



Mapuche Family Education: Epistemes to Dialogue With School Education

Educación familiar mapuche: epistemes para el diálogo con la educación escolar

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Abstract

This article analyzes epistemes of Mapuche family education obtained from parents in communities of the La Araucanía region of Chile from a perspective of dialogue of knowledge with school education. The production of Mapuche knowledge is considered an epistemological critique of the Western monoculturalism of the school curriculum. The methodology used is qualitative research and it is based on Grounded Theory. The results show intra-family and intra-community education, and processes that imply a double immersion in Chilean society. It is concluded that education is organized considering methods constructed with the logic of Mapuche educational knowledge, as a contribution to a dialogue with Western hegemonic knowledge.

Keywords: family education, indigenous knowledge, knowledge dialogue

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Resumen

Este artículo analiza epistemes de la educación familiar mapuche que fueron obtenidas con padres de familia en comunidades de la región de La Araucanía, en Chile, desde una perspectiva de diálogo de saberes con la educación escolar. Se considera la producción de conocimiento mapuche como crítica epistemológica a la monoculturalidad occidental del currículum escolar. La metodología utilizada es la investigación cualitativa y se apoya en la Teoría Fundamentada. Los resultados dan cuenta de una formación a nivel intrafamiliar e intracomunidad y de procesos que implican una doble inmersión en la sociedad chilena. Se concluye que la formación se organiza considerando métodos contruidos con la lógica del conocimiento educativo mapuche como aporte para un diálogo con el saber hegemónico occidental.

Palabras clave: educación familiar, conocimiento indígena, diálogo de saberes

Introduction

Mapuche family education has been built in interaction with the inhabitants of indigenous and non-indigenous communities in three periods of life (Quilaqueo & Quintriqueo, 2017). The first of these entails the relationship with the people in the Inca culture in northern Chile prior to 1535; the second involves the relationship with the Spanish conquerors, from 1535 to 1810; and the third is the Mapuche education provided by the family since the creation of the Chilean state in 1810 until the present. This latter period considers the education provided by the families that survived the Spanish war of colonization and the later Pacification of Araucanía in 1883 by the Chilean state (Pinto, 20013; Gobierno de Chile, 2009; Quilaqueo & Quintriqueo, 2017).

The wars effectively destructured the historic social organization of the Mapuche community (Schnapper, 1998; Quilaqueo & Quintriqueo, 2017), the consequences of which can be observed in the Mapuche education provided by families to children and young people in rural and urban settings¹. On the one hand, one of the effects observed is the progressive abandonment of their traditional education and, on the other hand, the attachment to the idea of territoriality of the historical Mapuche collectivity as a central element in the ancestry of family education. This is supported by the conception of person-territory-spirituality (Quilaqueo & Quintriqueo, 2017) that is still maintained on small plots of land in family communities, which are recognized legally by an indigenous land title or *Título de Merced*² (Bengoa, 1985). The family communities thus became part of the state and their inhabitants became Chilean citizens (Cantoni, 1978; Pinto, 2003; Bengoa, 1985; Serrano et al., 2012).

The three periods of Mapuche life, going back to historical collectivities, have created the cultural matrix of family education, which we define as multicultural and the basis of Mapuche education currently provided by the family, which leads us to postulate a question and a working hypothesis to guide the theoretical framework

1. The Mapuche who survived the war have been identified according to ancestry in historical territorial communities in Chile and Argentina (Quilaqueo & Quintriqueo, 2017; Valverde, 2013). In Argentina, they can be found in the provinces of Buenos Aires, La Pampa, Neuquén, Río Negro, and Chubut, and in large urban centers. In Chile, they are identified according to their territorial identities Pikunche (people of the north), Williche (people of the south), Pewenche (people of the mountains), Nagche (people of the valley), and Lafkenche (people of the coast) in the south-central macro region and in the large urban centers in the country (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas, 2018; Briones, 2007).
2. Translator's note: These indigenous land titles, or *títulos de merced*, were created after the pacification of Araucanía to demarcate the lands occupied by Mapuche families.

and methodology. The question is: How can we relate reciprocally different knowledge that responds to different rationalities and epistemic logics in order to construct new intercultural knowledge? The hypothesis states that the current cultural matrix of educational knowledge provided by the Mapuche family has been created through the dialogue of knowledge with the indigenous peoples of northern Chile, the Spanish conquistadors, and school educational knowledge.

