

Inclusion in Chilean Universities: From Speech to Practices, Policies and Cultural Interactions

La inclusión en las universidades chilenas: del discurso a las interacciones prácticas, políticas y culturales

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Abstract

The comprehension of what is understood as inclusion has been a challenging task for Chilean society (Ocampo, 2011; Salinas, Lissi, Medrano, Zuzulich, & Hojas, 2013; Mella, Díaz, Muñoz, Orrego, & Rivera, 2013; Bernal, 2013; Ocampo, 2015). Bearing this in mind, the aim of this study is to learn how the concept of inclusion is constructed in documents related to the strategic plans of several Chilean universities. A qualitative approach was adopted, following a descriptive design, with content analysis techniques associated with relevance theory and supported using the software AntConc.inc. The analysis showed that universities only cover 9 of 32 indicators defined by the United Nations, Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) as inclusive policies and practices. There is a similar situation with indicators proposed as inclusive cultures, where 8 out of 13 indicators are covered. The results lead to the conclusion that Chilean universities are incipiently assuming the development of a more inclusive society.

Keywords: university, index for inclusion, policies, practices, culture

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Resumen

Comprender la inclusión ha sido una tarea difícil para la sociedad chilena (Ocampo, 2011; Salinas, Lissi, Medrano, Zuzulich y Hojas, 2013; Mella, Díaz, Muñoz, Orrego y Rivera, 2013; Bernal, 2013; Ocampo, 2015). Por ello, el objetivo de este estudio es rastrear la construcción del concepto *inclusión* que se encuentra en los planes estratégicos de algunas universidades chilenas. Se adoptó un enfoque cualitativo, de diseño descriptivo, y se utilizaron técnicas de análisis de contenido relacionadas con las propuestas de la Teoría de la Relevancia y con apoyo del programa AntConc.inc. El análisis muestra que las universidades solo cubren 9 de los 32 indicadores de políticas y prácticas inclusivas propuestos por la Organización de las Naciones Unidas para la Educación y Diversificación, la Ciencia y la Cultura (Unesco). Algo similar ocurre con los indicadores propuestos como culturas inclusivas, donde se cubren 8 de los 13 indicadores. Los resultados permitieron concluir que las universidades chilenas asumen de manera apenas incipiente el desarrollo de una sociedad más inclusiva.

Palabras clave: universidad, índice de inclusión, políticas, prácticas, culturas

Inclusion is a never-ending process (Booth & Ainscow, 2002). It is a global phenomenon that is aimed at reducing inequalities, discrimination, and exclusion, and promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, which are not solely associated with disability. From this perspective, the international community has made various efforts for all people to be considered in the public policies of every country.

This study explores the difficulties that exist in society to understand the concept of inclusion (Ocampo, 2011; Salinas, Lissi, Medrano, Zuzulich, & Hojas, 2013; Mella, Díaz, Muñoz, Orrego, & Rivera, 2013; Bernal, 2013; Ocampo, 2015) and the need to improve and accelerate the processes of inclusion in universities (Bernal, 2013; Gairín & Muñoz, 2014). Based on descriptive work, the general aim of this paper is to trace the construction of the concept of inclusion in the strategic plans of certain Chilean universities, usually being incorporated in their mission statements and values. These statements are contrasted with the UNESCO proposals on the implementation of measures for everyone to be served in school systems. The feasibility of this comparison is enabled by the possibility of working with data published on the websites of the universities included in the sample. Then, based on relevance theory, the consistencies or inconsistencies in the results are identified in the messages communicated by the universities in their strategic plans.

Finally, it should be noted that this study is framed within of a period of profound reforms to the Chilean higher education system. These reforms range from technical aspects to the basis of national educational duties. Inclusion is defined in higher education by Law 20,422, which establishes regulations on equal opportunities and social inclusion of people with disabilities. The study thus provides an insight into how the discursive interactions contribute to the cultural development of Chilean society and how the concept of inclusion is built into it. The aim is also to contribute to the promotion of measures intended to improve processes for full social inclusion and the development of studies that conduct content analysis with contributions from relevance theory

Conceptual Framework

It is possible to consider the association between inclusion and exclusion as the relationship between a thesis and an antithesis. Echeita (2013) argues that countries from the south suffer various situations of educational exclusion that have been made invisible as *normal* processes. These are situations that can be reduced, but this requires a high level of cooperation and synergy by members of the educational community. Reducing exclusion requires facing up to the complexity of educational inclusion and developing processes that are truly inclusive. And although the majority agree on the need for more inclusive institutions (Guajardo & Rivera, 2015; Berdegué, Bebbington, & Escobal, 2015, Jiménez, 2011), understanding the concept of inclusion in Chile is a difficult task (Ocampo, 2011; Salinas, Lissi, Medrano, Zuzulich, & Hojas, 2013; Mella, Díaz, Muñoz, Orrego, & Rivera, 2013; Bernal, 2013; Ocampo, 2015).

Karsz (2004) claims that there are different approaches to understand exclusion, including the fatalistic, anthropological, disqualification, or social decline of Paugam; the exclusion of Gualejac and Taboada-Leonetti; the attachment to the identity of people; and disaffiliation or loss of social commitment described by Castel.

On the other hand, other authors (UNESCO, 1948; Fitch, 2003; Rosano, 2007; Ortega & Osorio, 2011; Jiménez & Serrato, 2014) understand inclusion to be the equal participation of all members of a society, as a right associated with equity and social justice, such as a socially produced condition embodied in infrastructure and ideologies, or a compromise that has an associated critical analysis of the possible actions that each institution should take to improve learning and enable everyone to participate, both in the delivery of formal education and local opportunities (Booth & Ainscow, 2002). Echeita, Muñoz, Sandoval, & Simón (2014) consider that one of the biggest barriers to learning and inclusion comes from a teaching-learning process arranged in such a way that it induces isolation of students who feel undervalued, marginalized, and marked by repeated failure.

