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Ethnic equity, Mapudungun, and CLIL: A case study from southern Argentina

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Running head: Ethnic equity, Mapudungun, and CLIL

Abstract

Since 2006, the Argentinian system of education has included intercultural bilingual education, a type of education across kindergarten, primary, and secondary education that guarantees the indigenous peoples' right to receive quality and equitable education which preserves and strengthens their cultural practices, language, *cosmovision*, and ethnic identity in a multicultural society. In the province of Chubut, southern Argentina, the Ministry of Education launched a professional development program targeted at primary school teachers working in small town and rural areas with students ethnically associated to the Mapuche peoples and their language, Mapudungun. The aim of this paper is to examine how a group of four teachers understood and implemented CLIL in relation to ethnic equity and socially just education in a semi-rural area of Chubut.

Framed as a case study, data were collected in 2021 and 2022 through group discussions, journal diaries, and arts-based methods. Data came from four primary school teachers as well as the program facilitator. By means of quality content analysis, the findings show teachers' understanding of CLIL as an inclusive and equitable approach that can help promote ethnic identity and ethnolinguistic vitality.

Key words: ethnic equity, CLIL, ethnolinguistic vitality, indigenous languages, Mapudungun

Introduction

As an approach to bilingual education, content and language integrated learning, henceforth CLIL, has found fertile ground across contexts. Given the heterogeneous and context-responsive nature of CLIL practice, scholars (e.g., Hemmi & Banegas, 2021; Cenoz, 2015; Sylvén & Tsuchiya, forthcoming) agree that CLIL models can be placed along a continuum which ranges from content-driven CLIL (e.g., a school subject delivered through an additional language) to language-driven CLIL (e.g., language lessons contextualised in disciplinary content such as social studies). Regardless of models, in a special issue on attention to diversity in bilingual education, Pérez Cañado (2022) asserts that research demonstrates that CLIL can be a potential lever for change as it promotes social inclusion and egalitarianism.

In response to CLIL implementation, CLIL research has almost primarily concentrated on examining the integration of content and dominant languages, or regional languages such as Euskara in tandem with, for example Spanish and English (e.g., Lasagabaster, 2009; Lázaro-Ibarrola & Azpilicueta-Martínez, 2021). While there have been studies at the intersection of CLIL and diversity for equality and equity (see Pérez Cañado, 2022), there is a dearth of studies which examine diversity and inclusion with minoritised languages. According to Anderson (2009), CLIL pedagogies may contribute to the teaching of minoritised languages given their focus on attention to meaning and learning, which would interrupt lack of confidence and motivation among bilingual learners. Against this backdrop, I seek to advance the CLIL research agenda by examining the role of CLIL with minoritised indigenous languages, understood as heritage languages (Seals & Shah, 2018), and how CLIL can contribute to ethnic equity.

In contexts where indigenous languages are not used in mainstream education, as discussed in Van den Craen (2016), CLIL can strengthen the multilingual landscape and support education in disadvantaged contexts.

In this case study, I examine how CLIL, as seen from a group of primary school teachers, can contribute to equitable education and ethnolinguistic vitality in a Mapuche community and their language Mapudungun in rural Argentina.

Conceptual framework

This study hinges on three intertwined concepts: social justice, ethnic equity, and ethnolinguistic vitality. In this section, I review these key concepts in relation to CLIL.

As a philosophy of education, social justice contests social, cultural, and economic inequalities and guarantees inclusive education for all (Goodwin & Proctor, 2019; Lamb, Hatoss, & O'Neill, 2019). Education thus constitutes a powerful tool of social change where teachers act as transformative intellectuals (Giroux, 2010) immersed in civic engagement (Freire, 1994) and action (Byram, 2008) to deconstruct and disrupt hegemonic systems. An education that is responsive to minoritised indigenous languages is a compelling actualisation of Tikly and Barret's (2011) three-dimensional model of quality education, which promotes distributive justice (inclusion), recognitional justice (relevance), and associative justice (democracy). Through social justice education, learners and communities are incorporated in the curriculum (inclusion), their cultural practices, identities, language, and history are part of the syllabus (relevance), and they do have a say in educational dynamics (democracy).