Theoretical framework: epistememes of Mapuche education and reciprocal school education

Studying epistememes in education is an effort to “break away from the discontinuities of a curricular model that creates, endorses, preconceives, and deploys school-community dissonance” (Pérez & Sánchez, 2007, p. 197). Thus, studying the epistememes of Mapuche education for a dialogue between school knowledge and Mapuche educational knowledge relies on the social memory of the male or female *kimche* (Mapuche sage or wise person), regarding the education imparted in families in the current social and cultural context of Chilean society (Halbwachs, 1970; Montesperelli, 2004; Quilaqueo, D. & Quintriqueo, 2017). The social memory of the *kimche* considers the changes and adaptations that include the relationships of domination established by state institutions, mainly the school, on the one hand (Quilaqueo et al., 2005; Poblete, 2009), and, on the other, the evangelizing activities of the Catholic and Anglican churches (Nogger, 1982; Quilaqueo, D. & Quintriqueo, 2017). Indeed, starting in the 18th century, the Chilean state and the Catholic Church, and the Anglican Church in the 19th century, established monocultural-monolingual Spanish schools, supported by methods of evangelization, without taking Mapuche educational knowledge into account (Hanisch, 1974; Flores & Azócar, 2006; Marimán, 2007). This was one of the most effective processes for the assimilation of children and young people into Chilean society, which encourages emigration to urban areas (Imilan & Álvarez, 2008; Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas, 2008) and also leads to the progressive abandonment of Mapuche education and community cultural practices among young people (Nogger, 1982; Marimán, 2007).

However, families in rural areas can be observed continuing to provide Mapuche education to their children in parallel with their school education. In light of this, the *kimche* point out that it is still possible to identify teaching-learning methods associated with social and cultural practices that constitute “educational practices experienced for a long time” (Quilaqueo & Quintriqueo, 2017). These are educational practices that refer to the cognitive aspects of Mapuche education guided by their own logic, that is, knowledge that allows them to make sense of their own and others’ knowledge, supported by social memory as one of the main sources of teaching (Quilaqueo, 2013).

On the other hand, the Chilean education system can be considered to be aligned with a Western Eurocentric epistemic structure that devalues the epistemic basis of Mapuche education, ignoring it in the school context (Quintriqueo & Torres, 2013). This characteristic of school education can also be observed among other indigenous peoples with the incorporation of students into the educational system (Wildcat et al., 2014). Similarly, school education is supported by an exclusively Western-based universalist epistemology (Quijano, 2000; Walsh, 2007), which is underpinned by development policies that are contrary to those of indigenous peoples’ families and communities (Mignolo, 2007; Walsh, 2010). Connell (2006) argues that this is aimed at ensuring that there is no change in the order of alienating power, which is initially defined by the colonies and is now defined by national states, since “it extols Euro-American intellectual production as *science* and universal knowledge and relegates the thinking of the south to the status of *localized knowledge*” (Walsh, 2007, p. 28).

Specifically, there is certain typical education that is currently used in the social and cultural context of families in the La Araucanía region of Chile (Quilaqueo & Quintriqueo, 2017; Quintriqueo & Quilaqueo, 2019). However, it is not considered in school education because its cultural matrix still carries a burden of colonial

stereotypes and prejudices with regard to the school episteme. This traditional education is a Mapuche and indigenous model, supported by epistemological pluralism that considers the person-nature-spirituality relationship (Quilaqueo & Torres, 2013; Simpson, 2014). This model contradicts the ideological burden that the school educational logic imposes as an epistemological distance between Mapuche and school educational knowledge in a relationship of exclusion (Quilaqueo & Torres, 2013; Irlbacher-Fox, 2014).