International focus on inclusion

In the international sphere, inclusion has been addressed by the Convention of Human Rights (1948), the World Conference in Paris (1960), the Declaration on the Rights of Disabled Persons (1975), the Warnock Report (1978), the European Parliament Resolution of 1981 on the need to promote the economic, social, and vocational integration of disabled people in the European Union (EU), the 1982 proclamation of the United Nations (UN) Decade of Disabled Persons, the Jomtien Conference of the Organization of American States (OAS) held in 1990, the Standard Rules on the Equalisation of Opportunities for Persons with Disabilities enacted by the UN (1993) and ratified by the EU, the UN's Salamanca conference (1994), the EU's Amsterdam Treaty (1997), the UN's International Convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against persons with disabilities (1999), the World Forum on Education held in Dakar in 2000, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Education for All Global Monitoring Report, Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2006), the Declaration of the Decade of the Americas (2006) and the 2001 World Disability Report 2001, prepared by the World Bank (WB) and the World Health Organization (WHO).

All of these declarations seek to build respect for the rights of the population and consider social accessibility as the right to social participation and the success of all. Above all, the interest is in understanding and working for inclusion as the part of social development that caters to diversity. The aforementioned conventions become legal obligations for the countries that ratify them, so that they protect those who need the education system to accept them and assist them in their differences. It should be noted that, the Declaration of Salamanca (ratified by Chile), outlines the fundamental role played by universities in its three aspects —teaching, research, and public engagement— in the preparation of special plans and materials adapted to allow inclusion.

National focus on inclusion

In Chile, since Law 15,720 (1964), there have been initiatives aimed at achieving effective equal opportunities for students in the national public education system. Over time, that interest focused on ensuring access and respect for human rights and the rights of the child (Constitution of the Republic of Chile, Law 18,962, 1990; Law 19,284, 1994; Decree 01, 1998; National Policy on Special Education, 2005).

There was a tendency in Chile to treat people with disabilities under a medical model that attempted to make differences disappear or conceal them (Palacios, 2008). However, in 2006, Chilean students exposed these differences and halted all educational activity. The demonstrations became a large civic and school movement known as the «Penguin Revolution» and its slogans included the demand for greater equity and quality in education.

Bellei, Contreras, and Valenzuela (2010) argue that both the perseverance and repeated, large marches managed to draw attention to the way in which education was being conducted in Chile. The authors consider that the reduction of selection and the provision of real support to the most disadvantaged students were the main changes, and were factors that helped decrease exclusion and, therefore, favored inclusion. The demands resulted in the enactment of legislation that was aimed at meeting the demands for greater equity and quality in education (Law 20,201, 2007; Law 20,370, 2009; decree 170, 2010), but implementation of this legislation demonstrated a reality that was very different from that expected. A system was created in which the administrators of the schools fought to obtain students with diagnoses that allowed them to increase the state subsidies they received.

The new economy of the school system, based on vouchers, was associated with the idea of freedom of education, but the background of the situation demonstrated actions that increased exclusion (Echeita, 2013). In order to extend and improve the service of inclusive education, García-Cedillo, Romero-Contreras, and Ramos-Abadie (2015) argue that it is necessary to review the financing structure of the Chilean education system. Similarly, Aranda and Salinas (2015) consider that the redistribution of wealth is an intrinsic issue for inclusion.

International trends, mainly the UNESCO proposals, were addressed in Chile through the ratification of the International Convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against persons with disabilities (1999). From that arose Law 20,422 (2010), which establishes standards on equal opportunities and social inclusion of persons with disabilities. These standards are intended to eliminate any form of discrimination based on disability and were constituted as part of the first national legislation on regulating diversity in higher education. It is then declared that «higher education institutions must have mechanisms that facilitate access for persons with disabilities, as well as adapting study materials and teaching methods so that these people can study the various courses» (Art. 39). Other laws were enacted, such as Law 20,501 (2011) on quality and equity of education, Law 20,609 (2012) which establishes measures against discrimination, and the guidelines for school inclusion in Law 20,845 (2015), which regulate the admission of students, preclude financing of education from being shared between the state and families, and also prohibit profit-making in education institutions funded with state contributions.

Although actions can be observed that are intended to promote equal opportunities, respect for human rights, and fundamental freedoms of the entire Chilean community, there are still conditions that hinder access, retention, and the success of all people in the national education system, all of which are characteristics of inclusion, according to Booth & Ainscow (2002). In Chile it can be seen how discordant regulatory language is used; for example, the use of the word *disability* is not consistent with social interactions, but is part of the health field (Booth & Ainscow, 2002).

UNESCO proposals to promote inclusion

The shift from exclusive to inclusive in Chile is considered by García-Cedillo et al. (2015) to be a process that requires considerable changes, including the efforts needed to comprehend inclusion.

In this regard, errors in understanding inclusion could be rooted in the lack of interest in expanding this concept or, possibly, because study of this phenomenon is not conducted in the necessary depth. On the other hand, it is possible that inclusion is not well understood for convenience. For these reasons, it is important to improve the understanding of the concept.

