Rethinking Educational Management of Schools in a Mapuche Context[1]

Repensando la gestión educativa de la escuela mapuche

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Abstract

This study seeks to identify Mapuche educational procedures and knowledge with the goal of contextualizing the educational management of schools in indigenous territories in central-southern Chile. A qualitative methodology was employed, involving 28 local stakeholders through talks, semistructured interviews, and discussion workshops. Fieldwork was conducted over 14 months from 2018 to 2019. The results display dimensions that lead to a rethinking of the school system from a spiritual, territorial, and sociopolitical perspective. This calls into question the monoculturalism of educational management and the asymmetric power relations put in place by a colonial and colonizing education of indigenous people.

Keywords: educational management, indigenous knowledge, cultural relevance

Resumen

El presente estudio tuvo como objetivo identificar conocimientos y procedimientos educativos mapuches para la contextualización de la gestión educativa de la escuela en territorios indígenas del centro-sur de Chile. Se utilizó una metodología cualitativa que articuló la participación de 28 actores locales a través de conversaciones, entrevistas semiestructuradas y talleres de discusión. El trabajo de campo, realizado entre 2018 y 2019, tuvo una duración de 14 meses. Los resultados presentan dimensiones que hacen repensar el sistema de funcionamiento de la escuela desde una perspectiva espiritual, territorial y sociopolítica. Esto interpela la monoculturalidad de la gestión educativa y la asimetría en las relaciones de poder instaladas por una educación colonial y colonizadora del sujeto indígena.

Palabras clave: gestión educativa, conocimientos indígenas, relevancia cultural

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Resumo

O presente estudo teve como objetivo identificar conhecimentos e procedimentos educativos mapuches para a contextualização da gestão educativa da escola em territórios indígenas do centro-sul do Chile. Utilizou-se uma metodologia qualitativa que articulou a participação de 28 atores locais por meio de conversas, entrevistas semiestruturadas e oficinas de discussão. O trabalho de campo, realizado entre 2018 e 2019, teve uma duração de 14 meses. Os resultados apresentam dimensões que fazem repensar o sistema de funcionamento da escola a partir de uma perspectiva espiritual, territorial e sociopolítica. Isso questiona a monoculturalidade da gestão educativa e a assimetria nas relações de poder estabelecidas por uma educação colonial e colonizadora do sujeito indígena.

Palavras-chave: gestão educativa, conhecimentos indígenas, relevância cultural

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I. Introduction

In Chile, Mapuche schools, and schools in indigenous territories generally, are managed under a decontextualized system that disregards and excludes social, cultural, epistemic, and environmental dimensions present in the daily lives of indigenous peoples (Retamal, 2020; Luna et al., 2018). The prevailing operating structure is designed around an educational quasi-market logic (Oyarzún, 2021) that prioritizes aspects such as 1) the pursuit of standardized learning outcomes, 2) competition for student enrollment as the basis for school funding, and 3) a policy of monitoring the way funding is spent (Assaél et al., 2018).

This decontextualization is further complicated by the colonial cultural matrix of schools, which perpetuates two interlinked ideologies: Eurocentrism, which defends and supports the supremacy of European languages, knowledge systems, and culture; and racism, which propagates the idea of the non-European as inferior (Goulet & Goulet, 2014). In addition, schools exclude social actors like parents and community leaders from decision-making spaces. As Muñoz et al. (2019) explain, these actors find themselves relegated to an observer role in the educational process, engaging only by occasionally helping with homework. This is a manifestation of what Santos (2010) calls a model of radical exclusion, which "prevails today in modern Western thought and practice as it did during the colonial cycle" (p. 19). School practices persist with little discussion on how power could or should be redistributed and shared with the wide range of educational community members. In other words, it would not be rational for students and their family and community members to define the administrative organization of schools or their teaching methods, given that they have not historically been involved in such issues, having been the object rather than subjects of education (van Zanten, 2001).

At the same time, the Chilean state has been negligent in implementing international norms like International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention 169, which recognizes indigenous peoples' right to control and autonomy in managing the institutions in their territories (Aguas & Nahuelpan, 2019; Fuentes & Cea, 2017). Indeed, the systematic violation of Mapuches' rights to manage their own education is evidence of a persistent national system of governance of indigenous affairs that seeks to contain political, social, and territorial claims within the constraints of neoliberal multiculturalism (Richards, 2016). A report by the RESULTS Educational Fund (2016) notes that Chile has fulfilled its duty to promote respect for and the protection of indigenous cultures and languages (Law No. 19,253), but has failed to give indigenous peoples the right to establish their own educational institutions or contextualize curriculum content.