In order to consider Mapuche educational knowledge in schools, an epistemological critique is required that challenges the mechanisms of control of the monocultural school epistemology in order to highlight the traditional positions of colonization based on Western hegemonic knowledge (Mignolo, 2007; Walsh, 2010). To achieve that, it is essential to consider the human, social, and cultural conceptions, as well as the particularity of the Mapuche family context in schools in the Araucanía region, since knowledge is built based on a subject-object relationship that is connected to spirituality as one of the main dimensions of the construction of knowledge (Quilaqueo, 2012; Quilaqueo & Quintriqueo, 2017; Ñanculef, 2016).

However, Giroux and McLaren point out that “the school actively silences students by ignoring their histories, by placing them in classes with minimal expectations, and by refusing to provide them with knowledge relevant to their lives” (1998, p. 81). School teaching-learning is therefore not carried out based on a dialogical relationship between those who teach and those who learn, rejecting the construction of knowledge based on the person-nature-spirituality relationship (Quilaqueo et al., 2014).

Methodology

This research was based on the interpretive paradigm and the study methodology used a qualitative approach (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011), which made it possible to investigate the educational knowledge of Mapuche families (Quilaqueo & Quintriqueo, 2017). In this respect, the study positions the subject and their social context in order to comprehend and interpret the frames of reference of the indigenous lifeworld (Olivé, 2009). It was carried out in the La Araucanía region of central-southern Chile, where 32.8% of the regional population claims to belong to the Mapuche people, according to data from the 2017 census (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas, 2018).

The study participants live in different districts (municipalities) and areas of the region, associated with three territories: Wentche, Nagche, and Lafkenche. In Wentche territory, work was carried out in the district of Padre Las Casas in the Xüf-Xüf area and in the district of Nueva Imperial in the Rulo sector. In Nagche territory, work was done in the Lumaco district in the Pantano and Quetrawe areas. In Lafkenche territory, the research was conducted in the Saavedra district in the Rancho, Daullico, Naupe, Dollinco, and Collico areas. The participants in the study were 39 people socially recognized as a *kimche* (wise person), who have the role of fathers and mothers in the family environment. Of the participants, 17 were fathers and 22 were mothers. Considering people recognized as *kimche* who also have a parental role in a family made it possible to investigate the knowledge and wisdom that are part of the Mapuche social memory and that are integrated into day-to-day practices at the family and community level.

We obtained the data from semi-structured interviews and field notes prepared to record information in each conversation. The stages involved in the fieldwork were: 1) make contact with intercultural primary education teachers and members of Mapuche communities who helped prepare an initial approach to people recognized as *kimche*; 2) visit to the home of each *kimche* to talk in advance with each person, make a personal introduction of the interviewer, and mutually coordinate the date of the interview; 3) conduct the interview in the home of each *kimche* (to comply with Mapuche cultural guidelines, a *yewün*, or gift, was given at each interview to express respect and gratitude for each person's disposition to talk); and 4) close of the interview, which allowed for conversation and final gratitude to be offered to each *kimche*. The interviews lasted between 50 and 60 minutes and were based on a structure with guiding questions.

The data analysis was done using procedures based on grounded theory, by allowing the use of “systematic but flexible guidelines to collect and analyze qualitative data, to build theories from the data themselves” (Charmaz, 2014, p. 1). We believe that the choice of this analytical approach enables us to relate reciprocally different knowledge in order to build new intercultural knowledge. Thus, in the coding process we used the Atlas.ti software considering two stages: the first was immersion in the data, to understand the text and thus reveal implicit meanings in the arguments of the *kimche*, and the second was to compare the categories in the saturation of content and in the triangulation of the knowledge of the *kimche* by territorial areas to identify and differentiate each interview. Meanwhile, for the process of transcription and presentation we used the following nomenclature: K for *kimche*, interview number and letter corresponding to the interviewee's place of residence; X standing for Xüf-Xüf, R for Rulo, S for Saavedra, and L for Lumaco. In the hermeneutic unit created to analyze the data, the testimonies are presented under the reference (XXX [x:x]), where the square bracket indicates the location number.