Among the ratifications made by Chile is UNESCO's proposed Index for Inclusion (Booth & Ainscow, 2002). This document states that inclusion is based on a commitment that everything that can be improved, regardless of any characteristic of any person. The aim of the document is to seek the reduction and elimination of barriers that limit learning and participation in education. It also states that disability is not related to the Index, as it belongs to the health field (Booth & Ainscow, 2002). The index has three dimensions. The first is cultural, which considers the construction of a safe, welcoming, collaborative, and stimulating community for students, consisting of section A1 with seven indicators, and section A2 with six indicators. The second dimension is political and focuses on ensuring that all educational development programs and activities are focused on inclusion. It includes section B1 section with six indicators, and section B2 with nine indicators. And finally, practice, which is intended to

recognize the reflection of culture and inclusive policies in the actions of all participants in the educational community. It includes section C1 with 12 indicators, and section C2 with 5 indicators. Universities are expected to take the index into consideration due to Chile's ratifications of the UN conventions.

This study seeks to trace the construction of the concept of inclusion, and it begins by identifying the contribution of the universities to the understanding of inclusion as policy and practice. Subsequently, it identifies the contribution of the universities to the comprehension of inclusion as culture, and concludes by highlighting the indicators of inclusion that Chilean universities are not addressing. This will shed light on what defining aspects for the inclusion of groups that are susceptible to exclusion are displayed or concealed in the universities' public discourse.

Methodological Aspects

This study attempts to observe the discourse associated with the phenomenon of inclusion in Chile without the pretension of implementing innovative actions or exposing the logic that underlies inclusion in this society. From this perspective, a qualitative methodological approach was adopted that would allow the phenomenon to be recognized from its own reality (Hernández, Fernández, & Baptista, 2012), with a purely descriptive aim. Content analysis techniques were used, supported by relevance theory, which Santander (2011) considers to be of great interest due to its usefulness as a tool for analysis in the social sciences. The views of Sperber and Wilson (1986) allow the opacity in the messages communicated through the strategic plans to be recognized, issues that could not be observed if a technique other than content analysis was used.

The criteria for inclusion in the sample are: (a) accredited universities who declare that they have student equalization programs or support to improve learning with the National Accreditation Commission (CNA), a commission that seeks to promote and verify the quality of higher education in Chile, and (b) institutions that had published their missions and values on their websites, as of the second half of 2015. The sample consists of 26 Chilean universities.

The analytical work uses acronyms to facilitate the process (Appendix). Of the sample, it should be noted that 15 are traditional universities (belonging to the Council of Rectors of Chilean Universities), 8 are state-owned, 6 are non-state owned and have religious associations, and 12 are regional universities.

The variables measured are two core elements of the strategic plans of the sample. These are considered to be strategic plans because they are documents that, in addition to enabling observation of the occurrence of events and scenarios, allow the integration of new changes into the scenario in which the benefits steadily increase (Torres, 2008). We proceeded to analyze the mission and values of the universities because the definition of the institutional mission is one of the defining factors in the design and implementation of the corporate strategy and has a decisive effect on the quality of teaching at the university (Rodríguez-Ponce & Pedraja-Rejas, 2013).

The study is based on an analysis of correlation between the content of the missions and values stated by the universities with the Index of Inclusion through the use of the program AntConc 3.4.3 of 2015. It should be noted that the authors of the Index (Booth & Ainscow, 2002) use the term *school* to refer to all formal education settings, including universities.

Then we used relevance theory (Wilson & Sperber, 1986) because it reveals the underlying intentions of non-spontaneous and interactional discourses. It thus allows the recognition of an interaction between a sender and receiver, associated with a chain of cognitive social causalities (Wilson & Sperber, 1986), as reiterations of the social interactions associated with chains of cognitive cultural causalities. That is, it is assumed that a contagious idea propagated in public discourses will be perceived as relevant by the receivers until it is established as a cultural practice (Sperber, 1996). Meanwhile, there is a possibility that a sender will recognize an element valued by the receiver and use it as an ostensive-inferential stimulus (Wilson & Sperber, 1986) to produce a certain hypothesis in the receiver.

The research question adopted to conduct the study, as established in the missions and values, is the following: What concepts associated with inclusion do Chilean universities establish?

Results and Analysis

Based on the consistencies analyzed within the institutional missions and values with the Index of Inclusion, tables were created showing common indicators presented in a division between public (state) and private spheres, whether traditional or non-traditional. Then we applied the ideas of ostensive-inferential stimulation, reiterated social interactions, and chains of cognitive cultural causalities from relevance theory. Thus, the result is universities with inclusive social interactions and universities that, given their reiterated discursive efforts, are established as organizations that promote inclusive cultures. The latter are presented in figures 1 and 2.

Table 1 shows the indicators of the Index collated with the missions of the universities studied. The section to which each indicator belongs is shown in brackets after each of them.

Table 1
Absolute frequency of inclusive policies and practices present in the missions of the universities

	TRADITIONAL		NON-TRADITIONAL	TOTAL
	PRIVATE	STATE		
The university tries to admit all students in its area (B1)	2	4	2	8
The university makes its facilities physically accessible to all (B1)	1	-	-	1
When the students access the university for the first time, it helps them to adapt (B1)	1	1	-	2
The professional development activities of the university help respond to the diversity of the student body (B2)	2	3	4	9
The policies related to «special needs» are policies of inclusion (B2)	-	3	-	3
The planning and development of classes respond to the diversity of the student body (C1)	1	2	2	5
The classes are made accessible to all students (C1)	-	-	1	1
The classes contribute to greater understanding of difference (C1)	-	1	-	1
The students learn in a cooperative way (C1)	-	1	-	1
Discipline in the classroom is based on mutual respect (C1)	-	1	3	4
The resources of the community are known and used (C2)	1	-	2	3
The diversity of the student body is used as a resource for teaching and learning (C2)	1	2	2	5
The staff generates resources to support the learning and participation of all (C2)	1	2	1	4
TOTAL	10	20	17	47

Source: Prepared by the authors.

