a sign that the machi is moving into a trance-like state. A double stick is usually employed in the special ritual dance of the choike purrun, the dance of the ostrich. This is the only time a person outside of the shamanic team can touch and perform on a kultrun (Grebe 1970).

The kultrun beats almost continuously prior to major ceremonies and spiritual initiations (Bacigalupo 1998). It is placed between the two legs of the performer (a person outside the shamanic team) and is beaten by two sticks during the choike purrun. The sound and rhythm of the drum can be heard across the valleys to alert other communities and passers-by of coming events. Multiple drummers over the course of a night create an unsettling sensation and a deliberate build-up of emotion amongst tribesmen. This overlapping of multiple parts is further developed with the use of the kultrun with the trutruka and pfilka.

2.4 The Mapuche and education

2.4.1 Intercultural education in Chile

Prior to state agencies establishing IBE in Chilean schools, some early attempts were made in the 1980s and early 1990s to introduce intercultural education models (Ortiz 2007). Universities, the Catholic Church, and international development agencies were
each involved in initial attempts to address indigenous education within Chile. Currently, MinEduc (Office of Intercultural Bilingual Education of the Ministry of Education of Chile) is the state agency that coordinates the development of IBE programs in Chile (Ortiz 2007).

Beginning in 1995—1996, MinEduc developed the ‘first experimental IBE programs [that] began on a larger scale to take place in schools with high indigenous concentrations’ (Ortiz 2007, 95). The coordination of public policy and indigenous education is overseen by MinEduc and together with CONADI (the Office of Indigenous Affairs, created in 1993). IBE programs are currently implemented in three hundred schools that serve to educate a Mapuche population of around thirty two thousand students (Ortiz 2007).

Part of the educational dialogue of intercultural education stems from a social policy model based on Freire’s educational principles presented in his seminal 1970 book, *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Freire 1970). In developing the IBE curriculum, the special consideration of indigenous groups was based in part on Freire’s belief that the participation of indigenous groups in developing curricula was of prime importance within the intercultural education system (Williamson, Pastrana, and Gómez 2005; Ortiz 2007). Indigenous groups were to be educated to understand that ‘their own oppression was not deserved, but rather was an essential product of structural inequalities of the capitalist system’ (Ortiz 2007, 95).

Ortiz (2007) undertook doctoral research on an IBE school based in the Lago Budi area of Cautin Provence, Chile. Ortíz’s investigation was undertaken within the Mapuche–Lafkenche community (reservation), and it considered how traditional
Mapuche knowledge, or *kimün*, is transmitted within a school setting. He examined techniques that related to *kimün* in the school and how the introduction of *kimün* education developed environments relevant to a distinct culture (Ortiz 2007). Ortiz (2007) also explored the role of the *kimche* (Mapuche traditional scholars) within the IBE program and how the ancestral Mapuche language of Mapudungun was used in a school setting.

Although IBE programs have been implemented throughout Latin America, not all have been successful. For some of the Mapuche in Neuquén, Argentina, such programs have been noted to not represent the interests of indigenous communities; instead showing ‘renewed efforts to make Mapuche children loyal citizens of Neuquén and Argentina—and good Catholics as well’ (Szulc 2009, 143). Such programs are understood by some to detract from students’ understanding of their indigenous identity by ultimately concentrating on the transmission of a national identity, thus defying the very ideology of the IBE program.

Scholars have argued that much of the rural IBE programs in Argentina are more interested in assimilating the Mapuche into Argentinean society. This is further referred to in a Ministerio de Educación (2004) document discussing intercultural bilingual education:

The idea of integration in these cases is generally used to indicate the direction in which ‘they’ should move towards ‘us’. These discourses are based on the following assumption: that the one who always has to be integrated is the
aboriginal, the other, the one who is different.25 (Ministerio de Educación 2004, 490)

In their article, ‘To Walk in Two Worlds—Or More? Challenging a Common Metaphor of Native Education’, Henze and Vanett (1993) address how both government and educational bodies force indigenous groups to exist in two worlds. The scholars discuss intercultural bilingual programs for Alaskan and Native American students as severely limiting the students’ future options in the workplace, as the dual experience of living in two cultural realities created in this case confusion for the students. To walk in two worlds refers to the intrinsic natural conflict of indigenous groups balancing two cultures within contemporary society and the impractical tasks they are asked to fulfil to combine an indigenous and contemporary lifestyle.

Henze and Vanett’s (1993) study discusses the intrinsic natural conflict that can occur in school settings for an indigenous student when faced with living in two contemporary realities. This however is not a widely held view amongst intercultural educators, especially in Chile. Intercultural education is seen to embrace multiple ways of living, where both indigenous and contemporary intercultural modes of education are respected and are equally important. Students in the intercultural education system are not forced to choose one reality over another, but allowed to combine both (Williamson, Pastrana, and Gómez 2005). Arriata (1997) has observed that creating a well-balanced intercultural program demands input from community elders and parents in regards to programs and curricula.

25 Translated by the author.
IBE is often discussed in an attempt to distinguish intercultural education from multicultural education, and how the former’s principals should be applied in education (Williamson, Pastrana, and Gómez 2005). The main distinction between the two is historical, with intercultural education representing the future of indigenous equality within a cultural framework (Stavenhagen 2008; Williamson, Pastrana, and Gómez 2005; Millaleo 2007). Multiculturalism is understood in Chilean society as ‘the existence of multiple visions of the world that coexist within the same society’ (Williamson, Pastrana, and Gómez 2005, 12). Intercultural education, on the other hand, focuses on the indigenous not being overlooked in society and creates a respectful system of human rights for indigenous groups (Stavenhagen 2008).
3 Methodology

3.1 My research background in Chile: Initial encounters

My inspiration to embark on an ethnographic study of Mapuche expressive culture began with a visit to Chile well over a decade ago. I decided to travel to the southern region in order to experience firsthand its vistas, known for the beauty of their volcanoes, lakes, and mountain ranges. The Andes in the south of Chile reminded me of visits to Germany as a child. During this period I visited Temuco, a large regional town with a population of two hundred and fifty thousand. Temuco is most well known as the city where Nobel Prize winning poet Pablo Neruda spent his formative years, rather than as a Mapuche regional centre. For most tourists Temuco is simply a stop on the way to ski resorts.

Walking through the city outskirts I came across the produce markets, which was definitely not a tourist area, and there I met a traditionally dressed Mapuche woman, sitting on a footpath. I learned later that she was a machi. For spiritual reasons it seemed, she did not want her photograph taken. I was struck by the manner in which she spoke and the depth of suffering that her eyes communicated. Her cultural displacement was apparent from the distance she maintained from the Chilean vendors.

This meeting led to a decade of interest, contact and ultimately research into the Mapuche soundways. In 2003 I returned to the south of Chile to reestablish contacts with Mapuche communities and to learn more about their music and culture; thus I undertook several trips to Chile between 2001 to 2011.

Despite the bitter winter cold, I camped to save money. After visiting the Temuco artisan markets where I purchased a kull kull (horn), I returned to my campsite on the
outskirts of Temuco. I blew into the kull kull as hard as I could, on and off for about ten minutes, and was startled when a group of five Mapuche men walked out of the forest to ask me where the party was. The owner of the campsite told me that I had activated the ‘Mapuche telephone’ (Schneider 1993; Isamitt 1932). The kull kull announces events—today usually a party gathering. From this encounter, following which I bought some beer, a decade-long connection was established with the Mapuche and extended family groups that had answered my ‘telephone call’.

In 2007, I visited Chile with my father so that he could meet the community with which I had established rapport. On this trip we met Romillio, a taxi driver and Chol Chol resident, and at his suggestion we visited Escuela Guacolda. After meeting the principal of the school and members of the local education department, I began to learn that the school had a commitment to the transmission of Mapuche knowledge and expressive culture, and that it fostered Mapuche identity among its students.

3.2 Qualitative research

Geertz (1973) argues that ethnography should extend beyond documentation to interpretation. This research seeks to explore, through ethnographic observation, documentation and analysis, that is, qualitative means, various ways in which Escuela Guacolda demonstrates its commitment to Mapuche expressive culture and indigenous values. This study seeks to discover the extent to which transmission of Mapuche expressive culture to students at Escuela Guacolda is unified and a pursuit mutually understood among its teachers, leaders and cultural experts. The transmission of expressive culture from teacher (or community elder) to students is investigated through an ethnographic case study.
The following school activities and knowledge domains were observed and considered through ethnographic observation: music, dance, song, instrument making, classroom learning, including through an intercultural curriculum, and traditional Mapuche dress. Through qualitative study and analytical methods I also attempt to evaluate the cultural impact that religious ceremonies and cultural events have on students’ sense of belonging to an ethnic minority group within a dominant culture.

My research was complicated by the fact that many rural Mapuche are illiterate in Spanish, while the younger generations are not fluent in Mapudungun. Mapudungun is considered a spoken, not a written language. After years of turmoil related to land ownership rights battles with winka (non-Mapuche), rural Mapuche are reluctant to reveal any substantial knowledge about their culture to outsiders. As a result of apparently ‘legal’ relinquishing of their land, many Mapuche are fundamentally suspicious of official looking documents and paperwork, and had I attempted to employ written surveys and other quantitative means of gathering data I would have made little headway.

3.2.1 Selection of Escuela Guacolda as a research site

Our dream is to contribute to the construction of the civilisation of love, by means of the effective pedagogical action of a Christian and intercultural educative community, where all feel we are contributing and collaborating to the construction of a better world, through a social and cultural impact of prepared people to exert leadership sustained in the values of the diversity, respect,

---

26 Mapudungun has four different alphabets: the Unified alphabet is the most used and accepted by the Mapuche in region nine.
tolerance, dialogue and la paz [peace], of giving generous testimony on the Mapuche town.\textsuperscript{27}

At Escuela Guacolda, Mapuche expressive culture and identity is a tangible, vital reality lived by students and teaching and non-teaching staff. For a school, Escuela Guacolda goes to surprising lengths to transmit expressive culture authentically. Learning cultural knowledge leads to the development of mutual respect and a spiritual bond between staff and students. The physical positioning of the buildings, shaped as they are in cosmologically significant, iconic Mapuche forms, and the diverse curriculum offered make the school unique and worthy of study.

Three schools were visited prior to commencing this study.\textsuperscript{28} Some of these dedicated only a small portion of class time to teaching Mapudungun, and others did not include learning of any of the cultural aspects of Mapuche lifeways. Schools with a numerically significant Mapuche student population express a perceived obligation to educate these students in the dominant Chilean culture, in order to better prepare them for a future in a Westernised culture. Further, in rural areas, resources that would support an extension of, or change from the standard curriculum were often not available. For these reasons, comparatively speaking, Escuela Guacolda was seen as an ideal school for an ethnographic case study.

Indeed, Escuela Guacolda was an ideal research site in a number of ways. Within its walls interviewees were mostly relaxed to the point of confidently talking about being

\textsuperscript{28} A public primary school in Metrenco, Temuco; a public primary school in Rapahue, Comuna de Nueva Imperial, and a Roman Catholic secondary school in central Temuco.
Mapuche, a situation that is not common in the region. The secluded environment of the school was a discrimination-free zone that permitted opinions to be expressed without fear of political reprisal from local officials.

Proud of its reputation in the area for a commitment to the nurture of young Mapuche, the principal of Escuela Guacolda was supportive of this study. This endorsement was of considerable assistance in the management and viability of the project. Research into the methods of expressive cultural transmission at the school was a subject that staff members also appeared keen to support, and the study was seen as an opportunity for further validation of the school’s curriculum approach. Since I am also employed as a teacher in Australia, I found it relatively easy to establish mutual empathy with Escuela Guacolda’s teachers, who gave me permission to observe them in their classroom setting.

A strong sense of protection permeates Escuela Guacolda—a surrounding feeling that the school is a safe haven. With the Mapuche in southern Chile in particular experiencing discrimination, countering such racism is a clear priority in the cultural learning programs at Escuela Guacolda. The sense of cultural protection is further facilitated by the physical seclusion of the students from society (students are almost exclusively boarders). The Roman Catholic Church is ultimately responsible for the school, and it is possible that due to its monastic heritage the church is sympathetic with the school’s desire to function as a kind of sanctuary. Again, such seclusion commended the school as an interesting site for research.
3.2.2 Field notes and data collection

For this study I undertook a tightly scheduled period of fieldwork in 2011, from 23 September to 7 October. To achieve my research aims and gather responses to the research questions I had prepared, I conducted thirty-five individual interviews and four student focus group interviews (see Appendix A). I collected data from classroom observations, including several music classes, culinary classes, a nursing class conducted by a machi, a history and society class, society and Mapuche culture class, childcare class, Mapudungun language class, ritual dance workshops, off-site Mapuche cultural workshop days, religious events and cultural festivals run by the school, and several special school presentations that occurred during the year. I made detailed notes either during and/or following all interviews and classroom observations.

For each class observed, I attempted to be as unobtrusive as possible. Given its remote location, visitors to the school are infrequent, so when they do arrive both adults and children were curious and liked to get a close view. Simply being present at the school over a period of days and weeks made me something of a special guest or ‘minor celebrity’, and this status did not always permit me to remain as unnoticed as I would have wished by staff and students as they followed their daily routines.

Over time the community came to learn of my support for the school and its ethos, which allowed me to gradually gain greater acceptance and trust, and eventually led to a less excited response from students. My presence at the school as a researcher was well accepted by several teachers, both Mapuche and non-Mapuche, and they seemed to believe it complemented their efforts to promote Mapuche expressive culture. The idea of an international academic researcher travelling to a remote regional area

76
appeared to make the teachers and staff feel that their work was being understood and to an extent legitimated.

Typically, during classroom observations I would place a video camera on a tripod at the back of the room and judiciously place an audio recorder in the room as an additional means of audio capture. In the circular rooms, which account for the majority of classrooms, the windows were semicircular in shape and covered most of the front section of the room. This meant I had to find a position to one side of the windows where the light did not interfere with the quality of video capture. At the end of each day I reviewed the data (both audio and video) collected and made further hand-written field notes based on the day’s observations. This three-fold approach allowed me to supplement data collected during in situ note-taking.

I made and analysed transcriptions of audio interviews and classroom observations upon my return to Australia. I evaluated and coded interview data according to ways these related to the transmission of expressive culture, as well as ethnicity and cultural identity. Points of departure that progressively emerged from the data were noted in my search for common lines of thought and practice in the research. Competing or complementary modes of cultural transmission were noted as the data were analysed.

I collected and collated secondary source data in the form of newspaper articles, educational articles about the school, Chol Chol Regional Municipal Council pamphlets explaining Mapuche cultural events and upcoming festivals, a PowerPoint presentation supplied by the school on the intercultural program they offer, the schools website launched in January 2012, DVDs of the making of Mapuche instruments provided by the

---

29 Additional information about the circular shape of the classrooms is added in the data component of chapter 4 to understand their significance.
Ministry of the Arts, two DVDs of performances from the school’s music teacher from her CD collections, and YouTube videos by the school’s music teacher and Beatriz Pichi Malen, a contemporary Argentinean Mapuche musician. 

3.3 Interviews

I interviewed a number of interviewees several times. I interviewed twelve Escuela Guacolda teachers as well as six auxiliary staff, four alumni, two religious officials connected with the school (informal conversations were held), and twelve community members directly involved in the development of Mapuche culture and expressive culture within Cautín Province, or who were in some way connected with the school.

3.3.1 Staff interviews

Interviews with the classroom teachers took place at the school. They required the permission of the school principal and focused on the cultural curriculum of the school as implemented by the four key teachers involved in the school’s expressive cultural program. The principal organised my interview schedule (Appendix B), compiling it on her computer as teachers indicated their availability and when an observation of their classes was possible. The schedule did ultimately vary to accommodate differing teachers’ needs and availability, however for the most part the bulk of the schedule was followed as written. Such an arrangement meant that I worked in close cooperation with the principal and was in touch with her regularly, often several times per day during my fieldwork period.

I was formally introduced to each teacher in advance, and advised that the staff room would be the base of my operations. Each teacher was fully aware that the interviews were voluntary, and all participated willingly. At no stage did the principal compel any teacher, student, or auxiliary staff member to become formally involved in the research. The support given in the process of organising interviews was heart-warming, as during previous visits to the school I had not been granted interviews or classroom observation opportunities.

Some teachers appeared nervous about speaking to me while others were very relaxed. The nervousness, I was later informed by several key participants, was not due to concern about participating in the project, but rather because they were anxious that their perspectives and classroom presentations might not be useful in my research. This situation meant that I had to frequently reassure those participating in the study that I wanted them to maintain their usual classroom procedures as much as possible.

Staff interviews took place in the most convenient location for each staff member, that is, at a place and time they nominated. Many of the classroom teachers I interviewed scheduled the interview immediately prior to following my observation of their class, hence many of the interviews took place in a teacher’s own classroom. In addition to the formal interviews, I held numerous informal conversations in the staff room. These were always extremely interesting and considerably more natural than the formal interview settings. I made a written record of the relevant content of such conversations.

Interviewing teachers in their own classrooms gave me an opportunity to view artwork and decorations more closely than was possible during the observational period. Most classroom walls at Escuela Guacolda are decorated with student works, some of
which contain symbols of Mapuche cosmology. Each teacher encourages the class to present visual depictions relating to the subject they teach. For example, the walls of the History teacher’s classroom featured illustrations that represented the boundary lines of Mapuche territory held prior to the Spanish invasion.

In the remote regional area of Chol Chol, I found that almost all rural Mapuche, whether community leaders, shamans, tribal elders, or even very outgoing Mapuche (those who consider themselves to have a relationship with foreigners) almost always appear uncomfortable with formal interviews.31 Whenever the interviews were conducted according to a series of structured questions, before a video camera or audio recorder, and more particularly if I was noting anything on a piece of paper during an interview, the interviewees reacted by withdrawing or by offering little in the way of useful data.32 In such situations, the natural flow of conversation slowed and I quickly learned that formal interviews were not an effective medium for most of my interviewees (Course 2011).

Hence, I gravitated toward a less structured and less formal approach. As often occurs during fieldwork, interesting and valuable data often presented itself at surprising moments. I made every attempt to pose questions casually during conversation, so as to raise issues and test ideas in as natural a way as I could.

### 3.3.2 Student interviews

As much as was possible, I lived the daily life of an Escuela Guacolda boarder for several weeks, eating with the students in their mess halls and mixing with them during their free

---

31 In *Becoming Mapuche*, Magnus Course (2011) also noted that formal interviews ineffective (p, 9).
32 The only exception to this was the Lonco (chief) at the school who seemed to appreciate the formality of the interview setting and preferred reading my questions to himself first (rather than my reading them) and then answering. There was a sense of mutual respect in this situation.
periods, recess breaks, and lunch times. During lunch, all the girls lined up outside the
Girls’ mess area and the boys at theirs. I made a habit of lining up with the students,
which created opportunities to get to know how the students experience their school
routines.

As noted, I interviewed students in focus groups. Four focus groups each of two
boys and two girls for each year totalling four student representatives from each year
group, sixteen students in all, as well as four alumni interviewed individually. At one
point I was staying with the family of one of the school’s cooks whose daughter had
previously been a student at the school. Her cousin lived with them and had also been a
student. This was a wonderful opportunity to see the lifestyle they had post-Escuela
Guacolda, and to discover current attitudes towards the Mapuche in work and daily life.