Results

The results are organized into categories depending on the characteristics of Mapuche family education. In each category, the saturation of the content of the codes was done as shown in Table 1.

Table 1
Characteristics of Mapuche family education

Code	Recurrence	%
Family teaching	46	24.9
Framework of contemporary changes	39	21.1
Oral education	24	13.0
Vocational training	24	13.0
Joint education	21	11.4
Territorial differences	20	10.8
Differences in use of Mapunzugun (Mapuche language)	11	5.9
Total	185	100

Source: Prepared by the authors.

As seen in Table 1, family teaching appears at a frequency of 24.9% in the discourses of the *kimche* and refers to the teaching provided by the family. According to a *kimche* from the Rulo area, “those who teach are parents and grandparents and, in some cases, uncles and aunts, because Mapuche knowledge isn’t taught at school” (K25R [13:13]). Similarly, a *kimche* from the Saavedra area states “I can tell you that I was taught mostly by my father. He taught me everything I know about Mapuche knowledge Since my father was a *logko*³, he always tried to teach us Mapuche knowledge ...” (K17S [17:17]). This is corroborated by what we observed in our fieldwork and would be what has allowed the generational transfer of knowledge and wisdom to children and young people.

3. Translator’s note: A leader or chief.

Specific strategies are used in family education, such as the conversation called *güxam*⁴ and the formative advice known as *gübam*⁵, as methods that are part of the educational action *kimeltuwiin*⁶ (Quilaqueo & Quintriqueo, 2017). These methods are intended to achieve the learning of concepts, values, and procedures; for example, values such as respect or knowing how to behave. This is what a *kimche* from a Xüf-Xüf community explains about Mapuche education: “It is related to respect for the person and for nature, about what should be done and also to speak their language, about not hiding as Mapuche, about not being ashamed ...” (K13X [32:32]). However, in another testimony we observe that school education, rural-urban migration, and problems of access to land have led to changes in family education:

School education is now seen as the heritage that one can give to one's children, it is going out to the town to work outside the community. Young people study to go out to work, and now we have very few young people in our community. They also think a lot about money. This is a change, it's the scarcity of land: because the first Mapuches who came here to Rulo always said that there were very few houses and they were up to 500 meters apart Now the young people have no place to work in the community and when they go to the town they lose their culture (K27R [41:41]).

Although the testimony emphasizes that education begins in the family environment, it is also stated that school education is the heritage that they can give their children since the scarcity of land does not allow them to live in their communities. So, faced with this impossibility, they must choose to find better options of work, migrating to urban centers. Changes can therefore be observed in two aspects: the overpopulation of the communities and the weakening of young people's identification with their maternal and paternal family origins (*tüwün* and *küpan*), expressed in the loss of their culture. A *kimche* from Saavedra also contends the following: “I believe that Mapuche education, despite all the changes that the community has undergone, will be continued. What should happen is that there should be more interest so that the children nowadays know how life was before” (K16S [49:49]). Here, the thought expressed is that education and one's own knowledge need to be learned by children and young people both at school and in the community to prevent it from being forgotten, rejected, or concealed.

Frameworks of contemporary changes are mentioned in 21.1% of the interviews, and this refers to the processes of change experienced in their own education to respond to the new local and global contexts in which children and young people grow up and are educated. In the comments of the *kimche*, they identify that there are educational practices in the family environment with knowledge that responds to the current characteristics and requirements of the Mapuche context of life. In this regard, one *kimche* states that “now the Mapuche people know more, they have caught up with the *wigka* [non-Mapuche]. The children study and at the age of 10 they already know. Before, at that age, the children didn't know what the teacher was saying, but now the Mapuche know about the *wigka*” (K7X [45:45]). It is this that underlies the change in the mismatch between the family's own education and school education, originating in the monoculturalism and monolingualism of Spanish. This is because when the *kimche* says that before, at that age, children did not know what the teacher was saying, they were referring to their lack of knowledge of the Spanish language and the cultural logic used by teachers for training the individual, in terms of content, attitudes, and processes.