Regarding inclusive practices and policies, the universities appear to assume the responsibility of orchestrating the process of learning, mobilizing resources, developing an institution for all, and, to a lesser degree, organizing support to address diversity.

A more detailed analysis shows that the indicator related to accessibility is of special interest to one single university. Based on this it is argued that it only manages to become established as a chain of cognitive social causalities. The possible causes for this include it being an emerging interest of that university or, on the contrary, a sign of a lag in attention to the indicator in accordance with the priorities of the other Chilean universities. In this same regard, there is evidence to believe that the universities that address only one indicator in their discourses (UTALCA, UDD, UTA, UMagallanes, UPacífico, UMCE, UBO, uCentral, & PUCV) choose to mention inclusion as an ostensive stimulus. With this they hope to be perceived as universities that cater to diversity and generate high expectations regarding inclusion (Wilson & Sperber, 1986).

It is interesting to observe that the traditional universities contribute to the validation of the indicators related to student admissions and professional development, and formulate responses in favor of diversity, policies of inclusion, and planning of classes as part of the teaching-learning process. We can observe, for example, that the UFRO hopes to «contribute to the development of the region and the country through the generation and transmission of knowledge, comprehensive training of professionals and post-graduates... [and] assumes commitments with [...] cultural diversity», and the UPLA states that «in the training of postgraduates, professionals, and technicians quality is valued and it is oriented to enabling graduates to adapt to diverse contexts and dynamics through a humanistic, analytical, critical, and creative profile». Both declarations demonstrate themes that are identified as being substantial in the policies and practices of Chilean society. It is important to underline that these declarations address of clinical model of inclusion and diversity is seen and a factor that is external to the university.

From another perspective, traditional universities address fewer indicators focused on physical accessibility, understanding of difference in classrooms, support for adaptation, and cooperative learning. The few institutions that do assume these challenges claim in their missions «the creation, adaptation, and transmission of knowledge» (UDEC) and propose to create «spaces for the discussion and proposal of a multidisciplinary and pluralistic dialogue» (USACH). There is no doubt that neglecting the aspect of infrastructure or the adaptation of students hinders the improvement of teaching.

In their statements, the private universities address the professional development of the staff, classroom discipline, and respect, as well as the use of community resources. For example, the UBO says it is a «trainer of graduates and professionals committed to progress, order, perseverance, the spirit of service, the ethical sense specific to «O»Higginsian Thinking», while the UPacífico states that it has an «innovative educational model that enhances a learning community». One can observe the special interest that internal processes deserve and, at the discursive level, concern about the contribution to the development of policies or practices of attention to and relations with the environment cannot be seen. In this segment the most neglected indicators are those regarding accessible classrooms, support for learning, and the participation of all.

It should be noted that both private and traditional universities care about developing policies and practices that are in line with the professional development of the institution's staff. It is likely that the mention of diversity is used in the statements of the institutions' missions as an ostensive-inferential stimulus to project the universities as institutions that are focused on inclusion. If this were not the case, the reality described would present a space for development and coordination of actions aimed at successful inclusion in the university. Finally, enhancing the more neglected indicators would be the beginning of the journey to push forward strategic university plans that are more inclusive.

Table 2
Inclusive cultures present in the visions of universities

	TRADITIONAL		NON-TRADITIONAL	TOTAL
	PRIVATE	STATE		
The university staff cooperate with each other (A1)	-	1	-	1
The university staff and the students treat each other with respect (A1)	4	4	2	10
The university staff and the members of the University Board work well together (A1)	-	-	2	2
All of the local institutions are involved in the university (A1)	-	2	1	3
There are high expectations for all of the students (A2)	1	-	-	1
The staff, the members of the University Board, the students, and the families share a philosophy of inclusion (A2)	3	5	2	10
All female and male students are valued equally (A2)	-	4	1	5
The university staff and the students are treated as people and as owners of a <i>role</i> (A2)	3	4	3	10
The university staff tries to eliminate all existing barriers to learning and participation (A2)	1	2	4	7
The university makes an effort to reduce discriminatory practices (A2)	-	-	3	3
Total	12	22	18	52

Source: Prepared by the authors.

From the table it can be inferred that matters relating to the establishment of inclusive values (A2) are fully addressed by the institutions studied. However, aspects related to building a community (A1) do not appear in the discourse. The following items, for example, are also not seen: everyone feels welcomed, the students help each other, and there are relationships between staff and families. The latter appears only in the statement of the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, whose fundamentals include «respect for the family». That does not mean a direct relationship is established between the staff of the university and the family groups of the students, but rather it suggests that the university promotes the construction of properly constituted families, as dictated by the Catholic Church.

The foregoing suggests significant progress in establishing inclusive values, in the same way as it sheds light on the need for greater depth in addressing actions to promote the building of welcoming communities based on a culture of cooperation between students and an inclusive environment shared by staff and families. All things considered, the aim is to provide support for learning in any instance through innovation and continuous development.