In their conceptualisation of what they call pluriliteracies teaching for deeper learning, Coyle and Meyer (2021) emphasise that CLIL has the potential to build “a fundamental value system reflecting social justice and equitable opportunities for all learners” (p. 4). Such a potential is associated to CLIL as an approach which (1) incorporates critical literacies to language learning and using, and (2) promotes interculturality, and by extension, inclusion of all identities, (language-mediated) cultural practices, and civic responsibilities. Regarding the latter, Porto (forthcoming) stresses that CLIL links to social justice and intercultural awareness, particularly embedded in the C-Culture parameter of Coyle, Hood, and Marsh’s (2010) 4Cs (Content, Communication, Cognition, Culture) Framework, cannot be limited to recognising and promoting social justice and inclusion at a discourse level. In her view, CLIL educators and researchers, if they genuinely endorse social justice, need to create learning experiences in which teachers, learners, and the wider community engage in activism that will disrupt inequity and inequality and enact transformative courses of action (e.g., Porto, 2021).

Driven by equity, social justice seeks to include everyone, particularly those who have been oppressed on the basis of, for example, their ethnicity, which is the case with indigenous communities. In a review about equity in education, Lucas and Beresford (2010) define ethnicity as “the common ancestral bonds that demarcate a people through blood and descent as well as rituals and traditions” (p. 37) and add that it “is strongly associated with culture, in which group members share common customs, beliefs, language, and modes of living” (p. 37). The authors explain that people may choose to identify themselves as part of a given ethnic group even when their race may differ. In the context of this study, indigenous communities are conceptualised as ethnic groups. Therefore, ethnic equity in (language) education entails the development of mechanisms

and practices that destabilise inequalities by providing the necessary material and immaterial resources to minoritised communities so that they have the same access to quality education as everyone else (Benadusi, 2002; Parker et al., 2021). In the case of minoritised indigenous communities, equity education may include ethnolinguistic vitality so that on the one hand, indigenous languages are properly recognised and promoted, and on the other, heritage language learners are supported in their learning of the dominant language of instruction. For the purpose of this study, it will suffice to define ethnolinguistic vitality as “a group's ability to maintain and protect its existence in time as a collective entity with a distinctive identity and language” (Ehala, 2015, p. 1). This author adds that it entails intergenerational transmission of the group's language and cultural practices as core elements of their identity. It should be noted that in contexts of oppression and disenfranchisement, a group may struggle to maintain and protect their identity and language. Therefore, concerted actions need to be put in place to support them, which brings us back to Porto's (forthcoming) call for civic engagement.

In the recent CLIL literature, a number of studies have explored connections between CLIL, equity, and ethnolinguistic vitality. Issues around how equitable CLIL is in relation to bilingual and monolingual education have been raised given initial concerns of entrenched elitism in CLIL implementation. The relationship between CLIL and equity can be grouped around three issues: (1) whether CLIL is suitable for students with learning difficulties (Nikula, 2016), (2) whether CLIL is offered in urban as well as rural areas (Nikula, 2016), and (3) whether CLIL is responsive to individual learner needs and affective factors particularly connected to socioeconomic status (SES) (Bakken & Brevik, 2022; Lorenzo, Granados, & Rico, 2021) and migrant background with the dominant language being the L2 (Nikula, Skinnari, & Mård-Miettinen, 2022).

Based on these selected studies and issues, it can be concluded that students with a low SES status tend to benefit most from CLIL, and that teachers, even when they strive for equality, may sometimes engage in equitable practices to attend to individual learner needs (Nikula et al., 2022, but see Evnitskaya & Llinares, this issue). However, CLIL is not offered in small towns or rural areas, which comes to challenge ostensibly egalitarian and inclusive educational systems. While these findings as well as those included in the special issue guest edited by Pérez Cañado (2022) are to be celebrated, the picture may be different in other contexts, such as Latin America, where CLIL is mostly found in expensive private bilingual schools as discussed in Landau, Albuquerque Paraná, and Siqueira (2021).

In connection to CLIL and inclusion, a few studies sit at the intersection of CLIL and ethnolinguistic vitality, particularly with languages other than English. In a study on CLIL with French, Pérez, Lorenzo, and Pavón (2016) recognise that CLIL is almost exclusively implemented with European languages with high ethnolinguistic vitality given their perceived high sociolinguistic status. This practice may be detrimental to efforts to promote multilingualism across contexts and regions. In an attempt to use CLIL as a vehicle to mobilise ethnolinguistic vitality with minoritised languages in Ireland, Dillon (2009) suggests that CLIL can help raise language awareness in order to increase the ethnolinguistic vitality of the indigenous Irish language, Gaeilge. A practice-based study from Italy illustrates CLIL potency for “equitable multilingualism” (Ortega, 2019, p. 23). Gobbo and Vardeu (2021) investigated how a group of students were taught history and culture through Sardinian, a minoritised and contested language. The findings showed a positive influence on academic attainment and the local collective identity. This example attests to, as critically reviewed in McPake

(forthcoming), what CLIL has to offer heritage language learners, where *heritage* conflates minoritised, migrant, and, I shall add, indigenous languages.