Consequently, the school system operates around a logic of "indigenous" integration through an institutionalization of education that has failed to reverse asymmetries in power relations or inequality in access to decent, quality education (Treviño et al., 2017). Against this backdrop, this study seeks to answer the question, "What social, cultural, and political Mapuche knowledge needs to be incorporated into the structural frameworks and day-to-day processes of schools to support the contextualization and territorialization of educational management?" The findings support discussion of the pertinence of the educational guidance, practices, and values of institutional educational projects in a Mapuche context.

1.1 Transformation of schools in indigenous contexts

Schools in indigenous contexts today are a social institution that traces its historical roots back to a colonial matrix that, as Salaün (2013) notes, has brought together three processes:

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schooling, Christianization, and colonial subjection. According to Goulet and Goulet (2014) and Smith (2016), schools were set up as a mechanism for the inculcation of ideology in indigenous populations through a racist, civilizing, nationalist, liberal, positivist, and Eurocentric education. This has been reflected in various types of impacts involving 1) the displacement and inferiorization of indigenous languages; 2) subordination to the epistemic, cultural, and linguistic frameworks of non-indigenous society; 3) cultural, linguistic, and territorial uprooting in generations of indigenous students; 4) the breakdown of social relations in indigenous families; 5) violence within the colonial school system; and 6) the generation of forms of appropriation and resistance of school education (Battiste, 2018; Hébert & St-Amand, 2021).

As argued by Lasimbang (2016), the consequences of colonial education have driven indigenous peoples to act to demand their educational rights and a redefinition of school governance (Dei & Restoule, 2019). This has been the case, for example, with Canada's First Nations, with the Indian Control of Indian Education declaration of principles (Fraternité des Indiens du Canada, 1972); the Māori communities of Aotearoa (New Zealand), with the creation of educational institutions named Kōhanga reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori (Penetito, 2021); or the experience of the Regional Indigenous Council of Cauca (CRIC) with its own education in Colombia (Levalle, 2020). Counterresponses have been varied and stem from different political, social, economic, and legal aspects that impact the daily lives of indigenous peoples.

In this sense, the transformation of schools seeks to reaffirm among teachers, students, parents, and local leaders a critical view of the implications that colonial, neoliberal, and extractivist knowledge and practices have on their lives (Bertely, 2016). This transformation is underpinned by 1) the inclusion of knowledge based on indigenous epistemologies in curriculum management (Tomlins-Jahnke et al., 2019), 2) a recognition of the connections and relationships between humans and non-humans that shape life systems in indigenous territories (rural and urban) (Styres, 2017; De la Cadena, 2020), 3) the setting in motion of political processes that involve family and community members in decision-making (Repetto, 2012), and 4) the realization of education that is coordinated with the day-to-day social activities and practices of indigenous families (Nigh & Bertely, 2018).

It is acknowledged that educational proposals from and by indigenous peoples represent a challenge to the historical control exerted by the state through school education (Baronnet, 2012). Furthermore, self-determination is making it possible to introduce into schools indigenous knowledge, languages, beliefs, and practices that were previously excluded from education processes due to racism, discrimination, and asymmetry in power relations.

1.2 Conception of educational management in the Chilean educational quasi-market

Management is, in the words of Ball (2001, p. 159), "a theoretical and practical technology of rationality geared toward efficiency, viability, and control" integrated into school systems with the goal of establishing generalizable models that ensure stability in school operation, with mechanisms that appear neutral and rational.

In Chile, a discussion on the quality of learning and school performance has been ongoing since the 2000s (Bravo & Verdugo, 2007; Horn & Marfán, 2010; Prieto, 2019; Weinstein, 2002). Criticism of gaps in school attainment has, as outlined by Falabella (2015), resulted in a series of changes based on a logic of New Public Management (NPM), by which private sector models were replicated to support efficacy and effectiveness in accomplishing results (Navarro, 2021). This happened in 2005 when the Chilean Ministry of Education (Mineduc) formalized a School Management Quality Model based on five dimensions: 1) leadership, 2) curriculum management, 3) school coexistence and student support, 4)

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funding, and 5) outcomes. This was strengthened in 2011 with the creation of the National Quality Assurance System (Law No. 20,529), which seeks to safeguard two basic principles of the curriculum reform of the last decade: quality and equity in school education (Ministerio de Educación, 2020).