As regards the indicators mentioned above, in the discourse traditional universities tend to be more concerned about developing inclusive cultures than inclusive policies or practices. For this reason, indicators related to shared philosophies of inclusion are prioritized and they attempt to remove barriers to learning and participation, while respect between the institution and students is promoted in a divided perspective between people and functions. The latter two are the indicators most frequently mentioned

in the discourses analyzed. For example, the UChile states that its basis is the «respect and preservation of diversity in all areas of its endeavors» and the UCN declares that it «ensures that everyone gives and receives what is appropriate, considering both the individual and their relationships with other people, groups, or institutions, and with the whole community». It can be deduced from these data that there is an ideology favorable to inclusion that attempts, through university practices, to reduce barriers to learning and participation by recognizing its stakeholders as citizens. On the other hand, the institutional discourse does not display an interest in the indicator, declaring that «all of the local institutions are involved in the university, there are high expectations for all students, and university staff members cooperate with each other». Therefore, in the traditional part of the university system, we can observe a lack of concern about public engagement, expectations for the students, and cooperation in the university community.

In their discourses, the private universities make reference to the values associated with inclusion rather than conducting inclusive policies or practices. Under this perspective, we can see attempts to differentiate between people and a role, as well as efforts to reduce discriminatory practices and eliminate barriers to learning and participation. The latter indicator is addressed by the UTA, as it mentions, in its «quest for equal opportunities for the development of people, considering their individual merits, within a framework of accountability, participation, and respect» and by the UAHC in «the enhancement and promotion of the participation of all sectors of the university community at the various different levels of its organization». These declarations reveal ideologies that favor positive discrimination between the rights of individuals and social roles, opposition to discrimination, and the elimination of barriers to the achievement of educational objectives. The discourse of the private sector makes little mention of strengthening its contributions to all institutions in the area, a disregard that is also replicated on the equal treatment of students. Neglecting these dimensions shows undervaluation of real public engagement and equal treatment of all.

As regards inclusive policies and practices, the results show that the PUCV is the only university that focuses on the development of accessible facilities, although at least nine universities use the concept of inclusion and others associated with it purely as an ostensive-inferential stimulus. In their discourse, the traditional universities are more interested in serving the population in their area, training their staff, addressing diversity in their classes, and accepting it as a resource than worrying about accessible facilities and enabling adaptation or cooperative learning. Private universities are also interested in training their staff, as well as mutual respect and the use of all resources, but they are not focused on the development of accessible classes or supporting learning and participation at all levels. In the same vein, it should be noted that both private and traditional universities consider the elimination of barriers to be a primary interest, in accordance with the interests of both UNESCO and most international organizations. However, the low proportion of indicators of the Index addressed once again reveals the use of ostensive-inferential stimuli to achieve greater appreciation on the part of the community. It is also interesting that only the USM has high expectations for all of its students.

In order to display the indicators that Chilean universities claim and reproduce in their culture, we have used trees of causalities, shown below, the tops of which contain the ideas, the trunks the research problem, and the roots the universities, which, through their discourse, propagate the ideas (included in the indicators) in favor of a social culture, in a kind of «epidemiology of representations» (Sperber, 1996).

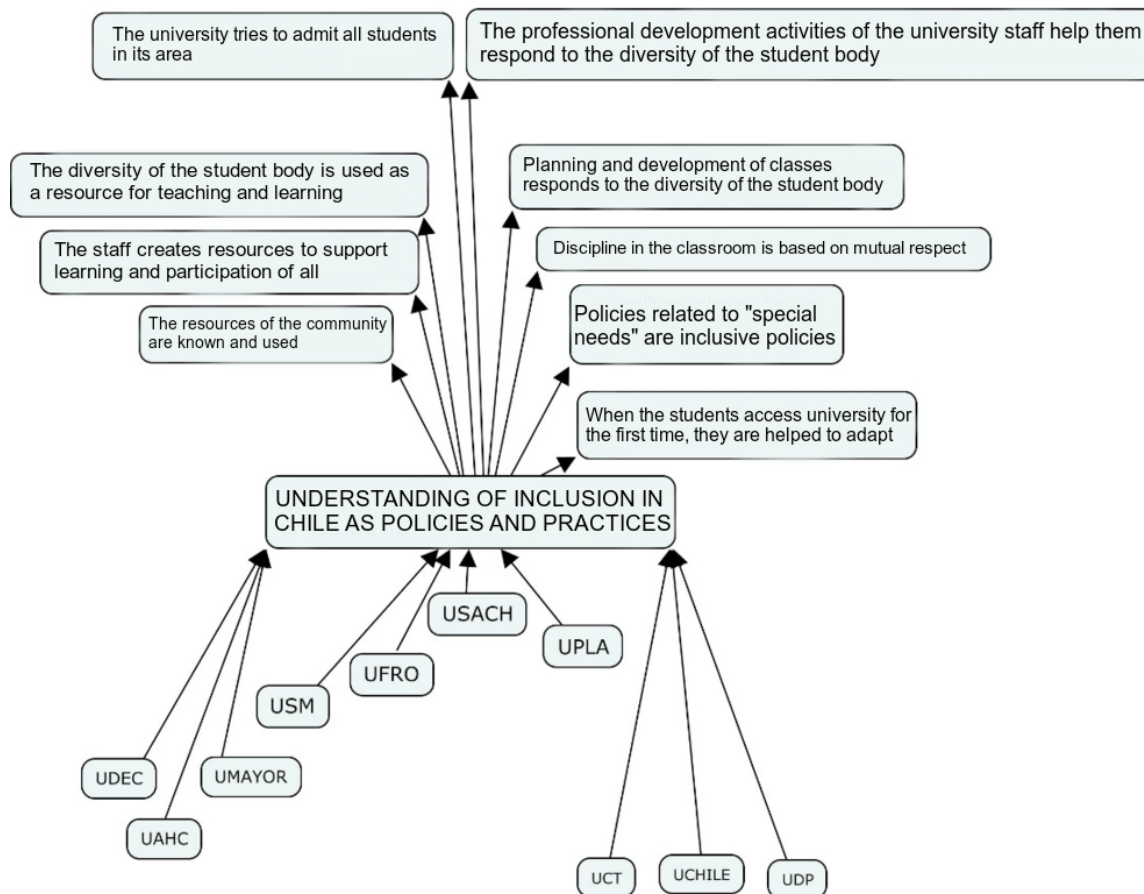


Figure 1. Tree of causalities on the contribution of universities to understanding of inclusion as a policy and practice, together with indicators of the phenomenon

Source: Prepared by the authors.