While the literature reviewed above signals that CLIL can indeed make a meaningful contribution to social justice in mainstream (language) education, CLIL research and practice can also gain from studies which examine how teachers maximise its pedagogical valency with minoritised indigenous languages in rural settings where intercultural bilingual education (IBE) is implemented. Against this background, the following questions guided this study:

1. How do teachers working in intercultural bilingual education with an indigenous population understand CLIL?
2. How can CLIL teaching contribute to ethnic equity, including awareness of ethnolinguistic vitality?

Methodology

Situated within an interpretivist paradigm to educational research (Creswell & Creswell, 2018), this study adopts case study as its research methodology. As Duff (2020) asserts, “case study offers strong heuristic properties as well as analytic possibilities for illustrating a phenomenon in very vivid, detailed, and highly contextualised ways from different perspectives” (p. 145). In this investigation, the case refers to a group of primary school teachers as *human cases* who participated in a professional development program and developed a theory of practice of CLIL in relation to ethnic equity and socially just bilingual education in a semi-rural area of Chubut, Argentina.

Context

During the 19th and 20th centuries, Argentina underwent a series of homogenising policies that imposed the narrative of one nation, with one national flag, one language (Spanish), and the idea that Argentinians “come from the ships” in reference to the different waves of European immigration. To fight this inaccurate hegemonic discourse, different socio-political movements have emerged to (1) interrupt the systemic genocide, invisibilisation, marginalisation, loss of land and access to resources, and absence of human rights of indigenous communities in the hands of the dominant discourse and power, and (2) raise awareness that the country is pluriethnic and multilingual, with at least 300,000 people spread across the country who identify themselves as indigenous and who speak at least one of 12 vernacular languages with different degrees of ethnolinguistic vitality (Hecht, 2007). To contest the narrative of Argentina as a Spanish monolingual nation, a few authors have investigated multilingualism in the country, predominantly in relation to linguistic variations in the border with Paraguay (Guarani) and Brazil (Portuguese) (Díaz, Ducoin, & García, 2021), linguistic identity as conflict (López García, 2013), and the representations and ethnolinguistic vitality of indigenous languages through schooling (Hecht, 2017). These studies underscore the discrimination and social displacement suffered by speakers of minoritised languages.

Since 2006, the Argentinian system of education, through the Ley de Educación Nacional 26.206 (Congreso de la Nación Argentina, 2006) has included IBE, a type of educational provision across kindergarten, primary, and secondary levels that guarantees the indigenous peoples’ right in what is now Argentinian territory to receive quality and equitable education which preserves and strengthens their history, cultural practices, language, cosmovision, and ethnic identity in a multicultural society. This

policy seeks to contribute to the long-standing tradition of IBE in Latin America (for an overview see López, 2021). According to Soria (2010), the law comes to materialise a process of educational changes and reforms during the 1990's in which cultural diversity started to be thematised and valued as a criterion for the development of policy and projects in different levels and areas of the State. Thus, there has been a shift from homogenising to focalising policies with the aim of recognising the different peoples in the country.

While IBE has been conceived as policy framed in social justice and inclusive education, different initiatives have been implemented to respond to constitutional and ministerial demands. For example, Unamuno (2012) describes a teacher education program aimed at preparing indigenous primary school teachers to work in tandem with the Spanish-speaking teacher to cater for Wichí-speaking learners. The author highlights that plurilingual management is heavily associated to processes for social equity and equality where languages play a pivotal role.

In the province of Chubut, southern Argentina, the Mapuche communities, who speak Spanish and to a much lesser extent Mapudungun, are the agentive beneficiaries of IBE. Since its implementation of IBE in Chubut in 2010, the policy has led to (1) the development and distribution of educational resources which seek to sensitise learners about indigenous communities (*pueblos originarios* in Spanish), and (2) sporadic short courses on Mapudungun for teachers and learners in communities where some of the population identify themselves as Mapuches. These two strands not only show lack of curricular integration but also the need to support teachers with the praxis of IBE since the materials are developed and provided without a clear strategy or pedagogical principles.

In an attempt to enhance IBE, in 2021 the Ministry of Education of Chubut developed a professional development program targeted at primary school teachers working in small town and rural areas with students ethnically associated to the Mapuche peoples and their language, Mapudungun. The aim of the program was to prepare and support teachers to integrate Mapudungun and social studies in the primary school curriculum. Given my experience of working in the region as a language teacher and teacher education and my expertise on CLIL, I was invited to lead the program. This opportunity allowed me to conceive CLIL, from a content-driven place in the CLIL continuum (see Hemmi & Banegas, 2021), as a response to intercultural bilingual teacher education. The program was completed by seven teachers, but in this paper I only concentrate on those four who granted written informed consent.