3.3.3 Community interviews

Significant officials and cultural experts from the Mapuche community of Chol Chol and
Temuco who were involved with teaching or advising at the school were interviewed.
Several teachers at the school transmit kimün (traditional knowledge) in Mapudungun.
Kimün is considered to be the force behind the Mapuche cosmology ‘that is the main
body of indigenous knowledge’ (Ortiz 2007, 110). The machi are involved in the nursing
elective course at Escuela Guacolda. They are teachers of the Mapuche cosmology, ritual
beliefs, and shamanism, as well as natural healing and remedial medicine. Kimche (sages
and community elders) were also interviewed, such as the lonco (chief), who was the
central senior teacher of Mapudungun.

Several visits were made to the regional Museum of Araucania in Temuco, which
has a permanent exhibition on Mapuche culture and history. This exhibition includes pre-
Spanish artefacts and information up to the present day. A workshop at the museum gave insight into the making of the kultrun, Mapuche cosmology and mythology, as well as jewellery making that related specifically to the traditional dress of Mapuche machi and women. Interviews for this study took place with the director of the museum. Visits were also made to the Museum of Puren, which was the site of many battles during early years of conflict between the Mapuche people and Spanish colonists, as well as visits to the Mapuche Historical Museum in Chol Chol several times over a number of years.

At an intercultural university in Temuco, the Universidad de La Frontera, I spent several days reading and gathering information from theses by graduate students on Mapuche anthropology and sociology. There were no theses found in relation to Mapuche expressive culture. I also attended several concerts at the University de La Frontera where Mapuche student musicians presented programs of original and traditional compositions. Concerts at the Concert Hall of Folkloric Music in Temuco were also attended.

On at least a dozen occasions I spoke to vendors at the municipal markets in Temuco who sold Mapuche sound producing instruments and other cultural items, such as traditional rugs. Each of these rugs tells a specific story, and the symbols on them encode significant cosmological information. A number of vendors explained the cultural significance of each item. I photographed and documented local iconographic symbols of the kultrun within the areas of Chol Chol, Temuco, Nuevo Imperial, Puerto Saavedra, and within the Cautin Province.

To develop a broad perspective and understanding of intercultural education, I undertook several visits to the intercultural hospital, Nuevo Imperial. The Nuevo Imperial
hospital is a centre for intercultural health and healing. A nucleus for both western and traditional Mapuche medicine, it offers members of the public the choice of treatment by a western-trained doctor or a machi. There are two clearly defined sections within the hospital, western and indigenous. In a visual reflection of this division, the building’s architecture is a combination of modern western design and symbolic representations of Mapuche cosmology and circular shapes. Every sign in the building is written in both Spanish and Mapudungun. There are five permanently employed machi at the hospital, who are in residence from Monday to Friday each week.

One interview was conducted with the executive secretary of the Fundación de Educación Beato Ceferino at their office in Temuco. This provided data on the connection between the foundation and Escuela Guacolda. This was an enlightening interview that revealed the overall philosophy of the school and the foundation. An interview with a professor who organised certification programs for intercultural teaching was also conducted in Temuco.

A number of interviews took place with a well-known Mapuche instrument maker who contributed to a more nuanced understanding of Mapuche musical culture. Living in the coastal town of Puerto Saavedra, this instrument maker was essential to the development of a video on instrument making for the Department of Arts in Chile. As he lives the Mapuche lifestyle, and his wooden instruments are sought internationally, it was a true pleasure to meet and interview him on multiple occasions to witness his workshop environment and the making of instruments, many of which had been previously made for Escuela Guacolda.
Several days were spent with a local machi to further develop an understanding of the Mapuche cosmology and the use of the kultrun. Interviews and songs were recorded and general observation was undertaken to gather data on the importance of the kultrun. This particular female machi gave insight into the intense spirituality and devotion of the life of the machi both for them and for their families: a life devoted to the constant pursuit of spiritual equilibrium and harmony on behalf of the tribal group.

The research presented in this section underpins an understanding of the transmission of expressive culture at an intercultural boarding school in southern Chile. The spiritual nature of the Mapuche cosmology and the use of the kultrun in eliciting and expressing are foundational areas of interest in this thesis. Various threads of discussion pertaining to each of these aspects are given in chapters 4 and 5, which analyse the structure of Escuela Guacolda and the cosmological implications of this structure for the transmission of expressive culture.
4 Findings part 1 - the school ‘walls’

4.1 Introduction

I begin this examination of my research findings with a discussion of the significance of ‘the walls’ of Escuela Guacolda and how they act as a threshold to the students and teachers who live immersed within an environment that is deeply committed to nurturing Mapuche indigenous identity. Severiano Alcamán, a Roman Catholic Priest connected with the school, noted on the school website:

> The human experience crystallizes and evolves in a specific situation framed within the limits of the concepts of time and space. The social, economic, religious and cultural rights are constrained to these basic conditions.\(^{33}\)

Thus Alcamán defines the central concept of the school. In order for social, economic, religious, and cultural knowledge to develop, a specific and relevant material environment needs to be established.

The physical environment is further explored in this study in a detailed examination of the iconic images that comprise and complement the school site, icons such as those found on the kultrun and transferred to wall murals, flags, paintings, and drawings, and the fundamental shape of the actual buildings. The designs of off-campus learning areas are also investigated along with inquiry into why the school makes use of these different locations.

The discussion moves on to a consideration of the varied curriculums of Escuela Guacolda. The academic, the intercultural, and the technical curricula are all discussed in relation to understanding the transmission of Mapuche expressive culture and cosmological principles, as well as how they relate to what I identify as an ‘extended Mapuche curriculum’.

4.2 The school’s physical sites

Figure 5. Market day outside the research site of Liceo Técnico Particular Guacolda (Escuela Guacolda), located in the rural town of Chol Chol, Cautín Province, Chile

The architectural circular design of the school directly correlates to the school’s indigenous cosmology and in particular the kultrun (drum). Photograph by David Liddle, June 2007 (used with permission).

Escuela Guacolda is an environment structured and built to maximize ethnic identity awareness in students and to make a statement to the world beyond its exterior walls. On arrival at the school, the unusual architecture overwhelms the visitor. The design
deliberately focuses on communicating a strong message about Mapuche culture—that it has a firm place in the world. Beginning with the exterior walls of the building, the school emulates the circular structural conception of Mapuche cosmology. Each of the four semicircular, tubular shapes that can be seen from the streetscape is a classroom (see Figure 5). Each of the three floors of the school has four classrooms. The four classrooms of a floor are representative of the four Mapuche gods, Elmapun, Elchen, Ngnemapun and Ngneden. Corners are deliberately absent from these circular classrooms, as the Mapuche believe that one cannot internalise indigenous culture effectively within a space that is not circular structure.

As noted, the circular design of each classroom at Escuela Guacolda is iconic of Mapuche cosmology. It achieves this by having the classrooms duplicate the shape and conception of the kultrun, the supreme musical instrument to the Mapuche, which itself embodies intrinsic cosmological value. The significance of these circular classrooms is further related to Mapuche cosmology through the meaning of the kultrun. When two kultruns are placed together they complete a circle, thus symbolising the earth’s spherical form (see Figure 6).

![Figure 6](image.png)

**Figure 6. Privately produced pamphlet: The kultrun (drum) illustrated as representing the earth, with the placing of two kultruns face to face**

This image is reproduced from a section in a Chol Chol Municipality brochure describing the processes of We Tripantu (the Mapuche New Year’s Eve).
Each classroom features windows that span the semicircle front section of the building that faces east. Mapuche culture dictates that Mapuche houses must face east (for an example see Figure 7); as the east represents goodness and is related to the right hand in Mapuche cosmology (Figure 3) (Faron 1962). Facing the east also represents positivity and permits a more direct connection towards all ritual action for the Mapuche.

![Image of a Mapuche house](image)

**Figure 7. A traditional ruka or Mapuche house**

This ruka located within thirty minutes of Chol Chol, houses a small primary school that has an enrolment of five students.

In front of the establishment is the school sign. Escuela Guacolda has used the same sign with the same logo at the front of the school (Figure 8) for twenty-two years. The sign displays the school’s name, with a kultrun featured in red on the left hand side. This kultrun is sectioned into quarters and appears to have light or energy emanating from it, represented by seven lines drawn around its top edge. On the left hand side above the drum is a cross, representing the Christian foundation of the school. Several *gemils*
(the Andean cross, which symbolises science and knowledge) are shown around the shield-shaped border around the kultrun.

This original school sign is a reminder of the importance of the dual ‘philosophies’ of Roman Catholicism and Mapuche culture central to the founding of the school. The sign also carries strong Mapuche cosmological references, with the kultrun and its four divisions representing the four cardinal points of the compass. The seven lines radiating out of the kultrun refer to the seven square earths in the Mapuche universe encased by a gemil, similar to the Wenufoye (the heaven’s cinnamon) Mapuche flag. It is worth noting here that the off-campus hospital site has windows constructed in the shape of a gemil.

Figure 8. The original school sign, displayed for twenty-two years until 2011. Photograph by David Liddle, June 2007 (used with permission)
When I returned to the school in 2011 to undertake fieldwork, the old sign had been removed and a new school sign and logo had been erected in a front garden (Figure 9). A new foundation, Fundación de Educación Beato Ceferino, had taken the place of the earlier one in assisting with the school’s day to day operations. Beato Ceferino, who featured on the new sign, was born in 1886 in Patagonia, and was the son of a Mapuche lonco. He studied theology in Rome and was later beatified.

Both the school’s architectural structure and signage express the Mapuche cosmology to all who pass its gates, hence a layering of symbolic imagery is visible at the threshold of the school, and this imagery reinforces the import of its central educational focus—Mapuche cosmology and all this implies.
Mapuche cosmology is further emphasised in the school’s visual display of the Mapuche flag at its front gate. Before entering the gate, the Wenufoye or Mapuche flag is apparent, flying alongside the Chilean flag (Figure 9). This Mapuche flag features a kultrun in the centre and gëmis patterned along its top and bottom stripes. The red stripe on the flag represents blood, the green stripe the earth, and the blue stripe stands for the sky and hope.

Figure 10. The school flies the Chilean flag (left) and Wenufoye, the Mapuche flag, one day each week

In recent years the principal had decided that the school would fly the Mapuche flag one day per week, a significant move since, in the prevailing political climate, such a decision could have amplified local anti-Mapuche tensions. Though a seemingly harmless gesture, since the flag can be seen from the street it might be viewed as a political statement. Despite this potential provocation, the principal informed me that no problems had arisen since the flag had been flown.
The layering of Mapuche images fused with Chilean images, such as the flag and school sign, encapsulates a delicate cultural line the school walks in educating the students in Mapuche culture. This fusion between Mapuche and winka cultures reflects the daily challenges the teachers have in presenting and modelling authentic Mapuche culture to students, in the midst of broader Chilean society. The fusion represents a distraction from the dominant culture as Szulc (2009) notes.

Throughout the school the Mapuche iconography is prolific. The symbolism of the kultrun is visible along the school’s corridors and in its classrooms. Posters made by students for class projects that include kultruns, supplement the cosmological imagery displayed in classrooms. The kultrun in Figure 11 was on display in the school library. The librarian, a Chilean, is totally committed to the cultural project at Escuela Guacolda.

![Figure 11. A section of a drawing photographed in the library at Escuela Guacolda](image)

The school’s librarian made every effort to keep as many culturally significant Mapuche books and videos in the library as possible. Figure 11 depicts a woman dancing
the traditional Chilean dance of the *Cueca* to the right of a kultrun, thus presenting an instance of Chilean and Mapuche culture combined. Several wall murals (see Figure 13) both inside the school building and out in the playground depict images from Mapuche cosmology as well. Additionally, the computer screen logos at the school, feature the old school sign, with its central focus on the radiating kultrun.

The school also has a public address system that functions as an internal radio station, housed adjacent to the computer lab. The radio station is used to speak to all students at the school. Students conduct their own radio shows and teachers also use the public address system to speak to students in Mapudungun at times.

Signs for almost all of classrooms and amenities are in Mapudungun. The sign in Figure 12 is mounted at the entryway to a classroom. Most students, when asked, could quickly explain to me the meaning of each room’s sign.

![Figure 12. A sign in Mapudungun at Escuela Guacolda that reads, ‘Energies of thought’](image)

Depicted in Figure 13 is a wall mural at the end of a corridor. This is approximately nine feet high, and one of four very large murals where photographs with visitors are often taken. On the right hand side of this mural is a wooden statue that is called a *rewe*. A rewe is a sacred religious symbol for the Machi, a kind of wooden totem pole with seven notches cut into it, which represent the seven square earths. According to
the Mapuche cosmology, these notches allow the machi to climb the pole upward towards God during their ancient rituals. The two women in the picture wear Mapuche traditional dress with headbands and breastplates.

Figure 13. A wall mural at the end of a corridor at Escuela Guacolda, approximately nine feet high

Immediately inside the entrance hall in the main corridor are display cabinets displaying school trophies, and further cabinets displaying Mapuche ceramics (Figure 14). This display reflects the school’s balance of focus between the value of Mapuche culture and modern sporting and academic achievements. The pottery displayed here, and additionally displayed in upper corridors, imbue the school with an archaeological and
historical ambience. The collection on upper floors of the school is prized; archaeologists and pottery experts come from around the world to view it.

Figure 14. The display cabinet in the foyer at Escuela Guacolda, displaying school trophies and Mapuche ceramics

The pottery collection held at the school includes Mapuche artefacts and represents a substantial contribution of cultural history. The intercultural curriculum and the ‘extended Mapuche curriculum’ spill over into school tours for visitors that include visiting these ceramic collections.

The school consists of additional buildings as well as the main building seen in Figure 5. A separate dining hall and kitchen is provided for boys and girls respectively. Sleeping quarters for the girls are on the main campus, while the boys sleep at an off-site location up the street. Adjoining the girls’ dormitory is the night staff office designed for the protection of the girls after hours. There is also a workshop area where maintenance staff undertakes the school repairs.

Upon entering the school’s front gate, an awūn (made of shrubs and tree branches) and rewe is visible on the right, next to a circular ceremonial ‘field’ area where outdoor
assemblies and Ngillatun take place. A smaller awün with spiritual significance for ceremonies can also be moved to classrooms around the time of We Tripantu, the indigenous New Year’s Eve, when special performances and ceremonies are conducted indoors. Students are very aware of the importance of the awün and rewe and are careful to be respectful of them at all times.

Such an environment for these student boarders away from the general community offers them the opportunity to be saturated in Mapuche cultural symbolism within a unique spatial environment. The isolation from life outside the school’s walls serves to shield the students from racial and other forms of discrimination. This is essential for the development of the students’ growth in perception of their Mapuche ethnic identity. Students are thus free to absorb the Mapuche cosmology via visual and physical representations throughout the school.

4.2.1 Off-campus learning

The school’s off-campus learning is comprised of two strands: learning at the ruka, and an intercultural strand. The intercultural strand includes off-campus activities relating to each intercultural subject. Many of these intercultural events, such as a Mapuche cooking showcase, or the intercultural education students assisting at the local kindergarten, are one-off events. The following section focuses on the hospital and the ruka, as these were the most frequently scheduled off-campus learning sites.

Off-campus learning is different from a standard excursion, as its focus is primarily to broaden student knowledge of aspects of Mapuche cosmology. Off-campus learning begins early in the students’ first academic year at Escuela Guacolda. Students
attend both the local hospital for indigenous spiritual healing classes, and a local ruka for cultural workshop days.

The off-campus hospital is mostly for students enrolled in intercultural nursing, whereas cultural workshop days at the ruka are for every student in each year group to learn about Mapuche culture, history, cosmology, dance, ceremonial practise, and cultural etiquette. Students are exhorted to take these off-campus learning experiences seriously. Such learning events are structured for both the intercultural curriculum and form part of what I identify as the ‘extended Mapuche curriculum’.
4.2.2 The ruka

Figure 15. An off site campus used by Escuela Guacolda, a ruka or Mapuche house (left); Inside the ruka (right)

The ruka is one of the alternate locations used for students to attend and experience intense workshops on Mapuche indigenous culture and cosmology.

Escuela Guacolda has created a regional learning centre within the ruka and its surroundings, such as the one in Figure 15. The ruka in Figure 15 is located twenty minutes by bus or car from the school in Chol Chol. When students are studying at the ruka, they learn about traditional Mapuche music, dance, cooking, and cultural customs. The students are bussed to the off-campus site and the day’s food and drink supply is
delivered mid-morning. Later, each student is provided with a hot lunch, a warm cup of coffee, and a bread roll.

Although less and less Mapuche live in rukas, when driving outside of Chol Chol rukas can be seen here and there along the roadway. Most of these are not as large as the ruka attended by classes at Escuela Guacolda. This off-campus learning ruka used by Escuela Guacolda was the most technologically equipped I encountered in my research. It was equipped with accessible power outlets, which allowed for lighting, a PowerPoint presentation in the workshop, and a refrigerator that kept food fresh, that was used later in the day for learning to prepare traditional food.

The morning’s presentations begin inside the ruka. Beginning with a focus on Mapuche cosmology, students attended workshop days with several teachers and community elders. To begin, students were seated inside the ruka. Approximately thirty-five students sat on wooden benches to watch presentations of audio-visual slides, which posed questions derived from Hidalgo et al., *Etnografía: Sociedades Indígenas Contemporáneas y su Ideología*. This 1996 book investigates the different indigenous groups of Chile and their cosmovision and language. The presentations on the day I attended focused entirely on the Mapuche.

The presenters on this occasion were Head of technical studies and a community member that worked at the school. The community member was one of the most patient teachers of Mapuche culture that I encountered. Many of the students had never been away from home, and likely had not been on an excursion such as this, and as a result they were very excited.
A music and voice activity began midmorning. To be able to observe and participate in a traditional form of applause the students were instructed on how to convey their appreciation to a presenter by using traditional Mapuche musical instruments and voice. The instruments were brought from the school and several of these were distributed among the students, including a kultrun, trutruka, and pfilka. The community teacher called the class to attention (CD Track 1, 0:00 to 0:36 stray kultrun beats and students talking can be heard). After a countdown of _uno, dos, tres_ (one, two, three), the traditional method of applause/greeting was practised (0:38 to 0:45).

Throughout the day students improved in displaying this type of traditional applause at the end of presentations. The presentations dealt with traditional Mapuche cosmology, beginning with a discussion of God and the spiritual relationship between the natural world shared by the Mapuche and God. The presentations then focused on the meaning of the design on the kultrun’s membrane and its integral connection to the Mapuche people.

The teacher taught in both Mapudungun and Spanish and covered every conceivable cosmological facet of the instrument, discussing first the differences between the consecrated kultrun of the machi and a kultrun of the school. The latter kultrun, it was explained, has spiritual significance, however the ownership of the instrument and its use is different. The kultrun as representing the earth was also explored in detail.

Aspects of good character were then spoken about at length: respect for elders in today’s society and how to become a person of courage were topics on which the students were required to reflect. The students were led outside onto a grassy area beside the ruka and divided into groups of four to discuss these issues. The students were also asked who
can be Mapuche and what qualifies a person to be Mapuche. Students were asked to workshop these questions and then present their answers to such identity-forming notions once they returned to the inside of the ruka twenty minutes later.

After lunch, a participatory workshop on experiencing a ritual had been prepared. Staff assessed the workshop day according to the intercultural assessment criteria listed in section 4.3.2. The workshop and group activities outside the ruka involved learning both the ritual dance of the choike purrun and the ritual etiquette of this event.