This has the objective of improving institutional practices by means of: 1) A continuous improvement cycle guided by the Institutional Educational Project (PEI, in Spanish) and Educational Improvement Plans (PME, in Spanish); 2) Defining areas linked to pedagogical management, leadership, school coexistence, and resource management; 3) Indicative Performance Standards (EID, in Spanish) for educational establishments and their supporting intermediaries (*sostenedores*); 4) Defining high, medium, medium-low, and unsatisfactory performance categories for schools; and 5) an Education Quality Assurance Plan (Ministerio de Educación, 2018, 2020).

The reforms introduced in the Chilean school system have given rise to a form of educational management based on accountability for school performance (Herrera et al., 2018) and the use of monitoring and evaluation tools like the results of the Education Quality Measurement System (SIMCE) and EIDs (Díaz & Rodríguez, 2020; Navarro, 2021). All this seeks to remedy the imperfections of the educational quasi-market with accountability mechanisms that assign responsibility to the members of educational communities, in a dynamic that favors standardized indicators and rejects options that would support contextualization to the characteristics of the areas where these schools are found.

II. Method

This study adopts a qualitative approach, enabling inquiry into the day-to-day experience of local Mapuche family and community members and political actors in order to answer the research question. The methodology drew from the contributions of Rockwell (2009) to conduct a study that took into account the diverse practices and knowledge constructed by subjects (teachers, parents, leaders, and others) in their relationship with schools, with the goal of unraveling, from within, the social, cultural, and political tapestries that need rethinking in educational management. Our research proposal centered on 1) recording everyday events (the informal and obvious) and discussions associated with decision-making in schools, 2) reconstructing networks of relationships in different interlinked events and situations; 3) contrasting appropriation and resistance mechanisms deployed by those in schools and associated environments (Rockwell, 2009).

The research was conducted over 14 months in 2018 and 2019, in the region of Araucanía, which, according to the 2017 census, has a total population of 957,224, of whom 34.3% self-reported as indigenous (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas, 2018). The participants in the study were local stakeholders living in nine communes (*comunas*) in the region: Ercilla, Purén, Victoria, Galvarino, Chol-Chol, Saavedra, Nueva Imperial, Temuco, and Padre Las Casas.

Table 1 presents the profile of study participants, made up of 28 individuals – 13 female and 15 male – with varying family, community, and political roles. Thirteen of the participants were parents, four were Mapuche authorities in their territories, seven were leaders in a political and/or community organization, and four were involved in teaching. The inclusion of a range of stakeholders provided deeper insight into educational procedures and knowledge that may help transform schools.

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Table 1. Background of study participants

Type	Number	Male	Female
Parent	13	5	8
Mapuche authority	4	4	-
Community and/or political leader	7	5	2
Other	4	1	3
Total	28	15	13

Data was collected through talks, semistructured interviews, and discussion workshops. The talks enabled us to establish initial contact with the participants and prepare for the interviews and discussion of the dimensions associated with educational management. This was followed by four discussion workshops carried out in the communes of Temuco, Ercilla, Galvarino, and Saavedra. Each workshop was attended by parents, teachers, authorities, and community and/or political leaders. This allowed participants to share experiences and opinions, enhancing reflection on which dimensions should be taken into account in contextualizing educational guidance, practices, and values in schools. Field notes were taken during the research process to supplement the information documented. Participants contributed on a voluntary basis after reading and signing informed consent forms.

The data was examined using content analysis (Bardin, 2001), which involved reading, interpreting, and identifying explicit and latent content and procedures in the field material. As set out by Paillé and Mucchielli (2012), our socioanthropological analysis focused on finding the meanings of different types of messages through a process of classification and codification into categories. The process involved the following steps: 1) transcribing the material; 2) performing a preliminary reading of the material; 3) identifying minimal units of meaning; 4) generating codes associated with the minimal units of meaning; 5) categorizing codes; 6) ensuring the quality of categories and codes with content saturation and the constant comparative method; and 7) preparing an analysis report (Tesch, 2013). The analysis was aided by the Atlas.ti 8.0 software package, which helped to organize, review, and present the data.

III. Results

Table 2 shows the results of the category "dimensions to rethink educational management of schools." Three subcategories were identified: the spiritual, territorial, and sociopolitical dimensions. This illustrates the vision, thinking, and position of local stakeholders with respect to the implications, barriers, and challenges associated with contextualizing education in a Mapuche context.