The program comprised two parts. Part 1 consisted of four in-person sessions in which (1) the participants described their teaching experience with primary education, (2) we discussed CLIL with a particular emphasis on Coyle et al. (2010)'s 4Cs Framework, the Language Triptych (the language of/for/through learning), and Coyle and Meyer's (2021) pluriliteracies approach, and (3) the participants developed one lesson plan and materials. Part 2 entailed the participants developing and delivering a series of eight lessons that corresponded to a unit of work in a subject called Social Studies. The unit of work varied as the teachers worked with different ages and trajectories. In all cases, the lessons included content delivery in both Mapudungun and Spanish.

Participants

The four participants (Table 1) had a BEd in Primary Education with qualified teacher status. They all had Spanish as their L1 dominant language. The participants are referred to in this paper by means of pseudonyms of their choice. The pseudonyms are of Mapuche origin.

Table 1. Participant information.

Participant	Aimé	Ayelén	Nahuel	Suyai
Mapuche ancestry	No	Yes	No	Yes
Proficiency in Mapudungun (CEFR)	A1	A2	A1	B1
Years of teaching experience	6	2	7	12
Years of teaching experience with indigenous and rural learners.	2	2	7	10

Data collection

The four participants granted written informed consent. Originally, the research sought to obtain insights from the learners and carry out classroom observations; however, their parents/carers refused to grant consent because they perceived me (lead investigator) as a *huinca* (a white man, an outsider, someone they could not trust). Although I identify myself as a brown Latino, this issue is the result of the injustices suffered by the Mapuche in their own territory.

Data were collected in 2021 and 2022 by means of:

Group discussions. During both parts of the program, I held four group discussions with the participants. They were carried out in Spanish, with a mean length of 52 minutes,

and audiorecorded for orthographic transcription. I refrained from carrying out individual interviews to avoid discomfort and stress among the participants' extremely busy schedules. We reflected on the ways in which CLIL in IBE could promote ethnic equity, interculturality, and socially just education.

Journal diaries. The participants were asked to keep a journal in which they would record their practices with CLIL for IBE and any other thoughts. To encourage deep reflection and to respect the participants' privacy, these were not shared with me, but they could use them as a source to support the group discussions. As reported by the participants, each diary had a mean of 23 entries, with a mean length of 8,273 words.

Arts-based methods. Towards the end of the program, each participant was asked to represent the lived experience with CLIL in IBE through visuals, which could be a collage, drawing, photo, or anything similar that would help them portray their professional journey and views. These were shared and unpacked in the group discussions.

Data analysis

Qualitative content analysis (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2018) was employed to understand the phenomenon under investigation. Before carrying out the data analysis, the four participants engaged in member-checking of the transcribed data. The analysis involved three iterations of reading and coding the data through open coding. Axial coding was used to arrange the codes into categories and themes. To ensure confirmability, transparency, and trustworthiness (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), a colleague not familiarised with the investigation acted as an inter-rater of 60% of the data. Discrepancies in coding were discussed and the Krippendorff's alpha-reliability

coefficient for multi-valued nominal data (Krippendorff & Craggs, 2016) was calculated at 0.812, which demonstrated high agreement. The participants also conducted member-checking to ensure that their insights had not been misconstrued. They did not request any changes to the data sets.

Findings

The findings are organised into three sections according to the research questions. The first two sections (*Teachers' understanding of CLIL* and *Prerequisites for CLIL*) include evidence of how teachers working in IBE with an indigenous population understand CLIL. The third section (*CLIL teaching and ethnic equity*) relates to how CLIL teaching can contribute to ethnic equity, including awareness of ethnolinguistic vitality.

Teachers' understanding of CLIL

The four teachers understood CLIL as (1) an inclusive approach for successful IBE implementation, (2) a booster of ethnolinguistic vitality, and (3) a conduit for activist plurilingual and pluricultural citizenship.