Off campus, the first year students begin their primary study of the dance of the choike purrun. A rowdy group of first year students with limited previous knowledge were gently persuaded to take the dance more seriously. More mature and committed students were encouraged to assist the teacher. The dance was taught not by way of demonstration or explanation but rather, purely through participation.

The choike purrun is best described as a ceremonial circle dance performed during the Ngillatun. The students learned the gestures of the choike purrun as well as about the cultural dress required for the dance, including which plants to hold when walking the dance circle (women only), how many rows of people are to move around the circle, how many times to move around the circle and in what direction. The community teacher and a more advanced student who was familiar with the kultrun accompaniment provided musical direction.

Despite the fact that many students had come from living in a community, not all had experienced Mapuche expressive culture of this kind. In some indigenous Mapuche communities, Mapuche groups practise religious and agricultural festivals, yet for many students this exposure to the culture was entirely new. For many students this was the
first time they had experienced the cultural etiquette and dance practices of a Mapuche event.

These new experiences appeared to take some students by surprise, with some wishing not to participate, expressing either social or religious objections. On the off campus workshop day, a small, reluctant group of students stood over to the side of the group activity, clearly not wishing to take part in it.

Several students made their disinterest clear and did not want to participate in the final activity of the day. The teacher was extremely patient with these students and calmly explained that the cultural learning that was taking place was a required school event. It was made clear that their participation was not optional. I was later told that the students who expressed objections were Evangelicals. As mentioned earlier, Evangelicals are prevented from participation in such ritual activity. Regardless of whether an objection is made on religious grounds, Escuela Guacolda insists that all students participate.

Whilst preparation for the choike purrun took place outside, a few girls were left inside the ruka preparing food for after the ceremony. This food was additional to the food brought in from the school for morning tea and lunch and was not prepared by the school cooks. It was a part of the total ceremonial presentation, to be shared after the spiritual aspect of the ceremony had concluded as an integral part of the ceremony.

The girls preparing the ceremonial food were extremely adept at stoking the fire and placing the hot pans of oil on the fire pit, where a type of Mapuche Sopaipilla (fried doughy bread) was made. Two girls and one boy—a female teacher came to assist toward the end—organised the food to be made for students and guests of the day.
The final presentation of the day was held upon the arrival of the principal and senior teachers. The choike purrun was observed carefully and the students presented what they had learned. Such off-campus workshop days do not happen regularly, but are an integral part of student life at Escuela Guacolda, and as far as I was able to ascertain, comprised part of an ‘extended Mapuche curriculum’.

Although some students expressed objections to participating in the dance workshop on religious grounds, the expectation from teachers that they would participate fully had several positive effects. First, the students are in a school setting, so participation as a class group maintained a consistent school group dynamic. The ‘mystery’ of the cultural dances is ultimately dissipated or absorbed through the matter-of-fact manner in which everyone in the class joins in. This allows students who have no prior experience with the dance an opportunity to understand what it is they are objecting to. By insisting on the participation of all students, the cultural legacy is further protected as they come to understand the protocol for engaging in cultural Mapuche events.

In general, the hybridisation of Mapuche culture is not encouraged by the four key, senior cultural teachers at Escuela Guacolda. This is discussed in more detail in section 5.1. These teachers view mixing Chilean and Mapuche culture as a threat to the latter; they endorse only those means through which Mapuche culture is taught and transmitted authentically, in an effort to sustain and maintain Mapuche cultural values for future generations. These four teachers believe that to meld the two cultures results in a diluted Mapuche culture.
4.2.3 The hospital

Figure 16. A photograph of a plan of the existing intercultural hospital at Nuevo Imperial, region nine, Chile

I visited the intercultural hospital at Nuevo Imperial four times during my research. A model of the hospital can be seen in Figure 16. This model demonstrates the architectural significance of the building, with the main hospital building on the left hand side, a small yellow building in the centre, and a circular field on the right. The small yellow building in the centre is the medical centre where the machi hold their healing rituals. The accompanying circular field to the right is a designated ceremonial area to conduct ritual healing ceremonies with a rewe in the centre.

In the main lobby of the hospital is an enormous kultrun. The hospital staff did not permit photographs to be taken of this oversized instrument. This kultrun is at least one storey high and conveys an overwhelming sense that you have entered a place of spiritual healing. The school’s machi is a practising machi at the hospital, and students are encouraged to attend the hospital on workshop days to deepen their knowledge of the significance of the spiritual healing practices of the Mapuche.
4.3 The curriculum

From the principles of the Catholic Church comes an alternative intercultural professional technical education to form Mapuche and non-Mapuche people that are able to accept their cultural, social and linguistic reality, appreciating each of these aspects as relevant and appropriate tools to enable them to be protagonists of social transformation toward humanizing culture and diversity.\(^{34}\)

To facilitate leadership and social transformation of Mapuche and non-Mapuche people acceptance of Mapuche culture as described in the above quote is the cornerstone to social transformation at Escuela Guacolda. Each aspect of the curriculum is deeply affected by the school’s belief in social justice and transformation. The curricula at Escuela Guacolda are divided into three sections: the standard educational academic curriculum, the intercultural curriculum, and the technical program (which encompasses the intercultural curriculum).

The standard academic curriculum at Escuela Guacolda allows students in their first and second years to participate in a range of subjects, such as Mapudungun, English, mathematics, history and society, biology, physical education, chemistry, physics, technology, visual arts, religion, digital literacy, and vocational orientation. In the third year, study of chemistry, physics, digital literacy, technology, visual arts, and biology is discontinued. At this point, the intercultural program adds units of a technical subject selected by the student as their elective subject (see section 4.3.3).

---

Escuela Guacolda represents a rare case of intercultural education. Intercultural education is not unusual within the education system of Chile. However, there are varying degrees of its implementation within school curricula. Ortiz (2007) notes that a school in Piedra Alta does not incorporate the intercultural curriculum into the regular mainstream curriculum. At this school, out of eight hours allowed for workshops, only four are allocated to the intercultural curriculum.

The ‘extended Mapuche curriculum’ is a term coined as a result of this research. This curriculum is located in and communicated through the emphasis placed on the myriad of aspects of Mapuche culture that pervade school life at Escuela Guacolda. It is not a separate curriculum as such, but permeates nearly all aspects of academic and cultural life at Escuela Guacolda. The school website states as much:

Escuela Guacolda has its own plans and programs that implement an institutional educational project of intercultural emphasis on the recovery and promotion of the Mapuche culture.\(^{35}\)

These plans and programs dedicated to the recovery and promotion of Mapuche culture are a specific focus of the school. This individual planning of the school is the ‘extended Mapuche curriculum’, which is directed by the school’s staff. The ‘extended Mapuche curriculum’ is driven by a democratic process, one that the staff employ to make decisions about the direction of the ‘extended Mapuche curriculum’ at the school. Each week the staff has a meeting to discuss the programs and teaching methods used to

implement the ‘extended Mapuche curriculum’, and each teacher is permitted an equal say in the running and direction of the school in this regard.

Despite there being an equal number of Mapuche and non Mapuche teachers at the school, there is a strong sense of unanimity among the teachers that the primary focus at Escuela Guacolda is the implementation of Mapuche ethnic identity and the transmission of Mapuche expressive culture. Although the democratic process has the potential to tip the cultural balance at the school, its structure as well as the majority stakeholders (the Catholic Church and senior teachers) were adamant that decisions made about curriculum would emphasise the dissemination and learning of Mapuche culture.

4.3.1 Academic curriculum

Escuela Guacolda’s curriculum timetables for 2010 were supplied by the school’s principal for the purposes of this study. The subsequent timetables for 2011 and till present have remained relatively unchanged. Tables 1 and 2 outline the subjects students participate in each school year on a weekly basis. The academic program runs for four school years, with a marked difference between hours spent in years one and two (the equivalent of Australian years nine and ten) in comparison with the hours spent in years three and four (Australian years eleven and twelve). Years one and two require forty-two and forty-one hours respectively per week. Years three and four each include sixteen hours weekly, and have an additional twenty-six intercultural hours added to this weekly schedule from chosen elective classes (see section 4.3.3).

Fascinatingly, irrespective of the hours spent on academic subjects (see table 1 and table 2) the introduction of an intercultural curriculum and ‘extended Mapuche curriculum’ into the program pervades all subjects. It is worth noting that Mapudungun
language classes are included in the academic program and not the intercultural program, as one might assume would be the case.

The status of Mapudungun varies as a school subject. Schools that are intercultural do not necessarily include Mapudungun as a subject. The language in some cases may be spoken only occasionally as part of a general intercultural class on Mapuche culture taught by kimeches. Ortiz (2007) notes that at the school of Piedra Alta the IBE program does not include Mapudungun as a subject for study.

Intercultural education is not unusual within Chile’s educational system. However, the intercultural aspect of education is rarely taken as seriously as it is at Escuela Guacolda. Intercultural education, as Ortiz (2007) describes, is often condensed into a limited number of hours. In contrast, the motivation at Escuela Guacolda to inculcate in young Mapuche a strong sense of Mapuche cultural identity, involves intercultural education infusing nearly every aspect of school life, including the academic program.
### Weekly academic program for years one and two at Escuela Guacolda, 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Hours / First</th>
<th>Hours / Second</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Language and communication</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Mapudungun</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Maths</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>History and Society</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Biology</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Physics</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Chemistry</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Technology</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Digital Literacy</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Visual Arts</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Physical Education</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Vocational Orientation</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL HOURS</td>
<td><strong>42</strong></td>
<td><strong>41</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Weekly academic program for years one and two at Escuela Guacolda, 2010

### Weekly academic program for years three and four at Escuela Guacolda, 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Language and communication</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Mapudungun</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Maths</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>History and Society</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Physical Education</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Vocational Orientation</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>TOTAL HOURS</td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Weekly academic program for years three and four at Escuela Guacolda, 2010
Music class is notably absent from the above tables in either the academic subject program or intercultural program. Music as a subject was established at Escuela Guacolda in 2011 and was allocated two hours each week, however this has yet to be written into the formal program. Music was scheduled for years one and two students only, and was considered an academic program subject. As of 2013, the school allocated music to share two hours per week with visual arts.

History and society is a subject that has a distinct intercultural focus despite being an academic curriculum subject. A pivotal part of the students’ week involved the History professor—‘Proffy’ as the students called him—taking every opportunity to investigate topics from an indigenous perspective. Figure 17 shows the result of one of the many class projects, here relating to the topic of racism and discrimination.

The professor used contemporary mainstream films to illustrate socio-cultural themes to students. In one history and society lesson they were issued with a pamphlet he had produced titled, ‘The Didactic Guide to Avatar’. The themes of this film translated without difficulty to the Mapuche situation. Students were asked to view the film, take general notes, and make comments at significant points where the teacher stopped the film. They were then asked to discuss the following two objectives of the activity in groups and present their findings to the class.
The first was to identify the socio-cultural concepts shown in the fictional situation of the movie and reflect on their impact on indigenous cultural life. To achieve the second objective, the students were asked to identify concepts in the movie related to typical patterns of social behaviour in dominated people and groups. Students were then given tasks designed to assist them in achieving these two key objectives outlined, as following:

- 1. Describe the physical geographic setting of the film
- 2. Describe the physical characteristics of the ‘indigenous’ characters
- 3. Describe the ‘civilised’ culture
- 4. Describe the indigenous culture—its social organization, beliefs, relationship to the environment, and to other beings in the environment
- 5. Reflect on and analyse the cultural background of the conflict represented in the film
6. Present a report verbally, as well as a printed version with accurate spelling.

Once asked by the teacher to form groups, students quickly slid their desks into groups of four and took the workshop activity very seriously. Workshop-style lessons comprise the dominant style of teaching and learning at Escuela Guacolda. Besides formalised classes involving the machi, concentrating on Mapudungun, or utilising computers, the school favours group and workshop style learning.

Digital literacy is also fostered, including in relation to understanding Mapuche culture and development of ethnic identity. Students were taught on one occasion how to search the Internet for information on Mapuche cosmological topics. Contemporary learning pedagogies appear to be seamlessly blended with Mapuche oral and aural culture at Escuela Guacolda.

An example of the implementation of what I term ‘extended Mapuche curriculum’ occurs in the subject of physical education, within which the game of palin (ritual hockey) was learned and played. Palin is a sport that has been played in Mapuche culture for hundreds of years. Based on his observations of regional competitions within the Cautin Province, Course observes that the game has remained unchanged for hundreds of years (Course 2011, 117). The aim of palin is to have a player hit the wooden ball (approximately 5cm in diameter) with the curved part of their long wooden sticks (approximately 1.2 m long). Not unlike hockey, the sticks have to be held with both hands. Both teams have to control the ball while running towards the opponent’s goal. Usually played in the field in front of the school, palin was one of a number of school sports.
4.3.2 Intercultural curriculum

Expressive culture at Escuela Guacolda is disseminated via a variety of educational streams. The academic program is comprised of influential subjects such as history and society, Mapudungun, visual arts, and digital literacy. However, at Escuela Guacolda the intercultural curriculum provides an additional layer of learning, about and through Mapuche identity and expressive culture.

Multiple site documents were provided from individual teachers and the school principal for the information provided on the intercultural curriculum at Escuela Guacolda. Additional information was also gathered during interviews with teachers. The school website has been quoted and paraphrased in this section as it most succinctly expresses and outlines all of the data gathered and reflects the school's objectives to the intercultural curriculum.
The intercultural program at Escuela Guacolda encourages students to accept the challenge of becoming a fully formed ad-che (person). The four key dimensions of this formation include acceptance and development of the following qualities: ‘Kimche (values knowledge); Norche (with good habits); Newenche (with inner strength); Kumeche (solidarity and mutual understanding)’. ³⁶

With these four qualities forming the ad-che, the school encourages the students to develop an inner strength that will increase the value of all activities that they participate in at Escuela Guacolda. Intercultural learning is used to generate encounters whereby students reflect on the values of the intercultural educative project at the school. To achieve such a level of reflection, the whole school is involved in an intimate period of community prayer that is scheduled into the school calendar. This community prayer is not defined by Christian prayer, but through the students’ participation in regular ritual practices during Mapuche ceremonies held at the school. These ceremonial activities define the action of group community prayer for the whole school.

A learning activity at Escuela Guacolda is essentially a sequence of learning experiences that allow students to interact in the process of building knowledge beginning with what is known and familiar, while ensuring the integration of cognitive and affective modes as essential psychological and pedagogical requirements. The process takes into account the potential of the environment in encouraging students to recognise and interpret the natural, social and cultural world in which they live.

All learning activities at Escuela Guacolda are added to the school’s calendar and programmed as a cultural activity with active participatory learning purposes. Such programming takes into account the availability of a machi, as an official resource for ceremonies. The teaching faculty is also coordinated to oversee students and the ceremonial roles they enact. Annual intercultural presentations involve a complex cultural learning environment and form of socialisation. These activities facilitated by the school encourage the values of respect, tolerance, and brotherhood.

Ritual practice is usually conducted at the school in the patio de rewe (courtyard of the rewe). The school invites the entire community to these ceremonial events. Each student is assigned a role and expected to follow proper etiquette for the ritual ceremony. The machi and lonco invites all students with a ceremonial role to a shared meal. This practise of sharing a meal confirms the appreciation of the community within a context of reciprocity for the sake of both the machi and all participants of the religious ceremony.

It is important for students to have the following ceremonial functions and the requirements for the ceremonies outlined on the schools website are as follows:37

- **Llankan**, two men and two women in ceremonial dress.
- **Koyón**, four men in appropriate attire (mask, poncho and stick with horse, stick to lash, and other items to hide the identity of the persons).
- **Choike**, six men with traditional dance equipment, including the ükulla (a black clock with a coloured strip of green, red, or blue), trarilonco (a Mapuche woman’s silver head ornament), feathers, and the kadkawilla (bells).

---

• *Tayúlfte*, people who play the kultrun can be two women or two men, each in Mapuche traditional dress.

Expected intercultural learning practices are outlined on the school’s website for students participating in ceremonies at ritual practises. The assessment of ritual practice is as follows:³⁸

• Assess the action of prayer (group ceremonial participation) as an instance for spiritual growth and Mapuche cultural development.
• Identify and characterise the llellipún (prayer to the gods) ceremonial stages, focusing on the respectful behaviour of the student in a religious ceremony.
• Positively evaluates the roles and functions of the lonco and community machi.
• Recognizes the Mapuche ceremonial llellipún as participatory and a part of community living.

Further assessment of the individual performance of the students is made by assessing the individual role of students within the ritual, recognised as instances of personal and cultural Mapuche affirmation. Students are asked to evaluate their role in ceremonial practice and be able to:

• Identify and understand the value of reciprocity in a ceremony and assess the ceremonial practise of praying at the rewe.

• Consider the Mapuche ceremonial performance and reflect on their social behaviour, as well as adopt the introduction of behavioural corrections offered by staff for the student when they manifest.

• After the activity is held; the student will meet with faculty and evaluate the activity according to the objectives. Critical self-evaluation is expected by students regarding their development in the sequence of activities in conjunction with recommendations from staff for improvement in the future.

Cultural objectives at the school include socialising and teaching the ritual practices of Mapuche ceremonial protocol to students and teachers new to the establishment, assessing the ceremonial practices within a Mapuche cultural context, and establishing relationships based on personal and academic results from the school year.

4.3.3 Technical curriculum

The Technical program at Escuela Guacolda is a practical manifestation of intercultural concepts. Students who have a technical curriculum qualification on completion of secondary school can attain a viable job in the near future. In this regard, however, the ‘Liceo’ system has been criticised, with claims that Mapuche are trained for low wage jobs in the service industry and not encouraged to aim higher towards a university degree.

The rate of university attendance for Mapuche rural secondary school graduates is 2.2 percent (INE 1998). In 2004, year four in secondary education became the new mandatory level of completion for school age children at the national level. Prior to this, in 1998, rural children in region nine averaged 8.7 years of schooling (INE 1998). Despite criticism of the Liceo system, graduating from secondary school with a technical
qualification is a marked improvement from previous years, where students would have no qualifications and had never attended secondary school.

The program at Escuela Guacolda takes its technical program one step further by its inclusion of Mapuche culture and its ‘extended Mapuche curriculum’. Head of technical studies oversees the technical program. The tables below show each intercultural subject as taken by a year three or four student at Escuela Guacolda, as well as a detailed breakdown of the weekly program studied by students.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Intercultural character education activities</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Toddler Feeding</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Educational and Decorative material</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Toddler Health</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Recreational activities for kindergarten</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Music and the toddler</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Special educational needs of a toddler</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>TOTAL HOURS</strong></td>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Technical program for a year three student, intercultural kindergarten teacher, 2010

The inclusion of musical activities in the intercultural kindergarten class I observed on this project was unexpected. Both years three and four students have music included in their course. In year three there is ‘Music and the toddler’ for four hours per week, and in year four students take ‘Musical activities from a Mapuche perspective’ for three hours per week. Track 2 of the accompanying CD captures the energy and
enthusiasm of the intercultural kindergarten students’ song performed by a year four class.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Musical activities from a Mapuche perspective</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Educational activities with a social risk</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Activities with family</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Activities of expression with kindergarten</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Micro-management</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Educational work on unconventional kindergarten students</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Toddler Hygiene management</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>TOTAL HOURS</strong></td>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Technical program for a year four student, intercultural kindergarten teacher, 2010

Textually the song is bilingual (Mapudungun alternated with a little Spanish), and begins with *Mari Mari*, which means ‘greetings’ in Mapudungun. It is a version of the internationally popular, repetitive children’s song based on a Latvian folk tune, ‘If you’re happy and you know it’. The first two verses begin with the lyrics, ‘Mari Mari’. Most of the songs performed during this lesson were, like ‘Mari Mari’, traditional nursery rhymes set to Mapudungun words. For the twenty minutes following this singing demonstration the students used a kultrun, pfilka, trutruka, and their voices to begin to compose their own children’s songs. Again, this was a group musical activity (Track 3 on the accompanying CD).
In the early phase of this activity it was interesting to see students engaged in the process of the traditional preparation necessary to play a pfilka (Figure 20). Carved from wood, the dryness of the material makes sound production difficult on the pfilka; hence liquid is poured into the tubes to moisten the material. In ritual ceremonies men typically pour beer down the tubes of the instrument. Here instead, the student uses water. Students learn such practises through observing community leaders and older students.