Table 2. Dimensions to rethink educational management of schools

Subcategories	Codes
Spiritual dimension	Mapuche practices and ceremonies
	Mapuche authorities
	Mapukuxan in children and youth
	Gen and *newen*
Territorial dimension	Relationship with nature
	Natural spaces
	Sociospiritual spaces
	Impact of forest monocultures
	Conflicts in the territory
Sociopolitical dimension	Family-teacher communication
	Decision-making in schools
	Supporting the political role of Mapuche families
	Low parent engagement in schools

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3.1 Spiritual dimension

Our fieldwork provided opportunities to discuss Mapuche ontological and epistemological conceptions that would help to rethink educational content and procedures in schools. On this subject, one father shared the following reflection about his dream of setting up a Mapuche school:

> […] these days, let me say what I'd do first: I'd say there's a community – let us dream – the community would set aside an area for a Mapuche school. Straight away, you need to perform a *pewutu* (diagnosis). You need a *pewutu* on the land because you don't know what exactly has been through that *mapu* (land), what *ngen* (spiritual being and owner) is there. It may be that the *ngen* doesn't want children there, doesn't want noise, wants peace. Or the *ngen* may be delighted. So all that might hinder the project or help to get it going […] we've neglected that aspect too. Because these days, we put up a house anywhere and then we wonder why our kids get sick or why we're all downhearted. So that part is lacking. And who can provide that? The *kimches* (sages), the *machis* (healers), the elders. So that's where all the *kimün* (knowledge) comes from… (Participant 6).

This is an invitation to rethink decision-making in schools with ideas that acknowledge practices that express the sense of spirituality present in the lives of family and community members. Attention could be focused on 1) relationships and links that include the spiritual dimension of Mapuche life, expressed by an attitude based on respect for the *ngen* and *newen* (force or energy) present in a given space; and 2) including key local stakeholders (*kimche*, *machi*, *zugun machife*, among others), who have the knowledge to perform Mapuche ceremonies and practices, in decision-making. As another father explained, spirituality is crucial:

> […] the spiritual element is essential to move forward, especially as the Mapuche people are a spiritual people. We're not just any people, we're a spiritual people. Like it or not, that's a fact. So from that perspective, with a strong spiritual line, I believe we'll go far. But if our spirituality is lost, the language will be lost, and human beings, as people, are becoming easily lost. (Participant 11).

The episteme of Mapuche spirituality is a core dimension in balancing social, cultural, and linguistic knowledge (Quidel, 2020). These complex ways of understanding life and its connections come into tension with the frames of reference of schools. This was illustrated by one teacher who described how her school takes in boys and girls who are preparing to become *machis* and have been turned down by other schools because there is nobody trained to understand the emotional, physical, and spiritual processes they experience prior to becoming a *machi* (Participant 9). A *machi* described an experience working with Mapuche youth in a high school in similar terms:

> Just think, in March I worked with a young girl in second year in high school [age 15-16]. Her speech was the wrong way round, I don't know what the condition is called. She wrote incoherent things like "a duck me be" ["*ser pato yo*"]. Her writing was backward, and she was kind of confused. She was taken to see a neurologist. Then they came and spoke to me, and we prepared a remedy for her. The girl improved and she's fine now. She had a different kind of condition, a *mapukuxan* (Mapuche illness) that no Western doctor will diagnose; it could pass as schizophrenia. (Participant 12).

This illustrates the limitation posed by non-Mapuche medical practices and knowledge in school integration programs when it comes to diagnosing and grouping Mapuche students (Gutiérrez-Saldivia et al., 2019). This explains the wisdom of broadening the conceptions used by agents of education in schools, whether to support students or communicate with

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their families, and thus dispel ignorance of the profound relationships that characterize indigenous life systems (Quidel, 2020).

3.2 Territorial dimension

A second dimension is associated with elements that prompt a new look at the relationship between actors in the education process and the territories where schools are located. One father highlights the challenge of placing value within schools on "the diversity that existed in the past," or in his words, that which "lent life to the territory":

> The environment must be part of it. That goes unnoticed nowadays. Nobody questions the number of eucalyptus trees; nobody questions why a tanker truck comes to supply water. That's become part of the landscape. It's already happened now, but something caused it. Do we need to reverse that? I think we do, if we value the diversity that existed in the past, the *ixofil mogen* (biodiversity), starting with humid places where the *lawen* (medicinal plants) grow, places where there were *ngen*, places where there were forests, the *lemuntu* (native forest space) and *pixantu* (pitra forest). All this is what lent life to the territory: places where people would go to eat the *pixa* (pitra) fruit, for example, or to pick various types of fruit… that knowledge of the diversity of the world. That's not taught in schools either now […] there's no awareness of nature. And the other thing is the spiritual aspect: from a cultural perspective there's no escaping that, when you're working with the Mapuche people or indigenous peoples in general. The spiritual element demonstrates an attitude by human beings toward their surroundings, plants, animals, various things. This is then reflected in the *gijatun* (socioreligious ceremony) […] each community has its spiritual force. (Participant 4).

