

Negotiating a Hybrid Space in the Context of School–Community Partnership: How Teachers
and Community Members Become Intercultural and Bilingual Educators

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Abstract

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As colonial legacies, racial dynamics, lingering discrimination, and even violence against Indigenous people and children—in particular Mapuche people, who are the focus of this study—continues in the Chilean society, nuanced scholarship is needed now more than ever to examine the intercultural and bilingual education (IBE) program and its preschools.

This is qualitative multi-case study of two IBE preschools in Región Metropolitana, Chile. The objective of this study was to examine the nature, purpose and quality of the relationships between preschool teachers and Mapuche communities in IBE preschools in Región Metropolitana. Understanding teachers and other community educators in intercultural and bilingual preschools presents an important area for empirical study that, so far, has been mostly ignored by research. By investigating those people who closely work with Indigenous children we can better examine to what extent IBE preschools work towards the preservation of Indigenous knowledge and improved education for Indigenous children; or rather IBE may simply be recreating “citizen factories” (Luykx, 1999).

Using semi-structured interviews, focal observations, group conversations, and school and policy documents, this research is an account of the partnership between IBE preschools and Mapuche communities. Specifically, this data examines: how IBE preschools and Mapuche communities began their collaboration, how teachers and Mapuche community members interacted and worked together, and what learning experiences occurred within this partnership. Analysis examined the points of intersection for these three dimensions.

The analysis of this data yielded a number of interesting findings. First, IBE preschools and Mapuche communities struggled in creating a collaboration. But, although their partnership was determined by larger structures, IBE preschool and community actors found some initial spaces of trusting collaboration between one another. Secondly, in their interactions, teachers and community members sometimes reproduce systems of exclusion and marginalization towards Mapuche knowledge, and also exerted their power against Mapuche community members. But, at the same time, teachers worked in protecting their relationships with Mapuche communities. Additionally, findings showed that despite differences and difficulties, teacher learning emerged in these hybrid spaces.

These findings can contribute to building more sophisticated models of interactions between teachers in IBE preschools and Mapuche communities. In the larger context, these findings can contribute to the fields of: Indigenous education across countries, the inclusion of Indigenous communities in educational systems, and the preparation of teachers to improve the education of historically excluded families, communities, and children.

Dedicatoria

A los que han perdido su lengua materna y su cultura
Y a los que luchan para que esto no siga ocurriendo.

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Many thanks to the city of Seattle: its cloudy, rainy and green days were the perfect background to write this dissertation. Thank you all for sharing this journey with me, and for helping make this Ph.D. something much bigger than an academic degree.

Preface

After reading and seeing the enormous responsibility and blame that teachers in IBE preschools received regarding their work teaching Indigenous culture/language, I knew that I did not want to continue that tradition of culpability in my research. I knew that this would be a difficult challenge, particularly since the economic resources for IBE are scarce; however, I knew this was not an impossible endeavor since I first began my research work in IBE preschools, specifically in one preschool widely recognized and known for its strong connection and collaboration with Mapuche communities. Mapuche Traditional Educators, Mapuche friends and colleagues, IBE officers and supervisors all immediately mentioned the Palqui Preschool as a potential site for further research when I described my research goals. Afterwards, these actors were pleased when I told them I was working with that preschool.

These personal comments regarding the selection of a site for this study harmoniously resonated with my own research interests, and with my personal positive hope to solve the problems of IBE preschools, as I believed that the Palqui Preschool would be the answer we needed. I just needed, I thought, to find out and examine the best practices of this “exemplary” preschool.

As you can imagine, things did not unfold as I planned. I arrived at the Palqui Preschool prepared to document all the positive ways in which Mapuche communities work together with teachers; however, after a couple of weeks of data collection, I remember sitting down in the playground of the preschool, quietly observing and worrying, “I don’t see it!” “Where is the strong collaboration?” “Why is this preschool a model of Indigenous communities and preschool partnership?” I remember thinking, “Well, I guess this is what all experienced ethnographic researchers described when talking about the fact that field work can change all our research plans.” Although I was aware that what I was experiencing was quite a common experience for a

qualitative researcher, this knowledge did not mitigate my sentiments and worries of “what I am going to do” or in other words, “how am I going to solve the problems of IBE schools?”

As a non-indigenous person, the first thing after this self-reflection was to question my own observational lenses, wondering, “Maybe because I am not Mapuche, I see that both preschools have a similar collaboration with Mapuche communities even if others say the opposite?,” that is, that the Palqui Preschool had a better relationship with communities than the Alicura Preschool. I began reading more carefully about Mapuche ways of knowing and teaching, but that did not change much my understandings of the relationships I observed.

However, a changing point in this line of thought and path occurred on a Saturday at the house of Mapuche parent of a child enrolled at the Palqui Preschool, during our interview. As with other interviews, this parent vaguely mentioned that the Palqui Preschool was special, and kept talking about his work in the preschool. Without following strict guidelines of interviewing, I interrupted him and asked if he could elaborate in what ways this preschool was special. He did not engage deeply with the question, and simply answered that he felt the difference in the air when walking through the Palqui Preschool for the first time, which was something that he did not feel in other preschools. I persisted with my questions, asking, “In other IBE preschools?” to which he responded, “No, in other ‘normal’ (non-IBE) preschools.”

Following this line of thought, this parent continued talking about the exceptional motivation of the teachers in the Palqui Preschool, and as we continued on with this conversation, I felt I had “an answer”. We finished the interview and I made my way back to my home, by way of a commute that took me one hour. Walking to the bus stop, perhaps based on the small number of IBE preschools and their recent implementation, I realized that the main point of comparison for people was preschools in general, not IBE preschools in particular. From

this thought, I realized that I must examine more closely what happened in the larger context of preschools. With these ideas in mind, I decided to spend some time in non-IBE preschools and in the practicum activities of one university program for preschool teachers.

During observation in these settings, I began to reflect that despite the undeniable problems of IBE preschools and their largely fragile connection with Mapuche communities, these IBE preschools in the specific context of Chile were working to achieve an extremely difficult—even seemingly impossible—venture. Therefore, to understand the complexities and intricacies of the connection between Mapuche communities and IBE preschools, it was crucial for me to look at both the larger context and struggles of Mapuche communities, and, equally important, to look at the challenges of preschools in general.

In this regard, it was crucial to my research to recognize the similarities between Chile and Latin American countries, and even more importantly, to explicitly acknowledge the unique characteristics of Chile and its Indigenous people. For instance, it was key to always keep in mind that Chile was the first country in Latin America to implement neoliberal policies; therefore, not surprisingly, it was the last one to implement IBE measures to protect and respect rights of Indigenous people. Additionally, I considered that Chile was not only the last one in recognizing rights of Indigenous people, but also it is, to date, the country with the less extensive policies for Indigenous peoples. Unlike other Latin American countries that have recognized their plural and multicultural nature (such as Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, and Venezuela), or even their “multinational” character as Ecuador has, Chile has only recognized the Indigenous peoples’ rights to a distinct education (López & Küper, 2000).

Similarly, with regards to the legal statuses of Indigenous languages, many Latin American countries have given official language status to native languages. For instance, in 1991 Colombia's new constitution recognized each and every one of the native languages spoken in its territory, along with Spanish, as official languages. This recognition of Indigenous languages also took place in Peru, in 1994, and in Ecuador, in 1999. However, the Chilean's constitution recognizes Spanish as the only official language of the country (López & Küper, 2000).

These contradictions on Indigenous rights, as well as my personal thoughts and feelings on this issue were my close companions during the entire field-work of this dissertation. I constantly saw, experienced, and felt that the ways in which IBE preschools and Mapuche communities interacted were far more complex; therefore, the solution to these issues would involve more than Mapuche communities transforming the education of Indigenous children and/or preschool teachers perpetuating issues of power and inequality against Mapuche communities. Though my fieldwork, I observed that Mapuche communities did not always create spaces of transformation, and IBE preschools were not always spaces of repression. My initial hunches about the partnership between these two parties insinuated that IBE preschools were not only hybrid spaces, but also spaces where some changes began to arise. Specifically, I hypothesized that these changes that were not necessarily led by Mapuche communities or specific individuals, such as teachers, but rather, emerged because these IBE preschools were a space for a particular—and potentially unique—encounter.

Now, as a postscript note at the end of this journey, I see that my undeveloped intuitions that emerged at the onset of my fieldwork resonated with what Tsing (2005) cautioned against: to avoid “a celebration of a southern cultural autonomy capable of absorbing and transforming every imperial mandate” (p. 5). Additionally, I recognize my initial hunches to be closely aligned

with her concept of *friction*, which she described as “a metaphorical image, [which]...reminds us that heterogeneous and unequal encounters can lead to new arrangement of culture and power” (Tsing, 2005 p. 5).

Table of Contents

List of Tables.....	xvii
List of Figures.....	xviii
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
Rational and Significance of the Study.....	3
Research Questions and Organization of the Study.....	7
Context.....	8
Historical roots of the problematic relationship	9
Urban Mapuche in Santiago	10
IBE program in a neoliberal educational system.....	13
Literature Review.....	20
Contributions of communities in teacher education	21
What we know about the incorporation of Indigenous communities in teacher education for IBE schools in Latin America	23
The Chilean case: Teacher preparation for IBE schools in Chile.....	27
Conceptual Framework: Hybridity and expansive learning theory in the context of critical Indigenous pedagogies.....	32
Critical Indigenous pedagogies	33
The intersection of hybridity theory and expansive learning	45
Hybrid spaces	47
Healing in hybrid spaces.....	53
Expansive learning in hybrid spaces	57
Chapter 2: Research Methods.....	63
Methodological Orientation.....	64
Critical Indigenous Qualitative Methodologies	64
Comparative Case Study	65
Ethnographic Case Study Strategies	67
Setting, Participants, Timeframes and Events	67
Setting.....	67
Time frame	69
Participants	71
Data Collection Strategies and Procedures.....	74
Interviews	74

Conversations or <i>güxan</i>	76
Group conversation or <i>güxankawün</i>	77
Observation.....	78
School artifacts and other documentation	79
Approach to Data Analysis	79
Discourse analysis	81
Difficulties and Accomplishments.....	83
Ethical concerns.....	86
Chapter 3: School, Indigenous Communities and the State.....	88
The Path towards Collaboration.....	89
Who Are the Community?	97
Discussion: Transformation and Failing to Challenge the State.....	120
Institutional constraints of IBE preschools.....	121
Preschools’ attempts at transformation.....	124
IBE preschools’ failures: sites of reproduction	126
Chapter 4: Teachers and Indigenous Communities	133
ELCIs and Teachers in IBE Preschools	133
Interactions Between Teachers and Mapuche Community Members	148
Perceptions Toward the “Other” During Interactions Between Teachers and Mapuche Community Members	154
Discussion.....	161
Chapter 5: Becoming a Teacher or Educator for an IBE Preschool	171
Entering IBE Preschools	171
Learning in IBE Preschools: Becoming an Intercultural and Bilingual Educator	174
Why do educators/teachers learn?	174
What do teachers and ELCIs learn in IBE preschools?.....	178
How do teachers and ELCIs learn?	190
Discussion.....	201
Chapter 6: Conclusions and Implications	210
Discussion: Tying it All Together.....	210
Implications for Theory and Future Research	224
Implications for IBE Policies.....	236
Implications for Practice	243

Limitations	249
References.....	251
Appendix A.....	269
Appendix B.....	273
Appendix C.....	274
Appendix D.....	275
Appendix E.....	276
Appendix F.....	277
Appendix G.....	278
Appendix H.....	278

List of Tables

	Page
Table 1. Summary of Proposals of Knowledge, Skills and Attitudes for IBE Teachers	25
Table 2. Characteristics of Preschools	70
Table 3. Participants	74
Table 4. Research Questions, Data Sources, Analysis and Conceptual Ideas	84
Table 5. Community as School Actors	100
Table 6. Alicura Preschool Document (Edited)	114

List of Figures

	Page
Figure 1. Context of IBE Preschool and Community Partnership	9
Figure 2. Conceptual Framework and Its Connections	34
Figure 3.1. Preschool Actors in Two IBE Preschools	101
Figure 3.2. Preschool Actors in Two IBE Preschools	102
Figure 4. Key Learning Actions	207
Figure 5. Connections of Work and Perceptions with Individual Learning	225

Chapter 1: Introduction

Chile is home to about one million Indigenous people who are citizens of both Chile and their respective tribal nations (Encuesta de Caracterización Socioeconómica Nacional [CASEN], 2013). Indigenous citizens represent 6.7% of the total Chilean population and include approximately 400,000 children and adolescents under age 18 (Ministerio de Desarrollo Social & United Nations Children's Fund [UNICEF], 2011). Approximately 85% of Indigenous children are Mapuche (the largest Indigenous group in the country, and the focus of this study), and 97% of these children are enrolled in kindergarten through 12th grade (K-12). In particular, 36.5% of these Indigenous children attend preschool. Chilean schools have historically underserved Indigenous students and continue to provide low-quality school experiences—reflected in the disparities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous school achievement (McEwan, 2008), low school graduation rates (Ministerio de Desarrollo Social & UNICEF, 2011), and low proficiency of Indigenous languages— (Ministerio de Desarrollo Social & UNICEF, 2011). These and other factors have contributed to the fact that 39.4% of Indigenous children live under the line of poverty, 4.2 % of children under age 5 face undernourishment and 14% obesity, and only 10.5% of Indigenous children speak an Indigenous language (Ministerio de Desarrollo Social & UNICEF, 2011).

As colonial legacies, racial dynamics, lingering discrimination, and even violence against Indigenous people and children continue in the Chilean society, nuanced scholarship is needed, now more than ever. Missing from current scholarship are more precise understandings about the current efforts made by teachers and other educators, who are the ones responsible for teaching and sharing Indigenous knowledge to improve the education of Indigenous children.

Understanding teachers' and other community educators' roles and relationships with

intercultural bilingual education¹ (IBE) institutions, such as preschools, presents an important area for empirical study that, so far, has been largely ignored by existing research. By investigating those who closely work with Indigenous children as well as those who work towards the revitalization of Indigenous knowledge, we can better examine and analyze to what extent IBE preschools work for the preservation of Indigenous knowledge and better education for Indigenous children, or, alternatively, to what extent schools may simply be recreating “citizen factories” (Luykx, 1999). New understandings can contribute to building more sophisticated models of interactions between teachers in IBE preschools and Mapuche communities, and work towards improving the quality of life and educational opportunities of historically excluded families, communities, and children.

In this dissertation I investigate the potential of the partnership between Mapuche communities and IBE preschools to heal the historical and ongoing wrongdoings caused in part by the colonial-driven Chilean education system. This dissertation presents an account of teachers and Mapuche community members who taught or participated in IBE preschools in Región Metropolitana², Chile, how IBE preschools and Mapuche communities began collaborating together, how teachers and community members interacted and adapted their work, and finally, how their experiences in IBE preschools and their interactions have influenced teachers’ and educators’ learning of Mapuche culture and language (and as a result, their instruction of this information to students).

¹ The intercultural and bilingual education (IBE) program is the only Chilean formal institution that works for the education of Indigenous children. This program is managed by the State through the Chilean Ministry of Education.

² Región Metropolitana is the capital region of the country. Chile is organized in 15 regions.

Rational and Significance of the Study

To better understand the importance of studying the partnership between IBE preschools and Mapuche communities, it is necessary to note that the Chilean State has used limited financial resources to support the preparation of teachers working in IBE preschools. Indeed, in Región Metropolitana there is a total absence of teacher education programs for IBE preschools, which means that preschool teachers begin their work in an IBE setting without any specific training for this type of preschool. Scholars have reported this insufficient preparation of teachers for IBE (Cañulef, 2013; Hernández, 2007), information that is available and known to the National Department of Education in Chile, which is the governing body of the IBE program. In fact, this institution has requested that IBE preschools invite Indigenous wise elders—usually elderly women from the countryside of Chile who possess no formal education yet are considered experts of the Mapuche knowledge—into the IBE preschools to teach Indigenous languages and cultures. The Indigenous community nominates these wise elders—designated as Educators of Indigenous Language and Culture (ELCI)³—because ELCIs act as representatives of the community in the preschool setting.

The National Department of Education expects these ELCIs to work collaboratively with teachers within the IBE program. Ideally in this partnership, teachers offer the pedagogical knowledge and the ELCI provides knowledge of the Indigenous language and culture⁴. In the preschool level, it is expected that ELCIs and other community members bring whatever knowledge that IBE preschools need in order to revitalize Indigenous knowledge and teach Indigenous children from Indigenous epistemologies. Additionally, it is envisioned that teachers

³ ELCI, in Spanish, stands for *Educador de Lengua y Cultura Indígena*. These educators work in preschool institutions.

⁴ The notions of Indigenous language, culture and knowledge used in this study will be discussed in the framework section.

and ELCIs work closely, since preschools are seen as suitable spaces for collaboration and since preschools are required—at the national level—to have a communitarian approach.

In this context, understanding the connections between IBE preschools and Indigenous communities is significant at two levels. At the first level, no research has been conducted on the partnership between teachers and Indigenous communities within this particular setting—urban IBE preschools—to examine the nature, the purpose, and the quality of this partnership. Existing research has focused solely on the partnership between teachers at the middle school level and wise elders (called Traditional Educators⁵). In the same lines, much of the literature on the education of Mapuche children continues to focus on rural areas, even though reports have stated that currently 60.7% of Mapuche people live in urban cities (Centro de Estudios Públicos [CEP], 2006), where their families have attempted to expand their networks of communities; it is also important to note that these reports acknowledge this geographic shift, or forced migration, from rural setting to urban cities as one of the main factors in the deterioration and near extinction of Mapuche language and culture (Gundermann et al., 2009). At this level, the overwhelming bias of studies around the education of Mapuche children and the preparation of teachers in rural areas emphasizes the importance of pursuing research in urban contexts where most Mapuche people and children currently live (CASEN, 2009; Ministerio de Desarrollo Social & UNICEF, 2011).

At the second level, investigating how teachers could be better prepared to teach Indigenous culture and language, existing studies in several countries, such as the United States (e.g., Belgarde, Mitchell & Arquero, 2002; Kanaŷiaupuni & Kawaiŷaeŷa, 2008; Locke, 2004), Bolivia, and Peru (e.g., Delany-Barmann, 2010; García, 2008), have found evidence showing the

⁵ Traditional Educator is the designation used at elementary, middle and high school levels, while ELCI (Educator of Indigenous Language and Culture) is used only at the preschool level.

importance of creating teaching environments in which teachers and Indigenous communities participate together in the education of children, particularly in diverse and low-income schools. These partnerships promote teachers as players who are knowledgeable of and committed to the local community in which they teach, capable of working in respectful ways with students' families and other community members, and skillful in utilizing their relevant knowledge to provide culturally responsive instruction. Scholars have also shown that Indigenous communities help teachers to learn or re-learn an Indigenous language, use and become more confident speaking an Indigenous language, and learn how to use an Indigenous language in the classroom (e.g., Reyhner & Jacobs, 2002; White, Bedonie, De Groat, Lockard & Honani, 2007; Zeichner & Melnick, 1996).

Furthermore, scholars have also indicated the need for creating connections with communities in which different types of experts interact in non-hierarchical ways (e.g., Glass & Wong, 2013; Klein, Taylor, Onore, Strom & Abrams, 2013; Zeichner, 2010; Zeichner & Payne, 2013). These scholars have stated that the incorporation of communities in teachers' preparation is not sufficient unless it is accompanied by a transformation of the ways knowledge is privileged and used. The need for such work is particularly pressing in light of the enduring exclusion of Mapuche people in the education of their children.

However, in the Latin American and Chilean contexts, despite growing research focusing on the importance of Indigenous communities in the participation of IBE teachers, as well as its potential role in preparing teachers, exactly how communities should be included and exactly what their role would be is still unclear, as most of the existing studies do not incorporate empirical evidence or descriptions about the partnerships between teacher education and communities. Similarly, some studies have shown that Indigenous communities reinforce

teachers' learning of their language, but it is unknown how teachers actually learned their language, and it is also unknown what the community's perspectives are. Most of the existing research on this topic focuses on what teachers should know; however, few studies—in Chile and in neighboring countries—address issues about how teachers should be taught and who should be preparing them for teaching children in an IBE setting.

This dissertation may provide insight into how IBE preschools and Mapuche communities create relationships through my examination of the impact of those interactions in preschool work, as well as the impact on the teachers' and ELCIs' learning. As IBE policies have not guided this partnership, it is significant to observe and analyze how these actors negotiate this space of intersection and collaborate with one another. In addition, this research may illuminate how teachers and ELCIs become educators for IBE schools.

Additionally, research in countries neighboring Chile has begun to show that Indigenous communities could support teacher learning of Mapuche language and culture. However the current evidence does not clearly show how IBE teachers learn an Indigenous language and culture from Indigenous communities. Therefore, this study could also contribute to this line of research by investigating the concrete and specific ways in which teachers may learn from community members. It could also prove to be a fruitful area of investigation in providing more insights into how to better prepare teachers working in IBE preschools.

In short, understanding this partnership between teachers and community members in IBE schools is important because it would broaden the knowledge base on this connection, also potentially presents opportunities to improve the education of Mapuche children, and stops reproducing a system of segregation and racism against Mapuche children, which may occur even with Mapuche communities in the school system.

Research Questions and Organization of the Study

In this context, the overall research question of this study is: What is the nature, purpose, and quality of the relationships between preschool teachers and Mapuche communities in IBE preschools in Región Metropolitana?

Based on the analysis of the existing data, three sub-questions emerged as guiding questions:

1. How do IBE preschools and Mapuche communities work together?
2. How do teachers, ELCIs and Mapuche community members collaborate?
3. How do relationships between teachers and Mapuche community members influence their learning?

Using these research questions as guides, this approach allowed me to study the nature, purpose, and quality of the partnership from a macro level (preschool and community interaction), a relational level (interactions of teachers, ELCIs, and community members), and an individual level (teachers' and community members' learning).

Having established the rationale and purpose of this research, Chapter 1 continues with the context and a literature review on existing research on teacher education and community partnership, both in general and particularly within Indigenous contexts. Following these examinations, I describe the conceptual orientations that inform this study by highlighting significant constructs such as Indigenous epistemologies, hybridity, and expansive learning, as well as how these tie these constructs to teacher education. Chapter 2 outlines the research methodology, the participants and settings, and methods of data collection and analysis that were used in this study. In addition, I also provide explanations of why such approaches were used. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 describe the major data-supported arguments in this study. In Chapter 3, I

analyze how IBE preschools and Mapuche communities began their collaboration, what factors influenced their joint work, and their perceptions towards community. In Chapter 4, I closely examine the interactions between teachers and community members, with particular emphasis on what each individual says about their collaboration and the activities they actually perform together. In Chapter 5, I examine how the four teachers and two ELCIs (that participated in this study) viewed their learning experiences; how and why they began their work in an IBE preschool; and how and what they learned in the preschool space. Chapter 6 concludes the dissertation with a presentation of the implications for theory, practice and future research.

Context

The context of the partnership between IBE preschools and Indigenous communities encompasses multilayered and long-standing issues that cannot be fully described here because they are too complex and too numerous. In this section, I focus on the following themes that help to better situate and understand the context of this study: (a) historical roots and problems underlying this partnership, (b) demographics and common issues in urban Mapuche communities, (c) Chilean neoliberal system, (d) the IBE program, and (e) IBE preschools managed by *Junta Nacional de Jardines Infantiles*, known in Chile as *JUNJI*⁶ [National Association of Preschools]. The following figure illustrates the connection of these issues to this study.