The gentle skipping rhythm of the kultrun begins (Track 3, 0:08), and is followed by the pfilka (Track 3, 0:19). The student plays traditional kultrun ritual ceremonial rhythms in 6/8 time (Track 3, from 0:33). A student who does not have a kultrun uses a pen on the desk to create kultrun rhythms (Track 3, 1:22). I observed that often, when a traditional instrument was not available, students improvised with whatever was at hand—a hose and funnel served as a trutruka, for example.
Despite the students’ willingness to improvise musical sounds with different materials, and to reproduce the image of traditional Mapuche instruments, the use of traditional instruments in their daily classroom activities has a significant psychological impact. As already mentioned, students create the sound of the kultrun by improvising on their desks if a kultrun isn’t available, however the fact that some of these instruments are available gives the indigenous learning process a sense of legitimacy and importance that would otherwise lost if they were not used.

The intercultural nursing course is extremely popular at Escuela Guacolda and a very important subject to the school. Its use of the machi within the program is a point of great pride for the school. Additionally, the machi officiates all ritual ceremonies at the school and plays a central role in providing knowledge of the Mapuche cosmology beyond the nursing course. Within the curriculum of year three, four hours are spent on
studying the Mapuche health system per week, and in year four, traditional Mapuche medicine is also taught for four hours a week, with an additional five hours for rural health. Irrespective of the specific hours given to Mapuche based subjects, all subjects include both a distinctly Mapuche and Chilean perspective.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Basic nursing, care of whole patient, family, and community</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Ethics and human relations</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Preparation of equipment and stock materials</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Organization, structure, and functioning of the Chilean health system</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Health Promotion under the family health model</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Drug administration</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Mapuche health system</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>TOTAL HOURS</strong></td>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. Technical program for intercultural nursing in year three, 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Traditional Mapuche medicine</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Basic nursing care, derived medical diagnosis</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Administrative elements in the health care</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Prevention of infectious diseases</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Rural health</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Mental health promotion</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>TOTAL HOURS</strong></td>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6. Technical program for intercultural nursing in year four, 2010
From a Chilean perspective, the medical dummy seen in Figure 21 is used for students to practise health treatment on. The school has a hospital ward within a double classroom to practice patient health care. By the end of the course, students are capable of drawing blood and fully functioning as a nurse’s aide within the Chilean health system.

![Medical dummy in a hospital ward](image)

**Figure 21. As part of intercultural nursing training, a medical dummy is used for students to practice on at Escuela Guacolda**

Tables 7 and 8 show the timetables for intercultural administration for years three and four. In year three the subject specifically addresses society and Mapuche culture, and takes up five hours per week. Alumni interviewed after completion of this course went to work for Mapuche foundations that provide aid to rural Mapuche people. These ex-students continued to have close ties to the school, and were very devoted to Escuela Guacolda (for more information on Alumni, see section 5.3.3).
Technical program in addition to the academic program for year three intercultural administration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Organisational Communication</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Basic Accounting</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Society and Mapuche Culture</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Principals of Public Administration</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Trade and Tax Legislation</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Communication Strategy</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Attention to Customer Service</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>TOTAL HOURS</strong></td>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7. Technical program in intercultural administration in year three, 2010

Technical Program in addition to the academic program for year four intercultural administration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Micro-management</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Sales-Management</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Human Resource Management</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Intercultural Development</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Market Research</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Management in Foreign Trade</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>TOTAL HOURS</strong></td>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8. Technical program in intercultural administration in year four, 2010

Observation and interviews were conducted in a number of cooking classes offered at the school for years three and four. The students learned both Chilean and international cuisine, as well as Mapuche cooking. The incorporation of Mapuche cuisine as a special part of the curriculum is officially titled ‘Collective intercultural food
services’. After completing such courses, the students would be qualified to seek employment as a cook or nutritionist.

All of the subjects in Tables 8 and 9 include Mapuche concepts, particularly in the senior year four classes. In Table 8, the only clearly stated subject devoted to Mapuche cooking is ‘Mapuche Cooking and Fusion’, a class that I was able to observe while at the school. The teacher of this subject, a dynamic and positive woman, encouraged me to attend her classes and be a part of her students’ learning process.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Storage of Food</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Production Planning</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Cakes and Pasties</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Mapuche Cooking and Fusion</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Preparation of Sandwiches and Cocktail Products</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Dining Service</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>TOTAL HOURS</strong></td>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9. Technical program in intercultural nutrition/cooking in year three, 2010

39 Translated by the author.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Micro-management</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Techniques for the Preparation of Cold and Hot Appetizers</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Elaborate Techniques of National and International Dishes</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Techniques for Preparation of Main Dishes</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Techniques for Presentation of Menus and Buffets</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL HOURS</td>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10. Technical program in intercultural nutrition/cooking in year four, 2010

The class I observed was a year three class which began with the students gathered in a semicircle around the whiteboard where they were given an objective for the class and told the equipment that they would need. Students had prior knowledge of what to do upon entering the room, and began busily cleaning and getting dressed into the appropriate white hat and clothing of a chef. They all seemed so professional and organised. I found out later from the principal that this particular group of students had previously prepared banquets for many public events that presented Mapuche cooking to the public.
The recipe and program for the day’s cooking class at Escuela Guacolda was written up on the classroom whiteboard for students to observe and wait for instructions from the teacher. The teacher conducted her class based on the following guidelines:

• Assess prior indigenous knowledge of the students and their families while creating an original and specialised culinary proposal of ‘fusion food’.

• Promote healthy eating habits and care for nature.

• Incorporate traditional knowledge of families who bring ancestral recipes, collaborate in collecting different species of wild herbs and products, and promote awareness of the Mapuche worldview.

Over all, this class was delivered from a Mapuche point of view. The enthusiasm of the teacher was contagious, and this freedom of expression spread amongst the students.
5 Findings part 2 – Inside the walls

5.1 The ‘significant four’ – staff participants in the study

During my observations, it quickly became apparent that four teachers in particular were indispensable to maintaining the integrity of Mapuche expressive cultural transmission at Escuela Guacolda. Adding weight to the many iconographic representations of Mapuche culture at Escuela Guacolda, these four teachers communicate a powerful authentic cultural perspective through their teaching. This group also assumed oversight of the overall direction of the school’s expressive cultural programs for staff and students.

These four teachers are the History professor, Head of technical studies, the lonco, and the machi. Though not officially responsible for the direction of the expressive culture curriculum, by their constant individual devotion and commitment to communicating a detailed Mapuche cosmovision, each of these four teachers provided a unique approach to teaching and learning. They have been unswervingly committed to directing the school’s Mapuche vision, and they have demanded a discrimination-free environment that protects the integrity of the alternative minority indigenous curriculum.

The ‘significant four’ as I will refer to them have very different teaching backgrounds. Two of the teachers were qualified teachers through the government system, while the other two were kimūn educators that focus on providing ancestral indigenous knowledge to the students. These four educators committed themselves to restoring lost aspects of Mapuche indigenous culture amongst the students, as the school website indicates:
Today, when Chilean society is touched with the educational demands of its youth, it is good to collect the secret contents of what could become a banner of support for such demands from our students … 40

The ‘secret contents’ discussed refers to the pervasive sense of determination these teachers have in their teaching methods and culturally restorative approach at Escuela Guacolda. The ‘significant four’ teachers convey a sense of determination to replace the lost cultural knowledge that can feed a strong Mapuche identity among students. Throughout the day the four teachers were often seen talking and workshops ideas outside of the teachers’ staff room.

5.1.1 Head of technical studies

Head of technical studies plans and supervises all of the technical programs at Escuela Guacolda. These programs, as previously mentioned, enable students to graduate from secondary school with a qualification that will enable them to work in one of the fields they studied. Head of technical studies has taught at Escuela Guacolda for ten years, and holds a master’s degree from the University del La Frontera, Temuco (an intercultural university with a focus similar to that of Escuela Guacolda).

In my first interview with Head of technical studies, he was cautious and at times hesitant to talk to me about Mapuche culture and the school’s teaching and learning processes. I was aware of his apprehension and tried to make him feel at ease. As in previous interviews I had conducted in region nine, this was I believe a consequence of long-term systemic racial discrimination against and exploitation of the Mapuche people.

It was clear—and understandable—that I needed to demonstrate that my interest in learning about the school’s pedagogies was genuine. Head of technical studies became more relaxed after a casual teacher interrupted the interview toward the latter half of our session to ask him a question, and then remained to participate as well.

This was a fortunate development since the casual teacher had recently completed studies in Melbourne, Australia. She was not Mapuche, however had worked at the school off and on for a number of years. Her English was excellent, and with the three of us discussing the issues I raised, Head of technical studies now seemed free to talk. It was critically important that I hear his opinions and the explanations of his approaches to supporting the intercultural curriculum.

Head of technical studies taught the culture of the Mapuche for five hours a week to class 3A and 4A. He taught the cultural formation of the Mapuche people, with much of the research of the class held in the computer laboratory. This class also studied other cultural aspects and the cosmovision of the Mapuche people. These two topics were explored over the whole of the first semester, which encompasses two terms.

This teacher also investigated the formation of the Mapuche cosmovision and religion, as well as the history of the Spanish invasion and more recent Mapuche and Chilean history. These topics were investigated via the Internet, where an ample amount of productive information could be found. The teacher also introduced supplementary material for student development, including documents and videos. Beyond these resources, Head of technical studies based his approach to the intercultural curriculum based on the complex ethnographic book by Hidalgo et al., *Etnografía: Sociedades Indígenas Contemporáneas y su Ideología*. (Hidalgo et al. 1996).
This ethnographic book was used as a reference throughout the first semester in year three. The teacher explained that while students find working through the topics in this book difficult, he believes it is an invaluable educational tool. When I asked him to describe his preparatory background for teaching expressive culture, he found my question odd. He explained that he had no formal musical training, however, ‘I listen and I participate in small ceremonies… the culture of the Mapuche is not separate from, or fragmented from the [everyday] life’.41

He thus confirmed that for the Mapuche, music is interwoven into daily routines. It is not necessary for a Mapuche to be qualified in music, because life and music are inseparable: to live as a Mapuche is to be ‘qualified’ in music. The teacher went on to explain three aspects of Mapuche social life that are the most important: relationships with others, spiritual relationships, and relationships with things, and each of these three aspects are intertwined. This intertwining of relationships was also an approach taken by the History teacher, the second of the ‘significant four’ teachers to be discussed.

### 5.1.2 The History teacher

Another dedicated communicator, the History teacher, or professor, as he is known, has been teaching at Escuela Guacolda for more than ten years. The professor lives his life entirely according to indigenous values and is an iconic figure at the school. The History professor is deeply involved in planning the daily running of the school and its curriculum development. Offering a free education to students, as well as a space for reflection, was of great importance to the professor.

---

41 From an interview with the Head of technical studies, on 28 September 2011, translated by the author.
The professor explained that initially, management of the school’s intercultural project hindered its creative pedagogical scope. Once the school shifted to a more democratic decision-making process, the pedagogical scope of its vision was broadened. It is clear that at Escuela Guacolda everyone participates in daily decision-making processes, including the aides, drivers, and all school employees.

This process of deliberative democracy guides the weekly teacher’s meetings. Here, guided by a principle of open participation, teachers decided that the most valuable tool for decision-making is respectful dialogue for the benefit of the school’s cultural project.

The students called the History teacher ‘Proffy’, and clearly adore him. At the end of the year when the students were in their final days of school, groups of students would come and ask for ‘Proffy’ at the teachers’ staff room door and he would arrive to speak with them. Hugs were exchanged, as well as small gifts and wise conversation. This teacher certainly seems to leave an indelible mark on the lives of students.

How does a teacher leave such a strong impression on a student’s life, I wondered. From observation, it was clear that the History teacher lives in every aspect of his life his belief in Mapuche identity and its effective transmission. He does not merely ‘teach’— teaching is his life. Students ‘catch’ the professor’s passion for his subject, as his personality and commitment to his students’ learning is infectious. The History professor is highly esteemed within the school.

I was invited to observe one of the History teacher’s classes—it became immediately clear from observation that I was observing a teacher who was communicating a cultural identity. The way he taught history was from a deeply
knowledgeable indigenous perspective. On the walls of the classroom was a map indicating the true boundary lines of Mapuche territory according to the records of traditional elders. During my observation of the professor’s history class, a group of students made a ritual presentation.

The students organised themselves to present the dance of the choike purrun around a rewe placed in the centre of the classroom. This ceremony had been celebrated the day before, so the students were participating in the ritual again on a smaller scale. At Escuela Guacolda the celebrations can continue throughout the entire week. The male students danced with blankets thrown over their shoulders representing an ostrich. The female students danced around the rewe with the boys moving counter-clockwise.

Musicians stood along the back wall playing the kultrun, trutruka, and pfilka. This class was a year four senior class and they were the most experienced group of dancers and musicians that I observed at Escuela Guacolda. At the end of the presentation the professor wanted to talk to the class and myself. When speaking about Mapuche music, the conversation moved towards religious festivals and indigenous cosmology, which in turn led naturally to a discussion of identity politics.

At the end of this class the teacher began to explain the Mapuche’s historical position and the current situation regarding contestation over land ownership. His knowledge was detailed and his ideas were fascinating. The students were captivated by his ideas and contributed their own opinions and ideas. The freedom to think and test ideas permitted in his classroom was inspiring.
5.1.3 The machi

At Escuela Guacolda the school’s machi is well known both within Chile and internationally. A machi within his own local community, he has been featured in television programs, in books on indigenous healing, and theses on intercultural health. He is an active campaigner for the sharing of indigenous knowledge with young people. The machi believes that the indigenous knowledge that he and others hold is the key to the continuation and survival of the Mapuche community. Although in 2011 he had only been teaching at Escuela Guacolda for one year, his impact on the students had already been significant.

In order for the cultural program to survive at Escuela Guacolda, a machi must officiate at every ceremonial ritual. Monthly ceremonial rituals are conducted at the school, and the presence of a machi is mandatory in order for these ceremonies to adhere to Mapuche cultural protocol. The machi participated in as many of these as possible, and if he were unavailable, another machi would replace him.

This resident machi at Escuela Guacolda in 2011 seemed a formidable man, one not to be approached without an introduction. He was very committed to communicating Mapuche oral tradition and indigenous medicine. The machi expressed his view on the intercultural health system as follows:

[Interculturality] is not a Mapuche concept. It is not compatible with our thoughts, our values. It is not compatible because it does not exist. [...] We do not have the power to say that the intercultural theme should be carried through this way or that way. To exist, the intercultural idea must be fifty-fifty. 50 percent our way and 50 percent the western way. [...] We Mapuche are already intercultural; we
speak a language that is not ours and do many other things that are not ours, therefore the only thing lacking is that the *wingka* [non-Mapuche] becomes intercultural. They should meet the level we are at, and from there at best begin working for the Intercultural. (Bendel 2002, 42)

The machi expressed the difficulty of establishing interculturality in both the health system and the education system because they are creations of the winka that demand greater assimilation of the Mapuche people. His expression that the Mapuche are already intercultural is a view held by many Mapuche.

The machi’s class that I attended during my fieldwork contrasted with every other class attended at Escuela Guacolda. Knowledge communicated during the class was complex and highly detailed. The machi disseminated his wealth of spiritual knowledge in small portions. The students were silent when waiting for the Machi. They stood behind their chairs that were placed under their desks. This approach was highly unusual for Escuela Guacolda. Usually the classes have a vibrant workshop atmosphere, where students sit in small groups and work on projects together as a team. It is rare at the school to find students not grouped together during activities. The situation was the opposite in this class.

I was accustomed to being allowed to enter a classroom before the students in order to set up my equipment. In this case, I was not permitted to enter the room in advance. I entered with the students and was silent once the machi arrived. This presented a challenge as I had an audio recording device, a camera, and a tripod to set up. Given the sense of tension and a feeling that I was intruding by my presence alone, I decided not to videotape the class. I set up the sound recorder instead on the desk in front of me. The
machi told me that it was important not to make any noise and disturb the class as a general announcement to the group.

The students in every other class I had been in always talked to each other, usually working in groups in a workshop-type situation that involved a lot of noise. It was immediately apparent that the machi was considered very different from other teachers who had a very affectionate and friendly relationship with the students. The machi was given the highest level of respect and attention.

This class was very serious, and the students certainly reacted accordingly. The topic was on illness and their origins. Described by the Mapuche machi from a cosmological point of view, where an illness is due to an assault on a person’s natural equilibrium. The machi explained that illnesses had three parts: sociological, spiritual, and physiological.

Pain and its associations with physical space were then discussed in this class. Mapu was described as land, space, and time, as well as the form of space, and the territory where people live. The balance between an ill person and their social and spatial relationships, such as the relationship a person has to their community and the equilibrium of the territory where they live was considered a central point to diagnosing an illness.

This class involved not only a serious attention to the learning of Mapuche healing practises but also the broader aspects of Mapuche cosmological philosophy. This philosophy of physical and spiritual aspects serves as a reminder of the ethos of Escuela Guacolda. The machi’s class encapsulated the serious nature of the importance of the
topic and also the preservation of knowledge by passing on the ritual healing practices to the younger generation.

5.1.4 The lonco

![Image](http://1.bp.blogspot.com/-wGJF1vQpbDU/T4uHiViK-8I/AAAAAAAAACTU/yEkdzUwql7Y/s1600/AUKANTUN.jpg)

**Figure 23. The dance of the choike purrun, as learned at Escuela Guacolda**

The traditional role of the lonco (chief) is to act as the cornerstone of support and security for a Mapuche community. Each Mapuche community has its own lonco, and in line with Mapuche customs, the loncos meet with other Mapuche communities and authorities to discuss issues of mutual concern. The lonco at Escuela Guacolda was a wise elder and a humble leader.

Of all the participants in this study, the lonco provided me with the most specific and detailed information about Mapuche expressive culture. He has taught the

---

Mapudungun language at Escuela Guacolda for six years. Despite advocating oral transmission, he has adjusted his teaching approach to incorporate writing down words in Mapudungun.

When I arrived at Escuela Guacolda, I was uncertain as to the lonco’s role. He attended every school function, major and minor, including a tree planting ceremony, a formal welcome to the school from the papal representative from Rome, and attended community Mapuche meetings, and was at the girls’ dining hall for every meal. The lonco always emanated an aura of wisdom and kindness.

His deep knowledge of Mapuche culture was very easy to take for granted as he appeared quite unassuming. The lonco appeared to possess a broad wisdom and clear understanding of the Mapuche people and their position in modern Chilean society, as well as a deep spiritual connection to place, grounded in both Mapuche cosmology and Christianity.