In relation to the logic of learning and teaching children and young people in Mapuche education, the testimony of a *kimche* from Saavedra acknowledges that “children learn first at home and then go to school. So, they always have two ways of seeing things, they have two wisdoms” (K28S [56:56]). That is, a Mapuche person

4. Translator's note: A form of discursive and communicative interaction.

5. Translator's note: Advice usually given by adults to children, adolescents and young people.

6. Translator's note: Educational action that involves a learning-teaching process between two or more people.

receives two perspectives to understand life: one based on their own knowledge and the other associated with the content taught in the framework of the school curriculum. However, both types of education are recognized as necessary by the parents, stating that “the ideal thing is for the children to be able to speak both languages, so they can express themselves both in Mapunzugun and in Spanish ...” (K24R [49:49]). This means being educated using both logics of knowledge to guarantee the validity of their own knowledge and school knowledge.

The concept of oral teaching, mentioned with a frequency of 16.4%, involves the configuration of educational processes based on oral methods to teach family knowledge. With this practice, specific moments of conversation that favor dialogue among the members of the family group are encouraged. With respect to this, a *kimche* mother states: “I listened to my grandparents a lot. They raised me and taught me, because I lived with them until I was 12 years old ... They taught me respect for people ...” (K30S [19:19]).

Here we observe learning by listening, since this is one of the main teaching-learning methods in Mapuche education. Knowing how to listen is the basis of the resource of orality in the education provided by the family, and it involves necessarily achieving this aptitude in order to learn to communicate in the Mapuche educational logic. In general, all the *kimche* say that the knowledge taught is based on the experiences and traditions of the family history, in the context of their community, and based on facts experienced by their family lineage. The facts basically include narrations of foundational myths and social and cultural practices by grandparents and great-grandparents regarding the colonization of their lands and the incongruity with the school. In this regard, since the establishment of schools in their communities, children and young people have been confronted with two teaching styles: family teaching, based on orality and the intercultural cultural matrix with the practical application of knowledge, and the dynamics of the school, considered and developed according to a monocultural-monolingual logic based on written texts that are unrelated to their context and which present a perspective of history that often contrasts with that of the Mapuches.

Vocational training, mentioned in 16.4% of the testimonies, refers to the differentiation of types of work that people should learn depending on their gender. For this purpose, activities are defined that are considered essential in the teaching and learning of boys and girls. In this respect, a *kimche* from Xüf-Xüf explains that “the father always used to go out with the boys and the mother was responsible for the girl's things or the father told his wife to tell the girl such and such and thus helped with the upbringing” (K13X [92:92]). In other words, within the framework of family interactions, both the father and the mother fulfill the role of training their sons and daughters in certain jobs. The aim is for the children to feel familiar with jobs such as care of animals, preparing the garden, or working with textile art. This is described by a *kimche* from Saavedra: “When we came home from school in the afternoon, they sent us to take care of pigs, at least that was for the boys, and they taught the girls things related to housework” (K28S [19:19]). Therefore, there is a definition of responsibilities considering the double educational immersion of their children, both at school and at home. This follows the learning logic in the family, guided by the father for boys and by the mother for girls; however, this does not mean that they do not complement or support each other in the teaching processes in the family environment.

Joint education, which is mentioned in 14.4% of the discourses of the *kimche*, involves coordinated teaching between boys and girls in the family environment. Although it is argued that vocational training is done, it is also recognized that there is social, cultural, and natural knowledge that needs to be taught without differences between the genders. This argument is specified for teaching customs, as a *kimche* from Lumaco explains that “no difference is made between boys and girls in teaching Mapuche customs, the same custom is taught. For me it's one and the same thing, because it's an idea that has always been held for the daughter and for the son” (K1L [25:25]).