From Figure 1 it can be deduced that only 10 of the 26 universities include the ideas shown (branches) in the documents studied, which is less than half of the study sample. In its discourse, the USACH is the university that stands out in addressing inclusion in Chile based on building policies and practices that are consistent with the UNESCO proposals. For example, it states its interest in:

Creating the conditions and opportunities that will enable future generations to take charge of the advancement of knowledge ... to achieve the highest standards of quality, innovation, and relevance in an atmosphere of mutual respect between individuals, freedom of thought, diversity, and social inclusion ... proposition in a multidisciplinary and pluralistic dialogue ... in training individuals, enriching their cultural capital and social commitment, promoting the openness of its students to knowledge and understanding of the interaction they have with the surroundings.

On the other hand, there are three institutions that are discursively less focused on contributing to the understanding of inclusion in Chilean culture from the perspective proposed in the Index. For example, the UCT states that it is «dedicated since its beginnings to the extremely broad training of future professionals, the cultivation of ideas that open new paths to knowledge, and research that improves life and the institutions». Meanwhile, the UChile declares that it:

Assumes the training of individuals in pursuit of excellence ... It is the responsibility of the University to ensure cultural heritage and national identity ... is obliged to provide the most complete knowledge of the national reality ... equity and value of merit in admission to the institution, in promotion and graduation.

For its part, the UDP claims that «it has high-performing academic communities engaging closely with the public ... informed, reflective, respectful and pluralist dialogue».

We can see that the group studied is committed in its discourse to less than half of the indicators contained in the Index. Thus, they fail to establish the UNESCO proposals as contagious ideas. The indicators that fail to be contagious include the following: the university makes its facilities physically accessible to all, classes are made accessible to all students, the classes contribute to greater understanding of difference and students learn cooperatively.

Based on Figure 1 it can be highlighted that the aim to admit all students and promote staff development activities to respond to student diversity are contagious ideas that most of the universities claim to carry out in their efforts to contribute to the understanding of inclusion in Chile, based on policies and practices within Chilean culture. In contrast, the ideas related to the use of community resources, backing for inclusive special education policies, and support for the adaptation of students who are accessing the university for the first time hardly appear in the discourse.

These indicators, which are contagious according to the claims of Sperber (1996), encourage policies and practices that do not even address half of the indicators outlined in the UNESCO document. The indicators not addressed in this segment are the following: staff appointments and promotions are fair; all new members of staff are helped to adapt to the university; the institution makes its facilities physically accessible to all; the university organizes learning groups in such a way that the whole student body feels valued; there is coordination between all forms of support; the assessment of special education needs and the supports are used to eliminate barriers to the learning and participation of all students; support for students who are learning Spanish as a second language is coordinated with other types of teaching support; policies of psychological support are linked to measures to develop the curriculum and pedagogical support; practices to expel students for disciplinary reasons are reduced; university absenteeism is reduced; intimidating behavior or abuse of power are reduced; classes are made accessible to all students; the classes contribute to greater understanding of difference; students are actively involved in their own learning; the students learn cooperatively; assessment stimulates the achievement of all students; the teachers plan, review, and teach cooperatively; the teachers are concerned with supporting the learning and participation of all students; support professionals are concerned with facilitating the learning and participation of all students, «home assignments» contribute to the learning of all; all of the students participate in complementary and extracurricular activities; the resources of the institution are distributed fairly to support inclusion; and the experience of the university staff is fully utilized. Most of the indicators mentioned correspond to the section *C1. Orchestrating the process of learning about inclusive practices*, which, according to the Index, refers to integrating teaching and supporting learning to overcome barriers and ensure participation.

The tree of causalities that complements the policy and practice aspects with a value perspective is shown below. The central axis of the figure is understanding of inclusion as a cultural aspect (trunk); at the bottom are the universities that address at least one of the indicators of the Index (roots), and the upper part shows the indicators that are promoted in the discourses of the documents studied (branches).