⁶ For the remainder of this study, I will use the JUNJI acronym to respect the Spanish form that is widely used and known.

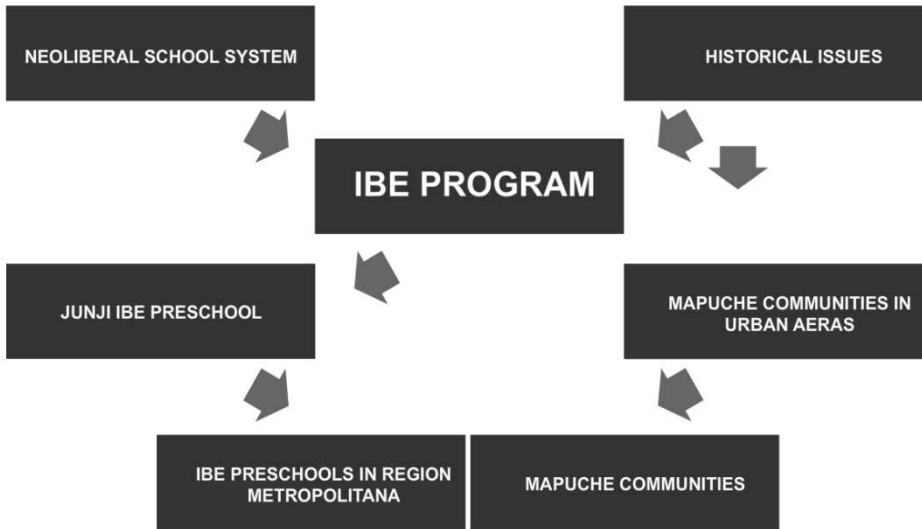


Figure 1. Context of partnerships between IBE preschools and Indigenous communities.

Historical roots of the problematic relationship. As McCaslin and Breton (2008) pointed out, addressing issues regarding education and Indigenous people must be done with a holistically mindset, which means addressing the larger context of historical struggles and then following “the trail of origins of harm” (p. 525). In this case, the larger historical context are the experiences that have influenced and still harm Mapuche people, their children, and their communities. In following with this research, in this section, I address some aspects of the history of Mapuche people in relation to the objectives of this study.

Regarding the relation of the Chilean state and the Mapuche people as asserted by many historians, the Chilean state has systematically made efforts to imagine and build a culturally homogeneous society. This effort has historically considered Mapuche society as a group that should be reduced. Until the war of the *Pacificación de La Araucanía* [Pacification of Araucanía] (1860–1881), the relationship between the State and the Mapuche people was negotiated at *la frontera* [the border region] (Bengoa, 2007). After the military defeat of the Mapuche people, the occupation of their territory, and the establishment of reservations for the

population, the State continued to ignore the existence of Mapuche society. The State opted for social and cultural assimilation of the Mapuche into Chilean society, an endeavor that lasted for the entire 20th century. A century later, however, this “different people”— who was thought to reside exclusively in the rural areas, segregated, marginalized, and hidden—reappeared in Región Metropolitana, the center of Chile’s nation-state (Ojeda, 2009).

Urban Mapuche in Santiago. The urban society of Santiago⁷ has historically imagined itself as a culturally “white” and homogeneous society. In 1992, a “discovery” took place regarding the population of Santiago: the national census of that year was the first census that included the country’s Indigenous population, and it showed that 7.7% of the population of the city of Región Metropolitana was of Mapuche origin and constituted 44% of the total Mapuche population in Chile (Ojeda, 2009). This report came as a general surprise to mainstream Chileans and transformed the Mapuche community—seemingly overnight—into the largest ethnic minority group in the city. Although this finding was seen as a surprise, the migration happened gradually over the previous century and was triggered by restrictions on Mapuches’ property rights, lack of resources, and the impoverishment of rural communities.

A passionate discussion ensued and continued throughout the 1990s about the statistic mentioned above. Categories, which never existed before, suddenly appeared: *urban Indigenous* and *urban Mapuche* (also known as *Mapuche-warriache*). Beyond their statistical influence, the importance of the 1992 census is evident on two levels: first, regarding the influence of Indigenous people in the construction of urban space in Región Metropolitana, and secondly, the importance of the urban Indigenous population in the construction of Mapuche contemporary society (Ojeda, 2009). In the academic world, the “official” reappearance of Mapuche people in

⁷ Santiago is the capital of the country, and is the main city of Región Metropolitana.

urban areas has also impacted the research agenda. A growing number of studies have begun to reflect and critically analyze issues of education and Indigenous people in urban contexts (Williamson & Gómez, 2006).

It should be noted that even though the Mapuche migration from rural to urban Chile was motivated by the availability of more economic and educational opportunities for Mapuche people, most urban-based Mapuche people live in dire circumstances—living in precariously built shanty-towns that have sprung up around Santiago, and enduring continued ethnic discrimination. In the cities, this population remains excluded from State support, such as access to housing, services, and job opportunities, all of which are necessary for their integration into the urban structure (Ojeda, 2009). Nevertheless, even though the discussions surrounding urban-based Mapuche people have gained increasing attention over the last decade, the Mapuche community in Santiago have historically been invisible to the rest of urban society (Ojeda, 2009).

When they are not overlooked, the Mapuche people are made visible through stereotypes. The media reinforce these prejudices with pictures of land occupations in Southern Chile and armed battles with landowners near the villages, conveying a negative image of “poor,” “violent,” and “uncivilized Mapuche” (Aravena, 2007). To avoid this stigma and hostility, a large percentage of Mapuche people have renounced their identity, rejected their language, and changed their names. In order to survive in Santiago, the Mapuche people have become invisible; they have had to camouflage their origins (Abarca, 2005; Aravena, 2007).

Those who have migrated from rural to urban centers have not only faced challenges with non-Mapuche people in Santiago, but also with Mapuche people who stayed in the southern rural areas. Some of the Mapuche who remained in rural areas see those who migrated as traitors or liars for neglecting their language and culture, and therefore, consider them as not “real”

Mapuche (Abarca, 2005). Consequently, Mapuche in urban areas have struggled with the knowledge that they are neither part of the mainstream Chilean culture nor part of the “traditional” Mapuche culture. As Ojeda (2009) stated: “Under these conditions, Mapuche migration is accompanied by an individual and collective drama; the urgent need to survive not only displaces the rural workers from their homes, but in many cases from their community as well” (p. 111). As a result, in Santiago, Mapuches⁸ have had to start new communities.

Given the hostility and discrimination against Mapuches, their isolation, and marginalization of their life in Santiago, as well as the need to recreate their personal identity, Mapuche organizations have emerged to confront these issues (Abarca, 2005). Historically, “these organizations have arisen under the legal figure of Indigenous associations with a special statute which recognizes them as legal institutions for the development of cultural and/or economic objectives” (Ojeda, 2009, p. 139). In practice, this has meant that these new organizations are portrayed as venues of “cultural refuge” rather than as institutions with political aims, in which it might be possible to reproduce their “original culture” at the margins of Chilean society. In consequence, it has been suggested that these cultural organizations have become spaces where the core of Mapuche culture is sustained and the assimilation of this culture is resisted (Ojeda, 2009). In this sense, the goal of these organizations has been personal, by maintaining a connection to their Indigenous identity.

In another sense, these organizations are also focused on economic development. They have denounced the usurpation of land, and have requested political mechanisms to return those lands. Additionally, these organizations have requested the protection of and defended the integrity of their culture and knowledge.

⁸ The term, “Mapuches” is used here as the plural form of Mapuche, as a denonym such as Chileans, Aymaras, Quechuas.

These organizations have not only served to promote culture and resist assimilation from the mainstream Chilean society, but also to provide a community to the Mapuche migrants who leave their community in the south of Chile. However, it has been documented that Mapuches living in Santiago never forget their communities. Once the migrants establish themselves in Santiago, they maintain relations with their community of origin. In fact, the longing for their home community and for rural life is broadly documented. Nonetheless, their longing to return to rural life hardly ever turns into reality, mainly due to the lack of land in the communities (Ojeda, 2009).

IBE program in a neoliberal educational system. To better address the research questions of this study and the connections between IBE schools, teachers, and Mapuche communities, it is important to understand the larger societal and educational context in which the IBE program is situated. In this section, I describe the origins of the neoliberal system in Chile; the influence of neoliberalism in the educational system; its impact in the creation and implementation of the IBE program; and, finally, the problems and challenges of this program.

Chile is considered to be one of the first countries that implemented neoliberal policies (Harvey, 2005). It is not a coincidence that Chile was the first country in Latin America with a neoliberal system, and also the last one to implement an IBE program and supporting international agreements (Quintriqueo, 2009). In 1973, the Chilean trend toward socialism was abruptly halted by the military coup that gave rise to 17 years of dictatorship (Nef, 2003). The military regime was supported by a group of right-wing parties and also “by US foreign policies aiming to reinforce in Latin America a model of development, progress, and modernization consistent with capitalism and free market enterprise” (Cavieres, 2011, p.113). With the purpose of enforcing an economic model that drastically moved away from the centralization advocated

by its preceding political repressor, the military regime called together a selected group of Chilean economists, who had been studied in the University of Chicago—with funding from the United States' State Department—under the guidance of Milton Friedman, one of the founders of neoliberal thinking.

Seventeen years passed until the end of the military dictatorship in Chile; with the arrival of democracy at the beginning of the '90s, a coalition of parties with, discursive and socialist ideas, headed the government for 20 years. Although this coalition was against the dictatorship, it maintained the existing economic system (which was created under dictatorship), supposedly in order to maintain the development and growth of the country. The main goal of this coalition was “to transform Chile into a modern country by combining economic growth with equity” (Cavieres, 2011, p. 114). To achieve this goal, the governing coalition reinforced a growing economic system by generating closer relationships with the global marketplace, and the same time, “the state assumed the role of redistributing economic growth through focal projects in the benefit of low-income groups, and of training them for labor to integrate them into the economic progress achieved in the country” (Cavieres, 2011, p. 114). Some have argued that this model was successfully maintained because “becoming modern has always been part of Chile's identity” (Cavieres, 2011, p. 116).

At the educational level, as many other countries worldwide (Apple, 2006), Chile has sought to introduce neoliberal ideas into schools “by making them operate according to economic notions such as competition and efficiency, leading to different forms of privatization” (Cavieres, 2011, p. 117).

As Cavieres (2011) pointed out, a document produced by the Chilean government entitled *Los principales desafíos del futuro y el papel de la educación* [The main challenges of the

future and the role of education] is particularly revealing in understanding the education, philosophy, and expectations for the country. This document identified three challenges in Chile's quest to introduce neoliberal ideas into schools. First, if Chile was to become modern and developed, it would need to overcome poverty, a goal that can only be achieved through "sustainable economic growth that creates new jobs; and quality education for people of low-income so they can access those jobs" (Comité Técnico Asesor, 1994, p. 56). Second, if the country was to develop, people would need to be trained to compete for jobs because "in the future, every Chilean and the whole nation will be competing with all those in the world who will offer similar abilities" (Comité Técnico Asesor, 1994, p. 58). Finally, the third challenge identified in the document was preparing people to live in a modern country—people who should be able to balance their personal values and the values of economic progress achievable through their individual efforts (Comité Técnico Asesor, 1994).

Along with these three challenges, and as a consequence of globalization and international trends, educational reforms of the last decades have begun to recognize the importance of students' cultural backgrounds. However, Cavieres (2011) found that:

At the same time they [reforms] emphasize educational practices based on competition, individualism, and accountability that divide students based on academic and class lines, as well as exclude those cultural experiences of students from urban low-income neighborhoods not considered appropriate to the goals pursued by the reform. As a result, these students have been marginalized from the educational processes promoted in their school. (p. 112)

The IBE program emerged in the Chilean education system in this context. Several scholarly authors have agreed that the IBE program was created and implemented by the

Concertación⁹ as a way for Chile to seem focused on intercultural education advancements in the face of global observations: that is, because this new government was observed by all the countries around the world, and not necessarily because of genuine intentions to defend and protect human rights and ethnic minorities (Quintrileo, Yañez & Valenzuela, 2013). Quintrileo et al., (2013) even argued that the implementation of the IBE program was a consequence of globalization and the neoliberal economy in the country, as these perspectives are characterized by an integration of systems and strong efforts to reduce political and cultural differences in order to achieve a stable and uniform economy. Therefore, the educational system strategically provided spaces for Indigenous cultures in schools with the purpose of avoiding uprisings and demands from Indigenous movements, which could affect the social and economic order of the country.

Denying the creation of the IBE program would have meant accusations from international organizations such as United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO] or UNICEF; and more importantly, this denial would indicate that the government had stopped the economic development of the country, if one considers that one of the main requirements for international business is social stability (Quintrileo et al., 2013).

In the same vein, it is relevant to mention that the measures related to the IBE program are part of a larger educational reform, that again, does not attempt to recognize and revitalize Indigenous languages and cultures, but rather mitigate some of the problems that affect the entire educational system, such as improving access to formal education and increase the retention rate of students in vulnerable schools. These vulnerable schools are precisely the ones with higher rates of Indigenous students (Quintrileo et al., 2013). Indeed, it has been stated that the interest in

⁹ Coalition of leftist government parties.

improving the quality and equity of access to education is based on the need to achieve international standards and guidelines, and therefore, enabling Chile to participate and compete in international economic agreements.

This approach (global participation by way of educational reforms) has been a common strategy in other countries. Park and Richards (2007) stated that “rather than completely denying Indigenous rights, neoliberal states are deliberately granting some reforms in order to undermine pressures for more radical change” (p. 1320). From this argument, they contended that this approach represents a new form of governance: *neoliberal multiculturalism*.

It is worth noting that the IBE program, although implemented by the government, has been a demand of Indigenous groups in the country since the ‘80s (Quintrileo et al., 2013). In fact, from the beginning of the 20th century to the ‘60s, Indigenous organizations had demanded the inclusion of Indigenous language, in particular Mapuche, in the school system (Park & Richards, 2007). Two decades later, the demands were specific about implementing an IBE program in the national education system. From the 60’s, the Indigenous demands have focused on issues of autonomy, constitutional recognition, and rights to auto determination.

As a result of these Indigenous demands—in particular, those demands from Mapuche organizations and leaders—and the democratization of Chilean society during the ‘90s, the Chilean government began to create and implement policies to improve education for Indigenous students. In 1993, the Chilean National Congress passed the *Indigenous Law 19.253*, which established rules about the protection, promotion, and development of Indigenous populations; in the same year, the Chilean government also created the *Corporación Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena*, known in Chile as CONADI¹⁰ [National Corporation of Indigenous Development], one

¹⁰ For the remainder of this dissertation, I will use CONADI to respect the Spanish form that is widely used and known.

of whose goals was to develop in the country a system of intercultural and bilingual education in coordination with the Ministry of Education (Relmuan, 2001). After the creation of the *Indigenous Law*, the Ministry of Education created the *Intercultural and Bilingual Education Program* (1996) within the *Rural and Elementary Education Program* which attempted to contribute to improving students' achievement by strengthening the ethnic identity of girls and boys attending primary schools located in contexts of cultural and linguistic diversity (Ministerio de Educación, 2005); this program was also aimed at promoting respect for and revitalization of Indigenous cultures as a way to overcome cultural inequalities and conflict, and to open a productive dialogue among cultures.

Despite the enactment of the *Indigenous Law*, few changes were implemented until the ratification of the *Convention 169 of the International Labor Organization* in 2009. With this agreement, the Chilean government began to implement viable measures to protect and increase the use of Indigenous languages. In order to achieve this goal, the Ministry of Education approved the implementation of Indigenous language classes, known as *Sector Lengua Indígena* [Areas of Indigenous Languages], as part of the national mandatory objectives for elementary and middle school education. Since 2010, schools with an enrollment of 50% or more Indigenous students are obligated to include an Indigenous language in their school curriculum; since 2012, schools with at least 20% Indigenous enrollment are required to fulfill this same mandate (Loncon, E., Ministerio de Educación, & Programa de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe, 2011; Loncon, 2013).

In this context, the problems and weaknesses of the IBE program in Chile have not been unnoticed. One of the main criticisms of the IBE program is that it is not part of the national educational system, but only a small section that is usually marginalized both in governmental

institutions and in the school system. The national education curriculum and its mono-cultural and centralized character have created one official and central culture, around which other peripheral cultures exist. In other words, the recognition of cultural and ethnic diversity in the schools as well as official census reporting of Indigenous families and students in urban areas have not influenced the homogenizing nature of the national educational curriculum (Quintriqueo, 2009). In the same lines, it has been argued that IBE's purpose is to offer Indigenous people access to their own culture as well as Chilean's dominant culture; however, this means that only sections of the society (Indigenous communities) will become bicultural and will be able to navigate both worlds. In other words, by this definition, non-Indigenous people would not necessarily need to become bicultural; the "others" (the Indigenous people) need to accommodate and assimilate into the dominant culture (Montecinos, 2004).

Other authors have stated that among the different ways of conceiving and implementing intercultural education, Chile has adopted the *functional version*. This means that the purpose of *interculturality* is to recognize and know about the "other" without problematizing the role and characteristics of the dominant culture and making invisible the power structures of the relationships between cultures. Following Quintrileo et al., (2013), functional interculturality is an example of multicultural neoliberalism, as its application only affect external areas without questioning or modifying the structures of dominate authority.

IBE preschools in JUNJI, the National Association of Preschools. Along with these measures, CONADI and JUNJI established an intercultural approach in the preschool system. IBE preschools are part of the public national preschool system in Chile. These preschools are managed by JUNJI, therefore are part of the Chilean Ministry of Education. The purpose of the JUNJI institution is to offer integral and quality education to children from birth to 6 years old.

In its national curriculum, JUNJI emphasizes the education of Indigenous children, who are considered a priority in their entry criteria. With this decision, JUNJI assumed an intercultural perspective in its preschools and created intercultural preschools. The goals of these IBE preschools are: to strengthen cultural identity and sense of belonging of Indigenous communities; to enhance the educational role of families and communities involved; to promote native languages in Indigenous children who attend preschools in Indigenous and intercultural communities; and to support that food given to children is relevant to their culture and age (Bustos, Cariman, Díaz, & Merino, 2014).

Currently, 643 preschool institutions with an IBE approach have been created in Chile. These preschools serve 9,914 children, and 4,499 of these children belong to Indigenous groups. From these totals (Bustos, Cariman, Díaz, & Merino, 2014), 13 preschools are located in Región Metropolitana¹¹.

Literature Review

For the purposes of understanding the partnership between IBE preschool teachers and Mapuche community members, the areas that will be explored here are those of *community-based* learning for teachers in the United States and Latin America, and the experiences of teachers for IBE contexts. First, I summarize the main contributions of community-based programs in the preparation of teachers in general, that is, not necessarily related to Indigenous communities. Although this research has primarily focused on pre-service¹² teachers and on the connection of university programs with communities in general, I consider that these contributions can be useful in understanding the preparation of in-service¹³ teachers in IBE

¹¹ Information obtained personally from JUNJI.

¹² Pre-service teachers refers to students who are in a teaching program in order to become teachers.

¹³ In-serve teachers refers to teachers currently working in schools.

preschools. Then, I briefly present some of the central findings of the incorporation of Indigenous communities in IBE schools in Latin America. Finally, I discuss the experiences of IBE preschool teachers in Chile.

Contributions of communities in teacher education. A growing amount of literature on the role of communities in teacher education, within the global context, has shown the potential of community experiences under certain conditions (e.g., high quality mediation of the experiences, and a strong connection to other program components) to impact the knowledge, beliefs, and attitudes of prospective teachers.

These studies have found that links with communities positively affect pre-service teachers' perceptions and attitudes toward diversity, helping to disrupt racist attitudes and develop higher expectations for their students' learning. For instance, Boyle-Baise (1998) found that when teachers and students do not share the same culture, in connecting with different communities in the classroom, teachers are exposed to and become aware of cultural and social situations that were unknown to them, and in this awareness, they become more open to and comfortable with accepting cultural diversity.

Research has also shown that when closely interacting with communities, teachers develop a greater sociocultural consciousness as well as an awareness of the limitations of their own perspectives. This cultural competency and awareness has increased teachers' commitment to teach in urban, high poverty or diverse settings, and has deepened their personal and professional ideological clarity that prioritizes community connections (e.g. Lee, Showalter, & Eckrich, 2013; Stairs & Friedman, 2013).

Zeichner and Payne (2013) found that creating mediated cross-cultural or community-based learning experiences for pre-service teachers has also contributed in: (a) the students

achievement, and the simultaneous cultivation of democratic citizens; (b) the inclusion of multiple types of knowledge, and more democratic ideals for pre-service teachers; (c) the pre-service teachers' identities as multicultural and critical teachers; and (d) the development of innovative, and hybrid solutions to the challenges of preparing teachers.

Studies have also examined the role of communities in teacher learning for Indigenous education. Most of the findings regarding Indigenous education are similar to those related to diverse, urban, and low-income schools. However, the findings around the contributions of community-based learning for Indigenous teachers, or teachers of Indigenous children, showed a special emphasis in the support for learning and using Indigenous language and culture.

In the United States, studies have found that in linking communities with teacher education, Indigenous teachers feel more confident in speaking and using Indigenous culture and language in the classroom. White, Bedonic, De Groat, Lockard and Honani (2007) found that this partnership has empowered Indigenous teachers to make professional choices that respect their language, cultural, and historical background. In this vein, Locke's (2004) examination of an elementary teacher education program delivered by a state university to Native American teacher aides on a reservation found that this empowerment helped Indigenous teachers to strengthen their linguistic and cultural identity.

A connection with communities is even more critical when non-Indigenous pre-service teachers will work with Indigenous students. Zeichner and Melnick (1996) discovered that non-Indigenous pre-service teachers entered teacher programs seeing diversity as a problem more than as a resource, and had stereotypical visions of minority groups. To address this issue, community experiences have been used as a resource to promote greater self-understanding and cultural learning in teachers. Through these community experiences, pre-service teachers have

more opportunities to examine themselves and their attitudes and perceptions toward others. In doing so, they may develop greater intercultural skills (Zeichner & Melnick, 1996). In the same lines, Reid (2004) observed that pre-service teachers' interactions with Indigenous communities have also helped decrease the emphasis on cultural differences, as non-Indigenous student-teachers are taught to recognize the existence of diversity within Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities, as well as avoid seeing language and culture as static and homogenous.

This body of research showed that teacher and community members face significant challenges in creating partnerships with one another. But, this literature also indicated that when guided, Indigenous communities play a significant role in teacher learning, which then allows for the inclusion of diverse knowledge in the school system, and as a result, improving the education of diverse children. These findings are relevant for this study as they suggest the need to better understand what happens in the partnerships between IBE preschools and Mapuche communities. Examining this connection is important as IBE preschools may highly benefit from close interaction with Mapuche communities.

What we know about the incorporation of Indigenous communities in teacher education for IBE schools in Latin America. Contrary to the studies reviewed above, most of the relevant research conducted in Latin America has focused on the relations between schools and Indigenous communities, or on what teachers should know about for schools in IBE settings. Only a few studies have paid attention to the intersection among schools, communities, and teachers learning. In this context, my purpose here is to highlight the important issues that are examined in the research in this broad field which are relevant to this study. First, I present the main findings with regards to teachers' knowledge, and then I present summaries of some of the few studies on communities and teacher learning.