I interviewed the lonco in an empty classroom located near where the boarders sleep. We sat near a log fire. The interview began with the lonco describing the different tribal groups of the Mapuche, where each group of ancestral land is located, and how these geographic spaces impact the use of musical instruments.

Throughout the interview, the lonco made reference to space and the four cardinal points of Mapuche cosmology. These are not only physical spaces, but also references to the different spiritual levels connected intrinsically to the kultrun in the Mapuche cosmology. The lonco repeatedly stated that not only do the markings on the kultrun represent north, south, east and west, as well as the four divine gods, Elmapun, Elchen,
Ngnemapun and Ngneden, they also incorporate on the drum’s skin, the Mapuche lunar calendar and entire cosmology.

The lonco then began to describe the Lafkenche tribe (people of the sea) and the Pewenche tribe (people of the Cordillera mountain ranges). He began his description of the two communities and then added:

All the Mapuche are like brothers. They have the same emotions, thoughts, feelings, sorrow, smiling, and singing that are needed for all the people … if we speak of singing, the people of the mountains sing out of inspiration for the land and for what they observe in the natural environment, and the people of the sea would sing about all of the inspiration they observe, such as the different birds, the ocean, and the sky.43

Musical inspiration for instrumental performances and songs derives from the environment. On Track 4 of the accompanying CD, the lonco performs a piece on his trutruka inspired by God. The creative inspiration for the music of the other Mapuche indigenous groups comes from the four cardinal points and the kultrun.

The cardinal points of north, south, east and west relate to different regional areas and tribal groups. From the central zone is the Nagche tribe, or, the people of the plains. The lonco described this tribe as being from the ‘down area’, which relates to the southern section of the four cardinal points. Each tribe in Mapuche culture, the lonco explained, sings in a way that is inspired by their area or space of their natural environment.

43 From an interview with the lonco, on 4 October 2011, translated by the author.
The lonco went on to explain that the central musical instrument used on the plains is the kultrun (drum). Played in spatially open environments the kultrun is accompanied by the trutruka (horn). Constructed in various lengths or windings the trutruka includes a long straight form, and is also found with the tubes wound in circular form. The lonco referred to himself as a trutrukero, the Mapuche name for a trutruka player. To be considered a trutrukero, implies not only a certain proficiency on the trutruka, but also that the community understands that you have a powerful connection through your musical performances with ancestral spirits.

Sound producing instruments are assigned to a player for life, according to the instrument played by their father or grandfather; if such a hereditary relationship can be confirmed, it is more likely that a tribal group will endorse the allocation of a particular instrument to a given person.

The trutruka is played during an Ngillatun ceremony, the lonco stated. The rhythms or patterns played vary according to whether the event at which the trutruka is being played is an oration, wedding, or funeral. Funeral performances assist the deceased on their journey towards life in the spirit world. The lonco described that the trutruka player performs as the inspiration to perform arises, and he connects with God in the moment of transcendence.

The lonco articulated that for different life circumstances, different kinds of sounds are performed on the trutruka. Various intonations are produced on the instrument and it is important for a player to listen to and to produce various sounds with utmost care. Music, the lonco stated, is natural and should be played spontaneously.
The lonco described the kull kull as an instrument that projects both positive and negative sounds. The kull kull may be used to send messages to the community, for example, if a family has been robbed, or that a party will be held. The most immediate way of communicating to other tribes is with a kull kull. The kadkawilla accompanies the kull kull along with the pfilka.

The kultrun is distinguished from all of the other instruments. It represents and is central to the unification of the Mapuche world. The lonco referred to the kultrun as symbolising the whole space of the Mapuche universe, as well as the four cardinal points of the compass and Padre Dios (Father God)\(^{44}\). It was interesting to note, that people play the kultrun for ancestral reasons, since the instrument is handed down through a family, much like the trutruka. The machi channels the spiritual property of the kultrun, this is known as a puente (bridge) to God.

When I enquired about music al fusion, that is the blending of Mapuche and folkloric music, the lonco expressed strong feelings. Mapuche music as he understood it, was not a fusion and fusion music did not represent a genuine expression of Mapuche culture. Folklorisation, he felt, was detrimental for the music of the Mapuche, and he expressed his fear about the future survival of true Mapuche sound expression.

The lonco also expressed concern regarding the negative impact on Mapuche expressive culture of Evangelical Christianity, as the Evangelical church prohibits Mapuche from dancing the purrun, and prohibits its members’ involvement in any Mapuche ceremonial ritual. He also noted that only 20 percent of young Mapuche are neither Catholic nor Evangelical and that they study Mapuche culture through their

\(^{44}\) To the lonco ‘Padre Dios’ was considered the same as the Mapuche god Chau and ‘God’ as master god of the universe, there was no distinction between them in his mind.
communities. Further, some Mapuche families do not accept either the Roman Catholic or Evangelical Christian religious expressions.

5.2 The music teacher

The music teacher at Escuela Guacolda is a Mapuche musician well known throughout Chile and internationally for her compositions and folkloric music. She has received several awards for her compositions or arrangements and performances in folk music as a female artist. The most prestigious award she has received is the ‘Gaviota de Plata’, which she received at the annual Vina del Mar folk festival. The music teacher was born in region nine and lives in Temuco with her sister.

The music teacher explained that after producing many compact discs at a professional standard and self-funding the production of video clips for YouTube, she now wishes to continue to live at home with her family so she can save her money to fund more musical projects. Through background research for this study I had previously encountered this musician through her YouTube video clips, and was quite unaware of her relatively new teaching position at Escuela Guacolda.

The music teacher commenced teaching at Escuela Guacolda in 2011, which was the first year that the school had a large enough budget and space available to employ a music teacher. The school rents a room in a building alongside the local Catholic Church, as a permanent music teaching space. The room they acquired was quite large with storage space for instruments.

Since the teacher’s arrival she had roughly twenty new guitars donated through her German connections. The new guitars appeared only days before my arrival and were being unpacked over several of my observational viewings of music classes. While she
was delighted with these instruments, some of the more traditional teachers were almost disinterested, as the guitars did not have any direct link with the ritual music of Mapuche culture.

The music teacher’s approach to teaching music was broad and on occasion New Age-like. For example she used a large selection of crystal bowls that she played for the students. She stated to the students that these bowls produced music similar to the music made in the lost city of Atlantis. While performing for the students on the crystal bowls she illustrated a fairly fanciful approach to music for young students, who were barely able to sit still. Interestingly, when the music teacher played the crystal bowls the students went into a deeply relaxed state. The use of broad based musical styles was consistent throughout her teaching style.

5.2.1 Cultural fusion – a music lesson

Figure 24. Diagram of recorder fingerings on the class whiteboard for students to play during a music class in 2011 at Escuela Guacolda
During one of my classroom music observations at Escuela Guacolda, the music teacher and students participated in creating a new style of music. The teacher attempted a type of cultural fusion music, a blend of Mapuche music and folkloric music. She combined these styles to create a layered ‘fusion’, which she presented as part of a genuine desire to transmit Mapuche instrumental music and song.

The distinction between folkloric music and what the machi, lonco or tribal elders describe as authentic *Mapuche Musica* appeared irrelevant to or was not understood by the music teacher. While the differences between the two styles of music were not acknowledged at the time of the performance, due to musical elements of Mapuche language, instruments, and pitch being present within the music, it appeared that this fused music was considered by the music teacher to actually constitute Mapuche music due to its indigenous elements.

The room was a large space with chairs placed around the walls of the room in the shape of a semicircle. The windows were covered with purple sheets to avoid outside distractions. As I entered the room, the teacher was preparing for the class, and the students were already seated and waiting for the class to begin.

On the whiteboard the music teacher had written the notes that the students were expected to play on recorders: sol, do, and mi. The teacher had chosen one boy to assist her with a variety of jobs, including tuning the guitars, handing out recorders, and helping to organise the sound system, a ‘boom box’ type CD player on the desk at the front of the room that included two large speakers positioned either side of the desk.

The students each sat on a chair, and whenever set up and sound problems occurred in connection with the CD player, they began to talk amongst themselves. As
the music teacher began speaking to me, in front of the class, and explaining what she was about to do, I wondered whether she was going to explain the program to the students as well. Addressing me she explained that the students were going to imitate the notes sol and do as played on the pfilka (a two toned wooden Mapuche flute) on modern recorders that the school had just bought. At this stage the students appeared to be quite disinterested, and sat more horizontally than vertically. As she was beginning to discuss the pentatonic scale and the use of five tones of Mapuche music the students who had all been given recorders began to play in the background whilst waiting.

The music teacher then pressed play on the compact disc player, and the trutruka (circular horn) on the recording was heard, and a song that she had recorded for one of her commercial CDs began (Track 5 on the accompanying CD, 0:19 to 3:25). No reminders were given to students about what hand to use when playing the recorder or who was to join in when, and there was no announcement that she was going to start. The students simply heard the music and joined in with the teacher, watching her fingering as she played her recorder and occasionally called out ‘sol’ and ‘do’ (Track 5, 2:24).

The students enjoyed this musical participation activity and played very well in unison almost immediately. Midway through the song the teacher wanted to change the length of the notes that the students were playing, so she called out the notes in solfege and conducted the students to play the length of the notes she wanted. This was the first time that I had heard what could be considered a form of Mapuche karaoke. As the song concluded, the teacher gave a brief explanation of what notes to play next and they immediately began to play. The recorded music then changed to a strong, steady rhythm and bass sound often heard in electronic dance club style of music (Track 5, 4:28 to
4:55). She called out ‘sol’ and ‘do’ (Track 5, 4:34 seconds) to instruct the students on what notes to play and they began playing them (as indicated in Figure 24 do is the note C). The voice of the teacher’s uncle, who had recently died, was then heard in a song sung over the rhythm and bass track (Track 5, 4:55 to 5:05).

As this demonstration of musical fusion was taking place, I was somewhat confused as to its purpose and place, given the school’s cultural mandate. The music seemed to be being taught as Mapuche música in its authentic state. I wondered whether the music teacher considered this blend of styles a modern version of authentic Mapuche música. In my mind I questioned whether or not this musical fusion fit with the school’s desire to develop a distinctly Mapuche cultural identity.

The music curriculum at Escuela Guacolda incorporates collaborations with folkloric music and musicians in what is known today in Chile and amongst intercultural educators as ‘fusion’ music. The partnership and the subsequent blending of Mapuche indigenous music and Chilean folkloric music in school curricula has developed throughout the country as a consequence of the music-driven activist movement known as Nueva canción that emerged in the 1960s.

Since the Nueva canción style became an advocate for human rights and the political thinking of the socialist movement in Chile, many indigenous people have been both symbolically and aesthetically attracted to it. Many famous Chilean musicians, such as Victor Jarra, have been immortalised in the country due to their political activism during the Pinochet era of military government from the early 1970s to around 1990. Jarra was murdered as a result of his popularity and songs, which he used as a poetic tool for biting political critique. Other famous Chilean groups, such as Inti-Illimani, were
Fortunately in Europe at the time of the coup d’état in Chile, and thus avoided oppression during the Pinochet era. Los Javias, another such group, migrated to Argentina and then France, and was later joined by other groups, such as Illapu, who were exiled from Chile until the late 1980s.

This link between folkloric music and indigenous political struggle is therefore, the basis for the musical fusion I heard being promoted at Escuela Guacolda. The fact that the music teacher is a prominent folkloric artist influences the choices she makes regarding the music taught and learned within her classes. In her interview, the music teacher described various ritual rhythms that were played on the guitar in this kind of folkloric music. She implied that if you are Mapuche and you play Mapuche rhythms to accompany a guitar song, then this constituted Mapuche music, which is a view that is commonly held amongst contemporary folkloric artists, but not by the Mapuche.

5.3 Interviews

Many of the teachers at Escuela Guacolda that were interviewed were not Mapuche. For this study I interviewed or conducted conversations with six non-Mapuche teachers and six Mapuche teachers. It was very clear that there was no distinction or discrimination made in employment between Mapuche and non-Mapuche staff members or students.

Teachers were asked in interview if they had any formal musical training. Only the music teacher had any formal musical training despite the fact the all the teachers were involved in ritual ceremonies and disseminating Mapuche expressive culture. This fact, however, seemed irrelevant in the scheme of disseminating Mapuche culture at Escuela Guacolda, as students learned through cultural events held at the school, which were enabled by teachers and most importantly, community elders, the machi, the History
professor, the lonco, and Head of technical studies. Grounding in Mapuche expressive culture was imparted quite separately from any professional musical support needed to hold these events.

The topic of musical fusion raised cultural concerns for the four key teachers in this study. This question of authenticity was also raised, in regard to whether a Chilean teacher is able to transmit the Mapuche customs and spirit of the intercultural curriculum. Non-Mapuche teachers themselves raised this question during interview. One interview that stands out was held with the visual arts teacher. This teacher voiced his concern regarding the authentic transmission of Mapuche culture, and several other non-Mapuche teachers’ shared similar concerns.

5.3.1 Staff

Many of the teachers at Escuela Guacolda I interviewed were not Mapuche. For this study I interviewed or conducted conversations with six non-Mapuche teachers and six Mapuche teachers. It became clear that there was no distinction or discrimination made between the employment of Mapuche and non-Mapuche staff members.

5.3.2 Student participant interviews

Four groups from each school year were interviewed for the study. The principal organised two boys and two girls to be in each year group. I used the girls’ canteen as a venue for talking to the students. I found I had to put the students at ease for these interviews, as being called out of class for such a purpose initially made them nervous.

Interviewing the four groups of students, I found there was a strong sense of pride among them regarding Mapuche ethnic identity. Understandably, senior students
exhibited a clearer vision and greater confidence in explaining what it meant to be a Mapuche. The students discussed with me that they had found strength in participating in and learning through Mapuche cultural ceremonies at the school, and that these that had a positive impact in their community.

Out of the sixteen students interviewed, fourteen explained that they were surprised to find themselves strongly desiring to celebrate We Tripantu or Ngillatun upon their return to their home locale. The school did not expect students to do this, and they told me that they wanted to celebrate these ritual ceremonies at home as well as school. The school had introduced them to Mapuche ceremonial life and they felt that celebrating this with their families was a natural extension of what they had discovered about their culture at school.

The students I interviewed explained that in some cases their families and communities did not know how to conduct such ceremonies, a situation resulting from a time when it was illegal to speak Mapudungun in Chile. Many of the rituals had been forgotten, as the practice of passing down ceremonial knowledge by way of oral tradition and transmission was lost during this period of Chile’s history. Such cultural ‘evaporation’ was intensified as elders died. The students I interviewed decided that the best way to proceed was to take what they had learned at school and teach the community about the details of ceremony they had learned.

One student reported that his community did not have a machi, and therefore could not organise many ceremonial activities. Moreover, the majority of students explained that their parents were quite nervous about the politics of conducting these events. Nonetheless, many came to realise that if their school was organizing such
cultural activities, then it was legitimate for them to do so, and thus they had begun the process of incorporating ceremonies into their yearly family and remote local community calendar.

When approached in the interview about the importance of music in their daily life, students expressed that it came second only to their families. Most students listened to a variety of music, including salsa, cumbia, and folkloric, rock, and traditional Mapuche music. All the students interviewed were Mapuche and were very happy to learn Mapuche music and dance in a ceremonial context while at school. They appeared ashamed to admit that their knowledge of Mapuche music, dance, and rituals was almost nonexistent before attending Escuela Guacolda.

5.3.3 Alumni participant interviews

For the study I conducted interviews with four alumni. Two of these alumni had an ongoing relationship with the school, and despite the fact that neither of them were Mapuche, they had maintained a lifestyle consistent with the school’s cultural objectives. They were respectful and deeply committed to the Mapuche worldview, and valued the benefits that came from passing through the school’s technical program. The alumni interviewed had entered into a job or field of study related to the development of the Mapuche culture.

For all four alumni, participation in the technical program and the completion of secondary school was a significant step forward in their lives. Two alumni stood out for closer mention in this study: the first interviewee lived locally in Chol Chol. This alumnus had secured work in Temuco as an administrative assistant at a charitable institution to assist rural Mapuche in need. She had completed the administration course
that was part of the intercultural technical curriculum at Escuela Guacolda, and as she explained this enabled her to secure her first administrative position.

The second interviewee also lived locally in Chol Chol and travelled daily to Temuco for university. She was the first person in her family to attend university. Inspired to work long hours in the service industry, her mother was determined to support her through tertiary education. The student had enrolled in the kindergarten education program that formed part of Escuela Guacolda’s intercultural course. Inspired by her teachers at the school and the indigenous perspective nurtured at the school, she could hardly wait, she said, to teach Mapuche songs to local children once she was a university qualified teacher.

Both interviewees planned to attend a bingo fundraising event for the school and encouraged me to join them. Being too large an event for Escuela Guacolda, it was held in a local school hall. Several hundred local people turned out to play bingo, win prizes, and support Escuela Guacolda’s fundraising activities. All of the teachers came on their day off to help sell tickets and run the event. Many alumni also attended the event, and it was clear that Escuela Guacolda remained a part of their lives after they had completed their schooling.

Mapuche women arrived in full traditional dress with a number of machi among them. Many Chileans also attended. I was surprised that bingo was so popular amongst the rural Mapuche. The Escuela Guacolda cooks donated their time to make hundreds of empanadas (a Chilean pastry filled with meat, cheese, or seafood) to sell at the event. The alumni who invited me looked after me as if I were family, and it was clear from the
many hugs between old friends, teachers, and class mates, that Escuela Guacolda was a school with which all were proud to continue their associations.

Figure 25. The bingo board (left) provided to play bingo at a fundraising event for Escuela Guacolda, Chol Chol. On the right are empanadas ready for deep-frying to serve at the fundraising bingo event

5.3.4 Community interviews - the making of a kultrun

Figure 26. The outdoor workshop of an instrument maker in Puerto Saavedra, Chile, comprised almost exclusively of kultrun bases
The two most notable community members participating in this research are an instrument maker I met in region nine, and a local machi. The instrument maker was renowned internationally for the quality of his Mapuche musical instruments and had participated in a Chilean government documentary on the crafting of these. He regularly displays his work in a museum in Temuco and had also been commissioned to make instruments for use at Escuela Guacolda. The machi is a local figure of the community serving the general area with medicine and spiritual help, an outgoing and trusting woman who opened her arms to me each time I visited her. It is worth explaining how I met each of these Mapuche figures and the results of our meeting.

In 2009, I travelled to Temuco with my children. I had hoped to meet an expert Mapuche musical instrument maker from whom I could commission a kultrun drum. The story of the making of my drum led me to a deeper understanding of Mapuche music, as well as the significance of the kultrun in contemporary Mapuche society. Such knowledge was to become critical to my 2011 field stay and research at Escuela Guacolda.

It is difficult to make firm appointments to meet Mapuche instrument makers, particularly in matters as profound as the making and sounding of a kultrun. My journey to find an instrument maker began with a visit to the Regional Museum of Araucania. Established in 1940, the museum is dedicated to Mapuche anthropology, archaeology, and ethnology. I had previously visited the museum and found it to be a good place to immerse myself in the history of the Mapuche. Speaking to the woman who ran the museum shop, I mentioned how difficult it was to locate a musical instrument maker. She
agreed, noting that for ‘my blonde hair and me’ it would indeed be a challenge to find an authentic craftsman. She gave me the business card of an instrument maker she knew and suggested I contact him. After sending an email to the address on the card, I waited a few days for a response. The instrument maker arranged to meet me in his hometown, Puerto Saavedra. I was to phone when we arrived; he supplied no street address.