In our observations of the family environment, education is generally carried out with joint participation of boys and girls. For example, when delivering the *gübam* or *güxam*, a *kimche* from Xüf-Xüf states that “now, the boys and girls are almost always taught together. That way they're given the *gübam*” (K6X [24:24]). Here, we observe that

family education promotes interaction regardless of gender, providing content on concepts, values, and attitudes considered to be essential in the growth and social development of individuals, particularly “everything related to respect. It is taught to all equally whether they are girls or boys. I think that the difference lies in jobs” (K18S [83:83]).

The territorial differences category, mentioned in 13.7% of the discourses, involves knowledge taught considering the geographic characteristics of the family's living context. In this respect, a *kimche* from Rulo states the following:

... there are differences. Here, where I live, they work in the fields; on the other hand, the Lafkenche have another way of looking for their resources, while here in Rulo, we harvest after seven months ... the Pewenche harvest when the fruits bloom and they wait until next year. So the territory defines the ways of learning (K27R [29:29]).

The *kimche*'s reference to territorial differences indicates that knowledge in family education is directly related to the geographic nature of the territory, since the individual needs to be prepared to develop socially, culturally, and vocationally in his or her life context. For example, the formative experience of Lafkenche children and young people is influenced by their relationship with the sea. This situation is different in the education given to the Pewenche children and young people, where the geographic characteristics of the Andes mountains are a central element. Contextualized education is therefore defined, based on geographic and natural knowledge that responds to the particular characteristics of the territory in which the education takes place.

Differences in the use of Mapunzugun (Mapuche language) depending on the territory are mentioned in 7.5% of the interviews. They are associated with changes in the use of the language according to the territorial origin of the person. In this respect, a *kimche* from Xüf-Xüf explains:

In my community we have a different *güxam* [conversation/explanation], another way of speaking. Our Mapunzugun is not the same as that of the Lafkenche or the Pewenche. I've spoken with people from other areas and when they name the animals, for example, they call the *zañwe*⁷ *zanchu* and we call it a *zañwe*. So there are differences in the words we use ... (K7X [24:24]).

The *kimche*'s explanation shows that the Mapunzugun that children and young people learn may include aspects of language usage that are specific to the territorial context in which the person is educated. A *kimche* from Saavedra describes her experience in a meeting with Mapuches from different territories: “When I went to a meeting at the university, there were Mapuches from different areas, and when I talked to a lady from the mountains, she told me that their way of speaking was different, it wasn't the same, because things even have different names...” (K17S [37:37]). This shows that the residents of the different territories acknowledge the variety in local use of Mapunzugun, since it is adapted to conditions specific to each territory with concepts associated, for example, with nature, the names of animals, or the pronunciation of the words.

Discussion

The results of the research reveal that current Mapuche family education of children has two main characteristics. The first is limited to intra-family contexts and the second involves the double educational immersion, in the family and in the school, leading them to be intercultural in Chilean and Mapuche culture. As a result, the family develops an education based on both orality and writing. The orality involves accounts that reside in the social memory of the historical Mapuche collectivity, and the writing involves the school (Koessler, 1962; Augusta, 1934; Quilaqueo & Quintriqueo, 2017). That is, the historical context and the need for survival have led families to educate their children both in schools and in the family group.

7. Translator's note: Pig.

The family group thus encourages social interaction between children, young people, parents, grandparents, and aunts and uncles, promoting joint education processes and training in specific types of work depending on the person's gender. Mapuche education thus responds to the historical and current demands of the life context, considering the social, educational, environmental, and geopolitical changes experienced in the country (Aravena, 2002; Bello, 2007; Serrano et al., 2012). On the other hand, the characteristics of the school education logic allow the new Mapuche generation to participate in Chilean society and invest in overcoming the effects of social and cultural domination, which is expressed mainly in the economic and political-social discrimination that prevents them from obtaining a quality school education.