The following table summarizes the proposals of several authors—Ipiña Melgar (1997), López (1997), Schmelkes, (2007), Serrano (1998) and Trapnell, (2003)—regarding ideal teacher knowledge, skills, and attitudes for teaching children in an IBE setting. This literature showed that teachers in IBE contexts are expected to have a significant amount of skills, attitudes, and knowledge; however, although these proposals provide a valuable comparison of the similarities and differences of IBE preschool teachers’ experiences in Chile, these proposals did not examine educators’ and teachers’ struggles, practices, and experiences in schools.

Table 1 <i>Summary of Proposals of Knowledge, Skills and Attitudes for IBE Teachers</i>		
Skills	Attitudes	Knowledge
<u>Teachers are able to:</u>	<u>Teachers are committed to:</u>	<u>Teachers know:</u>
Continue professional development.	Identifying the demands of Indigenous peoples.	About Indigenous and dominant languages (Ipiña Melgar, 1997).
Conduct research in their classrooms.	Being open to the world.	About cognitive and psychological child development.
Improve according to the guides found through that research (Ipiña Melgar, 1997).	Being tolerant (Ipiña Melgar, 1997).	About the interaction of cultures.
Analyze the world from different perspectives.	Taking an active role in teaching the benefits of the IBE program (Serrano, 1998).	About Indigenous worldviews and epistemologies.
Create new relationships between written and oral languages.	Possess critical awareness of the hegemonic approach of schools.	About history and geography from an Indigenous perspective.
Manage conflict.	Recognize the importance of family and community in education (Trapnell, 2003; Schmelkes, 2007).	About intercultural communication.
Collaborate with Indigenous communities (López, 1997).	Value students’ previous knowledge.	About intercultural pedagogies.
Use student knowledge and experiences in the classrooms.		About language laws and policies, and about IBE policies.
Interact with similar and different people.		About perceptions of Indigenous linguistics (López, 1997).
Work in teams with schools’ members (Schmelkes, 2007).		About the definition of culture.
		About morality development in multicultural societies (Schmelkes, 2007).

These proposals are significant because their authors have claimed that much of this knowledge, attitudes, and skills must be learned directly from people from Indigenous communities. Consequently, some efforts have been made to include Indigenous communities in teacher education for the IBE program (Educación Intercultural Bilingüe Amazonía, UNICEF & Finland, 2012; Trapnell, 2003; Trapnell, 2011). These efforts have been reported primarily in terms of the theoretical significance of Indigenous communities.

For instance, Quintero and Crespo (2006) have argued that teachers should have experiential knowledge with Indigenous communities. More strongly, Trapnell (2003) also stated that families and communities should play an essential role in the preparation of teachers because communities contribute in showing the dynamic process of social and political constructions of knowledge and learning. In order to include the contributions of communities, some IBE programs have attempted some transformations in which, for instance, local communities have chosen teachers for the schools (Educación Intercultural Bilingüe Amazonía, UNICEF & Finland, 2012); teachers visit and work in the communities' houses with the families (Educación Intercultural Bilingüe Amazonía, UNICEF & Finland, 2012); and Indigenous community members teach classes in the IBE programs for in-service or pre-service teachers (Trapnell, 2003). In schools in Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador, Indigenous wise elders have been included as experts in Indigenous language and culture. Through this inclusion, "teachers have benefited from day-to-day intercultural experience in Indigenous communities and have deepened their understanding of Indigenous people's social and physical reality" (Trapnell, 2003, p. 169). In particular, Indigenous wise elders have played an important role in supporting pre-service teachers in becoming proficient in an Indigenous language (Delany-Barmann, 2009).

However, these efforts and changes have not been easily made. Some of the challenges have been: (a) Teachers perceive that the disconnection between schools and communities is the community's responsibility (Carrillo, 2012); (b) Indigenous members are not included in the curriculum design (Quintero & Crespo, 2006); (c) Indigenous communities support and choose teacher candidates, but this does not guarantee that teachers go back to teach in their communities (García, 2008); (d) Indigenous members do not have the chance to re-create knowledge (Trapnell, 2003); and (e) Universities do not address the complexities/diversities of Indigenous communities in the preparation of teacher (Trapnell, 2003).

In Chile, the participation of communities in schools has been very limited. Few studies have shown emergent evidence that, with communities, teachers change their beliefs, and begin to consider that education is an endeavor that does not belong solely to schools, but to a broad number of actors, such as community members and Indigenous families (Williamson & Gómez, 2004). In the next section, the experience of teachers and Indigenous communities in Chilean IBE education will be presented with more detail.

A review of this set of relevant studies is important for my research because it shows that existing literature has changed. At least in its initial years, research focused on the internal cognitive beliefs, knowledge, and skills of teachers, but then it gradually shifted its focus to examine how teachers' learning process are and can be mediated and influenced by others, and in particular, Indigenous communities.

On the other hand, the existing research on interactions between Indigenous communities and teachers from IBE schools has begun to address the complexity and challenges of IBE contexts. Therefore, both areas of relevant research still need to examine the connection between pre-service teachers and in-service teachers with Indigenous experts, and how this connection

could improve teacher preparation. This dissertation examines this connection. It also echoes the interconnected nature of individuals, especially in my attempts to understand how teachers and community members work and learn to work together.

The Chilean case: Teacher preparation for IBE schools in Chile. With the purpose of understanding how teachers and Mapuche community members work together, it is relevant to briefly review what studies have shown, if only separately, the experiences of teachers in IBE contexts and the experiences of community members, since very few studies have examined their joint collaboration in Chile. It should be noted that although an important numbers of studies have been conducted in Chile to describe, analyze and evaluate the IBE program, teachers and other educators have not been the priority of this research. In fact, a specific field of study of teacher education for IBE programs does not exist in Chile. Within the diversity of studies that at least in some way address issues regarding teachers, I review here the four most frequent lines of research in the preparation of teachers for the education of Mapuche children: (a) problems in the preparation of IBE teachers, (b) teachers' attitudes towards Mapuche language, (c) Indigenous knowledge that teachers should learn, and (d) the role of communities in teacher education.

To contextualize the first group of studies (that address problems in the preparation of IBE teachers), it is important to mention that Chile has very limited number of IBE teacher education programs, which, when they are available, consist of two types: (a) university programs at the undergraduate level, and (b) certification programs for teachers (Hernández, 2007). For the Mapuche context, Chile has only two teacher education programs at the university level: the first program focuses on teacher preparation for the elementary level, and is offered by the *Universidad Católica de Temuco* [Catholic University of Temuco]; the second program also offers preparation for teaching at preschool level, and is offered by *Pontificia Universidad*

Católica de Chile, campus Villarrica [Catholic University of Chile, campus Villarrica]. As was mentioned previously, none of the programs are located in Región Metropolitana.

Literature that addresses the problems of the preparation of IBE teachers has shown that IBE teacher programs are not only very limited in number and scope, but also face several additional challenges. In resonance with the experiences of neighboring countries, Hernández (2007) found the following problems in Chilean programs: (a) There is a disconnection between the disciplinary courses about elementary education and the courses about bilingual and intercultural education. The second set of courses are seen as a secondary discipline, not as a transversal component of the entire program; (b) Only the Indigenous professors and the professors that teach courses about Indigenous culture or language include in their classes a bilingual and intercultural perspective; and (c) The focus of the programs is to prepare teachers for elementary schools; however, the first three generations of graduated teachers ended up working in governmental institutions—universities or non-profit organizations—not in elementary schools as teachers.

The resistance of the school system is also a significant factor that is addressed in relevant literature. According to Quilaqueo and Quintriqueo (2008), teachers reported that they often encountered resistance when they tried to incorporate Mapuche knowledge in the school's curriculum; the resistance came from other teachers, parents, and administrators. Responding to this resistance, in Quilaqueo and Quintriqueo's (2008) study, teachers suggested that teacher education should provide them with skills to manage this challenge, and also with skills to bring together Indigenous knowledge and school content. For these teachers, there were two main causes of the resistance they felt: first, the teachers' insufficient Indigenous knowledge, and second, the political factors affecting the schools' communities. To address this second point, the

exclusion of political factors as part of a school's system, Rubio (2009) asserted that schools should incorporate the new contextual demands of the Chilean society, characterized by the principles of globalization, neo-liberalism, postmodernism, and urbanization.

In addition to teacher preparation programs at the university level, several certification programs exist through universities and governmental institutions. However, given the temporary and unstable character of these programs, it has been difficult to analyze their impact and challenges in the preparation of teachers for IBE. Nevertheless, it is important to mention that these short certification programs are mostly focused on the preparation of Mapuche Traditional Educators (Hernández, 2007).

In the second group of studies I reviewed, with regards to teachers' language attitudes towards Mapuche language, research shows that Mapudungun [Mapuche language] is not used frequently in the school community. In fact, Olate and Henríquez (2010) found that Traditional Educators were the only ones who employed Mapudungun regularly in the classroom. In the same study, Olate and Henríquez observed that in the domain of linguistic loyalty, teachers exhibited a positive attitude towards teaching and learning Mapudungun in schools. They also had a strong linguistic fidelity, that is, they had a commitment with the diffusion of the language as a tool to preserve Indigenous culture. These teachers also believed that both languages (Spanish and Mapudungun) should be taught at the same time because this approach offers advantages at both cognitive and cultural levels. Additionally, these teachers also considered that Mapudungun was useful in the classroom because it elevated the self-esteem of Indigenous children, preserved the ancestral language, and allowed the communication of ancestral knowledge (Olate & Henríquez, 2010).

The third group of studies I reviewed attempted to answer the following question: What knowledge of the Mapuche culture/language should teachers learn? To address this question, scholarly authors have proposed that since the IBE program in Chile is a recent creation, it is necessary to do research to identify the core aspects of Mapuche worldviews. To this end, Mapuche elders have been interviewed in order to shed light on what characteristics IBE educators should possess (Carihuentro, 2007). Likewise, Quilaqueo and Quintriqueo (2010) asserted that the descriptions, explanations, and integration of the Mapuche educational knowledge (*kimeltuwün*) in teacher training might help teachers to contextualize their classes. While these studies successfully explain and describe the Mapuche educational patterns, they do not offer specific suggestions of how to include this knowledge in the teacher preparation curriculum. Also, these studies may perpetuate a view of culture as a static container or depository of information by attempting to identify one set of Indigenous knowledges.

Finally, from the fourth group of studies I reviewed, which focused on the subject of communities, Williamson and Gómez (2004) discovered that teachers developed strong, positive attitudes towards the participation of communities while creating these partnerships. However, Williamson and Gómez also showed that teachers conceive of this participation mainly in terms of concrete activities, not as a resource for transforming education. This limited perspective caused some teachers to have a defensive attitude towards the communities' suggestions about the education their children received.

In addition to this defensive attitude, researchers have faced two important challenges in incorporating Indigenous communities in schools. One challenge is the resistance of some teachers to talk about the political and social factors in IBE settings, and another challenge is the lack of cooperation and interaction between teachers and Traditional Educators (Williamson &

Gómez, 2004). Despite these challenges, authors of this relevant literature have concluded that teachers' critical lenses, their ability to reflect on their schools' practice, and their skills in creating dialogues with families and communities were highly advanced by this partnership with community members (Williamson & Gómez, 2004; Castro & Manzo, 2009).

This body of four groups of research is relevant for this study as it shows some of the struggles that teacher programs have faced in teaching Indigenous knowledge, and in connecting schools with Indigenous ways of knowing. It also shows struggles in selecting which pieces of Mapuche knowledge should be used in school as well as what attitudes teachers have towards Mapuche language. Finally, this body of research also shows how communities and teachers have worked together previously in schools. All these topics connect and identify some of the issues that teachers and community partnership may face. However, I cautiously apply these findings to this study as this research was conducted in the south of Chile and in elementary, middle, and high school level, not in preschool education in Región Metropolitana.

Furthermore, drawing on these studies, I continue a line of work on the importance of teachers' experiences in teaching Mapuche language, the inclusion of Mapuche knowledge in schools and the participation of communities in schools. However, this study follows a different path than previous studies, as I conceive that teaching Mapuche language and culture occurs in contexts and with other people, I view Mapuche knowledge as dynamic and relational, and I regard communities as fundamental and indispensable for IBE preschools.

Overall, this study builds on previous research done in the community-based learning research in mainstream teacher education, research in teacher education for Indigenous education and communities, and recent research in Latin America and Chile about teachers' knowledge, skills, attitudes, and community impact. A central aspect of this group of studies is the

influences of community members in the process of becoming a teacher for IBE schools. Drawing on these studies, I note that teacher education for Indigenous children has also reconceptualized learning as an interactive process. This dissertation follows in a similar vein, but it also emphasizes how the partnership between teachers and community members can positively affect teacher awareness of larger issues around schools as well as teacher commitment to equity and justice in the education of Indigenous children. In order to further this understanding, I drew on certain conceptual notions and frameworks that are discussed below.

Conceptual Framework: Hybridity and Expansive Learning Theory in the Context of Critical Indigenous Pedagogies

“Knowledge that does not heal, bring together, challenge, surprise, encourage, or expand our awareness is not part of the consciousness this world needs now. This is the function we as indigenous people posit.” (Meyer, 2008, p. 221)

Inspired by Denzin, Lincoln, and Smith’s *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies* (2008), my investigation draws from critical and Indigenous epistemologies in education. As with Denzin, Lincoln, and Smith (2008) and with Grande (2004), I believe there is a great need for a dialogue among critical theorists, Indigenous scholars, and Indigenous peoples, as well as a great need “to resist efforts to confine inquiry to a single paradigm or interpretative strategy” (Denzin, Lincoln, & Smith, 2008, p. 2). Considering these needs, in this section I connect Indigenous epistemologies as well as critical pedagogy (McLaren & Kincheloe, 2007) with theories of postcolonial studies (Bhabha, 1994) and situated learning (Engeström, 2001). I see this conceptual framework as an effort to open the limits of possibilities for broad-based coalition and theoretical solidarity, as well to find a common ground and potential pathway of intersection. The following figure aims to connect the notions discussed in this study.

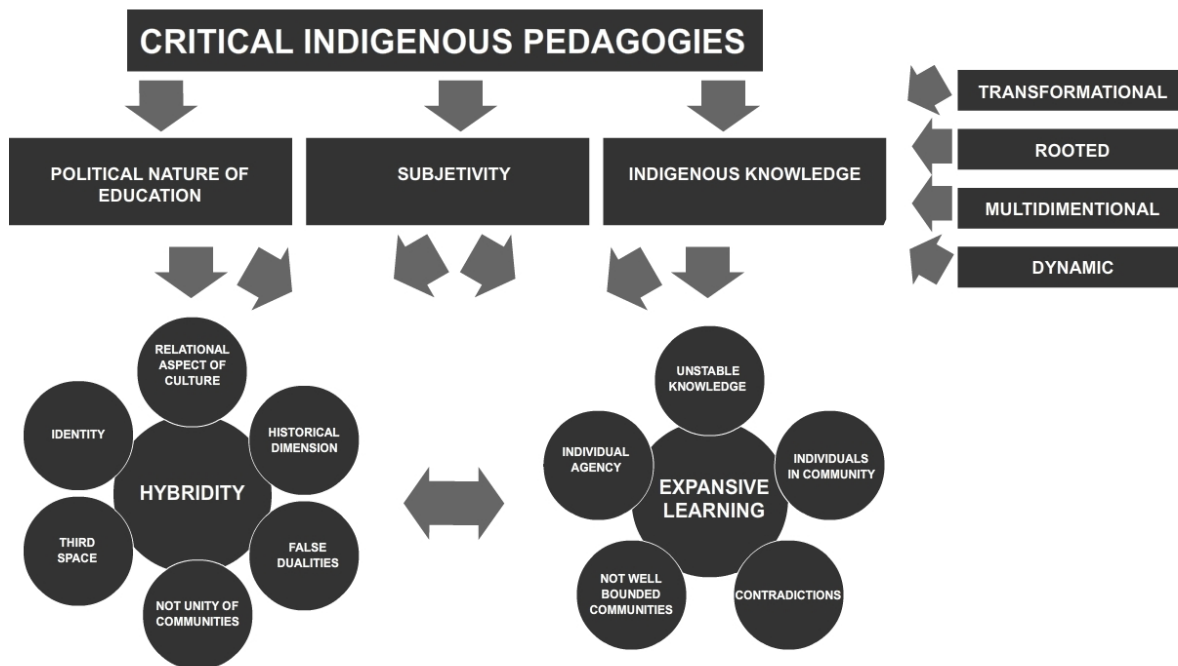


Figure 2. Conceptual framework and its connections.

In the upcoming section, I summarize core notions of critical Indigenous pedagogies that act as a background for hybridity theory and expansive learning. After presenting this conceptual framework, I briefly explain hybrid space, and then expansive learning, and finally, I explain how these concepts connect to the purpose of this study.

Critical Indigenous pedagogies. Critical and Indigenous pedagogies in education are an attempt to configure a theoretical model that allows us to combine critical education perspectives with Indigenous knowledge. This attempt emerged from Grande’s work on *Red Pedagogy*, in which she encouraged contemporaries to re-think critical education theories in light of Indigenous ways of knowing. Similarly, authors such as Denzin, Lincoln and Smith (2008), who aimed for dialogue between Indigenous and critical scholars, argued for the importance of “re-grounding [of] Paulo Freire’s (2000) pedagogy of the oppressed in local, Indigenous contexts” (p. 2). To achieve this endeavor, their theoretical framework combines some of the central

premises of critical education with conceptual perspectives that are based on Indigenous epistemologies—Maori, Hawaiian, *Red, borderland* and Indigenous Canadian pedagogies. Before discussing these concepts, I note that this attempt of putting together different paradigms is based on the need to include the work of Indigenous scholars, which have been kept on the margins of the educational discourse in Chile. In this section, I highlight the core principles of the critical and Indigenous pedagogical approaches that are relevant to IBE schools in Chile. These ideas remind us of the following factors: the political nature of education and the need for a de-colonial project; the transformative character of Indigenous epistemologies; and the contextual, dynamic, multidimensional, and empowering nature of Indigenous knowledge.

De-colonial project. The work of Mignolo and Tlostanova (2006), with regard to borderland thinking, is relevant to this study as it highlights and situates the education of Indigenous people as part of a de-colonial project. In doing so, they remind us of the colonial nature and the struggles that Indigenous peoples face. In their proposal of *border thinking*, Mignolo and Tlostanova stressed the necessity for an “epistemology of the exteriority; that is, of the outside created from the inside” (p. 206), which emerges, they said,

As a response to the violence (frontiers) of imperial/territorial epistemology and the rhetoric of modernity (and globalization) of salvation that continues to be implemented on the assumption of the inferiority or devilish intentions of the Other and, therefore, continues to justify oppression and exploitation as well as eradication of the difference. (p. 206)

Contrary to other critical theories that were developed from the experience of European internal history, Mignolo and Tlostanova (2006) asserted that critical border thinking is grounded

“in the experiences of the colonies and subaltern empires. Consequently, this mode of thinking provides the epistemology that was denied by imperial expansion” (p. 207).

According to these authors, one principle of critical border thinking is that “‘Borders’ are not only geographic, but also political, subjective (e.g., cultural), and epistemic”; they added that “Contrary to frontiers, the very concept of ‘border’ implies the existence of people, languages, religions, and knowledge on both sides linked through relations established by the coloniality of power” (Mignolo & Tlostanova, 2006, p. 208). In this precise sense, borders, as Mignolo and Tlostanova described:

are not a natural outcome of a natural or divine historical processes in human history, but [things that] were created in the very constitution of the modern/colonial world (i.e., in the imagery of Western and Atlantic capitalist empires formed in the past five hundred years). (2006, p. 208)

In the Latin American context, colonial expansion has meant a “massive appropriation of land accompanied by the constitution of international law that justified the massive appropriation of land” (Grovgui, 1996; Schmitt, 1952); “control of knowledge...by disqualifying non-European languages and epistemologies and control of subjectivities (by conversation, civilization, democratization) or, in today’s language—by the globalization of culture” (Mignolo & Tlostanova, 2006, p. 208). In the context of this dissertation, critical border thinking, with its de-colonization focus, work “toward the empowerment and liberation of different layers (racial, sexual, gender, class, linguistic, epistemic, religious, etc.) from oppression”; it also moves “toward the undermining of the assumption upon which imperial power is naturalized, enacted and corrupted” (Mignolo & Tlostanova, 2006, p. 208). As in Grande (2004), it should be noted that unlike other minority groups, Indigenous people not only struggle with oppression, but they

also struggle with dispossession. In Grande's words, "the foregrounding of capitalist relations as the axis of exploitation helps to frame the history of [I]ndigenous peoples as one of dispossession and not simply oppression" (p. 165).

Acknowledging the de-colonial aspect of Indigenous epistemologies is crucial to understand this community within the Chilean context, as Mapuche people still intensely suffer from oppression and fight for their rights to control their knowledge and reclaim their land. In other words, the colonial system in Chile has systematically attempted to dispossess the Mapuche people from their territory, culture, and language.

Within this context of de-colonization, it is important to discuss the political nature of education. Giroux (2001) clearly stated that critical pedagogy is "part of a broader ethical and political project wedded to furthering social and economic justice" (p. 20). This notion echoes the purposes of education for Indigenous people. Like Grande (2004) pointed out, "as the project for colonialist education has been imbricated with the social, economic and political policies of US imperialism, an education for decolonization must also make no claim to political neutrality" (p. 26). Embedded in the conception of education for decolonization is the idea that "critical pedagogy aims to understand, reveal and disrupt the mechanisms of oppression imposed by the established order, suturing the processes and aims of education to emancipatory goals" (Grande, 2004, p. 21).

Given this focus, a central research principle of critical pedagogy is examining the relationship between schools and social and cultural reproduction (Apple, Au, & Gandin, 2009, p. 7). In doing so, critical theorists positioned "schools as 'sites of struggle' where the broader relations of power, domination, and authority are played out" (Grande, 2004, p. 6). As a

consequence of this principle, in a larger level, critical Indigenous education attempts to work both as a discourse and also a social movement to transform schools.

Rooted Indigenous knowledge. In several pieces of relevant literature, Indigenous knowledge is described as rooted in a specific history, a specific land, and in specific people's experiences and relationships. For several authors, Indigenous knowledge cannot be condensed to a universal abstract (Mignolo & Tlostanova, 2006). In broad terms, Indigenous knowledge is understood as:

Knowledge, epistemologies, ontologies, and cosmologies that construct ways of being and seeing in relation to their physical surrounding. Such knowledge involves insights into plant and animal life, cultural dynamics, and historical information used to provide acumen in dealing with the challenges of contemporary existence. (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2008, p. 136)

In fact, the contextual nature of Indigenous knowledge is the major claim made by Indigenous scholars, and it is one of the justifications for a de-colonial shift.

As Grande (2004) and Battiste (2002) argued, a central principle of Indigenous knowledge is “inherently tied to land, not to land in general but to particular landscapes, landforms, and biomes where ceremonies are properly held, stories properly recited, medicines properly gathered, and transfers of knowledge properly authenticated” (p. 39). As a consequence, “ensuring the complete and accurate transmission of knowledge and authority from generation to generation depends not only on maintaining ceremonies...but also on maintaining the integrity of the land itself” (p.13).