Puerto Saavedra (returning water) is a small coastal town about sixty miles from Temuco. Since it experienced a tidal wave in 1960, it has become a summer seaside resort. In the winter climate it seemed all but deserted when we arrived. Once we arrived, we rang, however there was no answer. We walked along the beach, ate warm empanadas, and the children went horse riding. Still there was no sign of the instrument maker. Then, as my children were climbing over an abandoned ship on the beach, a man appeared and gave us directions to his house. It was the instrument maker. We had been evaluated from afar and given permission to take the next step.

We stood in his front garden, his wife and children tucked away from sight. He spoke about the wood used to make the kultrun, winter’s bark (*drymis winteri*), which is a sacred shrub for the Mapuche known for its healing properties. Describing how to make the base of the kultrun and the drumhead, he explained that it could be made of guanaco, sheep, or colt skin. He told me I would need a machi to fit the skin over the base of the kultrun. He also explained how the machi ‘introduces her song’ into the kultrun before stretching the skin so as to leave a part of her soul inside, and in this instance, part of mine. According to Mapuche belief, the ‘voice’ and essence of the owner of the instrument will remain forever inside the kultrun.
The instrument maker wanted to know why I wanted the instrument and what I was going to place in my kultrun that symbolised my identity and ancestry. He also asked that I commit to finding a machi to complete the kultrun. He asked me to think about these questions and return in a few weeks. On my return visit, I was concerned about the price of the kultrun. Money had not been discussed previously. The craftsman suggested I purchase some carved wooden flutes, then I would not be charged for the drum. As I left his home, he explained that he could never sell a kultrun, as it was only ever to be used for spiritual purposes. With his permission I departed with my kultrun base and set out to find a machi who could complete its spiritual and physical construction.

The machi found me standing in a car park in Temuco, holding my new kultrun base while waiting for my friend to return to the car. After introducing ourselves, we talked for a while and it became clear she wanted to conduct the ceremony. She was the spiritual guide of her tribe and was dressed in full traditional headdress, an uncommon sight today. Setting out to meet a machi would likely be met with little success, yet here, close-by and while I waited in a car park, ‘my’ machi appeared. She invited us to her home the next day and asked me to bring along the items I wished to place inside my kultrun in order for her to participate in the ceremony. From previous visits to Chile, I understood that the Mapuche machi was also a musician, however I was unaware of the important role the machi had in the making a kultrun.

Since I was travelling, I did not have any family items that represented my ancestry. Then I remembered that all the women in my family are blonde, and decided to put some of my hair in the kultrun. I also had a button from a cardigan that my mother had given me to put in the kultrun. My mother is an artist and collects buttons for her
artworks on women and their lives. I reasoned that the button communicates something about who I am, the period of time I come from, and represents my mother as well. The machi also put some of her own items in my kultrun.

The ceremony to spiritually and physically connect the skin to the drum was a formal occasion. The machi sat on a wooden homemade chair with her kultrun facing to the east. Her husband had spent the thirty minutes prior warming the skin of the machi’s kultrun before the ceremony commenced. I sat next to her with my children. She explained that when she struck her kultrun, the machi summons cosmic and earthly components, material and non-material, and crosses a divide between the natural and supernatural worlds. At the end of the ceremony there was no exchange of money. We were asked to bring food for this ceremony to celebrate the making of the drum. I took several bags of groceries that, I later realised, was considered payment enough.

Ultimately, the instrument maker and the machi facilitated the process of making the kultrun. Concerns by both parties about my request for a kultrun were alleviated when I mentioned my association with Escuela Guacolda, my main research site. The symbolic structure of the Mapuche worldview is intertwined with the use of the kultrun, creating a musical bridge between humans and ancestral spirits. Setting the membrane into vibration creates the ultimate power of music to connect to the spiritual world. From this experience with the instrument maker and machi, I learned that the symbolic structure of the Mapuche worldview is intertwined with the use of the kultrun. As I have indicated throughout this thesis, such knowledge was to become indispensable to my research.
6 Discussion and Conclusion

6.1 Discussion

6.1.1 Cosmology

Evidence of the extent to which Escuela Guacolda values Mapuche expressive culture is apparent even before entering the school. The grand semicircular surfaces of the outer walls greet the visitor on arrival at the front of the school, suggesting an ancient historical theme. Even the least aware visitor would have to acknowledge the uniqueness of the school’s built environment. Creating a sociologically viable spiritual environment for learning Mapuche expressive culture is the central basis of Escuela Guacolda’s core program.

This is in direct contrast to other intercultural schools discussed in the literature review. See for example, Ortiz (2007), Szulc (2009), and Henze and Vanett (1993). In each of these cases the schools had individual qualities that formulated their own sense of indigenous uniqueness but none with such an overt cultural use of the built environment as Escuela Guacolda. The only other school I have seen that incorporated indigenous building styles is the small school at Rapahue, which features a ruka. This school was not intercultural but had such a small intake of students that was almost exclusively Mapuche due to its rural location.

This research has described the use of space and shape in Escuela Guacolda’s architecture, features that clearly identify a major commitment to both a figurative and material immersion in Mapuche expressive culture at the school. Immersion in Mapuche
cosmology is also reflected in the use of off-campus sites that reflect the circular Kultrun shape such as the hospital Nuevo Imperial and the ruka. The campus is designed according to the representational shape of the central belief system of the Mapuche embodied in the kultrun (drum) (see Grebe 1970). The three-tiered levels of the school and the entrance way clearly convey that Mapuche culture is the school’s primary educational commitment.

Having the design of each classroom reflect the circular shape of the kultrun is indicative of the dedication to the nurture of Mapuche identity among students at Escuela Guacolda. The blend of physical and spiritual connectedness that the walls possess in their evocation of Mapuche cosmology gives them a living, organic character. The symbolic significance of the walls is used as a prime teaching tool for Mapuche students in developing a strong sense of ethnic identity.

As explained in Chapter 2.3.6, the kultrun embodies and signifies the central element of Mapuche religion and cosmology, with the drum symbolising the four cardinal points of north, south, east, and west, as well as the sun and moon cycles that occur around the drum (Grebe 1970). The kultrun offers a symbolic representation of the earth and the lunar calendar used in Mapuche cosmology. Shaping the school walls to reflect those of a kultrun as the school’s learning environment has a significant impact on students’ sense of Mapuche identity. The students cannot help but feel and appreciate, even if unconsciously, the sense of cultural immersion they gain from the school’s surroundings. Recognition of the circularity of the school informs teachers and students both at a deep psychological level when on site.
Having circular shaped classrooms means the whiteboard is to be at the back of the room since it does not easily fit these rooms’ roundness. The desks and chairs have to be moved around to fit the space as well. Although there was a great deal of movement of desks according to which teacher was teaching, generally the desks were placed in a semi-circular arrangement at the front of the room. This allowed the natural sunlight to come in from behind the students to illuminate their work.

6.1.2 Music and dance

Escuela Guacolda’s classroom music program is limited in time and scope, and only touches on aspects of Mapuche expressive culture in a superficial way. It appears to have minimal impact regarding the transmission of indigenous expressive culture, although there is symbolic continuity at least in the use of some Mapuche musical instruments. More broadly, music and dance instruction at the school is not an activity that is exclusive to musically gifted students, nor is it disseminated mainly through music classes. This finding was unknown before this research, as was the selection process engaged to determine why certain people play particular instruments.

Every student becomes involved in music and dance on some level. Participants are not selected by talent or ability but are encouraged to learn, and their learning is not evaluated according to how quickly they learn. Competency on Mapuche instruments is taught until it is achieved—there is no notion of failure.

My initial research question asked, ‘To what extent does Liceo Técnico Particular Guacolda value Mapuche expressive culture as indicated by its curriculum and the

---

45 Music and dance are activities open to all in Mapuche society, although only the machi may use the kultrun in spiritual ceremonies to connect to ancestral spirits.
involvement and responses of its teachers, students, and broader community?’ First, at Escuela Guacolda music is learned through participation: the expectation that all students will participate in the scheduled ceremonial events and during these events play Mapuche musical instruments, reflects the high value the school places on expressive culture as part of developing pride in being Mapuche. Second, the events themselves provide the link between learning indigenous music and dance, as this expressive cultural knowledge is not learned in music class.

The lonco explained that the assigning of specific Mapuche musical instruments is traditionally determined according to heredity, that is, whether or not a relative of a person had once played that same instrument. Traditionally, instrumental skills are developed in one’s family and community. Instruments are often handed down ancestrally and not simply selected according to individual choice. If your father played the trutruka, the community would feel that you had an ancestral inclination towards the instrument, and your anticipated competence on the musical instrument would be associated with your father’s competence. Nevertheless, this tradition does not exclude any student at Escuela Guacolda from playing any particular instrument.

The idea of ‘musician’ as an occupation in the Western sense does not exist in Mapuche culture. The idea of a Mapuche identifying himself or herself as a musician is a relatively new concept that has accompanied the development of folkloric music in Chile.

My fourth research question uncovered a degree of ideological conflict at Escuela Guacolda in relation to the transmission of music. Music and its authentic ritual production is a cultural concern of the Mapuche teachers and community elders. The music teacher saw the dissemination of musical fusion as a means of connecting with
what she considered authentic Mapuche cultural expression. Such an idea struck a chord of concern for several teachers at the school. The question of whether or not Mapuche cultural identity will be threatened by the promotion of fusion or folkloric music remains to be seen. The presence of the latter did nevertheless indicate that a Western-type understanding of what constitutes music is gaining a foothold in the school. When interviewed, the music teacher felt that employing techno, electronic music, and folkloric music did not alter the authenticity of Mapuche musical content, as long as those creating such music were Mapuche.

Due to her indigenous identity as well as her reputation as an established artist, the music teacher felt she had the right to select the style of music promoted in her classes. Additionally, if the music employed traditional Mapuche rhythms and melodies, she considered it to be authentic. The four key teachers at the school did not accept fusion music as authentically Mapuche. To them the fusion could not be considered Mapuche musica as it belongs firmly in the realm of the winka. However, due to its limited place in the curriculum at Escuela Guacolda, it is unlikely that such music will have a significant impact on the transmission of what the four key teachers consider genuine Mapuche expressive culture.

Mapudungun is central to the survival of Mapuche music, as the music of the Mapuche is based around language. The Mapuche community is beginning to promote a tradition of singing Mapuche songs within the school’s programs. The lonco or tribal chief is the school’s Mapudungun language teacher. The students study five hours of Mapudungun per week in their first year at Escuela Guacolda. The academic standing of this subject is critical to the success of the expressive cultural curriculum at the school.
The Mapudungun course at Escuela Guacolda plays an important part in the study of childcare. As the childcare curriculum is intercultural, both Western-oriented and Mapuche modes of music are implemented within the program, which includes the composing and singing of songs. Mapuche songs are sung for the children in Mapudungun. The school has also extended this program to include songs already known from the Chilean tradition, although these are translated into Mapudungun. This appears to be a newly emerging aspect of the transmission of Mapuche expressive culture and the changing ideas about what constitutes Mapuche music.

6.1.3 Teachers

The Mapuche cosmological life approach expressed in Escuela Guacolda’s architecture and design continues inside its walls via the school’s kimches and teachers. Four especially significant teachers oversee and guide the essence of the program through their unique implementation of Mapuche concepts when teaching. It is due to their commitment that the program has authenticity and direction. It is possible that these four significant teachers may not be consciously aware of the impact that they have on the school and its modus operandi. These teachers in particular dedicate themselves to educating through Mapuche culture in its most authentic form, with a smooth and unhurried methodology or pedagogy.

As a teacher myself, I found these teachers’ patience extraordinary and inspirational. I never once heard a teacher raise their voice, and neither did they appear to ever tell the students to be quiet or to settle down. Instead, they gently proceed with their classes in a positive way, and through this calm approach, the students appear to develop independence and self-reliance. I gained an impression that the teachers very much
appreciated and enjoy each other’s company, sharing (as their main meal) lunch each day.

The extended use of community-based teachers in the Mapuche curriculum is critical to the survival and centrality of the cultural work that takes place at Escuela Guacolda. Having these kimche (community elders) at the school is an indispensable cultural resource (Ortiz 2007). For example, as discussed, a specialist machi takes responsibility for the nursing classes.

6.1.4 Identity

The findings of this research detail how the geographic seclusion of the school creates a safe zone, ethnically. The walls create a culturally symbolic area that protects students from discrimination. Students develop a strong sense of indigenous identity over their four years at the school, indeed, it has been possible to witness the progressive change students undergo at different age levels in this regard, whether Mapuche or Chilean.

This sense of identity is created through the extensive curriculum, academic, technical, intercultural, and the ‘extended Mapuche curriculum’ that is transmitted from teachers to students through ritual activities and Mapudungun language classes. This ‘extended curriculum’ ensures that identity partitioning, such as has been identified through research into other intercultural schools (see for example, Henze and Vanett [1993]) does not exist at Escuela Guacolda. A school environment saturated with Mapuche iconic images, its geographic seclusion, and its pedagogical processes all contribute to the inculcation within students of a strong sense of Mapuche ethnic identity.
6.2 Conclusion

Mapuche expressive culture, I believe, is transmitted with a degree of sincerity, rigour, and success at Escuela Guacolda. This is achieved through an original approach to study that involves interplay between an intercultural curriculum, an academic curriculum, a technical curriculum, and interestingly, what I refer to as an ‘extended Mapuche curriculum’ which includes a significant focus on expressive culture, one that extends well beyond tokenism. This contrasts with the findings of by Ortiz (2007), which appear to indicate that the intercultural curriculum at a school in Piedra Alta was not significantly linked with that school’s regular mainstream curriculum.

The ‘extended Mapuche curriculum’ I identified in my research seems to be enabled if not necessitated by the school’s isolated location, which somewhat naturally allows teachers and relevant community cultural experts to spend significant periods of time with students. The school philosophy, which concentrates on Mapuche knowledge transmission, translates into a way of life for students and extends beyond a mere procedural ideology. Additionally, the school as physical site (the ‘walls’ of the study’s title) and the cosmological spaces they encompass, facilitate the transmission of Mapuche ethnic identity (Grebe 1970). This occurs through the interweaving within school programs and routines, Mapuche cultural symbols, icons and sounds. These surround the students—the circular classrooms, signage in Mapudungun, and the kultrun shape of the school building, the use of the Mapudungun language, the sound of instruments, and so on.

At Escuela Guacolda, the transmission of Mapuche expressive culture is core and takes place via the school’s unique use of various curricula and reinforced by knowledge
impacted by specialist community elders. These cultural specialists have a considerable impact on the school’s valuing of expressive culture, as they are the prime bearers of Mapuche identity both in classes and through their participation as experts in ritual events. The curriculum embraces and promotes Mapuche identity, as do all of the teachers who help to facilitate its nurture.

Students at the school develop a greater cultural understanding than is possible in their home locales, where a knowledge base of the Mapuche culture has often been eroded. Additionally, the school’s infusion of ritual expression is returned to local communities via its students who in turn broaden their respective communities’ understanding and knowledge of Mapuche culture. The local community further embraces the school as foundational for the continued development of young Mapuche.

There is a fusion style of teaching at Escuela Guacolda within aspects of the intercultural curriculum and music program. Although this fusion would is not deemed authentic by Mapuche elders, the clear vision for the development of Mapuche identity the school imparts tends to override this aspect of the school’s programming.

The inculcation of Mapuche identity at Escuela Guacolda informs almost every facet of school life. An ‘extended Mapuche curriculum’ promoted by a core group of especially dedicated teachers draws on communal, traditional, and spiritual methodologies in their task of contributing to the formation of students who are confident and proud of their Mapuche identity. The four key Mapuche teachers at Escuela Guacolda develop and help maintain with authenticity and integrity, Mapuche indigenous knowledge and expressive culture.
7 References


Bengoa, José. 2007. *Historia de un Conflicto: El Estado y los Mapuches en el Siglo XX*


Grebe, María Ester, Sergio Pacheco and José Segura. 1972. ‘Cosmovisión Mapuche.’ *Cuadernos de la Realidad Nacional* 14:46—73.


APPENDIX A: LIST OF INTERVIEWS, CONVERSATIONS
AND OBSERVATIONS UNDERTAKEN

Community Interviews

1. Director of The Museo Regional Araucania, 22 September 2011, Temuco, [1hr]
2. Instrument maker, 6 October 2011, Puerto Saavedra, [3hrs]
3. Director of Cultural Affairs of Chol Chol Municipal Council, 25 September 2011, Chol Chol, [1hr, 40mins]
5. Volunteer at Chol Chol Mapuche Museum, 25 September 2011, [15mins]
6. Local machi, 5 October 2011 [2hrs]
7. Museum guide of Puren, 3 October 2011, [20mins]
8. Fundación de Educación Beato Ceferino, executive secretary, 6 October 2011, [1hr]
9. Professor in intercultural education at The University de la Frontera, 25 September 2011, [30mins]
10. Minister for Culture, Chol Chol Municipal Council, 25 September 2011, Chol Chol, [1hr, 40mins]
11. Director of the Central Training Institute Indian Foundation, conversation, 3 October 2011 [20mins]
12. Parent of school student, conversation, 24 September 2011, [30mins]
**Religious officials**

1. Original founding Bishop, conversation, 3 October 2011, [15mins]
2. Bishop from Rome –Nuncio, conversation, 3 October 2011, [10mins]

**Teachers**

1. The principal, formal interview 3 and 6 October, multiple conversations and interviews 2011, [48hrs]
2. History teacher, multiple conversations and interviews, formal interview 28 September 2011, [6hrs]
3. School Machi, 28 September 2011, [1hr]
4. Head of Technical School, 28 September 2011, [1hr]
5. Visual Art teacher, 3 October 2011, [1hr, 30mins]
6. Lonco and Mapudungun language teacher, two interviews, 4 and 5 October 2011, [3hrs, 15mins]
7. The cooking teacher, individual multiple conversations and interview, between 28 September and 5 October 2011, [2hrs, 30mins]
8. The Librarian, individual multiple conversations and interviews, 29 September 2011, [3hrs]
9. Music Teacher, Multiple interviews, between 28 September and 5 October 2011, [2hrs, 30mins]
10. Music for Kindergarten Teachers, 28 September 2011, [1hr, 15mins]
11. English teacher, two interviews, 28 and 4 September 2011, [40mins]
12. Community member, 28 September 2011, [40mins]
13. Teacher at the Rapahue School, 28 September 2011, [2hr]
Support staff

1. Three school cooks; individual multiple conversations, between the 28 September till the 5 October 2011, [40mins]
2. Two boarding school night staff, individual multiple conversations, between the 28 September till the 5 October 2011, [40mins]
3. Gate / maintenance man, individual multiple conversations, between the 28 September till the 5 October 2011, [40mins]

Students

1. Sixteen students in total. Four-focus groups of four students, two boys and two girls in each year group, 29 and 30 September 2011, each group of four students took approx [30mins] per interview, one straight after another

Alumni

1. First alumni, 30 October 2011, [40mins]
2. Second alumni, 30 October 2011, [1hr]
3. Third alumni, 30 October 2011, [30mins]
4. Fourth alumni, 30 October 2011, [35mins]