However, Mapuche family education is still conceived to have a direct relationship with the territory as the basis of the social construction of educational knowledge for most Mapuches and among indigenous peoples in general (Gasché, 2008; Padawer, 2010; Molina Betancur, 2012; Zambrana, 2014; Ñanculef, 2016; Quilaqueo & Quintriqueo, 2017). Although it has been undermined by the effects of its rejection in Chilean society and in school education, we believe that it is fundamental to substantiate the dialogue between Mapuche and school knowledge for students of both indigenous and non-indigenous origin and in initial teacher training, since indigenous pedagogies are aimed at teaching values that allow individuals to be trained in an objective and subjective relationship on the basis of person-nature-spirituality relationships so that they can be and live well in a certain territory (Quilaqueo & Quintriqueo, 2017). In short, indigenous pedagogy is invested in the territory as a basis for the education of the person, both individual and collective, in the framework of the social and cultural diversity of constructing a dialogue of knowledge of decolonization of the school (Simpson, 2014).

Although indigenous educational discourses have become more complex, according to what García Canclini (2001) claims is an effect of cultural hybridization, we observe that Mapuche knowledge is still in effect in families living in communities (Quilaqueo et al., 2011; Quilaqueo & Quintriqueo, 2017). That is, this is educational content that constitutes an epistemic matrix of its own as “the specific and peculiar way which a human group has of assigning meanings to things and events, that is, in their capacity and way of symbolizing reality” (Martínez, 2006, p. 6). This matrix includes the cultural contributions of other indigenous peoples and Chilean society and is the epistemic basis that generates and organizes the representations, thoughts, and beliefs that are taught in the Mapuche family in the current times.

Nevertheless, because the epistemic matrix of Mapuche educational knowledge is unknown in the school, it makes it difficult to implement curricular innovations using intercultural educational approaches. Therefore, by not considering the culture of its students, the school produces unequal opportunities in access to knowledge, obliging students of Mapuche origin to use only Spanish. According to Zambrana (2014), transcending the colonial thinking on which the epistemology of school knowledge is based entails transforming the institutionality of the Eurocentric school through an epistemological pluralism that incorporates indigenous educational methods and knowledge. Although there are currently schools with plans outlined by the Ministry of Education, and even though they emphasize Mapuche language and culture, they do so from a globalized perspective, which is disconnected from territorial particularities and often unknown to the families. In short, transcending school education with colonial characteristics established in a Mapuche context requires dialogue between the educational knowledge of the Mapuche family and school knowledge. The challenge is thus to use both the educational practices experienced in Mapuche families and at the school. In other words, it is necessary to deconstruct the dominant monocultural educational systems in order to educate people using their own knowledge.

Conclusion

The construction of knowledge, the basis of the social and cultural frameworks that guide Mapuche family education and people's day-to-day lives, is also created in a direct relationship with nature and spirituality. Knowledge is thus put to the test on a daily basis, unlike school education, where knowledge is learned in a contextualized form through theories in classrooms and laboratories.

The daily testing of knowledge has a contextual and practical character, because it allows the individual to directly link their knowledge and assess it in their social environment. Current Mapuche educational knowledge is therefore a social construct supported by a cultural matrix resulting from the dialogue between indigenous and non-indigenous knowledge as a consequence of relationships with the indigenous peoples of northern Chile and the Spanish. Thus, on the one hand, the results of this research permit us to state that the purpose of family education is to develop the Mapuche and Chilean identity of the Mapuche individual in an increasingly complex life context in light of the globalization of knowledge, through the interculturalization of school education and the training of pedagogues with the Mapuche cultural matrix. On the other hand, we believe that it also contributes to the search for intercultural educational policies that can contribute to the school curriculum and the understanding of the Mapuche social construct in the learning of Mapunzugun. Considering the knowledge of the actors in the Mapuche family environment therefore opens up the possibility of making progress with the consolidation of the educational rights of indigenous peoples that can reverse the monoculturalism and monolingualism of school education.

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