Similarly, in Meyer's study (2008), which was based on Indigenous Hawaiian knowledge and her concept of the *triangulation of meaning*—in which space, time, and knowing

interconnect, Meyer stressed the spiritual dimension of knowledge. Specifically, Meyer (2008) conceived this spiritual dimension of knowledge as a life “force connected to all other life forces. It is more an extension than it is a thing to accumulate” (p. 218). She affirmed that the only way an individual can access this dimension of knowledge is via deep respect for his or her own lands, oceans, language, rituals, and families.

In describing another principle of the triangulation of meaning, Meyer (2008) argued that knowledge is a physical place of knowing, that is, we are shaped by our geography. Land/ocean shapes our thinking, our way of being, and our priorities of what is of value. “One does not simply learn about land, we learn best *from* land” (p. 219). She added that, “land is more than a physical place. It is an idea that engages knowledge and contextualizes knowing. It is the key that turns the doors inward to reflect on how space shapes us” (p. 219).

In addition its link to the land, Indigenous knowledge is contextual in the sense that it emerges and is created in relationships. That is, the self is always defined through another: “knowledge does not exist in a vacuum. Intelligence is challenged, extended, and enriched when viewed in dyad awareness or group consciousness” (Meyer, 2008, p. 221).

Another important aspect of Indigenous knowledge is that it is rooted to its language. Indeed, Battiste (2002) claimed that:

Language is by far the most significant factor in the survival of Indigenous knowledge. Indigenous languages and their symbolic, verbal, and unconscious orders structure Indigenous knowledge; therefore, educators cannot stand outside of Indigenous languages to understand Indigenous knowledge. Where Indigenous knowledge survives, it is transmitted through Aboriginal languages. Where Aboriginal languages, heritages, and

communities are respected, supported, and connected to elders and education, educational successes among Aboriginal students can be found. (p. 18)

In connecting the contextual dimension of knowledge with education, Battiste (2002) indicated that an important principle of Indigenous knowledge and learning is its “preference for experiential knowledge,” that is, “Indigenous pedagogy values a person’s ability to learn independently by observing, listening, and participating with a minimum of intervention or instruction” (p. 15). As a result, in education with Indigenous knowledge, “teachers need to experiment with teaching opportunities to connect with the multiple ways of knowing” (p. 15). In consonance with such experiential features, Indigenous knowledge is “found in theories, philosophies, histories, ceremonies, and stories as ways of knowing,” and at the same time, “it is found in talking or sharing circles and dialogues, participant observations, experiential learning, modeling, meditation, prayer, ceremonies, or story telling as ways of knowing and learning” (p. 18).

This notion of how culture rooted in land, language, and experiential learning helps to understand how Indigenous culture have moved with the migration of Indigenous people to cities in Chile, and how this has affected how culture is taught and conceived in IBE preschools.

Dynamic nature of Indigenous knowledge. Besides being deeply contextual, Indigenous knowledge is dynamic; that is, it is in a state of constant change. Like Kincheloe and Steinberg (2008) stated, I note in this study, “all cultures (especially colonized ones) are perpetually in a state of change. Any study of indigenous knowledge in the academy must allow for its evolution and ever changing relationship to Eurocentric scientific and educational practice” (p. 143).

In describing the characteristics of her proposal, *Red Pedagogy*, Grande (2004) criticized the static conceptions of Indigenous knowledge by conveying a romantic stance. Grande made

clear that “though a ‘tradition-based’ revitalization project, *Red Pedagogy* does not aim to reproduce an essential romanticized view of ‘tradition’” (p. 166). In the same lines, in contradiction with essentialist models of “tradition,” Grande (2004) suggests a model of “self-conscious” traditionalism for Indigenous communities, which is defined as “an intellectual, social and political movement to reinvigorate [I]ndigenous values, principles, and other cultural elements best suited to the larger contemporary political and economic reality” (p. 166). In other words, tradition is not simply a uniform set of unchangeable beliefs, but rather, it is “expressed as a *commitment* to the future sustainability of the group,” and it is informed by the “changing realities of [I]ndigenous people” (Grande, 2004, p. 166). By developing this argument deeper, Grande pointed out that “while [I]ndigenous people resist the kind of essentialism that recognizes only one way of being, they also work to retain a vast constellation of distinct traditions that serve as the defining characteristics of tribal life” (Grande, 2004, p. 172). Indeed, she concluded, “it is this allegiance to traditional knowledge that has protected American Indians from annihilation and absorption into the democratic mainstream” (Grande, 2004, p. 173).

Likewise, Battiste (2002) claimed that a fixed conception of knowledge “ignores the fact that within any Indigenous nation or community, people vary greatly in what they know” (p. 38). Indeed, she stated:

There are not only differences between ordinary folks and experts, such as experienced knowledge keepers, healers, hunters, or ceremonialists, there are also major differences of experience and professional opinion among the knowledge holders and workers, as we should expect of any living, dynamic knowledge system that is continually responding to new phenomena and fresh insights. (2002, p. 12)

Battiste (2002) strongly criticized the fact that, unfortunately, the non-dynamic view of Indigenous knowledge has been masked with the idea that “Indigenous knowledge is ‘sacred,’” and thus, in some sense “immutable and inviolable” (p. 12). In this context, she contended, “knowledge is not a commodity that can be possessed or controlled by educational institutions, but is a living process to be absorbed and understood” (p. 15).

Multidimensional knowledge. In her study proposing the concept of triangulation of meaning, Meyer emphasized the multilayered dimension of Indigenous knowledge by examining the interconnection of body, mind, and spirit. In her view,

using body, mind, and spirit as a template in which to organize meaningful research asks us to extend through our objective/empirical knowing (body) into wider spaces of reflection offered through conscious subjectivity (mind) and, finally, via recognition and engagement with deeper realities (spirit). (2008, p. 224)

In this explanation, Meyers encouraged scholars to go beyond dual conceptions of true and false; body or mind; oppressor or oppressed; cognition or feeling; real or imagined. Instead, she emphasized the shifts into non-duality and wholeness, asserting: “The world is more than dual. It is whole. We have looked at parts so long we perhaps believe the gestalt of our knowing is not possible” (Meyer, 2008, p. 225).

In the same vein, with regards to Indigenous knowledge in Canada, Battiste (2002) contended the false dichotomy between Indigenous and Western knowledge. She critiqued the perspective that only “Europeans can progress” while “Indigenous peoples are frozen in time, guided by knowledge systems that reinforce the past and do not look towards the future” (p. 4). In this same study, she also strongly disagreed with the idea that “some peoples have civilizations, philosophies, romance languages, or cultured societies; other peoples have cultures,

dialects, worldviews, and tribal knowledge. Peoples with ‘civilizations’ are regarded as inherently superior to peoples with ‘cultures’ (p. 16). Instead, she asserted that “Indigenous scholars discovered that Indigenous knowledge is far more than the binary opposite of Western knowledge” (p. 5).

In the education arena, Battiste (2002) affirmed that Indigenous knowledge fills an ethical and knowledge gap, stating: “By animating the voices and experiences of the cognitive ‘other’ and integrating them into the educational process, it creates a new, balanced center and a fresh vantage point from which to analyze Eurocentric education and its pedagogies” (p. 5). However, by doing so, an inevitable challenge arises, that is, “how to balance colonial legitimacy, authority, and disciplinary capacity with Indigenous knowledge and pedagogies” (p. 6).

Battiste (2002) also discussed that in the effort of including Indigenous knowledge in school, Indigenous knowledge has been reduced to “taxonomic categories that are static over time” and “quantifiably observable empirical elements;” additionally, this reduction “assumed that Indigenous knowledge has no validity except in the spiritual realm” (p. 10). But as Battiste argued, none of these approaches, however, “adequately explains the holistic nature of Indigenous knowledge or its fundamental importance to Aboriginal people” (p. 10). In other words, “Indigenous knowledge is presumed to have been assembled a long time ago by a process of trial and error, and is now reduced to an unwritten canon that can be elicited from any capable local informant” (p. 11).

Battiste concluded by saying that education that incorporates Indigenous knowledge is “education for wholeness, which strives for a level of harmony between individuals and their

world, is an ancient foundation for the educational processes of all heritages” (2002, p. 30). She goes on to add:

The relationship of Indigenous knowledge to the establishment and maintenance of individual and community wholeness is a primary precept of Indigenous education. Much Indigenous education can be called *endogenous* as it revolves around a transformational process of learning that animates students’ inherent talents and capacities. (2002, p. 30)

Indigenous knowledge for transformation. Following the research of Kincheloe and Steinberg, I regard Indigenous knowledge as a rich social resource for any justice-related attempt to bring about social change, and as a central resource for the work of academics and teachers as well. As these scholars state, I believe in the “transformative power of indigenous knowledge,” and “the ways that such knowledge can be used to foster empowerment and justice in a variety of cultural context” (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2008, p. 136).

As it was mentioned earlier, Indigenous knowledge provides a framework “to think of issues of sovereignty and self-determination that move beyond simple cultural constructions and analyses” (Grande, 2004, p. 165). By providing this framework, Indigenous knowledge has emphasized the imperative need “for schools to be reimagined as sites for social transformation and emancipation” (Grande, 2004, p. 165). Importantly, in engaging in this critical analysis, the purpose it is not only to point out the contradictions, tensions, and inequalities, but also the spaces of possible action (Apple et al., 2009). This critical and transformative perspective of knowledge is relevant for Indigenous peoples in Chile as it recognizes the possibilities of agency of Indigenous peoples. Following Grande (2004), I believe that IBE programs needs a pedagogy that fosters a sense of agency in teachers and ELCIs to both limit the excesses of dominant power and to revitalize Indigenous cultures in schools.

In considering all these principles, Battiste (2002) has proposed that teachers should confront new pedagogical schemes of learning, and decolonize education. As Battiste argues, teachers should understand education as:

a process that includes raising the collective voice of Indigenous peoples, exposing the injustices in our colonial history, deconstructing the past by critically examining of the social, political, economic and emotional reasons for the silencing of Aboriginal voices in Canadian history, legitimating the voices and experiences of Aboriginal people in the curriculum, recognizing it as a dynamic context of knowledge and knowing, and communicating the emotional journey that such explorations will generate. (2002, p. 20)

However, Battiste (2002) acknowledged that this process is not an easy endeavor, stating the “pedagogical challenge... is not just reducing the distance between Eurocentric thinking and Aboriginal ways of knowing, but engaging decolonized minds and hearts” (p. 58). This is an important distinction because teachers and Indigenous people may “stand on opposite shores of a wide river of mistrust and misunderstanding truth” (p. 57).

As Grande (2004) indicated for Indigenous people in United States, I argue here in this study that educational transformation is a key principle for the adequate education of Indigenous people in the Chilean context, not only in respect to culture and inclusion. In Grande’s words, “While the dire need to provide American Indian students with culturally relevant and affirming educational experiences is well noted, it is not sufficient” (p. 5). She added, “It is not only imperative for Indian educators to insist in the incorporation of indigenous knowledge and praxis in schools, but also to transform institutional structures of schools themselves” (Grande, 2004, p. 6).

Moving from a theoretical to a pedagogical level, authors such as Giroux (2001) and McLaren (2005) have described specific ways that critical pedagogy might manifest in schools and teachers, which are also relevant for critical Indigenous pedagogies. Following Giroux's (2001) proposal of students' skills for critical pedagogy, I argue in this study that critical pedagogy should provide teachers with:

The competencies they need to cultivate their capacity for critical judgment, to thoughtfully connect politics to social responsibility and expand their own sense of agency in order to curb the excesses of power, to revitalize a sense of public commitment, and to expand democratic relations. (p. 20)

In addition, Giroux stated that "critical pedagogy should provoke teachers to deliberate, resist, and cultivate a range of capacities that enable them to move beyond the world they already know without insisting on a fixed of meanings" (p. 20). In doing so, schools and educators should question how knowledge is constructed historically, culturally, and institutionally.

The intersection of hybridity theory and expansive learning. Within this framework of critical Indigenous pedagogies, my investigation uses the intersection of two core notions: hybridity (Bhabha, 1994) and expansive learning (Engeström, 2001). The intersection of these two concepts facilitates the examination of both the nature and quality of the connections between schools, teachers, and community members, and also the learning processes that occur in the IBE preschool settings. By themselves, both theories offer insightful perspectives to help understand the school/teacher and community member partnership, as well as the learning development of the individuals involved; however, taken separately, neither perspective can fully explain the issue of partnership and the issue of learning development.

Hybrid space theory offers us a framework to see IBE preschools historically, politically, and contextually, situated in whichever hybrid or diverse circumstances exist. Although I believe that this theory is fruitful to explain the hybrid connection between IBE schools and community members, their relationship and the hybrid identities of the individuals in IBE preschools, this theory fails to take into account the learning process of becoming an educator for IBE preschools.

On the other hand, extensive learning theory addresses how teacher learning occurs, in terms of contexts wherein they face issues of power and diversity. Even though this theory has been productive to explain how individuals learn and navigate spaces where tensional demands and knowledge coexist, it falls short in examining spaces that are not only tensional, but also hybrid in nature with blurred boundaries.

In this study, I claim that considering teachers' non-existent preparation for working specifically in IBE preschools, the relationships between these teachers and community members should be examined in connection to the learning process they experience within these preschools. In other words, teachers' lack of Indigenous knowledge and their motivation to work in these IBE hybrid spaces put teachers and community members in a position of constant learners. Furthermore, I argue that IBE preschools cannot be studied as spaces that purely perpetuate inequalities or strongly transform society.

Therefore, the intersection of hybridity and expansive learning theories in this study identifies IBE preschools as hybrid spaces in which reproduction and transformation occur, as teachers and community members may be both learners and agents of change, while at the same time they continue to be learners that perpetuate inequalities.

In addition to these theories, I believe that research from multiple perspectives and paradigms is needed to examine the intricate relationships, forces, and implications of the influences of language and educational policies in contemporary standardized testing movements on diverse and bilingual populations. This intersection of factors is not a decisive issue, and therefore neither is its analysis; however, this study is an attempt to continue in the path of constructing theoretical principles that can help make the world more cohabitable in the midst of differences.

Hybrid spaces. In this section I provide a perspective on hybridity as both a theoretical tool for understanding the inherent diversity and heterogeneity of spaces and learning events, as well as a potential principle for understanding learning.

The concept of hybridity is not new; it has already become a useful term for addressing problems in education, for instance, identity (Anzaldúa, 1987), and literacy teaching and learning (Gutiérrez, 2008). This study contributes to the research of hybridity by unpacking the construct of this concept as a new way of making sense of IBE preschools and classrooms, which are spaces where both official and unofficial knowledge coexist.

Following Bhabha (1994), I use the notion of hybrid spaces to understand both the space of convergence of two distinct traditions/perspectives, and the power factors that are involved in the interactions between teachers/IBE schools and Indigenous community members. Bhabha described hybridity as an object “that is new,” not exclusively “one nor the other” (p. 25), and “exist[ing] somehow in between these political polarities” (p. 22). To emphasize the importance of hybrid spaces as different from any two contradictory spaces, Bhabha asked, “Can the aim of freedom of knowledge be the simple inversion of the relation of oppressor and oppressed, centre and periphery, negative image and positive image?” (p. 19). He insisted that in hybrid sites,

“negative polarities between knowledge and its objects, and between theory and practical-political reason are destroyed” (p. 25).

Bhabha (1994) contended that hybrid spaces are not harmonious, but actually, a space where the articulation of antagonistic or contradictory elements exist, which may not necessarily lead to unity. In his view, “the challenge lies in conceiving of the time of political action and understanding as opening up the space that can accept and regulate the differential structure of the moment of intervention without rushing to produce unity” (p. 25), “without the redemptive rationality of sublation or transcendence” (p. 26).

In the Latin American context, García Canclini (2005) used the notion of hybridity to describe the relation of culture across Latin American countries. Canclini’s research is relevant for this study, not only because the theory for this study was developed and applied from specific characteristics of Latin American countries, but primarily because his research emphasized the influences of neoliberal economic policies in issues regarding culture, identity, difference, inequality and multiculturalism. Canclini based his work on the terms of *mestizaje*, *syncretism*, *creolization*, words that continue to be used in anthropological and ethnological literature, and which are generally used “to refer to traditional processes or to the survival of pre-modern customs and forms of thought in the early modern period” (p. xxxiv). However, García Canclini asserted, the word hybridization “seems more ductile for the purpose of naming not only the mixing of ethnic and religious elements, but the products of advanced technologies and modern and postmodern social process” (p. xxiv).

What is culture? Bhabha (1994) highlighted that the lack of unity, in any level, is a characteristic of communities. From his standpoint, “there is no given community or body of the people” (p. 27) that is inherently unitary, and “there is literally and figuratively, no space for the

unitary or organic political objective” (p. 27) in communities, because “there is no simple political or social truth to be learned, for there is no unitary representation of a political agency, no fixed hierarchy of political values and effects” (p. 28). Bhabha (1994) asserted:

It is only when we understand that all cultural statements and systems are constructed in this contradictory and ambivalent space of enunciation, that we begin to understand why hierarchical claims to the inherent originality or ‘purity’ of cultures are untenable, even before we resort to empirical historical instances that demonstrate their hybridity. (p. 37)

Likewise, García Canclini (2005) proposed that hybridity avoids being trapped into false opposition such as urban or rural, modern or traditional, and, in the case of this research, Indigenous and Western. He added that in cultures, “the enunciation of cultural difference problematize the binary division of the past and the present, tradition and modernity, at the level of cultural representation and its authorities address” (p. 35). In the same line of thought, Bhabha (1994) highlighted that current cultures cannot be understood without understanding their past, stating that “cultural diversity is also the representation of a radical rhetoric of the separation of totalized cultures that live unsullied by the intertextuality of their historical locations” (p. 34).

Bhabha further stated that the “originary” culture is “always open to translation,” and as a result, “it can never be said to have a totalized prior moment of being or meaning” (Rutherford, 1990, p 210). In the same vein, from García Canclini’s (2005) view point, “hybridization is not a synonym for fusion without contradiction, but rather can be helpful in accounting for particular forms of conflict generated” (p. xxv) in cross-cultural contact. He argued that notions of hybridity does not mean “sociological processes in which discrete structures or practices, previously existing in separate form, are combined to generate new structures” (p. xxv); as previous structures have never been pure points of origin, the prior structures were themselves

the product of hybridizations. To better explain his argument, Canclini used the concept of “cycles of hybridation” proposed by Brian Stross, stating that, “according to which we move historically from more heterogeneous forms to other more homogeneous forms, without any being ‘purely’ or simply homogeneous” (García Canclini, 2005, p. xxxv).

In Bhabha’s famous interview (Rutherford, 1990), he emphasized the influence of the other as “productive space of the construction of culture as difference, in the spirit of alterity or otherness” and added, “cultures are only constituted in relation to that otherness internal to their own symbol” (p. 209). However, he insisted that “no culture is full into itself, no culture is plainly plenitudinous, not only because there are other cultures which contradict its authority, but also because its own symbol forming activity” (p. 210). In consonance with this, the term hybridity, as used by García Canclini (2005), means that “hybridization often emerges from individual and collective creativity” (p. xxvii) in everyday lives.

In addition to his concept of cultural construction, Bhabha asserted that despite the dynamism of cultures, “A transparent norm is constituted,” which is “a norm given by the host society or dominant culture” that approves of these cultures; still, Bhabha states, “we have to be able to locate” these new cultures “within our own grid” (Rutherford, 1990, p. 208). This is why, Bhabha (1994) affirmed, that although “the endorsement of cultural diversity becomes the bedrock of multicultural education policy,” it “is very well known in societies where multiculturalism is encouraged, [that] racism is still rampant in various forms. The universalism that permits diversity masks ethnocentric norms, values and interests” (Rutherford, 1990, p. 208). In this way, Bhabha’s insights on this issue indirectly critique multicultural education and intercultural education policies. Similarly, García Canclini contended that the nation-state ideologically has included other cultures into the national culture in order to legitimate its

domination in the name of people, whereas at the same time, it tries to eliminate other cultures in its policies. Both social forces operate currently in Chile and elsewhere, and both are empirically difficult to separate from one another.

In emphasizing the political dimension of the notion of hybridity, García Canclini (2005) stated that “one can work on processes of hybridization in relation to cultural inequality, to the possibilities for appropriating several cultures at once in different groups or classes, and therefore in relation to asymmetries of power and prestige” (p. xxx). He added that, “The point here is that defending heterogeneity and the possibility of multiple hybridizations is first a political move in an effort to keep the world from falling prisoner to the homogenizing logic with which finance capital tends to level markets in order to facilitate profits” (p. xli). In his view, “Policies of hybridization can serve to work democratically with differences, so that history is not reduced to wars between cultures” (p. xxxi). He concluded by stating, “We can choose to live in a state of war or in a state of hybridization” (p. xxxi).

Finally, García Canclini (2005) warned against the risk of optimism, stating that:

in placing too much emphasis on the element of deterritorialization in hybridization and in dwelling more on the creativity and dynamism of migrant cultural expression than on the loss and suffering of being uprooted, the resulting tendency [is] to limit the destructive effect of hybridization through procedures of reterritorialization. (p. xli)

Identity. The notion of hybridity can be applied to the integration of competing knowledge into the spaces, contexts, and relationships one encounters, and “even to a person's identity enactment and sense of self” (Moje et al., 2004, p. 42). In Bhabha's view (1994), the identities of the individuals in hybrid spaces are characterized as “the agents of political change,” and more specifically, as “discontinuous, divided subjects caught in conflicting interests and

identities” (p. 29). From Bhabha’s perspective, “the liberatory people who initiate the productive instability of revolutionary cultural change are themselves the bearers of hybrid identity” (p. 38). For these individuals, their identities depend “on the production of alternative or antagonistic images that are always produced side by side and in competition with each other” (p. 29).

In the same vein, García Canclini’s analysis is also significant for this research because it encompasses the learning process that people encounter in hybrid spaces. Although he did not focus explicitly on individual learning, his explanations regarding how people use strategies—using the metaphor of a painter becoming a designer, a process that he calls reconversion—present a preliminary opening to the intersection between hybrid identity and hybrid learning spaces. In understanding identity in terms of hybrid spaces, García Canclini (2005) argued that “the object of study is not hybridity but hybridization processes...[which is an] ongoing processes...to a relativizing notion of identity” (p. xxvii). He explained that a common definition of identity is as a combination of abstract traits, such as language, tradition, and certain stereotypical behaviors. Self-contained identity, consequently, is an understanding of identity that is “absolute, heterodox,” which makes us unable to consider “ways of speaking the language, making music, or interpreting the traditions [that] are rejected” (p. xxix). He contended that studying hybridization processes, rather than affirming self-sufficient identities, “is useful for recognizing forms of positioning oneself in the midst of heterogeneity and for understanding how hybridizations are produced” (p. xxix). When talking about the individual identities, García Canclini (2005) reminded us that, “the diverse ways in which the members of each group appropriate the heterogeneous repertoire of goods and messages available in the transnational circuits generate new forms of segmentation” (p. xxxviii).