Classroom Observations

1. Music class, two observations, 28 and 29 September 2011, [1hr, 15mins each observation]
2. Cooking class, practical, 29 September 2011, [1hr, 15mins],
3. Intercultural kindergarten teaching class, 28 September 2011, [1hr, 15mins]
4. Computer class, 29 September 2011, [40mins]
5. Mapudungun class, 29 September 2011, [1hr, 15mins]
6. Library, 29 September 2011, [40mins]

7. Intercultural health/nursing class, 28 September 2011, [1hr, 15mins]

8. History class, two observations, 28 and 29 September 2011, [2hr, 30mins]

**Workshops**

1. Tree planting ceremony: inspection, 3 October 2011, [30 mins]

2. Collection of kultrun and pfíkas’ from an instrument maker, 5 October 2011, [7 hrs]

3. Mapudungun workshop, 29 September 2011, [1hr, 15mins]

4. Musical instrument composition workshop, 5 October 2011, [1hr, 15mins]

5. Guitar performance workshop, 3 October 2011, [35mins]

6. Official discussion and meeting with regional loncos’ and Rome’s Papal representative to South America, 3 October 2011, [2hrs, 5mins]
APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR AUTHOR

PREPARED BY ESCUELA GUACOLDA PRINCIPAL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fecha</th>
<th>Horas</th>
<th>Sector de Aprendizaje</th>
<th>Docente</th>
<th>Lugar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Martes 25</td>
<td>8:10 a 9:40</td>
<td>RECREO</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>10:00 a 11:30</td>
<td>Intercultural y Desarrollo</td>
<td></td>
<td>1ª A, sala N° 04, Primer piso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>11:40 a 13:10</td>
<td>Sistema de Salud Mapuche Altruismo</td>
<td></td>
<td>3ª D, sala 15, Tercer piso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>14:10 a 15:40</td>
<td>Música en el Písimo</td>
<td></td>
<td>4ª D, sala 16, 2º piso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>15:30 a 17:20</td>
<td>Artes Músicales</td>
<td></td>
<td>1ª A, sala del frente</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>17:30</td>
<td>CONVERGENCIA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jueves 29</td>
<td>8:10 a 9:40</td>
<td>CONVERGENCIA</td>
<td></td>
<td>Municipialidad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>10:00 a 11:30</td>
<td>Lengua Mapuche</td>
<td></td>
<td>1ª C, sala del patio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>11:40 a 13:10</td>
<td>Cultura Mapuche y susores Almuerzo</td>
<td></td>
<td>3ª B, sala 15, Tercer piso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>14:10 a 15:40</td>
<td>Cultura y Sociedad Mapuche</td>
<td></td>
<td>3ª A, sala 05, Primer piso</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Viernes 30 de Octubre
8.10 a 9.40
8.30 a 9.00, entrevista con alumnos de 3º Medio
9.00 a 9.30, entrevista a 4 estudiantes de Cuarto Medio

15.30 a 17.20
Entrevistas a Jóvenes

16.00 a 16.30, cuatro alumnos de Primer Medio (2 H y 2 M)
16.30 a 17.00, cuatro estudiantes de Segundo Medio (2 H y 2 M)

2 Hombres y 2 Mujeres.
2 Hombres y 2 Mujeres.

Lunes 05 de Octubre
Entrevista con alumnos
Desde 9.00 horas

17.30
Entrevista con profesor de Artes Visuales

Martes 06
Por la mañana
Entrevista con licencia

Por la tarde
Donde la Machi

Bishop Foundation

Viernes 09 - Fuente Herrer
Entrevista con Ema.

Viernes - Go home.
APPENDIX C: Ethics Acceptance Letter

RESEARCH INTEGRITY
Human Research Ethics Committee
Web: http://sydney.edu.au/ethics/
Email: u.humanethics@sydney.edu.au

Address for all correspondence:
Level 6, Jane Foss Russell Building - G02
The University of Sydney
NSW 2006 AUSTRALIA

Ref: [SA/KFG]
10 June 2011
Dr Michael Webb
Lecturer
Music Education Unit
Sydney Conservatorium of Music – C41
The University of Sydney
Email: michael.webb@sydney.edu.au

Dear Dr Webb

Thank you for your correspondence dated 2 and 9 June 2011 addressing comments made to you by the Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC). On 9 June 2011 the Chair of the HREC considered this information and approved the protocol entitled “Music inside the walls: A case study of Mapuche expressive culture and identity in a boarding school in southern Chile”.

Details of the approval are as follows:

Protocol No.: 06-2011 / 13816
Approval Period: June 2011 to June 2012
Authorised Personnel: Dr Michael Webb
Ms Sarah Butler

Documents Approved:
Participant Information Statements (version 1, 02/05/2011)
- Student
- Alumnus
- Teacher/Education Official
- Community Leader/Cultural Export

Participant Consent Forms (version 1, 02/05/2011)
- Student
- Alumnus
- Teacher/Education Official
- Community Leader/Cultural Export

Interview Protocol – Interview Topics/Questions

Special Conditions of Approval

Please forward to the Ethics Office independently certified translations of the public documents prior to commencing recruitment.

Translations must be certified by a person who has no conflict of interest and is not associated with the research project (either an applicant or other persons identified in the application). They need to indicate that the translated documents are a true and accurate representation of the English language versions submitted to the HREC. A statutory declaration to this effect would be appropriate if not a registered translator. A statutory declaration form can be found at [http://sydney.edu.au/uhr/ID/]

Manager Human Ethics
Dr Margaret Feely
T: +61 2 9357 9175
E: human.ethics@sydney.edu.au

Human Ethics Secretariat:
Ms Keren Lazer
T: +61 2 9357 9171
E: human.ethics@sydney.edu.au
Ms Patricia Englemann
T: +61 2 9357 8172
E: patricia.englemann@sydney.edu.au
Ms Ada Retam
T: +61 2 9357 8173
E: ada.retam@sydney.edu.au

182
The HREC is a fully constituted Ethics Committee in accordance with the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Research Involving Humans—March 2007 under Section 5.1.29.

The approval of this project is conditional upon your continuing compliance with the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Research Involving Humans. A report on this research must be submitted every 12 months from the date of the approval or on completion of the project, whichever occurs first. Failure to submit reports will result in withdrawal of consent for the project to proceed. Your report is due by 30 June 2012.

Chief Investigator / Supervisor’s responsibilities to ensure that:

1. All serious and unexpected adverse events should be reported to the HREC within 72 hours for clinical trials/interventional research.
2. All unforeseen events that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project should be reported to the HREC as soon as possible.
3. Any changes to the protocol must be approved by the HREC before the research project can proceed.
4. All research participants are to be provided with a Participant Information Statement and Consent Form, unless otherwise agreed by the Committee. The following statement must appear on the bottom of the Participant Information Statement: Any person with concerns or complaints about the conduct of a research study can contact the Manager, Human Ethics, University of Sydney on +61 2 8627 8176 (Telephone); + 61 2 8627 8177 (Facsimile) or mo.humanethics@sydney.edu.au ([Email]).
5. You must retain copies of all signed Consent Forms and provide these to the HREC on request.
6. It is your responsibility to provide a copy of this letter to any internal/external granting agencies if requested.
7. The HREC approval is valid for four (4) years from the Approval Period stated in this letter. Investigators are requested to submit a progress report annually.
8. A report and a copy of any published material should be provided at the completion of the Project.

Please do not hesitate to contact Research Integrity (Human Ethics) should you require further information or clarification.

Yours sincerely

[Signature]

Dr Stephen Assinder
Chair
Human Research Ethics Committee

cc: Sarah Butler
sack2425@uni.sydney.edu.au
Translated from Spanish by Gerlin (Lynn) Hahn, NAATI no. 63078, Date: 10/05/2011

The University of Sydney
SYDNEY CONSERVATORIUM
OF MUSIC

PARTICIPANT'S CONSENT FORM

(Schools, teachers, students, professional musicians and community groups / members and individuals)

The Guacolde Private Technical College agrees to participate in the research study:
name (please fill out)

The Music of the Araucanians and the social-political influences that helped to define it.

I agree to participate and confirm that

1. I have had the opportunity to discuss the information regarding the study and my contribution with the researcher, and that I have received a satisfactory explanation to any question I had in relation to the study.
2. I understand the topic of the study, the time and involvement expected from my side, which has been explained to me.
3. I have the option to cancel or suspend my participation in the study at any time without harming my relationship with the researcher at present or in the future.
4. I understand that the musical performances and interviews will be recorded, including by video, for analysis purposes and to extract the transcription.

☐ I give permission for my identity to be revealed in the study.
☐ I give permission for video and sound recordings in the course of the study to be used in public and publications resulting from the study.

Signature: [Signature]
Name: Ema Beltran Inostroza (S) [Round seal of the Director]
Date: 02/04/2009

As a participant, you may keep one copy of this form, and an additional copy will be for Sarah Butler who represents The University of Sydney – Sydney Conservatorium of Music.

Sarah Butler's contact details in Temuco are:
Address: 26 Wentworth Park Road Glebe 2041
Email: sarlatino@hotmail.com Sydney
Phone: 0061295662700 Australia

Certified as a true and correct translation of the Spanish language document.

Gerlin (Lynn) Hahn, NAATI No. 63078
APPENDIX E: SCHOOL PERMISSION LETTER

CERTIFICADO

ERIKA BELTRÁN INOSTROZA, Directora Liceo Técnico Particular Guscelida, ubicado en la localidad de Chol-Chol, con Decreto Cooperador de la Función Educativa del Estado N° 0272 de 1984, RBD N° 0645-S, certifica que la Sra. SARAH BUTLER, ha visitado el Liceo a mi cargo en dos oportunidades.

Durante sus visitas, ha desarrollado un acercamiento con los estudiantes, especialmente en el tema de interculturalidad, tan propio del Liceo y que es uno de los pilares del desarrollo de nuestro P.I.E.I. (Proyecto Educativo Institucional).

El Liceo T. P. Guscelida tiene una matrícula de 425 alumnos, desde 1º a 4º Año de Educación Media de los cuales en 89% son estudiantes mapuche de comunidades vecinas al pueblo de Chol-Chol.

Certifico que la Sra. Sarah está autorizada para visitar el Liceo cuando lo desee, con la finalidad de participar en actividades propias del establecimiento, que sean pertinentes para el trabajo de investigación que ella se ha propuesto.

Se otorga el presente certificado para los fines que estime conveniente.

CHOL-CHOL, Abril de 2009.
APPENDIX F: MAYORAL CONSENT CHOL CHOL MUNICIPALITY

The University of Sydney
SYDNEY CONSERVATORIUM
OF MUSIC

FORMA DE CONSENTIMIENTO DEL PARTICIPANTE
(Escuelas, maestros, estudiantes, músicos profesionales y grupos de la comunidad / miembros e individuales)

El presente: ___________________________ está de acuerdo en participar en el estudio de 
Nombre (escribe por favor) investigación.

La Música de los Mapuche y las influencias socio-políticas que ayudaron a definirla.

Al estar de acuerdo en participar, confirma que

1. He sido la oportunidad de discutir con el investigador la información acerca del 
estudio y mi contribución en el estudio. Y que ha cualquier pregunta que tenga 
acera del estudio se me ha dado una explicación a mi satisfacción.

2. Entiendo que tengo la opción de cancelar o retirarme del estudio en cualquier 
tiempo sin afectar mi relación con el investigador ahora o en el futuro.

3. Entiendo que en video para el propósito de análisis y extraer transcripción.

☐ Doy permiso de revelar mi identidad en el estudio.
☒ Doy permiso para grabar en video y sonido durante el estudio para usarse en 

presentaciones públicas y publicaciones que resulten del estudio.

Firma: ____________________________________________

Nombre: ___________________________

Fecha: 01/04/10

Como participante, podrás retener una copia de esta forma y una copia adicional será 
para el uso de Sarah Butler, quien representa (The University of Sydney – Sydney 
Conservatorium of Music).

El contacto de Sarah Butler en Temuco es:
Dirección: 226 santo angel prada 61800
Email: sarbutler@hotmail.com
Teléfono: 698162678700
APPENDIX G: PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM-TEACHER

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM: TEACHER

I, _______________________________ [PRINT NAME], give consent to my participation in the research project.

TITLE: Music inside the walls: A case study of Mapuche expressive culture and identity in a southern Chile boarding school.

In giving my consent I acknowledge that:

1. The procedures required for the project and the time involved have been clearly explained to me, and any questions I have about the project have been answered to my satisfaction.

2. I have read (or had read to me) the Participant Information Statement and have been given the opportunity to discuss the information and my involvement in the project with the researcher.

3. I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time without affecting my relationship with the researcher, the University of Sydney, or the Liceo Tecnico Guacolo, neither now nor in the future.

4. I understand that my involvement is strictly confidential and no information about me, including my name and photograph will be used in any way that reveals my identity.

5. I understand that participating in this study is completely voluntary and that I am not under any obligation to consent.

6. I understand that as an individual I can stop the interview at any time if I do not wish to continue, and that specific audio and video recording and photographs will be erased/deleted and the information provided will not be included in the study. I also understand that school can withdraw its participation in the study at any time.
7. I consent to:
   i) Audio-taping        YES ☐ NO ☐
   ii) Video-taping       YES ☐ NO ☐
   iii) Photographing     YES ☐ NO ☐

My consent above applies to the use of transcribed interview statements in the thesis where the research will be written up, and to audio and video recordings of learning sessions and school-based performances in public presentations about the research. I understand that audio recordings of the interviews will not be used in such public presentations.

8. I consent to the data collected by the researcher (recorded interviews, class sessions, rehearsals, performances) being permanently stored at the Liceo Tecnico Guacolda: YES ☐ NO ☐

Signed: ................................................................................................................................................

Name: ...............................................................................................................................................

Date: ..................................................................................................................................................
APPENDIX H: PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM-COMMUNITY EXPERT

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM: COMMUNITY LEADER/CULTURAL EXPERT

I, ______________________________ (PRINT NAME), give consent to my participation in the research project.

TITLE: Music inside the walls: A case study of Mapuche expressive culture and identity in a southern Chile boarding school.

I acknowledge that:

1. The procedures required for the project and the time involved have been clearly explained to me, and any questions I have about the project have been answered to my satisfaction.

2. I have read (or had read to me) the Participant Information Statement and have been given the opportunity to discuss the information and my involvement in the project with the researcher.

3. I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time without affecting my relationship with the researcher, the University of Sydney, or the Liceo Técnico Guaicaíla, neither now nor in the future.

4. I understand that my involvement is strictly confidential and no information about me including my name and photograph will be used in any way that reveals my identity.

5. I understand that participating in this study is completely voluntary and that I am not under any obligation to consent.

6. I understand that as an individual I can stop the interview at any time if I do not wish to continue. I also understand that the researcher can withdraw its participation in the study at any time.
7. I consent to:
   i) Audio-taping   YES ☐ NO ☐
   ii) Video-taping  YES ☐ NO ☐
   iii) Photographing YES ☐ NO ☐

   My consent above applies to the use of transcribed interview statements in the thesis where the research will be written up. I understand that audio recordings of the interviews will not be used in public presentations.

8. I consent to the data collected by the researcher (recorded interviews, class sessions, rehearsals, performances) being permanently stored at the Liceo Technico Guáldora: YES ☐ NO ☐

Signed: ...........................................................................................................................
Name: ............................................................................................................................
Date: .............................................................................................................................

Music inside the walls: A case study of Mapuche expressive culture and identity in a southern Chile boarding school

Version 1 – 32/06/11
APPENDIX I: PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM-STUDENT

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM: STUDENT

I, ____________________________ (PRINT NAME), give consent to my participation in the research project.

TITLE: Music inside the walls: A case study of Mapuche expressive culture and identity in a southern Chile boarding school.

In giving my consent I acknowledge that:

1. The procedures required for the project and the time involved, have been clearly explained to me, and any questions I have about the project have been answered to my satisfaction.

2. I have read (or had read to me) the Participant Information Statement and have been given the opportunity to discuss the information and my involvement in the project with the researcher.

3. I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time without affecting my relationship with the researcher, the University of Sydney, or the Liceo Tecnico Guadalupe, whether now or in the future.

4. I understand that my involvement is strictly confidential and no information about me including my name and photograph will be used in any way that reveals my identity.

5. I understand that participating in this study is completely voluntary and that I am not under any obligation to consent.

6. I understand that if at any time I do not wish to continue to participate in the study, I can withdraw at any time. I also understand that if I withdraw at any time, the information collected before withdrawal may be used in the research.

I also understand that I can stop my participation in the focus group at any time if I do not wish to continue, however as it is a focus group discussion it will not be possible to erase my participation in the discussion to that point.
7. I consent to:
   i) Audio-taping YES ☐ NO ☐ ☐
   ii) Video-taping YES ☐ NO ☐ ☐
   iii) Photographing YES ☐ NO ☐ ☐

My consent above applies to the use of transcribed interview statements in the thesis where the research will be written up, and to audio and video recordings of learning sessions and school-based performances in public presentations about the research. I understand that audio recordings of the interviews will not be used in such public presentations.

8. I consent to the data collected by the researcher (recorded interviews, rehearsals, performances) being permanently stored at the Liceo Técnico Gualcilda: YES ☐ NO ☐ ☐

Signed: .................................................................................................................................

Name: .................................................................................................................................

Date: .................................................................................................................................
APPENDIX J: PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM - ALUMNUS

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM: ALUMNUS

I, .......................................................... (PRINT NAME), give consent to my participation in the research project

TITLE: Music inside the walls: A case study of Mapuche expressive culture and identity in a southern Chile boarding school.

In giving my consent I acknowledge that:

1. The procedures required for the project and the time involved, have been clearly explained to me, and any questions I have about the project have been answered to my satisfaction.

2. I have read (or had read to me) the Participant Information Statement and have been given the opportunity to discuss the information and my involvement in the project with the researcher.

3. I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time without affecting my relationship with the researcher, the University of Sydney, or the Liceo Tecnico Guacolda, neither now nor in the future.

4. I understand that my involvement is strictly confidential and no information about me including my name and photograph will be used in any way that reveals my identity.

5. I understand that participating in this study is completely voluntary and that I am not under any obligation to consent.

6. I understand that as an individual I can stop the interview at any time if I do not wish to continue. I also understand that school can withdraw its participation in the study at any time.
7. I consent to:
   i) Audio-taping      YES  ☐  NO  ☐
   ii) Video-taping     YES  ☐  NO  ☐
   iii) Photographing   YES  ☐  NO  ☐

My consent above applies to the use of transcribed interview statements in the thesis where the research will be written up, and to audio and video recordings of learning sessions and school-based performances in public presentations about the research. I understand that audio recordings of the interviews will not be used in such public presentations.

8. I consent to the data collected by the researcher (recorded interviews, rehearsals, performances) being permanently stored at the Liceo Tecnico Gualcoida:

   YES  ☐  NO  ☐

Signed: ...........................................................................................................

Name: ...............................................................................................................

Date: ................................................................................................................
APPENDIX K: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION STATEMENT - TEACHER

Music inside the walls: A case study of Mapuche expressive culture and identity in a southern Chile boarding school

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION STATEMENT: TEACHER

1. What is the study about?
   This study investigates the importance of Mapuche music, dance and ceremony, to students and the community of the Liceo Technico Guaricola, Chol Chol, in the Tangolunda region of Chile, in the context of the school's otherwise technologically oriented curriculum. It seeks to understand students' and alumni's, as well as teachers and community elders' attitudes towards Mapuche traditional indigenous music and dance, the teaching and learning of these repertoires, and whether such attitudes change or develop (and if so, in what ways and why) over the course of the six years of students' schooling, or whether they have changed since the program's inception. The study wishes to know what 'being Mapuche' means to students, staff and teachers -- particularly given their emigration and involvement in a school dedicated to educating Mapuche students -- and how the school's expressive cultural program contributes to this sense.