This shows how education in schools fails to align knowledge and processes with the aspects that characterize daily life in Mapuche territories. Environmental issues (drought, pollution, soil erosion, loss of biodiversity), the impact of forest monocultures, social conflicts, and links with nature are all ignored, the primary objective being to teach the content set out in the national curriculum in a school system that prioritizes the standardization of content and learning outcomes (Assaél et al., 2018). In this regard, one mother stated:

> […] we had to accept this content that we were taught in this way and reject whatever was from our own Mapuche context. We cast away our language, our culture, to learn the fundamental Western structure. Our knowledge and culture have always been based on the *lof* (community), as we would say, through knowledge of the *wajmapu* (surrounding lands), our world view and the Mapuche environment […]. (Participant 8).

It is these frameworks of knowledge, based on the environment and social relations in the Mapuche territory, that help to define educational projects to reverse the legacy of a colonial, racist education that has disavowed Mapuche knowledge. Accordingly, one teacher suggested that:

> […] for proper management, you need to take a field trip, go by bus or on the van tours of the communities, to understand the geography of the places where the children study, see their reality, the conditions they live in […]. (Participant 26).

When teachers connect with the contexts in which their students live, this shapes the direction of the relationship between them. We noticed this in 2019 when chatting to a teacher who visited the households of all those who were invited to attend the forthcoming *we xipantü* (winter solstice or "rise of the new sun") celebration at the school. This meant he had to visit different communities and be prepared to spend time with each family that was

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taking part. Paper invitations were not enough; other means of communication were called for, in this case *wixankontuwun* (social practice of paying visits to one another). These types of activities allow teachers to overcome the disconnect between them and the homelands of students and their families.

3.3 Sociopolitical dimension

A third dimension involves the sociopolitical transformation of the interactions between members of educational communities in school settings. One problem is that family engagement is strained by the effects of colonial education (Bang et al., 2018). This point was raised in one mother's reflection on the reasons why Mapuche parents keep silent at school meetings.

As she sees it, "[…] keeping quiet seems to mean you are in disagreement […] These days, parents and guardians know they can contradict the teacher, and they don't speak up simply because they don't want to talk […]" (Participant 10). Another parent added to this, stating, "[…] the situation is really complicated because parents don't attend the parents' meetings, and their explanation is that they're working, but they also say they don't go because it's of no interest to them. Why go? We'll talk nothing but [nonsense]…". (Participant 4).

This demonstrates a need to reconceptualize the role of parents in school activities and interactions, particularly with school authorities and teachers. One community leader shared the following reflection:

> Nowadays, parents are not politically aware enough to demand curricular change in schools in the communities, and without that, achieving change will be difficult. However, if young people – young parents – have the political awareness and want to bring about change, I think that could set us on the right track. We need parents to be politically aware in order to rethink schools. (Participant 19).

Political awareness is one aspect that would open up space for a discussion and negotiation of management processes in schools. One father used the concept of *gen ruka* (house owner) to explain the attitude that families should adopt. That is, they should experience a sense of ownership of school settings, rather than feeling like outsiders, as is currently the case. One Mapuche leader believes there is a need to reflect, at a family and community level, on the commitment to monitor school activities:

> […] the principal gives a speech and explains her way of seeing things; we're responsible for not being there, overseeing the school. Parent meetings are all organized, all you have to do is take part, attend. We're responsible for abandoning the school, for merely sending our children there. (Participant 16).

This indicates a need to reverse the status quo in power relations in schools, through opportunities for discussion that allow parents to engage actively in decision-making.

In this sense, one community member and teacher asserted, "I think in schools we're going to have to take the trouble to captivate families, to tell them, to show them why it's important they are present in this transmission of values, of knowledge…" (Participant 25). Meanwhile, one father believes the following change is needed:

> […] it seems that things don't work on good will alone; it seems the decision is to bang fists on the table and shout, "Enough! When will we fulfill the Institutional Educational Project (PEI)?" Of course, then there's also the parents who say, "They'll see us as troublemakers," because there's a broader context of "Mapuche troublemakers" – they're already causing trouble. And really, it's not causing trouble, it's claiming your rights. So there's a failing there; parents have the right to know what type of education their children are receiving, and the idea that really it's a kind

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of "favor" is deeply ingrained. So you're doing me a favor, great; you're feeding me too, thanks. Why should I complain if I'm being given food, why should I ask for more? (Participant 4).