Regarding CLIL as an inclusive approach for successful IBE implementation, the participants established links between learners' individual trajectories and the focus on disciplinary knowledge and literacies. For example, in a group discussion Ayelén said:

I was going over my diary and I noted that inclusion is happening and that's of course great for IBE because the focus is on the kids being able to understand

and do something in Social Studies, so it's like as we concentrate on that aim, we kind of support each kid from their point of departure. I help them to make meaning in Spanish and Mapudungun and so I believe that each kid feels safe, included, heard, and not ashamed of who they are, where they come from. I think it's lovely for them when we help them realise that now, for example, they can talk about maps or describe the main economic activities in the region in Mapudungun as well as in Spanish. (Ayelén, Extract 1)

Extract 1 underscores the importance of recognising the heterogeneity the learners have. Inclusion in CLIL practice appears to be connected to providing a nurturing space in which learners feel heard and genuinely part of the learning experience as their identity is recognised and valued, features which echo Tikly and Barret's (2011) parameters of quality education. From this perspective, CLIL strengthened IBE not only because disciplinary literacies were placed at the centre, but also because a sense of pride in ethnic identity was embedded in the lessons.

CLIL as a booster of ethnolinguistic vitality emerged as a potent theme throughout the course for two reasons: pedagogical translanguaging (for a review see Cenoz & Gorter, 2022) and the Language Triptych (Coyle et al., 2010). For instance, in the case of pedagogical translanguaging, Nahuel said:

In my diary I've been leaving bullet points about how we can use the Spanish and Mapudungun the learners have to build new knowledge. That's great because language doesn't stop them from learning, on the contrary, they can use both to develop their thinking and contribute to the class. And when they notice

that they feel Mapudungun is useful, and that encourages them to use it more often inside and outside the classroom. (Nahuel, Extract 2)

Nahuel's recognition of translanguaging as an enabler seems to be connected to the C-Cognition parameter since the focus is on making meaning, in other words, learning. In addition, instrumentality ("Mapudungun is useful") acts as motivating factor which contributes to the sociolinguistics of Mapudungun as the learners appear to use the language in schooling as well as community life.

The teachers' use of the Language Triptych as a "planning tool" (Coyle & Meyer, 2021, p. 26) also contributed to the teachers' view of CLIL as a booster of ethnolinguistic vitality. Suyai said:

As we teach them the language of and through learning we're kind of contributing to the maintenance and development of formal language. But with the language for learning, we're also teaching them interactional Mapudungun, which they can also use in informal situations I'd imagine, and this is why I feel that overall we're helping them protect and expand the language and their identity as they can use it to speak about themselves, others, and topics. (Suyai, Extract 3)

Similarly to Extract 2, Extract 3 indicates that CLIL became a booster of ethnolinguistic vitality because it enabled the learners to use Mapudungun for educational and interactional purposes, which acted, in turn, as a drive to enhance not only the language but also the learners' Mapuche identity.

Identity as an underlying and ubiquitous theme in this study surfaced with more force as the participants envisaged CLIL as a conduit for activist plurilingual and pluricultural citizenship, which responds to Porto's (2021) views on citizenship in CLIL. The participants agreed that the fact that they taught Social Studies in Mapudungun enabled them to profit from the C-Culture parameter for they could use it to concentrate on designing lessons that would also create spaces to discuss the Mapuche's cosmovision, i.e., their foundational epistemological dynamics of knowledge creation and transmission. For example, Suyai and Nahuel explained that in one lesson about the relationship between territory and identity, their learners played *Awkantün Lama*¹ (the Mapuche poncho game). This is a game based on collaboration which seeks to raise awareness of the importance of territory among the Mapuche, and reflect on the causes and consequences of its loss and the legitimate cause spearheaded by the Mapuche community to regain it. Nahuel said:

With this game, the children reflected on the importance of the Mapuche cause, their legitimate claims and so we decided to make posters about this issue in Mapudungun and Spanish to raise awareness in the community and they took the posters to the local store. And to me that was genuine activism because they kids wanted others to think about this issue and support the Mapuche. (Nahuel, Extract 4)

Ayelén's visual representation (Figure 1) of CLIL in IBE sought to capture the focus on pluricultural citizenship. The figure is a collage of juxtaposed words (Words in Mapudungun: che – people, mapu – land/territory, nütramkan – conversar; words in Spanish: ayudar – help, and the compounded 3-word word: lengua – language, cultura –

culture, escuela – school) and flags (top left: Mapuche; top right: Mapuche-Tehuelche; below: Argentina) over the map of the province of Chubut.

Figure 1. A visual representation of CLIL in IBE.