2. Who is carrying out the study?
   The study is being conducted by Ms Sarah Butler and will form the basis for the degree of a research Masters of Musicology at the Sydney Conservatorium of Music, the University of Sydney, Macquarie St, Sydney, NSW 2000, Australia, under the supervision of Dr Michael Webb.

3. What does the study involve?
   Ms Butler will attend school classes and rehearsal sessions where Mapuche music and dance is taught, as well as attend selected school-based performances, in order to observe and understand the teaching and learning processes and performance contexts provided by the school. She will conduct classes, rehearsal sessions and school-based performances in the form of audio and video recording, note-taking, and photography.

   Ms Butler will individually interview teachers involved in Mapuche expressive cultural education. She will ask teachers a series of questions about their background and experience in music, dance and ceremony, Mapuche and otherwise, and about how they view and understand the cultural program of the school in relation to the curriculum as a whole. She will ask teachers to discuss how successful they think the culture program is and what and how it contributes to building Mapuche identity among students. She will also ask practical questions about who selects music and dance for study and according to what criteria. These interviews will be audio recorded.

   The researcher may use in public presentations, excerpts of the video recordings she makes, and photographs she takes. Audio recordings of interviews will be transcribed and excerpts of music inside the walls: A case study of Mapuche expressive culture and identity in a southern Chile boarding school
those transcriptions included in the thesis in which the research is written up, in order to convey to cousins accurate accounts of the school's expressive cultural practices, beliefs and attitudes.

4. **How much time will the study take?**
   
The researcher will spend up to several hours each day spread over three to four weeks at the school, documenting timetabled teaching and rehearsal sessions and performance occasions.

   The teacher interviews will be of one hour's duration, and will be undertaken at a time that is convenient to participating teachers and the school.

5. **Can I withdraw from the study?**
   
   You may withdraw at any time from participating in rehearsal and performance sessions being videoed or photographed by Ms Butler (the researcher), and/or from participating in the interview, without affecting your relationship with the researcher. The University of Sydney, or the Liceo Tecnico Guatocid, Should you withdraw, nothing recorded prior to your withdrawal will be used as data in the study, that is, the recording will be erased.

6. **Will anyone else know the results?**
   
   Your name will not appear in the thesis that results from the research, nor will photographs or details that may make it possible to identify you. A copy of the completed thesis will be presented to the school library and will be available to those who have access to that library. A copy will also be presented to the office of the local education authority.

7. **Will the study benefit me?**
   
   It is expected that the study will benefit the Mapuche people in the Chol Chol area – the students, teachers, and community elders and officials participating in the study – by accurately documenting the ways in which the school fosters and promotes Mapuche culture and identity.

8. **Can I tell other people about the study?**
   
   Yes.

9. **What if I require further information about the study or my involvement in it?**
   
   Ms Sarah Butler will discuss this information with you and answer any questions you may have. If you would like to know more at any stage, please contact Ms Sarah Butler at Telephone: 512-2-9666 2700, Fax 61-2-9666 2720 or on email sarah.butter@sydney.edu.au or Michael Webb, Lecturer, Music Education Unit, Sydney Conservatorium of Music, Telephone: 61-2-9351 1332, Fax 61-2-9351 1287, email: michael.webb@sydney.edu.au.

10. **What if I have a complaint or any concerns?**
   
   Any person with concerns or complaints about the conduct of a research study can contact the Manager, Human Ethics Administration, University of Sydney on +61 2 9351 8176 (Telephone); +61 2 6627 8177 (Facsimile) or ethicsadmin@sydney.edu.au (Email).

   This information sheet is for you to keep.
APPENDIX L: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION STATEMENT - COMMUNITY EXPERT

Music inside the walls: A case study of Mapuche expressive culture and identity in a southern Chile boarding school

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION STATEMENT: COMMUNITY LEADER/CULTURAL EXPERT

(1) What is the study about?
This study investigates the importance of Mapuche music, dance and ceremony to students and the community of the Liceo Tecnico Guacolda, Chol Chol, in the Temuco region of Chile. In the context of the school's otherwise technologically-oriented curriculum. It seeks to understand students' and alumni's, as well as teachers' and community elders' attitudes towards Mapuche traditional indigenous music and dance, the teaching and learning of these repertoires, and whether such attitudes change or develop (and if so, in what ways and why) over the course of the six years of students' schooling, or whether they have changed since the program's inception. The study wishes to know what "being Mapuche" means to students, staff and teachers - particularly given their enrolment and involvement in a school dedicated to educating Mapuche students - and how the school's expressive cultural program contributes to this sense.

(2) Who is carrying out the study?
The study is being conducted by Ms Sarah Butler and will form the basis for the degree of a research Masters of Musicology at the Sydney Conservatorium of Music, the University of Sydney, Macquarie St, Sydney, NSW 2000, Australia, under the supervision of Dr Michael Webb.

(3) What does the study involve?
Ms Butler will attend school classes and rehearsals sessions where Mapuche music and dance is taught, as well as attend selected school-based performances, in order to observe and understand the teaching and learning processes and performance contexts provided the school provides. She will document classes, rehearsal sessions and school-based performances in the form of audio and video recording, note taking, and photography.

Ms Butler will individually interview community leaders and cultural experts associated with the school’s program of Mapuche expressive cultural education. She will ask community leaders and cultural experts a series of questions about their background and experience in Mapuche music, dance and ceremony, as well as technical questions about the nature of Mapuche music, dance, ceremony, and cultural beliefs. She will discuss with community leaders and cultural experts their involvement in the school’s cultural program, and about its perceived benefits, successes, and any challenges it faced. Finally, she wishes to establish whether community leaders and cultural experts believe the school’s cultural program contributes to building Mapuche identity among students, and in what ways and why. These interviews will be audio recorded.
(4) How much time will the study take?
The researcher will spend on average five hours each day spread over three to four weeks at the school, documenting formal teaching and rehearsals sessions and performance occasions.

The interviews with individual community leaders and cultural experts will be of one hour's duration, and will be undertaken at a time that is convenient to them.

(5) Can I withdraw from the study?
You may withdraw from participating in the interview at any time without affecting your relationship with the researcher, The University of Sydney, or the Local Trustee Guardians. Should you withdraw, nothing recorded prior to your withdrawal will be used as data in the study, that is, the recording will be erased.

(6) Will anyone else know the results?
Your name will not appear in the thesis that results from the research, nor will photographs or details that may make it possible to identify you. A copy of the completed thesis will be presented to the school library, and will be available to those who have access to that library. A copy will also be presented to the office of the local education authority.

(7) Will the study benefit me?
It is expected that the study will benefit the Mapuche people in the Chil Chel area - the students, teachers, and community elders and cultural experts participating in the study - by accurately documenting the ways in which the school fosters and promotes Mapuche culture and identity.

(8) Can I tell other people about the study?
Yes.

(9) What if I require further information about the study or my involvement in it?
Ms Sarah Butler will discuss this information with you and answer any questions you may have. If you would like to know more at any stage, please contact Ms Sarah Butler at Telephone: 61-2-9696-2700, Fax 61-2-9696-2799, or e-mail: sarah.butter@unsw.edu.au. Dr Michael Webb, Lecturer, Music Education Unit, Sydney Conservatorium of Music, Telephone: 61-2-9308-1332, Fax 61-2-9308-1387, email: michael.webb@sydney.edu.au.

(10) What if I have a complaint or any concerns?
Any person with concerns or complaints about the conduct of a research study can contact The Manager, Human Ethics Administration, University of Sydney on +61 2 9351 7777 (Facsimile) or humanethics@sydney.edu.au (Email).

This information sheet is for you to keep.
APPENDIX M: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION STATEMENT - STUDENT

Music inside the walls: A case study of Mapuche expressive culture and identity in a southern Chile boarding school

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION STATEMENT: STUDENT

1. What is the study about?
   This study investigates the importance of Mapuche music, dance and ceremony to students and the community of the Liceo Tecnicos Guarildeu, Chilo Chilo, in the Talamaco region of Chile, in the context of the school's otherwise technically oriented curriculum. It seeks to understand students' and alumni's, as well as teachers', and community elders' attitudes towards Mapuche traditional indigenous music and dance, the teaching and learning of these repertoires, and whether such attitudes change or develop (if at all), in what ways and why over the course of the six years of students' schooling, or whether they have changed since the program's inception. The study wishes to know what being Mapuche means to students, staff and teachers - particularly given their enrolment and involvement in a school dedicated to educating Mapuche students - and how the school's expressive cultural program contributes to this sense.

2. Who is carrying out the study?
   The study is being conducted by Ms Sarah Butler and will form the basis for the degree of a research Masters of Musicology at the Sydney Conservatorium of Music, the University of Sydney, Macquarie St, Sydney, NSW 2000, Australia, under the supervision of Dr Michael Webb.

3. What does the study involve?
   Ms Butler will attend school classes and rehearsal sessions where Mapuche music and dance is taught, as well as attend selected school based performances, in order to observe and understand the learning and learning processes and performance contexts provided by the school. She will document classes, rehearsal sessions and school based performances in the form of audio and video, recording, note taking, and photography. Ms Butler will interview together as a focus group, four students (two boys and two girls) representing each year of school study. She will ask students a series of questions about their involvement in learning Mapuche music, dance and ceremony at the school. That is, about what such involvement means to them personally - how they feel about being involved, to what extent they enjoy it and to what extent and why they consider such participation important. She will also ask about what kinds of music students listen to, enjoy and value apart from their school study of Mapuche music. These interviews will be audio recorded.

The researcher may use in public presentations, excerpts of the video recordings she makes and photographs she takes. Audio recordings of interviews will be transcribed and excerpts of these transcriptions included in the thesis in which the research is written up, in order to convey music inside the walls: A case study of Mapuche expressive culture and identity in a southern Chile boarding school.
to outsiders accurate accounts of the school’s expressive cultural practices, beliefs and attitudes.

(4) How much time will the study take?
The researcher will spend up to several hours each day spread over three-to-four weeks at the school, documenting timetabled teaching and rehearsal sessions and performance occasions.

The group interview will be approximately one hour’s duration, and will be undertaken at a time that is convenient to students and the school.

(5) Can I withdraw from the study?
You may withdraw at any time from participating in rehearsal and performance sessions being videoed or photographed by Ms Butler, the researcher, in the sense that segments of video footage and photographs made at rehearsals and performances that include you will not be used as actual research data. Also, you may withdraw at any time from participating in the focus group interview. Withdrawal from either or both of these aspects of the study will not affect your relationship with the researcher, The University of Sydney, or the Liceo Tecnico Guadalca. Should you withdraw from the focus group interview, material recorded prior to your withdrawal will be retained since it may not be possible to erase it without also erasing the contributions of others. However, this material will not be used as data in the study.

(6) Will anyone else know the results?
Your name will not appear in the thesis that results from the research, nor will photographs or details that may make it possible to identify you. A copy of the completed thesis will be presented to the school library and will be available to those who have access to that library. A copy will also be presented to the office of the local education authority.

(7) Will the study benefit me?
It is expected that the study will benefit the Mapuches people in the Chol Chol area – the students, teachers, and community elders and officials participating in the study – by accurately documenting the ways in which the school fosters and promotes Mapuche culture and identity.

(8) Can I tell other people about the study?
Yes.

(9) What if I require further information about the study or my involvement in it?
Ms Sarah Butler will discuss this information with you and answer any questions you may have. If you would like to know more at any stage, please contact Ms Sarah Butler at Telephone: 61-2 9566 2700, Fax 61-2 9566 2720 or on email sarahb@unsw.edu.au Dr Michael Webb, Music Education Unit, Sydney Conservatorium of Music, Telephone: 61-2-9351 1352, Fax 61-2-9351 1287, email: michael.webb@unsw.edu.au.

(10) What if I have a complaint or any concerns?
Any person with concerns or complaints about the conduct of a research study can contact the Manager, Human Ethics Administration, University of Sydney on +61 2 8627 3176 (Telephone); +61 2 8627 8177 (Facsimile) or rhumanetics@sydney.edu.au (Email).

This information sheet is for you to keep.
APPENDIX N: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION STATEMENT-

ALUMNUS

Music inside the walls: A case study of Mapuche expressive culture and identity in a southern Chile boarding school

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION STATEMENT: ALUMNUS

1. What is the study about?
This study investigates the importance of Mapuche music, dance and ceremony, to students and the community of the Los Teques, Guarinde, Chul Chuy in the Temuco region of Chile, in the context of the school’s otherwise technologically-oriented curriculum. It seeks to understand students’ and alumni’s, as well as teachers’ and community elders’ attitudes towards Mapuche traditional indigenous music and dance, the teaching and learning of these repertoires, and whether such attitudes change or develop (and if so, in what ways and why) over the course of the six years of students’ schooling, or whether they have changed since the program’s inception. The study wishes to know what “being Mapuche” means to students, staff and teachers – particularly given their enrolment and involvement in a school dedicated to educating Mapuche students – and how the school’s expressive cultural program contributes to this sense.

2. Who is carrying out the study?
The study is being conducted by Ms Sarah Butler and will form the basis for the degree of a research Masters of Musicology at the Sydney Conservatorium of Music, the University of Sydney, Sydney, Macquarie St, Sydney, NSW 2000, Australia, under the supervision of Dr Michael Webb.

3. What does the study involve?
Ms Butler will attend school classes and rehearsals sessions where Mapuche music and dance is taught, as well as attend selected school-based performances, in order to observe and understand the teaching and learning processes and performance contexts provided by the school. She will document classes, rehearsal sessions and school-based performances in the form of audio and video recording, note taking, and photography.
Ms Butler will interview individual alumni (former students) of the school. She will ask a series of questions about their involvement in learning Mapuche music, dance and ceremony at the school – what such involvement meant to them at the time and what it has come to mean today. These interviews will be audio recorded and subsequently transcribed, and excerpts of these transcriptions included in the thesis in which the research is written up, in order to convey to outsiders accurate accounts of the school’s expressive cultural practices, beliefs and attitudes.

4. How much time will the study take?
The alumni interviews will be no more than one hour long, and will be undertaken at a time that is convenient to the participant.
(5) **Can I withdraw from the study?**
You may withdraw from participating in the interview at any time without affecting your relationship with the researcher, The University of Sydney or the Liceo Tecnico Quincondo. Should you withdraw, nothing recorded prior to your withdrawal will be used as data in the study, that is, the recording will be erased.

(6) **Will anyone else know the results?**
Your name will not appear in the thesis that results from the research, nor will photographs or details that may make it possible to identify you. A copy of the completed thesis will be presented to the school library and will be available to those who have access to that library. A copy will also be presented to the office of the local education authority.

(7) **Will the study benefit me?**
It is expected that the study will benefit the Mapuche people in the Chol Chol area – the students, teachers, and community elders and officials participating in the study – by accurately documenting the ways in which the school fosters and promotes Mapuche culture and identity.

(8) **Can I tell other people about the study?**
Yes.

(9) **What if I require further information about the study or my involvement in it?**
Ms Sarah Butler will discuss this information with you and answer any questions you may have. If you would like to know more at any stage, please contact Ms Sarah Butler at Telephone: 61-2 9566 2700, Fax 61-2 9566 2720 or on email: sasb2@un.sydney.edu.au Dr Michael Webb, Lecturer, Music Education Unit, Sydney Conservatorium of Music, Telephone: 61-2-9351 1352, Fax 61-2-9351 1352, email: michael.webb@sydney.nsw.edu.au.

(10) **What if I have a complaint or any concerns?**
Any person with concerns or complaints about the conduct of a research study can contact the Manager, Human Ethics Administration, University of Sydney on +61 2 9351 8178 (Telephone); +61 2 9351 8177 (Facsimile) or nhmasc@adfa.edu.au (email).

*This information sheet is for you to keep.*
APPENDIX O: THESIS INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Music inside the walls: A case study of Mapuche expressive culture and identity in a southern Chile boarding school

GUIDING TOPICS TO BE EXPLORED THROUGH INTERVIEWS

- Repertoires (indigenous, traditional, contemporary; sources, how songs and dances are learned, how students respond to new songs and dances; local classifications of music types and their purpose/use in Mapuche life; questions relating to song texts/music and their spiritual significance; how and when is Mapuche music is used in formal and informal contexts at the school).
- Training, formal or informal; how leadership in cultural performance is developed/achieved; what constitutes ‘talent’ as a musicians and as a music leader
- Rehearsal – practical issues such as how often, where, when, what form the rehearsals take
- Performance – gender performance issues, interaction with other students and local elders, community responses to performance, shaping school life musically (if there is an awareness)
- Solo music/group items – what role does music serve, how often does this occur in performances and what responses do you receive
- Does music play an important part in developing your sense of identity as a Mapuche and how might you explain it?
- Do you believe that music plays a part in healing and if so how do you think it does so?

TEACHER INTERVIEW TOPICS/QUESTIONS

- Can you describe your training/background/experience in music?
- What do you understand to be the role of music in the school?
- Are you yourself Mapuche, and if so, how would you describe what it means to be Mapuche in Chile today?
- How important is Mapuche music and dance to the overall education of the students?
- What does the learning/teaching of Mapuche music mean to you and the other teachers at the school?
- In what ways, if at all, do you think music and dance contribute to the development of Mapuche cultural identity in general, and at the school?
- Who selects the songs and dances which feature in student workshops and performances?
- Can you describe how receptive students are to learning Mapuche music and dance? What are some of the issues the school faces in its promotion of learning mapuche music and dance?

SMALL STUDENT/ALUMNUS GROUP INTERVIEW TOPICS/QUESTIONS

- Describe how important music and dance is to you in your life, generally
- Are you Mapuche? If not, how you feel about learning Mapuche music and dance?
- Can you describe the extent of your knowledge of Mapuche music, dance and ceremony before you came to the school?
- Can you discuss/describe how learning Mapuche music and dance makes you feel about being Mapuche?
• The importance of music in school life and daily life (for example, did you or do you still practice or perform Mapuche ceremonies and music when back in your home area and if so where/when/why?)
• What are your musical preferences? Do you enjoy the mix of traditional Mapuche instruments combined with modern Rap or Cumbia, for example? Why/Why not?
• Do you think the musical training and experience you have gained from this school will stay with you into adult life? Why/Why not?

COMMUNITY CULTURAL EXPERTS INTERVIEW TOPICS/QUESTIONS
• Are there significant tribal differences between Mapuche groups and if so how do you understand these differences? Are these manifested in music and dance traditions? Are or should all of these traditions be represented in what is taught at the school?
• Can you explain the cultural symbolism of Mapuche musical instruments and dance movements, and is it culturally appropriate to teach these to school students?
• By what criteria are the music and dance repertoires selected for inclusion in the school program? Who decides what Mapuche music and dance is taught?
• Does music play a part in Mapuche spiritual beliefs and identity and if so how might you explain its role?
• How do community officials and elders feel about the teaching of Mapuche music, dance, and ceremony at the school? Do they believe that it is well taught and/or do they think it could or should be taught in other ways— if so, what ways? Is it possible to teach Mapuche music authentically in a school setting?