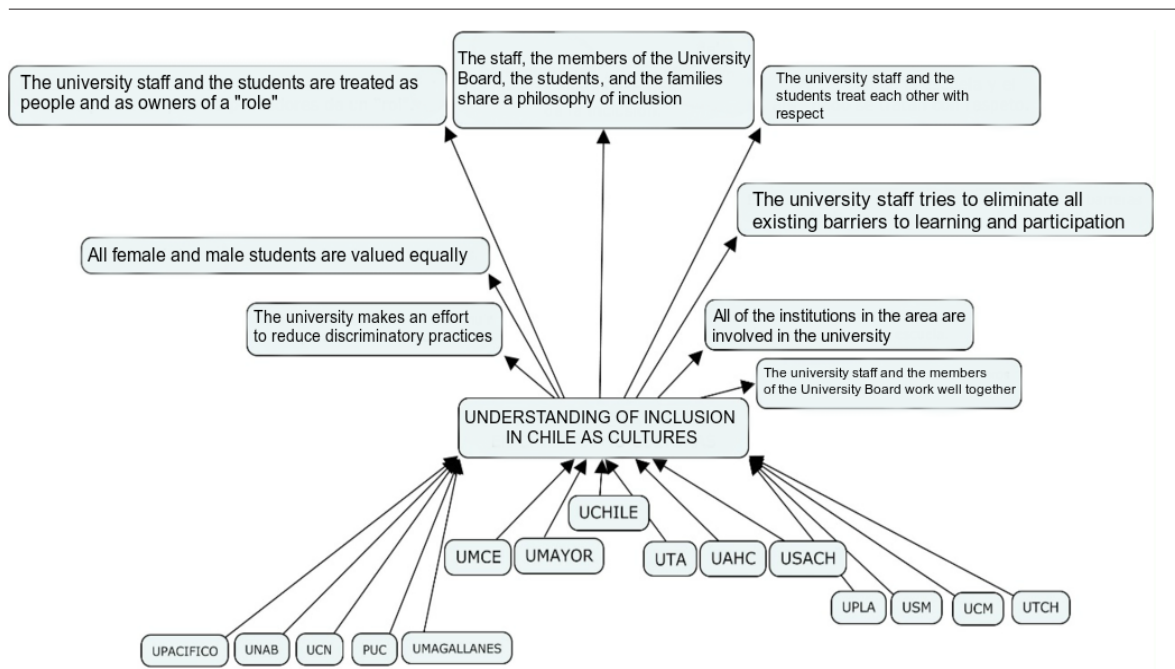


Figure 2. Tree of causalities on the contribution of universities to understanding of inclusion as culture, together with indicators of the phenomenon.

Source: Prepared by the authors.

From Figure 2 we can deduce that close to half of the institutions analyzed are linked to the topic and claim a commitment to the development of an inclusive culture in Chilean society. On the other hand, the understanding of the concept is mainly promoted in: the struggle against discrimination, the ways of valuing individuals, the involvement of local institutions, barriers to learning and participation, and working together. For example, the UChile refers to «exercising the values of tolerance, pluralism, and equity, intellectual independence and freedom of thought»; the USACH mentions «social integration» and states: «We protect the right of our university community to express itself and freely develop its ideas and opinions [...] We support relationships that promote cooperation and collaboration within the community, with other academic institutions, and with public and private institutions»; the UMayor talks about «commitment to non-discrimination, respect for students and staff»; the UTCH mentions «equal opportunities that allow every person to reach their maximum education potential»; and the UAHc declares «value and promotion of the participation of all». It should be underlined that, in their discourses, the universities mainly promote respectful treatment, recognition of the individual and their role, and a shared philosophy of inclusion. This is what the UChile declares by defending «respect and preservation of diversity in all areas of its endeavors»; the UMCE, when it mentions «respect for cultural diversity and inclusion of those most disadvantaged in the general social system, as an expression of social mobility»; the UMayor, by the «dissemination of higher knowledge as a service to individuals and a contribution to overcoming the challenges faced by the community»; and the UPLA, when stating that «social responsibility occupies an important place in the corporate philosophy of the university, as it is oriented at responding to the needs of the university community, the neighborhood, the Valparaíso Region, and the country [...] by way of its processes it promotes: the dignity of the individual, freedom, integrity, social equity».

The indicators promoted by the universities regarding cultural inclusion account for more than half of those proposed in the Index. The issues not addressed in this segment are: everyone feels welcome, the students help each other, the members of the university staff cooperate with each other, there are relationships between staff and families, and there are high expectations of all students. Most of them are associated with Section A.1 *Building a community*, focused on promoting a community where everyone is valued, it is secure, welcoming, collaborative, and stimulating, as a prime factor to increase levels of achievement.

Discussion

The study makes it clear that the concept of inclusion is addressed by the universities in Chile, although with different degrees of commitment between one and another. It also allows the argument that, in accordance with the UNESCO proposal, the discursive efforts included in the strategic plans studied outline inclusive policies, practices, and cultures

As regards the general analysis, it is possible to ensure that the elements related to inclusive cultures are being considered more than the policy of practice aspects. In particular, those elements that allow specific practices to be ensured in the discourse are those least addressed in the mission statements of the universities.

In terms of inclusive cultures, the traditional universities orient their communities towards an inclusive philosophy, seek to eliminate all barriers to learning and participation, and recognize the priority of establishing relationships centered on the individual as the owner of a role. The discursive interests of these universities do not focus on engagement of the institution with their area, high expectations of the students, or cooperative communities.

In the same vein, the private universities agree on differentiating between individuals and a role and trying to eliminate barriers to learning and participation, and they add the need to reduce discriminatory practices. It is interesting to note that, in their discourses, they do not address equal value of all students, since this does not seem relevant to the successful development of the inclusive processes that they carry out.

In general, universities cater more to practical matters than political or cultural issues. We can observe greater interest in the admission of students, the professional development of staff, respect in the personal treatment of students, recognition of roles and the individual, and a shared philosophy of inclusion. At the same time, there is evidence of reduced interest when it comes to indicators related to being aware of and using community resources, supporting inclusive policies, helping new students adapt, reducing discriminatory practices, involving local institutions, and collaborative work between representatives of different sectors of the university. This enables us to infer that admission and treatment of students are most relevant to the institutions analyzed, rather than assisting the students and promoting collaborative efforts or teamwork.