In a discussion, Ayelén explained that CLIL was a conduit to bring together issues around ethnic identities, collaboration, different peoples sharing the same land, and the role of the school to maintain and help people become proud of their heritage. She added:

There's a strong, social justice-driven alignment between the aims of CLIL and IBE and the topics we teach in Social Studies in Mapudungun and Spanish help us combine all these elements, and the CLIL 4Cs framework has been really vital in this respect because from there we move on to explore pluriculturality and the inevitable role we all play as pluricultural citizens. (Ayelén, Extract 5)

On the one hand, Ayelén’s words confirm the instrumental value of the 4Cs Framework in enabling the discussion of sociocultural aspects as they taught Social Studies. This shows how CLIL has potential to promote social justice and ethnic equity. On the other hand, her insights help to move the CLIL agenda forward by looking at, what Coyle and Meyer (2021) call “beyond CLIL”, pluriculturality and plurilingualism as the classroom becomes a site where different cultures, languages, and modes of being coalesce.

While the teachers developed a positive view of CLIL for IBE, they also recognised the need to attend to basic requirements which would ensure successful CLIL implementation.

Prerequisites for CLIL

The four teachers, particularly Aimé and Nahuel given their identity as non-Mapuches, recognised that successful CLIL in IBE was a concerted effort which primarily rested on three prerequisites: (1) quality continuing professional development in language education, (2) proficiency in Mapudungun, and (3) achieving community acceptance. These were drawn from the participants’ drawings and group discussions over the experience. For example, Aimé utilised a photo of a tree called pewen/Araucaria Araucana (Mapudungun/Spanish) as a triptych (Figure 2) to represent these core elements.

Figure 2. A CLIL-IBE triptych



El pewen de la AICLE en la EIB

In the group discussion, Aimé explained that A(ceptación/acceptance), M(adpungun), and D(esarrollo profesional/professional development) were prerequisites for CLIL to thrive in IBE. She stressed that community acceptance was the basis because that was the intersecting space between community life and formal education. She also reflected that professional development could not be limited to one-off courses or a two-hour workshop. Aimé's triptych prompted Nahuel to say:

We need like a CPD program, something that, for example, lasts for a year or more in which we conduct action research and see what happens, and perhaps we work with other teachers in other parts of the province who are also in IBE.

(Nahuel, Extract 6)

Extract 6 shows that the teachers exhibited a need for courses which responded to a wider and focused system which involved collaboration to, as Suyai added,

end the isolation that we sometimes feel as rural IBE teachers since most CPD is for teachers in mainstream urban schools. (Suyai, Extract 7)

CPD did not only entail language education for IBE, it also comprised language courses on Mapudungun since they equated pedagogical success to their own Mapudungun proficiency. In this regard, Aimé reflected:

Sometimes Suyai and I work together, and I see that I can't do as much because I know less of Mapudungun so my lessons are mainly in Spanish with some short phrases or key words in the other language. And I see that she does more in Mapudungun because her proficiency is higher and the kids pay more attention and can do more in terms of using Mapudungun to learn. Our proficiency in the language is definitely a central factor in ensuring quality CLIL for IBE. (Aimé, Extract 8)

Aimé's insights confirm that quality CLIL rests on teachers' ability to deliver content in the additional language, and therefore, from a provision perspective, CLIL is not for all teachers since they need to have/or be supported to have a level of proficiency that allows them to navigate IBE confidently. In this regard, Mapudungun's ethnolinguistic vitality was not only about helping the community maintain the language, it was also about learning the language so that more speakers could be added.

Showing a high level of Mapudungun proficiency was also linked to the third prerequisite: community acceptance. The four teachers agreed that acceptance from the Mapuche community was important for CLIL in IBE. Their acceptance would hinge on:

knowledge of Mapudungun, but above all, knowledge of their history, their culture, their beliefs. You need to respect their silences, you need to become an insider, and that takes time. You can't be judgemental because if you do, you lose, and they may end up not sending the kids any more to school, and you want them to see that the school is on their side, not against them. (Nahuel, Extract 9)

Likewise, Ayelén commented:

It's important that they see you not only in the school, but that they see you around, that you show a genuine disposition to watch and learn. Of course you don't want to overdo it. It also helps a lot when they know that you don't live in the city, but in the rural area, which is their land after all, or in the small towns nearby. (Extract 10)

It is worth noting that as the teachers reflected on the necessity of adopting a genuine emic approach to interculturality, they also displayed awareness of the history of colonialism, genocide, and displacement that the Mapuches lived in the hands of the Argentinian State as it was the imposition of one nation over another.