This reflects a dual transformation needed in sociopolitical relations in schools. On the one hand, as leaders in education, school authorities and teachers need to break away from racist stereotypes and attitudes and promote interactions with families that are built on respect (Kaomea, 2012). One mother explains that they should "always be willing to listen":

[…] I feel that [teachers] should be welcoming, they should, I don't know…make themselves truly available when people come – because we don't come to the school often. I only come very occasionally, when I need to. So, they should always be willing to listen, because people say we have two ears and one mouth so we can listen twice as much as we speak. (Participant 13).

On the other hand, parents need to position themselves as political actors and undertake a transition from mere recipients of a service to active protagonists in the discussion on education in their local communities.

IV. Discussion and conclusions

This research data has shown that the experiences and reflections of local stakeholders can inform the contextualization of educational management in Mapuche contexts in Araucanía. Advances toward epistemological and ontological decolonization (Santos, 2019) that transforms the pedagogical, curricular, and social foundations of schools by associating them with indigenous knowledge continue to pose a challenge. Negating these understandings of life, rooted in spirituality, has caused conflict in schools when Mapuche children and adolescents experience events of change (for example, receiving the call to become a *machi*, being afflicted with *mapukuxan*) that are not understood by those working in education (administrators, teachers, school support staff), who are unaware that they are the result of sociospiritual processes. Quidel (2016) explains that "the mechanisms of interspecies connection developed by the Mapuche people demonstrate a complex understanding of life, organization, spatiality, and at the core of that connection is spirituality" (p. 716). For this reason, school management must include key stakeholders like the *kimche*, *logko*, *machi*, *zugun machife*, and others, to support understanding of the complexity of Mapuche knowledge in its various expressions and human and non-human interrelations.

Furthermore, the results of the study illustrate the benefit of creating opportunities for collaboration between families, schools, and communities that are based on active, supportive democracy that enables social appropriation of school environments and the time devoted to children's schooling (Baronnet, 2015). This would mean 1) avoiding procedures that strengthen the power of school officials by including processes of negotiation, deliberation, and agreement-making in schools (Bang et al., 2018; Kaomea, 2012), and 2) including mechanisms for Mapuche participation and interaction, such as the *pentukün* (formal greeting protocol), *wixankontuwün* (social practice of paying visits to one another), *mingako* (social collaboration), *güxamkan* (conversation), or *konchotun* (bond of friendship) (Curivil, 2020).

As for the role played by authorities and teachers, it can be argued that contextualizing educational management requires professionals willing to challenge the frameworks of the dominant society. This would reverse the settler pedagogy (Hiller, 2017) that has fueled epistemological misunderstandings and a disconnect between actors in education and the areas where they work. The responses from these local stakeholders reveal a critical view of the type of relationship that teachers establish with students and their families and acknowledge a social detachment that hinders the educational relationship. This is observed

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in teacher attitudes that are seen as disrespectful by parents, leading them to question the quality of the teacher-student relationship. In this sense, the findings of this study call into question the relevance of teacher training based on curricula that reproduce a monocultural and monolingual view of society (Arias-Ortega et al., 2018), hampering the construction of a pluralist, intercultural, and antiracist education in schools.

Lastly, our results are an invitation to implement changes that support an educational management approach able to stand as an alternative to the competitive, individualistic model found in the Chilean school system. To revisit Styres (2017), the key lies in education that challenges the reproduction of asymmetric power relations and the teaching of ideals, values, and beliefs that represent the dominant society. It is necessary, therefore, to move toward a school system that promotes 1) active participation by all members of the educational community in decision-making; 2) profound questioning of the colonial and racial hierarchies that affect social interaction; 3) education based on epistemological and ontological pluralism; and 4) the connection of educational projects with the social, cultural, and environmental characteristics of each area.

Translation: Joshua Parker

Contribution of each author

Héctor Torres: Donception and design, data collection, data analysis and interpretation, drafting the paper.
Daniel Quilaqueo: Data analysis and interpretation, manuscript review and editing.
Bruno Baronnet: Data collection, manuscript review and editing.
Gerardo Muñoz: Data analysis and interpretation, manuscript review and editing.

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