From the perspective of policy and practice, the indicators of the Index not mentioned in the discourse of the universities include fair staff promotions, support for the adaptation of new staff, seeking the appreciation of all, coordination of forms of support, assessment of needs to reduce barriers to learning and participation, support for learning other languages, the linking of psychological support to the curriculum, the reduction of intimidation or abuse of power, commitment to the reduction of absenteeism, the active involvement of students in their learning, assessments that stimulate achievement, teachers in collaborative work and concerned about supporting learning, support professionals to facilitate learning and participation, utilization of the experiences of all staff, home assignments as a contribution to learning, participation of all in complementary or extracurricular activities, and the distribution of resources to support inclusion. This demonstrates that it does not seem relevant to support learning or to evaluate needs to reduce barriers. The cultural perspective is focused on the idea that everyone feels welcome, that there is support between students, and that there are personal relationships between the staff and families.

The numerous indicators not addressed in the discourses, along with those addressed to a lesser degree, confirm the need for a transformation for understanding inclusion in Chile, as argued by García-Cedillo et al. (2015). It would be advisable to consider the indicators that are either not addressed or poorly addressed in order to improve this understanding.

The limitations of this study include the complexity of the concept of inclusion, along with its implications and the multicausality of the phenomenon, which do not allow the identification of one university that is more inclusive than another. In addition, this paper focused on public documents that cannot be considered to be evidence of the internal policies or practices of each institution. The final constraint is not knowing the actions that the universities plan to carry out.

For future research, it is proposed that factors should be addressed that are similar to those analyzed in this study assess the stability of the cultural chains achieved based on the social actions mentioned. In addition to this, the progress and projections of the phenomenon could also be shown. The results of the study and the consideration of its constraints could provide an important basis for further research.

Conclusion

The study enabled assessment of the construction of the concept of inclusion based on the values and mission statements presented in the strategic plans published by the Chilean universities that were included in the sample. According to an interpretive paradigm with a qualitative approach, the data obtained were analyzed, contrasting them with the UNESCO proposal, using the AntConc program and the tenets of relevance theory.

The results obtained allow us to understand that Chilean universities seek to develop similar concepts associated with inclusion, although construction of the concept is addressed to a greater extent by traditional universities. On the other hand, private universities appear to reproduce or reaffirm the discursive proposals of the traditional universities.

When attempting to answer the research question, we see that the concepts associated with inclusion that are used by the Chilean universities studied are mainly related to cultural indicators rather than indicators of inclusive policies and practices. By contrasting the results of the policies and practices in Table 1 and Figure 1, it we observe that there is divergence in the interest to orchestrate the process of learning. However, by observing the cultural indicators in Table 2 and Figure 2, there is convergence in the interest to address inclusive values ahead of building inclusive communities. This demonstrates the lack of interest in the discourse of the universities in understanding the concept of inclusion from the point of view of building inclusive communities.

It should be noted that the universities that best address the concept of inclusion belong to the group of public universities in Chile and the Council of Rectors of Chilean Universities. In this context, both the USACH and UChile stand out because they respond to the expected ideas of institutions that respect both domestic and international legislation. In this vein, the implementation of the right of all to education would be benefited if the actions taken came in response to the needs perceived by the members of the nation and not solely the legislative requirements of international conventions.

The scope of this study should be seen in the context of a democratic country that acknowledges education as a right of individuals (Law 20,370), which enacted the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities in 2008, which in 2010 established standards on equal opportunities and the social inclusion of persons with disabilities (Law 20,422), which in 2012 established measures against discrimination (Law 20,609), and which ratified the Inter-American Convention against All Forms of Discrimination and Intolerance in 2015 (A-69). These premises demonstrate that the same results can have a different meaning in another context, whether in a different space or a different time.

This paper reveals the complexity involved in understanding and addressing inclusion in Chile. The implementation of policies that address inclusion would be bolstered if they responded to the requirements of those who share the same territory. The hope is that the results presented, along with the discussion based on their analysis, enable fresh perceptions, perspectives, or representations regarding the development of inclusion in education and Chilean society. As stated in this text, it is proposed that universities should not wait for mass demonstrations to take place before considering how the task of inclusion in Chilean higher education is being perceived, but must take into account the results of research in this area.

From the analyses conducted, the following questions arise: Are cultural aspects more relevant for the development of successful inclusive processes than policy or practical aspects? Can inclusion be promoted in higher education in a manner that is disconnected from the local environment? Can effective social inclusion be disassociated from treating people and the divergence of their thinking equally? In this respect, one should note the lack of commitment among the universities in the sample to assist students with assessments that stimulate achievement and with cooperative work, but, above all, in evaluating the needs of their community.

Finally, we also hope that it will stimulate fresh debate that encourages the exploration of inclusion in universities as a complex social phenomenon that spreads from education into the political, practical, and value-based and cultural development of the entire nation.

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APPENDIX

Acronyms of the universities used in the study

Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso (PUCV)	Universidad Metropolitana de Ciencias de la Educación (UMCE)
Universidad Austral de Chile (UACH)	Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano (UAHC)
Universidad Católica de Temuco (UCT)	Universidad Andrés Bello (UAB)
Universidad Católica del Maule (UCM)	Universidad Bernardo O'Higgins (UBO)
Universidad Católica del Norte (UCN)	Universidad Católica Silva Henríquez (UCSH)
Universidad de Concepción (UDEEC)	Universidad Central (UCentral)
Universidad de la Frontera (UFRO)	Universidad del Desarrollo (UDD)
Universidad de Magallanes (UMagallanes)	Universidad del Pacífico (UPacífico)
Universidad de Playa Ancha (UPLA)	Universidad Diego Portales (UDP)
Universidad de Talca (UTalca)	Universidad Mayor (UMayor)
Universidad de Tarapacá (UTA)	Universidad Tecnológica de Chile (UTCH)
Universidad Técnica Federico Santa María (USM)	Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile (PUC)
Universidad de Chile (UChile)	Universidad de Santiago de Chile (USACH)