The teachers also recognised that having Mapuche ancestry was not essential to gain community acceptance. They highlighted this issue by describing how systemic ethnic discrimination has had a deep impact among fellow teachers:

Some teachers may hide it [their Mapuche ancestry] because they don't want to be marginalised. Oppression, and sometimes even bullying within the educational system itself, I mean bullying from fellow teachers, has run so deep

that they would like to be seen as huincas, as from Spanish descent. Or even worse I'd say, they don't want to be seen as *ni, ni huincas* or conquistadores, ni Mapuches. No identity in sum! (Suyai, Extract 11, my emphasis)

CLIL teaching and ethnic equity

As the teachers reported above, translanguaging (Extracts 5 and 2) together with the 4Cs Framework and the Language Triptych (Extract 3) acted as powerful pedagogical tools to imbue ethnolinguistic vitality and ethnic identity in a community subjected to systemic discrimination and erasure despite programs and efforts to interrupt centuries of injustices. With reference to translanguaging, Table 2 lists the activities or strategies the teachers used to support ethnic equity through IBE. This is a table the teachers originally developed in Spanish in one group discussion.

Table 2. Translanguaging in practice.

Translanguaging
- Greet the learners in Mapudungun and then in Spanish every day.
- Create wall posters with key concepts and phrases in both languages.
- Ask questions in Mapudungun and allow the learners to answer in either language.
- Give them inquiry-based activities that would encourage them to ask their families and neighbours to return with data in both Mapudungun and Spanish.

-
- Provide oral and written feedback in both languages.
-

In relation to Table 2, Ayelén commented:

We do this list with all the children, but I personally use them more with the Mapuche children because sometimes they struggle with Spanish and therefore I see that by providing these tools for them, I'm truly scaffolding their learning.

(Ayelén, Extract 12)

As we reflected more on their everyday CLIL practice and in what ways their teaching contributed to ethnic equity, the teachers agreed on a powerful relationship which could be understood as a pedagogy of patience. According to some scholars (e.g., Pathak, 2022; Weinstock, 2004), a pedagogy of patience refers to the collaborative undertaking of the teaching and exercising of patience where the teacher is a patient listener. In this study, this pedagogy did not only relate to the teacher as a patient listener but also, and perhaps primarily, to the development of a battery of didactic strategies that gave learners time to develop and articulate their thinking. Extracts 13 and 14 illustrate these strategies as reported by the teachers:

When I ask the kids to answer a question orally or in writing in Mapudungun I've learnt not to rush them, not to repeat the question like parrot. So I give them a few minutes to think, to go over their notes, textbooks, etc. I ask them to use graphic organisers or simple notes to organise what they want to say and how. So, instead of doing six activities in class, we do three or four, but these have been meaningful, real learning opportunities. (Nahuel, Extract 13)

I do a lot of process writing with them, and this is supported in brief presentations, and this takes time, and I wish I could go faster but as we're dealing with content *and* language, I cannot be interfering all the time, so I give them the space to work things out on their own, and they show me, and they try again. Let's remember that Mapudungun is an oral language and the writing systems used to represent it graphemically are from the 1980s so if they need their family's help, the writing doesn't help, because the "old" Mapuches only speak the language, and this doesn't mean they're illiterate. Through CLIL we're contributing to developing academic writing in Mapudungun, which I feel brings prestige and recognition to people within and outside the community. (Suyai, Extract 14)

These two extracts depict that a pedagogy of patience in CLIL may reinforce ethnic equity because each learner is given time to think and articulate their ideas. At the same time, as Suyai reasons (Extract 14), being patient with writing development contributes to Mapudungun functional and formal development as well as an increase in prestige and linguistic loyalty since writing becomes a powerful mechanism to preserve and maintain the language (see Wittig, 2018). Thus, a pedagogy of patience provides learners with extra or more tailored support in their identity as bilingual learners/speakers. It also provides support to those learners who do not come from Mapuche descent and are also part of IBE.

The findings thus reveal that CLIL, in line with the literature (e.g., Coyle & Meyer, 2021; Pérez Cañado, 2022), can contribute to social inclusion and justice, and in the context of this study, to ethnic equity. Notwithstanding, for CLIL to be sustainable

and relevant, teachers need to be supported in order for them to maximise their identity as transformative intellectuals (Giroux, 2010) in both an educational (need to receive CPD in language pedagogy and Mapudungun) as well as societal (community acceptance) plane.

Discussion

Examining teachers' understanding and practice of CLIL in the context of IBE has provided powerful insights to delve into relationships between ethnic equity, indigenous languages, and CLIL.