Healing in hybrid spaces. I draw upon the work of healing in different realms, including social work, sociology, psychology, education, and mental health as a way to begin understanding what healing means for Mapuche people in Chile. Across different Indigenous groups in the world, the concept of healing has been understood as a way to strengthening relations with cultural or spiritual beliefs (Cajete, 1994), decreasing suicide among aboriginal youth (Kirmayer, Brass, & Tait, 2000), and planning food sustainability (Power, 2008), among other efforts.

Drawing upon the concept of healing from different realms has made difficult to describe what healing means; however, the following represents how this concept of healing has been described in the literature that I regard as relevant for this study. In broad terms, healing involves “all the physical, mental, spiritual, and emotional aspects of the self...and involves having fundamental needs met within the context of family and community” (Hill, 2008, p. 23). What is more relevant for this study is that healing is self-determined by each community, and as Kirmayer, Simpson, & Cargo (2003) stated, the healing process “needs to be decided by the Aboriginal communities themselves” (p. 15). These authors go on to explain:

The healing process may include traditional Aboriginal, contemporary, or a blend of approaches. The healing process must be wholistic and must focus on the strength and resilience of Aboriginal communities. The foundation of Aboriginal healing, spirituality, may be incorporated into practice if communities chose. (Kirmayer, Simpson, & Cargo, 2003, p. 15)

One important aspect of healing is the explicit consideration of the impact of colonization, extermination, marginalization, oppression, and assimilation. In the words of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples: “Healing, in Aboriginal terms, refers to the personal

and societal recovery from the lasting effects of oppression and systematic racism experienced over generations” (Hill, 2008, p. 24) Scholars have placed great importance on the need to address colonization (Smith, 1999) in terms of healing, specifically, the “historical events [that] have brought great trauma upon Aboriginal peoples” (Goforth, 2007, p. 22). In this vein, Kirmayer, Dandeneau, Marshall, Phillips, and Williamson (2011) asserted that it is crucial to address “the impact of the history of colonization with subsequent efforts at extermination, marginalization, or exclusion, and, eventually, state dependency” (p. 85) in the lives of Indigenous peoples. These authors also identified specific issues that Indigenous peoples face, from which they need healing:

regimes of cultural suppression and forced assimilation; experiences of racism and discrimination and the negative portrayal of Aboriginal people in the dominant society; and the importance of relationship to the land or place for individual and communal identity... are not discrete or independent factors but interact in ways that reflect historical processes of colonization, marginalization, and oppression that have resulted in particular patterns of persistent inequality. (Kirmayer et al., 2011, p. 85)

To illustrate this point, Kirmayer et al., (2000) referred to their work in mental health, explaining that personal stories do not always account for political and historical events; they go on to state that one of the problems in using narratives of personal trauma in the process of mental health is that “many forms of violence against Aboriginal people are structural or implicit, and so, may remain hidden in individual accounts.” However, what remains hidden is ignored, according to these authors: “these individual [hidden] events are part of larger historical formations that have profound effects for both individuals and communities—effects that are harder to describe” (2000, p. 613).

In acknowledging the harm from colonialism, Indigenous people move “beyond hurt, pain, disease and dysfunction” and begin “establishing new patterns of living that produce sustainable well-being” (Lane, Bopp, Bopp, & Norris, 2002, p. 8). As a result, Hill stated that these Indigenous people succeed in “overcoming the legacy of past oppression and abuse”; as a result, they prompt “transformation of [their] inner lives, family and community relationships, and the social and environmental conditions within which [they] live” (Hill, 2008, p. 25). Following Cajete’s words (1994), recognizing colonization in terms of healing is a way to acknowledge “disintegration, wounding, and pain” in order to “pave the way for an equally great reintegration and healing process” (p. 209). Additionally, it is important to note that, as Indigenous wise elders have suggested, “there is no finality to the path [of healing]. Healing is a lifelong process of learning and transformation” (Goforth, 2007, p. 22).

Within the process of healing (in terms of colonial acknowledgment) is reclamation of cultures, languages, social practices and communities. First, I will address reclamation of languages, cultures and social practices. Revitalization of language and culture has been recognized as important strategies of healing. For instance, Hill noted:

Traditional healing can be defined as the use of cultural knowledge, skills and practices based on the theories, beliefs, and experiences that are indigenous to different cultures, used in the maintenance of health as well as in the prevention, diagnosis, improvement and treatment of holistic illness. (Hill, 2008 p. 9)

In the same lines, Kirmayer et al., (2011) argued that healing is rooted in an effort to “revitalize language, culture, and spirituality as resources for self-fashioning, collective solidarity, and individual and collective healing” (p. 89). Language is particularly important in the healing process because it represents the distinct conceptual vocabulary and grammar that constitute a

unique way of looking at the world, and as these authors state, language “strengthens a sense of identity and directly counteracts the cultural discontinuity and dispossession that resulted from the colonial enterprise and its aftermath” (p. 89).

According to relevant literature, the key to achieve healing as well as its intergenerational effects, is by reclaiming identity (Smith, 1999). According to Smith, reclaiming identity for Indigenous people means “recovering traditional values, beliefs, philosophies, ideologies, and approaches, and adapting them to the needs of today” (Goforth, 2007, p. 23). For this healing to occur, “resources that address what was taken away need to be made available. For example, classes or workshops need to be offered in areas such as Native culture, traditional languages” (Goforth, 2007 p. 23). The connection between healing and reclaiming identity is significant because, as Kirmayer et al., (2003) stated, being Indigenous (indigeneity) is not ““in the blood,”” but rather, it is “rooted in forms of life that exist at the confluence of historical currents and contemporary forces.” These authors go on to say that Indigenous, or Aboriginal, identity “both springs from within family and communities, and is imposed by the larger cultural surroundings” (Kirmayer et al., 2003, p. 19). It is important to note that this reclamation process encompasses both individual and collective identity.

Identity reclamation leads to another dimension of healing—that of personal and collective transformation. Kirmayer et al., (2011) affirmed that healing is individual, but it also has systemic, collective, or communal dimensions. In this sense, healing can be understood “in dynamic terms as emerging from interactions between individuals, their communities, and the larger regional, national, and global systems that locate and sustain indigenous agency and identity” (Kirmayer et al., 2011, p. 84).

Finally, a central dimension of healing for this study is the impact of collective healing in relational and mutual liberation. Paulo Freire (1970) analyzed the significance of mutual liberation, stating:

This, then, is the great humanistic and historical task of the oppressed; to liberate themselves and their oppressors as well. The oppressors, who oppress, exploit, and rape by virtue of their power cannot find in this power the strength to liberate either the oppressed or themselves. Only power that springs from the weakness of the oppressed will be sufficiently strong to free both. (p. 26)

This quote highlights the need to free teachers, learners, and community from oppressed and oppressor dynamics, and for these players to become partners in mutual learning and becoming process. This means that “the healing at the individual, family and community levels must go hand-in hand. It cannot occur on one level without serious consideration of the real effects on allow the other levels” (Hill, 2008, p. 25). The idea of relational and mutual liberation is critical to healing the relationships between Mapuche and non-Mapuche people and educators. As with Cajete (1994), I believe that “we are all related” (p. 79), and therefore, the healing of Indigenous communities in terms of education should address the interactions between those in positions of power as well as those without it.

Expansive learning in hybrid spaces. I use the notion of expansive learning to specifically understand the learning development (teachers and ELCIs) that occurs in hybrid, disharmonious and blurred-boundaries spaces of IBE preschools. A central component of this theory is that, on one hand, “the individual could no longer be understood without his or her cultural means,” and, on the other hand, “the society could no longer be understood without the agency of individuals who use and produce artifacts” (Engeström, 2001, p. 134). As Engeström

(2001) pointed out, this conception has meant an important shift in understanding the “complex interrelations between the individual subject and his or her community” (p. 134).

The expansive learning theory is important for this study, not only for connecting individual learning to the larger community, but for conceiving knowledge as unstable. On this point, Engeström, (2001) stated that:

Standard theories of learning are focused on processes where a subject (traditionally an individual, more recently possibly also an organization) acquires some identifiable knowledge or skills in such a way that a corresponding, relatively lasting change in the behavior of the subject may be observed. It is a self-evident presupposition that the knowledge or skill to be acquired is itself stable and reasonably well-defined. (p. 137)

In other words, standard learning theories (as opposed to expansive learning theory) assumes that there is a “competent” teacher who knows what is to be learned. However, as Engeström (2001) clearly asserts, “The problem [with standard theories] is that much of the most intriguing kinds of learning in work organizations violates this presupposition” (p. 137). Actually, “People and organizations are all the time learning something that is not stable, not even defined or understood ahead of time” (p. 138). In some cases, what individuals need to learn is unknown for all the actors involved, and there are no specific experts who could deliver the required knowledge. As Engeström would say, knowledge is literally learned as it is being created.

Another important component of expansive learning theory is that it occurs and “is triggered by double forces or contradictory demands imposed on the participants by the context” (Engeström, 2001, p. 142). In addition, the expansive learning theory allows us to look for not well-bounded communities to become collaborative subjects (Engeström, 2001). This view is important for teachers in IBE schools as they have to manage different and opposite demands

from, for instance, national curriculum and IBE curriculum, as well as from Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities and families.

The expansive learning theory is based on core principles of the *activity theory*. It is important to mention that this study does not use activity theory as its framework; however, I consider that it is relevant to summarize the following four principles to understand the central characteristics of expansive learning.

First, the expansive learning theory emphasizes that activity systems are multi-voiced, that is, a community of multiple points of view, traditions, and interests. In these communities, “the participants carry their own diverse histories, and the activity system itself carries multiple layers and strands of history engraved in its artifacts, rules and conventions” (Engeström, 2001, p. 136). This multi-voiced principle “is a source of trouble and a source of innovation, demanding actions of translation and negotiation” (Engeström, 2001, p. 136).

The second principle is historicity. Engeström (2001) explained that “Activity systems take shape and get transformed over lengthy periods of time. Their problems and potentials can only be understood against their own history” (p. 136). He emphasized that history itself needs to be studied in terms of local history of a particular activity. For this study, this principle means that IBE preschools need to be analyzed in terms of the history of local IBE organizations as well as in larger, more global terms of the history of the country.

The third principle of expansive learning theory perceives contradictions, in general, are sources of change and development. Engeström (2001) clarified that contradictions are not the same as problems or conflicts: “Contradictions are historically accumulating structural tensions within and between activity systems” (p. 137). He added, “Such contradictions generate disturbances and conflicts, but also innovative attempts to change the activity” (p. 137).

As a consequence of this third principle, the fourth principle of expansive learning theory claims the possibility of expansive transformations in activity systems. Engeström (2001) specified that:

As the contradictions of an activity system are aggravated, some individual participants begin to question and deviate from its established norms. In some cases, this escalates into collaborative envisioning and a deliberate collective change effort [where an] activity is reconceptualized to embrace a radically wider horizon of possibilities than in the previous mode of the activity. (p. 137)

To conclude this section, it is important to mention that in this study, the naming of what counts as one *space* or the other is arbitrary. Instead, what is critical to the argument of this study is the fact that different spaces coexist in a single IBE preschool. Indeed, although I have a particular thesis about what constitutes a hybrid space in an IBE preschool, I did not enter the sites with the assumption that the schools would either be a hybrid space or not. Instead I entered the study with the goal of documenting in what ways and to what extent the two selected IBE preschools created or allowed hybrid spaces to exist.

To summarize the conceptual framework outlined in this chapter, I should note that this theoretical work—rooted in critical Indigenous pedagogy, hybridity, and expansive learning theories—illuminates different facets of the same phenomenon. Specifically, this framework clarifies the relationships between preschool and Mapuche communities, teachers and Indigenous community members, and their learning processes. The following bulleted points review how the major conceptual orientations presented above, when applied both individually and together, guide the present study:

- Critical Indigenous pedagogy serves as a broad frame to position educational analysis within sociocultural and political contexts from critical lenses. It also serves as a framework to discuss issues of power in the educational realm, and serves as a way to explore the possibility to create transformative practices.
- Critical Indigenous pedagogy also provides an understanding of Indigenous knowledge. It also frames the participation of Mapuche community and teacher learning as sociopolitical practices. In addition, this pedagogy addresses issues related to power dynamics in a large context, the value of Indigenous knowledge and Indigenous people in the Chilean society, and finally, the educational system and partnerships between teachers and Mapuche members within IBE schools.
- The notion of hybridity helps us to explore how spaces are constructed, how boundaries are crossed, and how teachers and communities negotiate within an IBE preschool. This notion also addresses issues regarding dialogues and the interaction of multiple voices.
- Expansive learning theory helps to frame community members' and teachers' learning by considering the relationship between teachers and community members, and the learning processes that emerge from their interactions.

It is important to note that this study provides a unique theoretical contribution by challenging the perspectives that white middle-class teachers simply bring in to IBE schools and use as means to reproduce dominant narratives regarding Indigenous communities. Specifically, this conceptual framework of this study provides space in which counter-hegemonic actions could occur. In addition, with this study's framework, I attempt to address practical, concrete issues while mapping key, current, and emergent themes and debates.

In spite of the advantages brought forward through this framework, there are also some limitations. Denzin and Lincoln (2008) warned us of the difficulties of proposing a conversation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous theories. First, these authors stated, “the legacy of the helping Western colonizing other must be resisted” (p. 5). Second, we have to be cautious that the “criteria for self-determination and empowerment perpetuate neocolonial sentiments [does not] turn...the Indigenous person into an essentialized ‘other’ who is spoken for” (p. 5). Instead, these authors insist that “theory must be localized, grounded in the specific meanings, traditions, customs, and community relations that operate in each Indigenous setting” (p. 6). Thirdly, they caution against the idea of making Indigenous knowledge object of study, and thus, reversing “this equation, making Western system of knowledge (the) object of critique and inquiry” as well (p. 6).

With Grande (2004), I believe that the limitations of these approaches “must not be viewed as deficiencies. Rather, they should be theorized as points of tensions, helping to define the spaces in-between the Western and Indigenous thought worlds” (p. 166), as theoretical tensions could inform Indigenous struggles for IBE and help alleviate these struggles.

Chapter 2: Research Methods

Before describing the details of this research, I will briefly discuss in this section my motivation to design this study. In 2010, I participated as one of the main coordinators in a project, led by a Mapuche collective, which aimed to revitalize the Mapuche language in Chile by teaching this language in an IBE preschool. During my participation in this project, as a linguist I became interested in the protection of endangered languages, and as a language arts teacher I observed the almost nonexistent support that educators in IBE preschools had at the time of the project, and continue to have, to teach Indigenous language and culture. I also became aware of the educator's strong interest in learning this knowledge about the Mapuche people. I began to read and explore the literature around Indigenous education, the IBE environment, and teacher education in the United States and Latin America. My personal and emotional experiences in the United States, speaking and teaching a *minoritized* language and being categorized as a minority quickly and profoundly increased my interest in IBE preschools and the educational struggles of the Mapuche people in Chile.

With these ideas in mind, in the earlier years of my Ph.D. program I decided to conduct an exploratory case study in the same IBE preschool where I acted as a project coordinator in 2010. As part of this case study, I conducted semi-structured interviews with non-bilingual educators (teachers and administrators), to identify the educators' perceptions of their own needs in their preparation for IBE preschools in urban areas, with a focus on Mapudungun, the larger Indigenous language in the country. Among the findings of this exploratory study, I found a noticeable appreciation for the work of Mapuche community members in the preschool. These two main experiences framed and motivated the proposal of this research.

Methodological Orientation

In order to appropriately investigate the research questions of this study, I addressed these questions from the interpretive methodological approach (Wolcott, 1978/1988/1997; Merriam, 2009). I employed a qualitative, comparative, multi case-study methodology because it affords an intensive investigation of one or more instances of the same phenomenon, and also because the goal of this study matches the question Wolcott (1978/1988/1997) has recommended asking: “What is going on here? What do people in this setting have to know (individually or collectively) in order to do what they are doing?” (p. 32). In addition, as Merriam (2009) has stated, “qualitative researchers are interested in how meaning is constructed, how people make sense of their lives and their worlds” (p. 24). Therefore, qualitative research is suitable to study how urban IBE teachers and Indigenous community members create meaning from their interactions as they work together. Within the field of qualitative research, this study employed, in particular, a critical Indigenous qualitative methodology (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008).

Critical Indigenous Qualitative Methodologies

The critical Indigenous qualitative approach is especially relevant for this study since it conceives of research as always unfailingly political, and in doing so, “It understands that all inquiry is both political and moral. It uses methods critically, for explicit social justice purposes. It values the transformative power of Indigenous, subjugated knowledge” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 2). This approach is also pertinent as it emphasizes that research should “honor indigenous knowledge, customs and rituals” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 2), and should privilege Indigenous knowledge, voices, and experiences, as it is intended here. This methodological perspective respects Indigenous peoples’ voices while learning from and validating Indigenous insights (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2008). In other words, this methodology

helps to “construct conditions that allow for indigenous self-sufficiency while learning from the vast storehouse of indigenous knowledges that provides compelling insights into all domains of human endeavor” (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2008, p. 135).

A significant component of this approach is that research is localized and “grounded in the specific meanings, traditions, customs, and community relations that operate in each indigenous setting” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 6). From this stance, “The local is grounded in the politics, circumstances, and economies of a particular moment, a particular time and place, a particular set of problems, struggles and desires. There is a politics of resistance and possibility” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 9). According to L.T. Smith (1999), the localized dimension of critical indigenous methodologies reminds us that the goals of critique, resistance, struggle, and emancipation can work if they are not treated as “universal characteristics which were independent of history, context, and agency” (p. 229).

A final significant characteristic of this approach for this study is its aim in articulating possibilities for coalition among community members, teachers, grassroots movements, and among other actors (Grande, 2008).

Comparative Case Study

Due to the nature of the guiding research questions and the conceptual framework used, a case-study approach is appropriate, as Yin (2006) has stated, “The case study method is pertinent when your research addresses either a descriptive question (what happened?) or an explanatory question (how or why did something happen?)” (p. 112), as is the case in this study. Case study research is generally more exploratory (Hancock & Algozzine, 2011), which is significant within a context—as in this study—where no research addressing similar issues has been conducted. Following Merriam’s words (2009), case study research is particularistic, or in other words,

“means that the case studies focus on a particular situation, event, program, or phenomenon” (p. 43). It is also descriptive, or in other words, “means that the end of the product of a case study is a rich, ‘thick’ description of the phenomenon under study” (p. 43). Finally, it is heuristic, or in other words, “case studies illuminate the reader’s understanding of the phenomenon under study” (p. 43).

Among the several types of qualitative research in this study I used multisite case studies (Merriam, 2009), which are also referred to as collective, cross-case, multi-case, multisite or comparative case studies. Multiple cases can offer a deeper understanding of a phenomenon and are principally suitable for concept-driven studies. By utilizing a comparative case study design in particular, I was able to contrast multiple factors both between different preschools, such as varying types of relationships between teachers and Indigenous communities; and within a single preschool, such as teachers’ ethnicities, teachers’ experiences and backgrounds, and teachers’ and community members’ experiences and perceptions. I looked for commonalities and uniqueness of which meanings were negotiated and practiced in relation to each set of contextual factors (Miles & Huberman, 1994) within and between cases. In this way, the comparative case study design helped me “strengthen the precision, the validity, and the stability of the findings” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 29).

Finally, by using a grounded theory approach (Stake, 1995), I was able to connect the findings of this study to the overall conceptual framework regarding communities in the preparation of teachers as a way to both examine the relevance of this perspective in the Chilean context and to add to the literature base.

Ethnographic Case Study Strategies

By using ethnographic case study (Wolcott, 1978/1988/1997) strategies such as interviews, group conversations and observations, I was able to provide rich descriptions of the ways IBE preschools, their teachers, and Mapuche communities interrelate. Ethnographic case studies involve extended interactions in the day-to-day lives of group members. These interactions and in-depth descriptions may hold important insights about ways to understand and potentially support teachers and community partnerships for IBE schools. These insights could be useful in other similar contexts, where IBE schools utilize local Indigenous communities as a way to support Indigenous knowledge revitalization and protection.

Setting, Participants, Timeframes and Events

Setting. The purpose of this section is to provide a rationale for decisions regarding the settings, the participants, the length of the research, and the instruments I used to conduct the study.

In order to obtain “information-rich” (Patton, 2002, p. 230) data, the multi-case study was constituted by a group of two IBE preschools. Purposive sampling (Merriam, 2009; Miles & Huberman, 1994) and intensity sampling allowed me to obtain rich examples of the phenomenon of interest (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Using these strategies, I chose the preschools from which I selected the teachers and the Mapuche community members. I focused on two IBE preschools located in two cities in Región Metropolitana¹⁴ that were characterized by a high presence of Mapuche students and Mapuche organizations (Williamson & Gómez, 2004). I expected that focusing in cities with a high presence of Mapuche organizations would allow me to find more instances of teachers and Indigenous community interactions and/or resistance. However, I did

¹⁴ Due to the small number of preschools using an IBE approach, I have omitted contextual information that would easily identify these preschools.

not know what these teacher/community relationships looked like or their degree of involvement with IBE schools.

A central criterion to choose the IBE preschools was the connection, or lack of, with a local Indigenous community. In other words, I selected a preschool that was known for its highly involved Indigenous community members (Palqui Preschool), and another preschool that struggled in creating these partnerships (Alicura Preschool). I obtained this information by asking a Mapuche Traditional Educator who has worked in both institutions, and whom I have known for six years at the time I conducted this study. I then compared this information to interviews with Mapuche professionals who worked in the IBE program.

It should be noted that I focused on preschools since this is the only education level in which the entire school follows an IBE approach, and as a result, all the teachers in IBE preschools follow this approach. The decision to focus my research in Chile's Región Metropolitana was based on the fact that most significant migration of Indigenous groups from rural areas to main cities has occurred in Región Metropolitana (Ortiz, 2008). This geographic setting provided me with the best opportunity to pursue my research study, as teachers in urban IBE preschools are under more pressure to be well-prepared to teach Mapuche language and culture, and may have more opportunities to interact with Indigenous communities. It is important to notice that the knowledge about the characteristics of these preschools was not only obtained from relevant literature, but also from my own experience working in the language revitalization project that took place in 2010, in addition to the experience of one colleague (a Mapuche Traditional Educator) teaching an Indigenous language in the other preschool. These previous experiences have been significant in establishing the suitability of these cases. Aligned with Miles and Huberman (1994), intensity and purposive sampling requires some prior

information. The researcher must do some exploratory work to determine the nature of the settings. The following tables summarize the demographics of the two preschools.

Table 2	
<i>Characteristics of Preschools</i>	
Palqui Preschool	
<u>Characteristics</u>	<u>N°</u>
Year created	2010
N° of Children	208
N° of Preschool teachers	9
N° of Teacher assistants	18
N° of ELCI	1
N° of Indigenous children	25
Alicura Preschool	
<u>Characteristics</u>	<u>N°</u>
Year created	2009
N° of Children	144
N° of Preschool teachers	6
N° of Teacher assistants	14
N° of ELCI	1
N° of Indigenous children	13

Time frame. This research was conducted in three phases from August 2014 to January 2015. During the first phase, I contacted the principals of the preschools in an informal conversation and invited them to be part of the project. During the informal conversation, I asked about the community members who participated in the schools' activities, about their comments and suggestions on the research proposal, and about their recommendations to recruit teachers for the study. The community members that were mentioned in both settings were the ELCIs (Educators of Indigenous Language and Culture).

I attempted to meet with the ELCIs outside the preschool; however, the tight schedule of these community members only allowed us to meet in the preschool. Additionally, I began the initial observations in the preschools to obtain information regarding the general atmosphere of the preschools.

During the second phase of research, I interviewed community members and selected teachers for further observation. I also observed classes taught by the selected teachers as well as school meetings. During this period, I also I tried to identify and contact Mapuche communities located around the preschools which had fragile relationships with these schools, in order to capture the views of those less involved in the school system. Unfortunately, it was only in the last month of data collection that I managed to connect with these communities, and due to time constraints, I was not able to conduct interviews them.

During the third phase of research, I conducted conversation groups and more intense analysis of the collected data. The next part outlines these phases in detail.

Phase 1 (weeks 1 to 4). Hold meetings with the principals of the preschools to identify the community members involved in the preschools. Obtain information about activities in which community members participate. Organize calendar of activities and events observed. Take notes of the meetings and collect documentation about the context of the preschools and background of teachers, children, and their families. Attend, observe, and take field notes of teachers' meetings or other preschool meetings.

Contact Mapuche community members and hold a meeting with them. Take notes of the meetings and collect their opinions and observations on the project, and inquire about possible teacher participants. Obtain information about the community activities in the surrounding

neighborhood that occur during the coming months that I could attend. Start preliminary data analysis. Obtain sampling of community members and teacher participants.

Phase 2 (week 5 to 18). Interview teachers and community members. Record and take notes during the interviews. Transcribe interviews and analyze interviews to formulate preliminary themes. Observe eight teachers' classes (two classes for each teacher, and four classes total in each preschool). Take field notes during the observations.

Attend school activities in which teachers and community member participate together. Attend community events outside the school in the surrounding neighborhood. Observe and take field notes. Hold informal meetings with community members and take field notes. Conduct initial data analysis of the collected data.

Phase 3 (week 19 to 24). Put together all the data and create a digital folder with the transcriptions of the interviews and the field notes. Analyze data to identify connections between interviews and field observation. Organize the group conversations in each preschool. Meet with the preschool teachers and administration as well as community members to thank them for their participation in this study.

Participants. The participants of this study consisted of four urban IBE preschool teachers. I chose two teachers from each preschool based on two criteria: (a) teachers who taught or were involved in teaching Mapuche language and culture; and (b) teachers who were seen as resistant to teach Indigenous languages and cultures. The total number of teachers I observed allowed me to include teachers with different characteristics such as ethnicity, years of experience, background, level of bilingualism, among other factors, in order to make significant comparisons. To select these teachers, I informally asked the local Indigenous communities about the teachers they considered as “knowers” and interested in working with Indigenous

communities. I also asked about teachers who were less committed or resistant to participate with Indigenous communities and teach Indigenous language and culture. This method would allow me to “Be sure to include dissidents...people with different point of views from the mainstream, people less committed to tranquility and equilibrium in the setting” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 266).

In addition, I selected two Indigenous community members who worked in the preschools as ELCIs. To choose these individuals, I asked the principal of each IBE preschool about the Indigenous community connected to the preschool. After informal conversations and some interviews, I also identified two other relevant actors, who participated in the preschools’ activities and who were identified as relevant actors by other individuals in the preschools. Interestingly, in the Palqui Preschool (which was known for its highly involved Indigenous community members), a Mapuche parent was recognized for his work in the preschool. In contrast, in the Alicura Preschool (that struggled with its relationship with the Mapuche community), a non-Mapuche assistant teacher was seen as particularly supportive in carrying out Mapuche preschool activities. Finally, I included two officers of the IBE program for preschool education in order to understand the larger context and requirements that these preschools faced.

The selection of these settings and participants allowed me to make comparisons and, consequently, examine the significance of the theoretical framework in this context. As Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) state, if the purpose is theory development and testing, two strategies are recommended—“minimizing the differences between cases to highlight basic properties of a particular category; and then subsequently maximizing the differences between cases in order to increase the density of the properties relating to core categories, to integrate categories and to delimit the scope of the theory” (p. 33).

The following table shows some of the main characteristics of the participants:

Table 3			
<i>Participants of the Study</i> ¹⁵			
IBE officers			
<u>Name</u>	<u>Role</u>	<u>Ethnicity</u>	<u>Experience</u>
Natalia	CONADI supervisor	Mapuche	5 years of experience in her position.
Camila	IBE supervisor	Mapuche	3 years of experience in her current position. 9 years of experience in preschool education. Preschool teacher.
Palqui Preschool			
<u>Name</u>	<u>Role</u>	<u>Ethnicity</u>	<u>Experience</u>
Maura	Principal	Mapuche	20 years of experience in preschool education. 3 years as principal.
Gema	Teacher	Mapuche	5 years of experience. Born in the south of Chile. Migrated to Región Metropolitana in her 20s. Recognized for her strong commitment in teaching Mapuche knowledge.
Miranda	Teacher	Non Mapuche	15 years of experience as a preschool teacher. Recognized for her interest in Waldford pedagogies, and not much Indigenous knowledge.
Jacinta	ELCI	Mapuche	4 years of experience in preschool education. Born in Santiago. Psychologist.
Pablo	Relevant actor. Mapuche parent.	Mapuche	Parent of a student in the preschool for 2 years. Recognized for his motivation in teaching Mapudungun (Indigenous language) to the teachers in the preschool, and for his involvement with all the cultural events.

¹⁵ Considering the small number of individuals in the IBE program and IBE preschools in Región Metropolitana, I have included only crucial personal information to protect participants' anonymity.

Alicura Preschool			
<u>Name</u>	<u>Role</u>	<u>Ethnicity</u>	<u>Experience</u>
Ingrid	Principal	Non- Mapuche	18 years of experience as a principal in preschool education. 4 years in the IBE preschool.
Rosa	Teacher	Mapuche	5 years of experience as a preschool teacher. Born in Santiago. Recognized for her strong commitment in teaching Mapuche knowledge.
Corina	Teacher	Non-Mapuche	4 years of experience. Recognized for her struggles in learning and teaching Mapuche knowledge.
Elena	ELCI	Mapuche	3 years of experience in preschool education. Born in the south of Chile during the '50s. Migrated to Región Metropolitana when she was 13 years old.
Romina	Relevant actor. Assistant teacher.	Non-Mapuche	20 years of experience as assistant teacher. Recognized for her high motivation in learning and teaching Mapuche language to children, peers, and her connection with Indigenous communities.

Data Collection Strategies and Procedures

Data for this study came from multiple ethnographic sources: interviews, observations and conversation groups with teachers and Indigenous community members, as well as a review of pertinent documents to triangulate the process and content of the teacher/community member work.

Interviews. Semi-structured interviews (Patton, 2002) were conducted with the selected participants to gain their perspectives and insights into the IBE program as well as the relationship and interactions between teachers and Indigenous community members. “Qualitative interviewing begins with the assumption that the perspective of others is meaningful, knowable, and able to be made explicit” (Patton, 2002, p. 341). As we cannot observe everything— “We cannot observe feeling, thoughts, and intentions” (Patton, 2002, p. 341), the purpose of qualitative interviewing is to “capture how those being interviewed view their world, to learn their terminology and judgments, and to capture the complexities of their individual perceptions

and experiences” (Patton, 2002, p. 348). Consequently, through the teachers’ interviews, I asked about topics related to the opinions, perceptions, and experiences of the teachers’ relationships with the Indigenous communities and the potential impact of these experiences on the learning process regarding Mapuche language and culture.

To elicit information in the first section of the interview, I addressed teachers’ backgrounds, preparation, and attitudes about their teaching by asking questions such as (see Appendix A): (a) Please tell me a little bit about your background as a teacher, how long have you been teaching in a Bilingual and Intercultural preschool?; (b) How did you end up working in this IBE preschool? The main portion of the interview investigated teachers’ experience, perceptions, and opinions about their relationships with the local Indigenous communities, and the possibilities to create partnerships with these communities. During this section of the interview, I asked for instance: (a) Could you describe how the Indigenous communities participate in the school?; (b) Could you describe your personal relationship with an Indigenous community member?

In addition, semi-structured interviews were also conducted with Indigenous community members. For these interviews, first I asked questions to learn and understand the backgrounds of the participants (see Appendix A): (a) Tell me a little bit about your community; (b) What is special or unique about it? The core section of these interviews focused on the motivations to work with teachers in an urban IBE preschool, the relationships with the school, and the possibilities to create close partnerships. Some examples of the questions I asked are: (a) How did you start your participation in the preschool?; (b) Could you describe how the communities participate in the school?

In addition, one 45-minute, semi-structured interview was conducted with the principal at each selected preschool in order to gain an understanding of the preschool's wider context in the school district (e.g., demographics, history, mission, community, programs), as well as the initiatives related to the education of Mapuche students.

Finally, a semi-structured interview was conducted with representatives of the IBE program for preschool education regarding the regional contexts, the requirements for IBE preschools in urban areas, and the experiences and challenges of all preschools.

All interviews conducted for this study were recorded, with the participants' consent, using a digital recording device (iPhone). Digital audio files were stored on my computer and were transcribed using pseudonyms for all identifying information.

Conversations or *güxan*. Along with the formal semi-structured interviews, I conducted informal conversations with the participants as a data collection strategy because, as Patton (2002) stated, this approach may “permit the interviewer to pursue topics or issues that were not anticipated” (p. 347). This strategy was also relevant as the Mapuche language, known as Mapudungun, is mainly an oral communication system. This means that conversation, or *güxan* as it is known in Mapudungun, is a spoken tool to share stories, knowledge, and worldviews. As such, I decided to use conversations to incorporate traditional Mapuche ways of communication into my data collection. As a methodological tool, conversations took place informally between myself and the participant while, for instance, we were walking, cleaning, waiting, or organizing a classroom.

These conversations did not have any specific topic or questions to be answered. Contrary to the interviews, in these instances I positioned myself more as a curious listener rather than an interviewer, and I also provided answers to the questions that were posted to me about

my work and myself. This technique helped me create relationships of trust and respect with the participants, as we both revealed and shared opinions in a more horizontal dialogue. I am certainly not the first to use this method of data collection, as informal conversations have been previously used for research with Indigenous people in Chile (Abarca, 2005; Quidel, 2006).

Group conversation or *güxankawün*. In an effort to include the conversational preference of Mapuche ways of sharing knowledge, I invited all the participants of the study to take part in a group conversation in order “to get high-quality data in a social context, where people can consider their own views in the context of the views of others” (Patton, 2002, p. 386). I organized the group conversation in a roundtable style and shared food with participants (see Appendix C). I held one group conversation at each preschool.

The group conversation had two purposes. One purpose was to present some of the main findings of the data collection, and thus provide an opportunity for the participants to discuss, question, or confirm these findings. The second goal was to create a space in which joint groups of preschool and Indigenous members could discuss the issues they found relevant regarding their work. Within an examination of the relationship between teachers and Indigenous community members, their interaction was central to this study; since this interaction was not very frequent during daily preschool activities, this group conversation was a different space for dialogue. The meeting lasted for two hours, with one hour devoted to each of the two purposes.

These sessions were observed, and I took notes copiously during and after both group conversations regarding what participants said as well as their non-verbal means of communication (body language) and other insights or noteworthy happenings. After learning that teachers and Indigenous community members did not frequently interact, and therefore they may not have had close relationships, I decided not to visually record these group conversations—as I

had planned—in order to prioritize participants’ sense of safety in the room. In other words, their participation in a group conversation was already unfamiliar to them and, therefore, I did not want to increase that unfamiliar and unnatural sentiment with a video camera, as I was afraid the participants would be less likely to openly discuss their ideas.

In the same lines, it should be noted that following Patton’s advice (2002) that “local people who are not professional researchers are being successfully trained and supported to do focus group[s]” (Patton, 2002, p. 389), I had planned to include a friend of mine, who was also a Mapuche community member, to help facilitate the conversation group. However, after months of observation at these two preschools, I evaluated that individuals at the preschool and the Mapuche community members would feel more comfortable without another external person (from neither the preschool nor the Mapuche community) present.

Observation. I selected the following events for observation: (a) school meetings with Indigenous community members, (b) teachers’ meetings, (c) classes, and (d) cultural school events (see Appendix B for observation guide).

Teachers’ meetings. I observed one teachers’ meeting in each preschool to capture an initial sense of the teachers’ needs with regard to Mapuche language and culture, as well as the preschools’ atmosphere and schools’ operations.

Classroom observation. I also formally and informally observed (Wolcott, 1978/1988/1997) each of the selected teachers’ classrooms to investigate how Indigenous language and culture manifested itself in the teachers’ classroom practice, and how teachers and ELCIs interacted in the classrooms. For each teacher, I observed one class taught with the aid of ELCI, and another class without her. Detailed field notes were written in the form of a running

narrative record (Merriam, 2009). During class observation, I paid particular attention to the teacher's instruction and interactions with Mapuche community members.

Cultural school events. All the events that took place during the data collection period in each IBE preschool were observed. These events were an ideal context in which to observe teachers and community collaboration in a real setting since the primary participation of the Indigenous communities was at cultural events. During these events, I focused on the interactions between teachers and community members; the role of community members; the knowledge provided by community members; and incorporation or exclusion of this knowledge by teachers, and teachers' attitudes towards community members.

School artifacts and other documentation. I also incorporated school documents, such as the missions of the preschools and background information of children and their parents into my data analysis. Similarly, I also considered public documents, in particular IBE policies obtained from the Internet, in order to contextualize the political and social situation of the preschools. This documentation was gathered during the entire period of data collection, and was used to describe and analyze the connections between educators and community members.

Approach to Data Analysis

The goal of this study is to investigate the nature, purpose, and quality of the relationships between IBE preschool teachers and Indigenous community members. I sought to not only understand these processes in my focal cases, but also to examine the pertinence of community-based teacher learning and hybrid space theory in the Chilean IBE context (Charmaz, 2001). Therefore, I rely on this approach's inductive strategies (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Data analysis took place informally throughout the course of interviewing, using weekly memos (Merriam, 2009). I developed codes unique to each set of data as well as common codes across all sets as themes began to emerge from the examination of the data (Merriam, 2009). These approaches included developing emergent and iteratively selective, focused coding schemes for all data (Charmaz, 2001; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Based on this coding, I also wrote analytic memos to explore potentially emerging relationships among teacher/community members; I also used these memos to compare data, categories, and patterns from each preschool that emerged and developed during the analysis (Charmaz, 2001; Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

I used an adaptation of Berg's model presented in Hancock and Algozzine (2011) for content/thematic analysis. Although this model proposes sequential steps, these phases of analysis were implemented in more dynamic and flexible ways: (a) identify research questions; (b) determine analytic categories; (c) read through data and establish grounded categories; (d) determine systematic criteria of selection for sorting data chunks into analytic and grounded categories; (e) consider the patterns in light of relevant literature. Categories emerged from an interaction of theory and data (Miles & Huberman, 1994); (f) make contrasts and comparisons between cases, participants, and sources of data (Miles & Huberman, 1994); (g) note relations between variables, how the categories relate to each other (Miles & Huberman, 1994); (h) make conceptual/theoretical coherence: from relations to constructs and from constructs to theory; and (i) search for counter evidence.

Attention to validity and reliability must be a constant throughout the design, data collection, and analysis stages. Of the strategies for promoting validity and reliability that Merriam (2009) described, I used triangulation of multiple sources of data (Miles & Huberman, 1994) such as observation, interviews, conversation group, and documentation; peer review with

colleagues and skeptical colleagues (Miles & Huberman, 1994) through which I discussed the congruency of emerging findings with the raw data, and tentative interpretations (Lincoln & Guba, 1985); and rich descriptions to contextualize the study. In addition, members check (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) was a significant strategy for the analysis. I solicited feedback on my emerging findings from participants and from Mapuche researchers and friends, testing tentative interpretations of data. Finally, I critically reflected on my assumptions, worldview, biases, theoretical orientations, and relationship to the study that may have affected the research. I kept a journal to report explicitly on my own beliefs and biases and become aware about how these opinions might influence the study. With a similar goal, I wrote my thoughts and evaluations of the field observations in a different section of the field notes.

Discourse analysis. As one of the purposes of this study was to explore the interactions between teachers and Mapuche community members, I used discourse analysis strategies on key exchanges between teachers and community members to investigate the negotiation of power and legitimization or de-legitimization of knowledges in discourses (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). Discourse analysis is an important analytical tool in studying social practices in classrooms and schools (Cazden, 1988).

As an analytical tool, discourse analysis includes highlighting certain terms or certain sentences; elucidating counter examples; observing the use of metaphors, change of tone, and alteration of syntax; and observing hesitations, pauses and verbal emphasis. All of these categories can be clues to construct an understanding of the ways teachers and community members interact. Discourse analysis also provides a vehicle through which to analyze the institutional and organizational circumstances of teacher and community member conversations and activities. Thus, discourse analysis provides one form of analysis to begin to connect

dialogue with action, which is a significant connection to observe for this study, as one of its objectives is to explore the possibilities of collaboration between teachers and Mapuche communities.

Three planes of analysis. During the data collection phase, I noticed that teachers' and community members' interactions as well as their understandings of this partnership were influenced by the larger connections of the IBE preschools with Mapuche communities. This salient theme during the data collection and open coding process was evidence of the need to conduct an analysis from three levels. Therefore, guided by Rogoff's (1995) proposal of three planes of analysis (participatory appropriation, guided participation, and apprenticeship), I analyzed the data from three layers: (a) Mapuche communities' interactions at the preschools, (b) relationships of teachers with Mapuche community members, and c) teachers and ELCIs learning. Though all of these levels were closely intertwined, nevertheless I separated them for analytical purposes only.

The following table shows the connections between research questions, data sources, analysis, and conceptual ideas, indicating which sources of data provided information for each question.

Table 4. <i>Research Questions, Data Sources, Analysis, and Conceptual Ideas</i>			
Research question	Data	Analysis	Conceptual frame
How do IBE preschools and Mapuche communities work together?	IBE representatives interviews Principal interview Teacher interviews Community interviews Observations Documents	Content analysis	Critical Indigenous pedagogies
		Discourse analysis	Hybrid space
How do teachers and Mapuche community members collaborate?	Teacher interviews Community member interviews Observation at cultural events Observation in classrooms	Content analysis	Critical Indigenous pedagogies
		Discourse analysis	Hybrid space
How do these relationships between teachers and Mapuche community members influence their own learning?	Teacher interviews Community member interviews	Content analysis	Critical Indigenous pedagogies
		Discourse analysis	Hybrid space Expansive learning

Difficulties and Accomplishments

Although I was familiar with one of the preschools prior to this study, and I had previous experiences participating in preschool activities, I had several concerns before entering the sites regarding the potential to create trustful relationships with both teachers and community members. Actually, my previous experiences at one of the selected preschools showed me that teachers and principals were sometimes reluctant to researchers' participation. Therefore, I wondered, are the teachers and Indigenous community members going to trust me? Are they going to think that I only want to obtain something from them? Will they think that I am one more of the dozens before me doing research in the preschool? On one hand, I did not want to

make the mistakes of previous researchers; this is why I made several decisions to ensure transparency, honesty, and reciprocity. But on the other hand, I knew that inevitably I would be like the previous researchers in the sense that I created relationships that would not last; therefore, I may have perpetuated the view that researchers go to schools to do or obtain something and then leave. Indeed, I still struggle in thinking how teachers viewed my role.

I felt this sentiment of doubt (in creating trustful relationships) even more strongly within the context of Indigenous communities in Chile, where outsiders and insiders have lied and defrauded Mapuche people. Community members have been victims of scams, abuses, and dishonesties for decades, which have increased their distrust towards researchers (Quidel, 2006), especially non-Indigenous ones. As a non-Indigenous person, I could feel this distance, particularly between community members and myself during the first couple of weeks of my observation. However, over the months, this distance diminished then vanished as I transparently shared the goals of my research, what I was doing in both preschools, and also details about my life. As the daughter of working class parents, and who lived my childhood and adolescence in a rural working class area outside Santiago, I could connect to the experiences and memories of making *empanadas* or taking care of farm animals. I think this connection might have added complexity to the perceptions that teachers and community members might have had towards me, a non-Indigenous researcher studying at a university in the United States. The fact that Mapuche and non-Mapuche teachers and others were interested in my life and asked my advice about obtaining scholarships made me believe that they might have considered different layers of my participation in the preschool, seeing me as someone who was not only a researcher. Furthermore, I believe that my position of respect and deference to Mapuche community members mitigated potential concerns about my role in both preschools. My use of formal

appellations (*usted*) with ELCIs and Mapuche community members marked culturally appropriate hierarchies based on age and authority. In addition, I asked questions because I genuinely believed that community members had something to teach me, rather than the other way around. It should also be noted that my previous experiences in IBE preschools, my basic knowledge of Mapudungun, and my previous working relationship with a known Mapuche Traditional Educator, also facilitated my relationship with community members.

Nevertheless, it is important to mention that my entrance into their community was not a one-time activity. This means that I needed to learn how to continuously gain access to their activities, both in different public and private spaces of the school as well as directly within the Indigenous communities. I acknowledge, however, that in spite of my best efforts to minimize real or imagined distances to participants in this study, ethnicity and status dynamics cannot be ignored as factors that potentially affected this relationship.

In addition, another constant challenge that I faced during the data collection phase was using my external, non-Indigenous lenses in a way that could not veil some aspects of the preschools' realities. To ensure that my worldviews and possible prejudices could not affect this process, as I mentioned I wrote a reflexive journal to review and question my own ideas (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In following Wolcott (1978/1988/1997), specifically that one's purposes and assumptions need to be made explicit and used prudently to give meaning and focus to a study, I separated my reflective notes from my field work (Hancock & Algozzine, 2011). Additionally, I often informally met with Mapuche friends—young professionals and scholars—to discuss some of the emergent findings, and over coffee we examined some of my possible preconceptions.

Ethical Concerns

Denzin and Lincoln (2008) state that “research ethics for Indigenous communities extend beyond issues of individual consent and confidentiality” (p. 15). As a non-Indigenous person seeking a dialogue with Indigenous people, one of my primary concerns was to conduct research that was meaningful and respectful to Indigenous people. Therefore, establishing trust with the Mapuche people and guarding against research bias were constant challenges of my work.

Consequently, I actively considered feedback from Mapuche people to ensure that this study achieved its goal in creating “research practices that are reflexively consequential, ethical, critical, respectful and humble” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008 p. 6). In the first weeks of the data collection in both preschools, I informally described the purpose of my research project and asked for feedback. Initially, I did not receive much feedback. However, one recurrent response from an ELCI at Palqui Preschool was that this study was interesting and that “any work about an IBE preschool was important,” since they (ELCIs) alone were responsible for learning and teaching Mapuche language and cultures.

As I mentioned in the previous section of this chapter, I also shared my emergent findings with Mapuche friends and colleagues who gave me important insights, and at the end of the data collection phase, I presented these ideas to both preschools as well as Indigenous community members. Finally, during the data analysis and writing process, I shared the chapters of this dissertation with young Mapuche scholars and friends to obtain their generous feedback.

Additionally, I tried in turn to contribute to both preschools as well as the Indigenous communities. During my participant observation, I collaborated by cleaning or helping teachers or community members. I also shared food with the participants during lunches and other events, such as the group conversations I held. Reciprocity and retribution has been stated as an

important element of work with Mapuche communities (Quidel, 2006). However, I am conscious and grateful that what I got out of this study exceeded what I gave. Despite this gap, teachers and community members communicated their appreciation of my participation in preschool activities, and voiced their gratitude in our last group meeting by saying that, with my participation, they had noticed things that they ignored before.