As suggested by different scholars (Anderson, 2009; Dillon, 2009, Van den Craen, 2016), this study shows that CLIL can find fertile soil in (semi-)rural areas and with minoritised languages, as is the case of Mapudungun in Argentina (and Chile), and in communities who have been subjected to social injustices. In this regard, this study responds to authors' call for CLIL to be offered in rural areas and to learners with low SES (Lorenzo et al., 2021; Nikula, 2016). However, it should be noted that in the experience reported in this paper, CLIL was not implemented as a form of education per se, but as an approach within IBE. In addition, its implementation was supported by a CPD program as the teachers had no formal preparation in bilingual education even though they were working as IBE teachers. As the findings show, the teachers understood CLIL as an inclusive approach for successful IBE implementation because it provided them with potent concepts (e.g., translanguaging) and pedagogical tools (4Cs Framework) to teach Social Studies in Mapudungun and Spanish.

The teachers' experiences indicate that CLIL can guarantee inclusive and quality education oriented towards ethnic equity when ethnolinguistic vitality and intercultural

citizenship are approached holistically. Following Ehlala's (2015) definition, ethnolinguistic vitality is not only concerned with an indigenous language as a formal system but also with this language being an inherent part of a complex universe of situated social practices in a context of oppression. It follows that ethnolinguistic vitality and intercultural citizenship coalesce to ensure that, from a pedagogical perspective, the 4Cs Framework can promote the cosmovision imbricated in the indigenous language and community. In other words, the 4Cs Framework has the potency of becoming an enabling tool that can motivate teachers, learners, and the community to destabilise injustices, dismantle colonial discourses, participate in different forms of civic engagement (Freire, 1994) and intercultural activism (Porto, 2022, forthcoming), and become proud of their ethnic identity and heritage.

School recognition and legitimisation of underrepresented learners' funds of knowledge (Llopart & Esteban-Guitart, 2018; Moll, 2019) is a vital step in supporting the community to acknowledge their own ancestry and how an activist disposition towards intercultural citizenship can help improve ethnolinguistic vitality and ultimately social justice in education and beyond. Drawing on Tikly and Barret's (2011) model of quality education for social justice, recognitional and distributive justice are foregrounded given the focus of inclusion and interest in the community's life. In this respect, the school plays a crucial role in the community as, on the one hand, it is an institution that represents the State, which is a form of validation and reparation, and on the other hand, it provides the learners and by extension the community with material as well as immaterial resources to maintain and develop ethnic equity. In this scenario, the integration of CLIL and IBE, with key provisos such as CPD, Lx language proficiency, and achieving community acceptance, is a tangible manifestation of the provision of such necessary resources.

Ethnolinguistic vitality and intercultural citizenship as underpinning components of CLIL for ethnic equity can mature and expand their potential when a pedagogy of patience irradiates on educational discourses and situated teaching practices. In CLIL, and in fact in any educational undertaking, a pedagogy of patience translates into strategies (e.g., pedagogical translanguaging; time as support; collaboration) which help learners and teachers engage in dialogic encounters that underscore the value of listening, respecting learning trajectories and ways of engaging with knowledge creation.

In sum, when CLIL is employed for ethnic equity with marginalised people, it is not only language or content that are benefitted. Pluricultural and plurilingual and identity dimensions of school and community life are protected, maintained, and nurtured. That said, CLIL should not be envisaged as an effective approach across all multilingual situations. We must steer away from overstretching or misappropriating CLIL (Dalton-Puffer et al., 2014) as this move may lead to the loss of its distinctive features. In other words, while CLIL can enhance multilingual education, it is not a panacea (Paran, 2013) for all situations.

Conclusion

As this study has shown, the synergy between CLIL, indigenous languages, and ethnic equity hinges on a comprehensive understanding of teachers' views and practices and their professional development. From their view, CLIL can be a conducive approach to raise awareness of the ethnolinguistic vitality of indigenous languages as well as ethnic identities in contexts where indigenous populations have been marginalised. It should be stressed that learners' and community's voices and involvement are equally

important in this equation. However, this study is only based on the participating teachers' self-reported views and practices in the context of primary IBE. This does not erase the examples of civic engagement the children carried out as reported by the teachers. In fact, I witnessed the posters made by the learners but I was not allowed to photograph them.

In light of these limitations, future research can investigate the role of CLIL in IBE at societal level and provide, perhaps through longitudinal designs, a careful analysis of learners' linguistic and academic gains. Another important implication is linked to empowering teachers so that they can research their own IBE classrooms particularly when they have been accepted by the community. In so doing, the literature will benefit from studies following an emic approach in which the teachers and the community can be co-researchers.

Note

1. The teachers used pedagogical material provided by the Ministry of Education to include the game in their lesson. The material, in Spanish, is available at <https://www.chubuteduca.ar/folleto-awkantun-lama/>

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