Furthermore, the following strategies were implemented in this study (Miles & Huberman, 1994):

- Stay as long as possible on site; spend some time simply being present.
- Use unobtrusive measures for observation.
- Make sure the intentions of the study are unequivocal for informants.
- Conduct some of interviews off-site.
- Ensure constant transparency of my work in both preschools.

To conclude this section, it is relevant to indicate my positionality as a researcher. I support the linguistic, educational, and human rights of Indigenous people and children, who are and have been my friends, classmates, colleagues, and teachers. I undertake this scholarship as one expression of my aim for improving the quality of life and educational opportunities of children, teachers, and communities that have been historically marginalized.

Chapter 3: School, Indigenous Communities and the State

The objective of this chapter is to examine the nature, purpose and quality of Indigenous communities' participation in IBE preschools in Región Metropolitana, Chile. As mentioned in previous chapters, IBE policies for preschools require educational institutions to connect with Indigenous communities. Specifically, policy states that preschool curriculum and programs should be developed in cooperation with Indigenous communities, and that preschools should collaborate with an ELCI (supported by local Indigenous communities) to teach Indigenous knowledge (Convenio 169 OIT, 2005). In this way, ELCIs act as representatives of Indigenous communities in IBE preschools. However, policies indicate neither the purpose nor the specific ways in which schools and Indigenous communities should collaborate in order to develop proposed curriculum.

As stated in Chapter 1, the almost nonexistent attention paid towards the collaboration of IBE preschools and Indigenous communities is not only apparent at the policy level, but also in the research sphere. Indeed, no research in the Chilean context has described and studied how IBE preschools collaborate or attempt a relation of cooperation with Mapuche communities. As a result, I consider it relevant to describe and explore how two IBE preschools begin and consolidate its relationship with Mapuche communities.

This exploration may fill a gap in the current literature regarding IBE in Chile, and it may also help situate the work of teachers with community members and their individual learning processes. Following the framework of this research, I regard preschool actors as socially situated, and therefore, influenced by their contexts.

It is worth noting that to better investigate the connection of preschools and Mapuche communities, I selected two IBE preschools: one school (Palqui Preschool) known for its strong

connection with the Mapuche communities, and another school (Alicura Preschool) known for its struggle in creating this connection. A Mapuche Traditional Educator¹⁶, who has worked in both preschools and introduced me to the principals, suggested both preschools for my research.

In this chapter I present an analysis of three issues related to the partnerships between IBE preschools and Mapuche communities: (a) the path towards collaboration; (b) the construct of community; and (c) their working relationship. These three issues are presented primarily from a descriptive perspective in order to capture the views, expressions, and experiences of preschool actors at the two proposed preschools. In the discussion section, I examine and analyze my findings in light of conceptual framework and current literature.

The Path towards Collaboration

To better understand the current work of preschools and Mapuche communities, it is necessary to reflect on the creation and implementation of IBE preschools in Región Metropolitana, Chile. The implementation of IBE preschools began as a proposal made by Mapuche communities. Under Michelle Bachelet's government¹⁷, it was promised that Indigenous communities would have their own preschools in which they could educate their Indigenous children. This proposal emerged from Bachelet's national policy regarding the extension of childhood education coverage, namely to extend public preschools throughout the country to ensure equity in the education of all children. In addition, the Chilean government had recently approved the *United Nations Declaration on Rights of Indigenous People*, which asserted that Indigenous peoples have the right to control their own system of education.

¹⁶ I have known the Mapuche Traditional Educator for five years, as he was my Mapuche language teacher. We have also worked together in Mapuche language revitalization projects.

¹⁷ Michelle Bachelet is a Socialist Party politician, and has been the President of Chile since March 11, 2014. She previously served as President from 2006–2010, becoming the first woman in Chile to do so.

In this political context, Indigenous communities demanded that the Chilean government construct preschools for their children. In Región Metropolitana, Indigenous communities began working with educational departments in districts with higher percentages of Indigenous people, such as Peñalolen, La Pintana, Quilicura, and La Florida. For instance, Mapuche communities provided feedback on preschool names and the buildings' infrastructure.

In the two preschools used in this study, the Mapuche communities collaborated in the implementation of both IBE preschools. Specifically, in the Alicura Preschool, the Mapuche were concerned with the specific location of each space, making sure each room was positioned in a particular way to the “mountains, sunrise, wind, cardinal points” (School document: *Proyecto Educativo Institucional Alicura Preschool* [Institutional Educative Project¹⁸]). Similarly, in the Palqui Preschool, a Mapuche community named the preschool and proposed a structural design with purpose—“based on three Indigenous peoples: Aymara, Rapa Nui¹⁹ and Mapuche” (Maura, interview, November 3, 2014).

However, as the Chilean government did not have the capacity to manage all new preschools constructed during this time, the IBE preschool projects were auctioned. In other words, any non-profit organization could apply to manage an IBE preschool. From all the projects submitted, none were granted to a Mapuche community. In the case of the two IBE preschools included in the study, the Mapuche community not only did not obtain rights for project management, but the organizations that were granted management rights were a Christian organization and a local governmental organization. This is significant to note because both

¹⁸ *Proyecto Educativo Institucional* [Institutional Educative Project¹⁸] is the main document created by each school to define their missions and objectives. All schools in Chile are required to have this document.

¹⁹ Aymara and Rapanui are also Indigenous groups in Chile

Christian and local government organizations are important symbols of assimilation for Indigenous people.

It should also be noted that these issues, regarding the rights to project management, were not explicated in any institutional document, but were only discussed in the interviews collected in this study. Principals from both preschools used in this study (Alicura Preschool and Palqui Preschool) mentioned this situation when discussing how the partnership began between IBE preschools and Mapuche communities. Both principals said that the Mapuche communities felt betrayed by the State, and therefore, not want any kind of connection with the preschools.

Although the principals were aware of the Mapuche people's discontent, they both agreed with the decisions made by the government, and they both concluded that Mapuche organizations did not have the knowledge or preparation experience necessary to manage preschools. Additionally, both principals made a distinction between "competence" in terms of Mapuche knowledge and "competence" in terms of professional knowledge. The principal of the Palqui Preschool indicated that the Mapuche people who applied "[were] people without the skills to work here, but they do not know it, because that is something we know among professionals, who is competent and who is not" (Maura, interview, November 11, 2014). Likewise, the principal of the Alicura Preschool explained, in her perspective, having Mapuche knowledge was not enough to warrant rights to manage a preschool. Instead, administrative expertise was crucial.

The principal at Alicura Preschool, a non-Mapuche person, held a stronger standpoint on this issue. She questioned the rights of Mapuche people to demand Mapuche principals and teachers in their preschools: "Mapuche people went to the JUNJI²⁰ to obtain help in creating IBE preschools, so, why do they complain? They have to accept the rules of the game" (Ingrid,

²⁰ JUNJI (Junta Nacional de Jardines Infantiles) is the National Association of Preschools, a governmental institution that manages preschool education in Chile.

interview, November 6, 2014). For her, the solution was that Mapuche communities should grow more professional individuals that have the preparation and knowledge to manage a preschool—and as a result, could apply and win the rights to manage preschools. This idea is also subtly expressed in the *Proyecto Educativo Institucional* [Institutional Educative Project] written by the principal of the Alicura Preschool. The following excerpt from this document describes the creation of the Alicura Preschool, and it is evident, from the preschool perspective, that its primary ownership was governmental institutions: CONADI National Indigenous Development Corporation, and *Pueblos Originarios* Program. It is also evident that, for the preschool staff, the Mapuche communities encouraged this governmental ownership at the onset of the preschools. The excerpt from *Proyecto Educativo Institucional* is as follows:

Among the Indigenous communities of the district emerges the need to create educational institutions that provide the knowledge of Indigenous people in different school levels. Therefore, they looked for support in CONADI to implement their project. Doing this, the Indigenous communities of the district accomplished their ideas throughout the *Pueblos Originarios* program that belongs to the Municipality, which represented them in future meetings with the Major of the city. (p. 3)

In this description, it is emphasized twice that Mapuche communities used governmental institutions at the onset of preschool construction. Considering that it is well known that the *Pueblos Originarios* Program is part of the Municipality, this excerpt seems to highlight that, for the Alicura Preschool, the Mapuche communities decided to use the State as a partner, therefore communities should accept and follow State regulations. In other words, this excerpt shows that IBE preschool hold the Mapuche communities responsible for the problems between preschools

and Indigenous communities. Also, it is insinuated that if Mapuche communities wanted to manage and control their preschools, they should not have asked the State for support.

Although both principals at the preschools used in the study agreed that Mapuche communities did not have the knowledge necessary to manage preschools, their individual approaches to connecting with Mapuche communities differ. Before analyzing these differences, it is worth noting that the principal of Palqui Preschool is Mapuche and the principal of Alicura Preschool is a non-Mapuche person. In the next paragraphs I analyze the beginning stages of the relationship between each IBE preschool and Mapuche communities, as well as the ways in which these two principals—and sometimes teachers—talk about the events during this period.

At the onset, the principal of the Palqui Preschool was a non-Mapuche person—a fact that was considered a critical obstacle in connecting with Mapuche communities. The current principal and teachers in the preschool stated that the Mapuche communities were never part of the preschool's activities during that first year, primarily because the communities did not want a non-Mapuche person educating their children. However, this relationship between this preschool and Mapuche communities changed when the current Mapuche principal, who was a teacher in the same preschool during that first year, took the position as principal. From the perspective of the current principal and teachers, after this change in leadership, the Mapuche community's participation advanced from non-existence to active.

Similarly, the difficult relationship between the preschool administration and the Mapuche community became an easy one. When talking with the principal about the ways she established a connection with the Mapuche community, she often used the words “easy” and “simple” (Maura, interview, November 11, 2014), and explained that it was a natural development. Specifically, the principal met an eager opponent member of the Mapuche

community at an Indigenous handcraft market, where the principal mentioned her position as principal as well as her interest in working with the Mapuche community. The principal showed proof of her good intentions by mentioning a personal connection to the Indigenous community by way of her sister, who was well known for her work in Mapuche art handcraft. In fact, the sister's presence in the conversation—and thus, the respect that people have towards her work in Mapuche culture—was described as “helpful” to spur “a fluent conversation” (Maura, interview, November 11, 2014). After that first encounter, the principal arranged another meeting with the Mapuche community member outside the preschool. As a result, the Palqui Preschool and the Mapuche communities began an initial collaboration in organizing cultural events and Mapuche ceremonies.

This event shows that the principal used her agency and personal and familial connection to the Mapuche community in order to restore a broken tie. She used her family story and connections with Mapuche members as opportunities to re-signify and build bridges between two disconnected and antagonist spaces. It is worth noting that this first conversation did not happen in the preschool, but instead, at the handcraft market of the Mapuche community (*feria artesanal*). During my interview with the principal, she emphasized and repeated that they met outside the preschool, insinuating that a fruitful conversation was not possible in the preschool space. In the case, the principal's use of knowledge, people, and spaces that were outside and detached from the preschool was a positive strategy in building a bridge between the preschool and Indigenous communities.

In a contrasting experience, the principal and all the teachers at the Alicura Preschool described their initial interactions with the Mapuche communities as difficult. In their accounts, words such as “difficult,” “problematic,” “hard,” and even the metaphor of “being in labor,”

were frequently used to explain their initial conversations and efforts to create connections. As a result, finally establishing a connection with the Mapuche communities was described as a “huge success,” or as one Mapuche teacher said, “it was a long way but we made it” (Rosa, interview, September 15, 2014).

From Rosa’s perspective, who is a Mapuche teacher in the preschool, the initial obstacle in the preschool’s relationship with the Mapuche community was the fact that the principal was non-Mapuche, and even had green eyes. In other words, creating a connection was extremely difficult simply because the preschool’s principal was a non-Mapuche person, and did not even look like one.

To establish a connection, the principal’s first step was to find out what Mapuche communities were currently in the preschool’s district. The principal reported (Ingrid, interview, November 6, 2014) that she contacted 10 organizations, but, receiving no responses, the principal attended a meeting with a Mapuche leader working in the district governmental office. Here, the principal discovered the resistance of the Mapuche communities towards her work. In my interview with this principal of the Alicura Preschool, she stated that she accepted the position for the challenge it represented. She also mentioned that she was not aware of the significant opposition toward her role in the IBE preschool. She explained several conflicting interactions she had with a Mapuche leader, as well as the impossibility to reach agreements. However, the final challenge to the principal’s relationship with the Mapuche community came when the principal discovered that a Mapuche teacher was placed in the preschool with the intention of advancing to the principal of that preschool. Many times the principal thought of presenting her resignation, but, because the previous principal lasted only a couple of weeks in the position, this principal did not want to do the same thing. The principal also felt that the

Mapuche leader's critiques and complaints were based on inaccurate ideas about the work of the IBE preschool; therefore, she did not want to quit because the gesture would be "like saying the Mapuche leader was right." She commented during our interview that she was upset the Mapuche leader was spreading false ideas and creating an image of her that "the *huincas*²¹ had arrived [to the preschool] and had violently stole their conquest" (Ingrid, interview, November 11, 2014). She added that at that time she did not understand why there was such a resistance and hate towards the IBE preschools, but now over the years, she has begun to understand the position of the Mapuche leader. She even stated that if she had all the knowledge about Mapuche people and their demands then that she did at the time of our interview, she would have quit.

Based on the principal's, teachers', and ELCI's accounts in the Alicura Preschool, it is important to note that none of the principal's interactions and her individual efforts in contacting the Mapuche communities was fruitful. Instead, the Mapuche community began connecting with the Alicura Preschool because several ELCIs had varying degrees of participation in this Indigenous community. The first ELCI in this preschool was crucial in creating connections between the Mapuche community and the Alicura as she was the previous president of the most well-known and oldest Mapuche organization in the district. Interestingly, her participation as a Mapuche language educator was not seen as successful for the principal and teachers at Alicura Preschool in terms of teaching children, but it meant a significant shift in the perception that Mapuche communities had towards the preschool. This ELCI's participation had a positive impact in the validation of the preschool's work and in the public's image of the preschool. This initial connection was then strengthened by the involvement of a second ELCI whose brother was an active member in the foundation of the same oldest Mapuche community in the district.

²¹ Mapudungun word to name non-Mapuche people, foreigners.

Both ELCIs collaborated in inviting the communities to the preschool, and in fostering possible trusting relationships with the preschool administration. Their presence and work in the Alicura Preschool opened the door for possible collaborations in the future.

It is important to note that when talking about advice for other principals and their work in connecting with Mapuche communities, neither principal that I interviewed mentioned ELCIs as significant resources in creating partnerships. Grounded in different experiences, both principals considered the link between IBE preschools and Mapuche communities as mainly the principal's job. In comparing both experiences, it is also evident that ELCIs were not actually seen as representatives of Indigenous communities. For these principals, ELCIs were nominated or confirmed by a community, but not necessarily supported by them; therefore it was the principal's role to create the partnership.

In trying to understand how IBE preschools worked with Mapuche communities, a question arose from data gathered in this study regarding the notion of community, specifically: how was the notion of community constructed by participants of the study?

Who Are the Community?

Philip, Way, Garcia, Schuler-Brown, & Navarro (2013) claimed that ambiguous notions and uses of the term community can lead to reproductions of power dynamics and ideological discourses. In following this logic, I analyze how preschool members and Indigenous community members use the construct of the term community in order to better understand potential opportunities that exist to establish interaction and collaboration between these two groups. The analysis of interview transcripts, field notes, and school documents shows that the notion of community used for the preschool and community members was extensive, and that it referred to different instances and groups.

In this section, I examine the construct of community from two levels. The first level refers to how preschool actors explicitly described the preschool community: (a) as a community of school actors, and (b) as a community in the preschool context. In the second level, I examine the construct of community from the perspective of the joint work of Mapuche communities and IBE preschools: (a) Mapuche communities and their organizations, (b) Mapuche community as bearer of Indigenous culture, (c) Mapuche community as organizers, (d) Mapuche community as visitors, and (e) Mapuche communities as companions.

It is important to reiterate that in the IBE policy level, ELCIs are seen purely as Indigenous community members, and representative of a Mapuche community. Nevertheless, given that the ELCIs in the Alicura Preschool did not necessarily identify themselves as community members, nor did teacher see her as community members, this section focuses on Mapuche communities. The next chapter will examine the participation of ELCIs.

Community as school actors. The Alicura Preschool's document, *Proyecto Educativo Institucional* [Institutional Educative Project], stated that the preschool project had been created collaboratively with all actors: principal, preschool teachers, teacher assistants, parents, children, Indigenous organizations, and communitarian organizations. This extensive definition of preschool actors reveals the players that were considered participants in the preschool's decisions. Besides the participation of principals, teachers, and teachers' assistants, both preschools considered parents and Indigenous organizations part of the school community. The following table summarizes the actors that each preschool considered part of the preschool community. Here we can see that both the Palqui and the Alicura preschool include the same actors in their understanding of school community.

Table 5 <i>School Actors as Community</i>
Palqui Preschool
<u>Actors</u>
Principal
Teachers
Teacher assistants
Parents
Indigenous community members
Alicura Preschool
<u>Actors</u>
Principal
Teachers
Teacher assistants
Parents
Indigenous community members

It is worth noting that during my interviews, principals and teachers from both schools did not initially mention Indigenous community members as players (in reference to who constitutes the preschool community). Instead, Indigenous communities were only alluded to after I asked about the preschool community in relation to the preschool and Mapuche relationship. An analysis of the order and frequency of reference to preschool actors, it is possible to see that there are different perspectives regarding the participation of these actors, as well as the actors' possibility to affect a preschool's decision-making process. Below, Figure 3.1 and Figure 3.2 shows that principals, teachers, and teacher's assistants were in the center of the preschool decision-making process, and ELCIs and Mapuche parents were on the border. In other words, ELCIs and Mapuche parents were invited to the preschools to participate in certain activities, which were defined by the actors at the core of the circle.

At the Alicura Preschool, a Mapuche builder, cook, teacher-candidate, and grandparent, as well as and Indigenous communities were invited to participate in the preschool community, mainly because they were actors that offered specific skills or knowledge. However, these players were still in the periphery of the preschool, participating rarely, only for a specific purpose, and only after receiving an invitation. The role of these actors and their relationships to the preschool will be discussed in the coming chapter. In this section, it is important to identify the individuals that were considered part of the preschool community and the individuals that were not. This initial analysis shows that although the preschool members make significant efforts to widen their circle of collaboration and find new allies, they still held a traditional conception of the preschool community, in the sense that they viewed principals, teachers, and teacher’s assistants as the ones responsible for making decisions in the preschools.

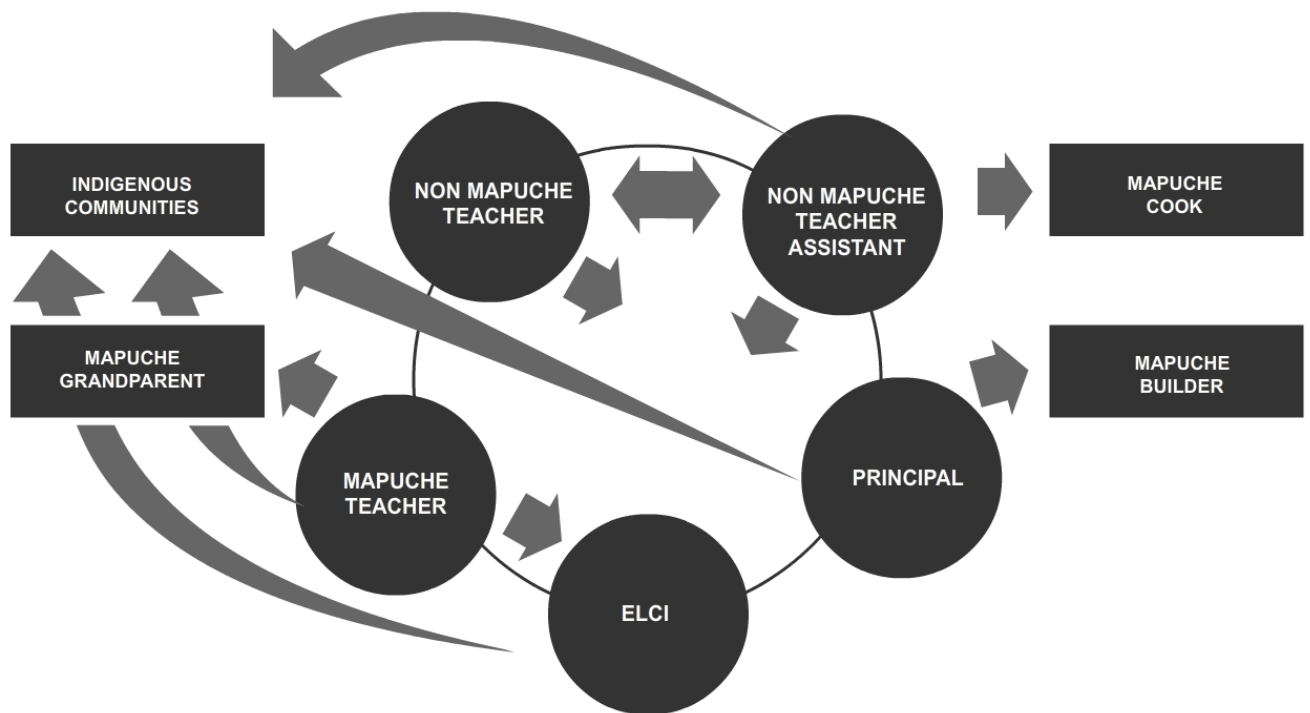


Figure 3.1. Interaction of actors at the Alicura Preschool.

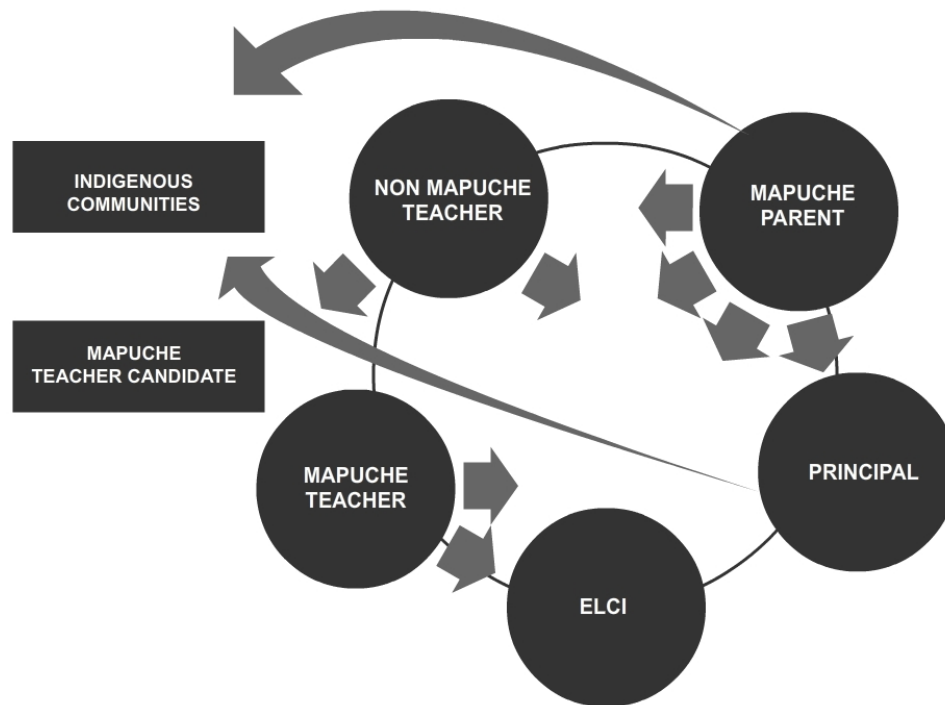


Figure 3.2. Interaction of actors at Palqui Preschool.

Community as a context/place. As stated in the previous section, the concept of preschool community was determined to be a group of actors that participated in the preschool’s activities. In this section, I argue that community as a concept also included the context around the preschools. The Alicura Preschool’s document, *Programa Educativo Institucional* [Institutional Educative Program], stated that the preschool’s mission is oriented towards the sociocultural context where we are immersed, with the purpose of serving the needs that the community requires; and in this way, facilitate a quality and pertinent education, achieving meaningful learning processes that are useful to the reality of the children.

Preschool administration frequently refers to this notion of community as the context and school location, particularly as a way to connect the preschool’s goals with the needs of the children who attend the preschool. “Community as context/place” is also mentioned as a positive

characteristic of an IBE preschool, in comparison with other institutions that follow a national curriculum without considering their students' backgrounds. However, this reference is also an indicator that, for the principal, the preschool does not have to serve only Indigenous children. The principal of the Alicura Preschool expressed that this school taught Mapuche language and culture because there were more Mapuche students enrolled there than children from other Indigenous groups. The principal also stated that if the preschool were in another geographic area with a more migrant population for instance, then the preschool would implement a different methodology. The following is an excerpt from an interview with the principal of Alicura Preschool:

The preschool has to be open to everything, each day we are going to have more people, no categorizing, today as Mapuche, tomorrow Aymara; or I would have, I always say this example, if I were in Santiago downtown—I think I say this example to Mapuche associations—if this preschool would have been in Plaza de Armas, I would probably not have had the opportunity to work with Mapuche culture. (Ingrid, interview, November 6, 2014)

Similarly, the principal of the Palqui Preschool stated that they had to include the “requirements of the preschool community” (Maura, interview, November 11, 2014), that is, they had to incorporate knowledge from different cultures and not only Mapuche since they had children with different heritages. Due to the fact that there were more Quechua families living in the area around Palqui Preschool, there were are more children with Quechua heritage from Peru enrolled at Palqui. Therefore, in the principal's view, the Palqui preschool should have a Quechua Traditional Educator. Similarly, Gema, a Mapuche teacher at Palqui, advocated for inclusion of all indigenous cultures in the preschool community, not only Mapuche culture. She

also affirmed that she should learn other Indigenous languages and cultures because she only knew the language and culture of the Mapuche people. In other words, for these participants, it was necessary for IBE preschools to manage several Indigenous language and cultures to reflect the student population. This view was also shared by a Mapuche parent—also a member of an Indigenous organization—who associated the preschool’s openness to all the cultures in the community/context as a positive characteristic of the preschool teachers.

These perceptions of community as context/place indicate two things. As explained above, these perceptions illustrate a preschool’s (principal, teacher, assistant, etc.) understanding of community. However, these perceptions also illustrate the difference in goals and definitions of intercultural education for Indigenous people and intercultural education for a diverse country. As I will discuss later, the multiplicity of definitions is not a matter of semantic flexibility, but rather a governmental decision that omits the political and historical components of Indigenous peoples in Chile.

I consider the perceptions of the term preschool community, as either participating actors or contexts/places as conventional notions since they resonate with IBE policy documents. The IBE guidelines for preschool education attempt to foster the participation of different actors, especially parents, in school decision-making. Indeed, the *Programa Educativo Institucional* [Institutional Educative Program] was proposed as a significant resource in which principal, teachers, parents, and students could express their needs and requirements regarding the goals and mission of the preschools. The same IBE policy for preschool education also encouraged preschools to incorporate students’ backgrounds into the curriculum, and in this way, create preschools that are sensitive to their contexts. In other words, preschool members’ conceptions of community reflect both the national educational discourse of policies for IBE preschool

education without further examination. However, at the same time, in a larger educational context—which primarily equates student achievement to standardized test scores—preschool actors’ understanding of a school community represent an alternative, and more critical standpoint.

Mapuche Communities and Their Organizations

Along with the two explicit definitions of community provided above, several additional concepts of community (and its relation to Mapuche communities) appeared in my interviews with key preschool actors. These concepts did not emerge explicitly in interviewee’s answers regarding a preschool community, but rather, in their descriptions of the relationship between the preschools and the Mapuche communities. Under these pretenses, I analyze in this section the construct of community as it relates to Mapuche communities.

In talking about the Mapuche community, the first important finding to note is that non-Mapuche members in the preschool used the term Mapuche community frequently, like a homogenous group. Usually they referred to Mapuche community in connection to a Mapuche organization, and they used both terms interchangeably. On the contrary, Mapuche people in the Palqui Preschool problematized, to some extent, the notion of the term Mapuche community.

Pablo, a Mapuche parent and member of a Mapuche organization, reflected on the notion of Mapuche communities, such as the way they operate and the structure of these organizations. He stated that among Mapuche organizations, there are different types with a range of missions and approaches, all of which are important for the Mapuche revitalization. Despite their differences, Pablo identified a “love for Mapuche people” as the common thread that connected Mapuche people together under the label of “organization, association, or community” (Pablo, interview, November 15, 2014). Additionally, these differences were no longer relevant if the

groups were doing meaningful work for the Mapuche people. This quote clearly captures his thinking:

It is also possible to get closer to a family, but the format that put together more people, maybe we can say a Mapuche association, organization, and wherever, but finally when Mapuche people get together, also the Mapuche knowledge get together. Each organization in Santiago has their own line of work; they have their own line of thinking... But if we try to think what unifies us as Mapuche, I think that the main unifying factor is the love towards our people, our culture. (interview, November 11, 2014)

Pablo then delved deeper, arguing that Mapuche organizations, which uphold different perspectives, are constructive for Mapuche revitalization. His explanation seems to be in direct response to the public's criticism of Mapuche organizations, specifically their internal conflicts and diversity of demands. He acknowledged the heterogeneous nature of Mapuche organizations, and emphasized the value of this diversity:

I think that it is always positive to have different views, because finally it is like having people defending Mapuche people from different trenches, such as arts, history, education, or the language. It is fundamental to have people preoccupied with Mapuche people in different dimensions, such as current news denunciation, and critiques. What is important, in my opinion, is to have the disposition to dialogue among each other. When we have to achieve an agreement in major situations or for our entire people, we have to have the capacity to come to an agreement, to be able to understand that our vision is not

the only one. This is the problem with some *peñis* and *lamien*²². (interview, November 11, 2014)

In this quote, Pablo explained that the different ways that Mapuche people understand and support each other, as well as their diversity of goals, are important for Mapuche people to thrive. For him, the problem was not variety, but rather, the lack of dialogue among groups. As a parent and member of a Mapuche organization, Pablo also saw the benefit to have organizations focused on political struggles (both current and historical) of the Mapuche people. In his view, this comprehensive awareness of its Indigenous people is “how any society works”—with different groups undertaking and trying to meet the different needs of a particular group.

However, Pablo was alone in this perspective. The Mapuche principal of the Palqui Preschool criticized that the Mapuche communities focused too much on current political events, and even material things such as land received for their organizations or “the relationships with the municipality, estate institutions or their own institutions” (Maura, interview, November 11, 2014). In Maura’s view, organizations expend great efforts in the political realm in order to secure favor or positions in the government, without working toward what is actually relevant—specifically, knowing and preserving the Indigenous Mapuche culture. From Maura’s perspective, IBE preschools would have a clearer approach to teach Mapuche language and culture if they understood their own culture better. Similarly, Rosa, a Mapuche teacher in the Alicura Preschool, distanced herself from the political and “conflictive” Mapuche communities, especially in the south of Chile. She said:

I could not provide political things, because there are things that I also do not like about the south, for instance, the fights, the conflicts...So, I think that is what the principal [of

²² Brothers and sisters in Mapudungun

Alicura Preschool] liked about me; that is why I stayed longer in the school. (interview, September 15, 2014)

From another perspective, Pablo viewed Mapuche organizations as necessarily diverse and heterogeneous, and considered Mapuche organizations in Santiago as an extension of Mapuche communities in the south of Chile, where Mapuche people have traditionally lived. He also viewed Mapuche organizations as a center for Mapuche knowledge; that is, Mapuche knowledge is centralized within and around Mapuche groups, not individual Mapuche people. The following excerpt further explains Pablo's view:

The Mapuche organizations here in Santiago are like an extension of the organizations in the countryside, [and they are] a way to survive in the city. So finally, getting closer to the Mapuche, and around the Mapuche organizations means getting closer to Mapuche knowledge. (interview, November 15, 2014)

Gema, a Mapuche teacher in the same preschool, disagreed with this perception of urban Mapuche communities as an extension of traditional communities in the south. In an interview, she shared with me the story of the first time she heard that a Mapuche community would visit the preschool. She had expected a large group of people to show up and participate in the preschool's activities. Instead, a group of four or five people came. So Gema asked herself, "Is this a 'community'?" She went on to answer this question: in her opinion, a gathering of four or five people is a family or a group, but not necessarily a community. As a result, she had to "get used to this [idea of] 'community'" (interview, September 10, 2014). In her opinion, the Palqui Preschool did not have a community because Mapuche communities in Santiago were not "real communities," or in other words, they did not know about the traditional Indigenous culture. In

fact, Gema recounted that, “not all of the [Mapuche] people know about the [Mapuche] culture in Santiago” (interview, September 10, 2014). She then added:

Here, it is a little bit more difficult because we do not have a constituted community as [we did] in the communities where I live, which is a community with a lot of people, more than 300 inhabitants...and where there are clearly a lot of people to obtain support from. But that it is not the case here, because here we find a community and sometimes there are four people—thus it is different. I am used to a larger community. For me, community is people, entire families, grandparents, sons, daughters, etc. So, the meaning of community to me is extensive. (interview, September 10, 2014)

Pablo and Gema were the only two Indigenous members who explicitly discussed what the term “Mapuche community” means in Región Metropolitana. However, other Indigenous people as well as non-Mapuche preschool players reveal additional perspectives on a Mapuche community through their descriptions working relations between Mapuche and preschools.

Mapuche community as bearer of culture. The most common view of the Mapuche community was the “bearer of culture.” Romina, a non-Mapuche teacher’s assistant in the Alicura Preschool, described several instances in which the Mapuche community brought their culture to the preschool. In her view, the Mapuche communities provided the cultural knowledge to celebrate important ceremonies, such as the Mapuche New Year, known as *We Tripantü* (interview, November 13, 2014). From Romina’s point of view, Mapuche communities have cultural knowledge in terms of stories, medicine, and language. In her words:

I would like to see [Indigenous] communities here, interacting with children, telling their own *epew*²³, their stories; where children could at least take some herbal tea and chat.

²³ Traditional Mapuche genre to tell stories

When they have an opportunity to talk, they talk to the children in Mapudungun and children could answer. They could use *ruka* [home]. (interview, November 13, 2014)

Additionally, Mapuche communities were also considered bearers of cultural knowledge about traditional food. For instance, Romina recounted that “we achieved that communities would come to the preschool and teach us how to make our first *catutos*, what the ingredients of *sopaipillas* are, which are different from the Chilean *sopaipilla*, and how to dry fruits” (interview, November 13, 2014). Both Mapuche and non-Mapuche teachers talked about the importance of involving Mapuche communities in preschool activities since they have cultural knowledge that IBE preschools need. Mapuche communities bring knowledge to the children as well as teachers; therefore, all preschool members could learn from them.

Within this notion of Mapuche community as the bearer of culture, there is an idea of community as a specific ethnicity. In other words, being Mapuche means being part of a community. Consequently, they are all part of a community with which the Mapuche culture is shared. When talking about traditional activities, Romina said, “in the celebrations, for instance, we divide ourselves in committees. Habitually, teachers that are Mapuche invite their communities [into the preschool], because they also participate in communities” (interview, November 13, 2014). In this excerpt, Romina equated Mapuche communities with Mapuche people. This seems to reveal that for Romina, Mapuche people are always part of a community, since their belonging is a matter of ethnicity. Given that community members are seen as bearers of culture, any Mapuche person bears Mapuche culture, and therefore, belongs to a community. Romina’s comment about Mapuche teachers inviting in their own communities is more interesting if we consider that none of the Mapuche teachers in the preschool, not even the ELCI, described themselves as participants of an Indigenous community.

In the same vein, Miranda, a non-Mapuche teacher in the Palqui Preschool, shared Romina's perspective of Mapuche people as belonging to communities. Referring to a Mapuche teacher-candidate, Miranda pointed out that because he grew up in a Mapuche community, "he could narrate stories," and that "he knew about the rituals for the children." In short, Miranda recounted, "he related his culture" to the children (interview, November 14, 2014). As noted above, it is important to consider that the Mapuche-candidate that Miranda refers to did not identify himself as part of a Mapuche community.

Mapuche community as organizers of activities. Implicitly, Mapuche and non-Mapuche teachers considered Mapuche communities as groups of people that organize activities together. Mapuche communities were seen as groups because they prepared ceremonies and activities together. Maura, the Palqui Preschool principal, described several activities organized by Mapuche community members, noting what they do specific days of the week:

They participated, and they made us food and drinks on Friday. On Thursday we were with mothers and grandmothers. On Wednesday we were with the whole team and what was happening was nice. Every day they [Mapuche communities] are more involved, in the ceremonies, in the *palín*²⁴ event, and with people from organizations that come to the support the preschool. (interview, November 11, 2014)

In both preschools, communities participated predominantly in cultural events. Mapuche communities were invited to both preschools to guide Mapuche ceremonies, to dance, and to play instruments and games. For instance, Mapuche communities were invited to guide traditional Mapuche ceremonies such as *We Tripantü* or preschool events that needed the

²⁴ *Palín* is a Mapuche game played by men. This is a traditional game frequently taught in the preschools and schools with an IBE approach

approval and blessing of a Mapuche community. During these ceremonies, the Mapuche communities taught children and teachers the traditional dance. Romina explained:

A [Mapuche] group helped us with the *purruñ*²⁵, and helped us prepare a dance with the children. The men came because this dance is usually for men, and they taught the children to move the cape like a *ñandú*. They also explained the purpose of the moves, and the importance of the wings. They also explained what to do with the girls during the dance, because it is a dance of seduction. (interview, September 16, 2014)

During these ceremonies, the Mapuche people were in charge of sharing and making sure that their traditional culture was taught properly in the preschool. The principal of the Alicura Preschool summarized this notion: “communities have to address, I think, what is fundamental [to the culture]—the dance, the music, and the art as well—everything about the Indigenous culture, so we can have access to it, and then practice it with the children” (Ingrid, interview, November 6, 2014).

In these ceremonies, the Mapuche communities were also valued in the preschool by their work with music and instruments. Rosa, a Mapuche teacher in the Alicura Preschool, explained that “they come to play, to organize something like an exhibition of musical instruments, and they were in all the classrooms. And it is all different—their clothes, attires, instruments” (interview, September 15, 2014). Furthermore, Mapuche communities were also appreciated for organizing a *Preschool Palín Event* where all IBE preschools participated. Mapuche communities were in charge of the event program, the games, the instruction, and all the activities and presentations (observation, November 14, 2014).

²⁵ Traditional Mapuche dance used in *We Tripantii*

In addition, teachers valued the communities who participated because they built a *ruka* (home) in the preschool (Alicura Preschool), as well as for inviting the children to their *ruka* (Palqui Preschool). The ELCI of the Palqui Preschool describes this point in the following excerpt:

They have a *ruka* that is bigger than the one we have here, therefore we work together.

We bring the children to the *ruka*, and there they [the community] tell them stories, and teach them culture, show them video; they have a fire, they share, they eat, they drink.

There, they receive people and they show them their work with the medicinal herbs and everything. So, in that sense, we work together. (Jacinta, interview, October 9, 2014)

Similarly, in the Alicura Preschool, Rosa valued the participation of Indigenous communities in building a small farm. She explained that “Before the current farm we have now, I made my own small farm with my parents, and they [Mapuche communities] also helped me to farm the soil, to take the stones, to remove things. They helped me, they came” (interview, September 15, 2014). The notion of Mapuche communities as “activity organizers” was also present in preschool documents that described the accomplishments of the preschool in connecting with communities. The *PADEM*²⁶ of the Alicura Preschool listed each activity organized by a Mapuche community in the preschool. A summary of these activities is provided in Table 6 in the next page.

²⁶ Document created by the local municipality with information on state institutions, such as preschool, to explain their progress.

Table 6

Alicura Preschool PADEM Document (edited) / Mapuche Communities as Organizers

Achievements 2011-2012	Achievements 2013	Achievements 2014
Preschool staff completes auto training in Mapudungun.	Workshop for the families: TELAR and Mapuche food.	Project 1° <i>Palín</i> event with preschools.
Coordinate with Mapuche organizations to propose a collaborative program.	CONADI project to build a <i>ruka</i> at the Preschool.	Workshops for the family: <i>Catutos and Kofke</i> . Workshop about Mapuche knowledge.
<i>Palín</i> event with IBE preschools in Región Metropolitana.	Intercultural artistic exhibition with families.	4° <i>Palín</i> event with IBE preschools in Región Metropolitana.
Celebration of the 1° <i>We Tripantü</i> .	3° Celebration of <i>We Tripantü</i> . 1° Commemoration of Indigenous Women Day.	4° Celebration of del <i>We Tripantü</i> .
Inauguration of Preschool, with participation from Mapuche organizations, families, and authorities.	3° <i>Palín</i> event with the IBE preschools in Región Metropolitana.	2° Commemoration of Indigenous Women Day.
Project “Put a name to the preschool.” Families and communities participate to choose a name for the Preschool.	Reinforcement of relationship with the Mapuche organizations: <i>Lelfunche, Newen Wenechen, Newen Ko Leufu</i> .	
ELCI project.	1° <i>Matetun</i> ²⁷ with Mapuche organizations.	

In spite of the success of these activities, Gema criticized that Mapuche communities were seen as a community merely for doing activities:

So, at that moment I realized there was an issue, because those are not communities; they are people, a few people. But they call themselves “communities,” because they are doing

²⁷ Meeting to drink *mate*

activities. They are organizing themselves to do something; therefore they are called communities because they are generally organizing something. (interview, September 10, 2014)

In this excerpt, Gema seemed to insinuate that Mapuche communities have an importance that goes beyond simply organizing events. In her perspective, any group of people can coordinate or set up an event. What was essential about the concept of Indigenous communities was not based on their capacities to host activities.

Mapuche people as visitors. This analysis connects both what the two preschools expected from Mapuche communities and the concrete practices in which communities worked in these preschools. Regarding the Mapuche's work in the preschools, and in examining the ways in which preschools and community members referred to the work of these communities, I observed that the words most frequently used were connected to the semantic notion of an invitation. In other words, Mapuche communities were perceived as guests that attended the preschool's activities to help or to be a spectator at the events. For instance, when talking about the community participation at Alicura Preschool, Rosa, a Mapuche educator at this school, said, "[T]hey have supported us," and "we have invited them." She added, "[T]hey come to play for us, to make an exhibit of musical instruments." Later she further described the situation by saying, "In fact, now for the *Preschool Palín Event*, we need people that come to arbitrate the two groups, the two preschools. Therefore we asked them [Mapuche communities] for collaboration, and they were willing to come" (interview, September 15, 2014). The particular language that Rosa used in these comments reveals how preschool members perceived the Indigenous communities' participation: Preschool members felt that these communities took part

in the school's activities to help or support the preschool, the accounts related to support and help were more frequent throughout the interviews (principals, teachers and ELCIs) I conducted.

Elena, the ELCI in the Alicura Preschool, also shared this vision of the Mapuche community's participation as guests and supporters, using the word *apadrinar* (which translates to mean someone who acts as a sponsor or godparent). In her own words, the Mapuche community "sponsored the preschool" specifically because a "Mapuche group was needed in the preschool" (interview, September 15, 2014). Sara, a Mapuche community member who participated in the preschool's celebration of Indigenous women, also shared this idea. When talking about participating in this event, she mentioned, "there are a lot of events in Santiago." Still, she attended the events at this particular preschool because, "in other places I felt used" (informal conversation, October 5, 2014).

This view of Mapuche community as visitors influenced the ways in which they were treated in the preschool, and also the possibilities for the community's participation. Affected, perhaps, by the initial difficulty in collaborating with the Mapuche communities, the preschool teachers and ELCI received community members gently and cautiously. At cultural events, Mapuche members were offered food and comfortable seats. The ELCI and Rosa, a Mapuche teacher, constantly made efforts to ensure that Mapuche members were seated in the first row, protected from the sun, and offered food first (field notes, November 26, 2014). In doing so, teachers and ELCI attempted to make their school's visitors feel content and relaxed.

On the other side, this reverence and special gestures of respect prevented members of the Mapuche community from interacting closely with children, or of influencing teachers' and preschools' decisions. A *Preschool Palín Event* in the Alicura Preschool was a good example of this distinction between visitor and actor. The *palín* was organized in a game field specially built

for this event. Several sunshades were set up to protect the children and community members from the sun, and one sunshade was used for all the community members. A *machi*²⁸ and others attended the *palín* event, and accompanied the game with instruments and songs while the teachers interacted directly with children and parents. Several times the *machi* wanted to share her input regarding the event. For instance, she wanted to the other community members to keep playing their instruments while the children played *palín* because this is the traditional way. The *machi* also wanted the event to end in a particular way. However, these wishes were communicated to an Intercultural Assessor²⁹ from JUNJI rather than to the preschool principal, teachers, or other staff members (field notes, November 26, 2014). Physically speaking, Mapuche community members participated in the preschool events, and positioned themselves in a most comfortable—but also separated—space. Therefore, although community members were physically present at these events, there was no fluent interaction between different actors at the preschool and Mapuche people.

It is worth noting that comments about appreciating community participation coexisted with comments that acknowledged the need of more meaningful participation. When discussing levels of Mapuche levels of participation at these types of events, Corina, a non-Mapuche teacher, affirmed that it was necessary that community members participate in the preschool not only as guests, but also to do things together (conversation group, December 18, 2014). Continuing this notion, in an interview Corina mentioned that communities celebrated the *We Tripantü*, and then prepared the *Regional Palín Event*, “but nothing beyond that” (interview,

²⁸ Traditional wise elder of the Mapuche people.

²⁹ Intercultural Assessor is an employee of JUNJI who usually has Indigenous heritage and works supporting interculturality in the preschools.

September 15, 2014). She quickly added that one way to achieve better interaction between groups was for teachers and community members to plan lessons together.

Mapuche people for companionship. The descriptions of the Mapuche community's participation in preschool events were also frequently described in terms of companionship. Mapuche communities were positively valued because they accompanied preschool members (principal, teachers, and teacher assistants) during activities. Different preschool actors appreciated that the Mapuche communities participated in activities at the preschool because it meant that they, the preschool members, were not alone. When describing activities that Mapuche community participated at the preschool, the principal of Palqui Preschool said, "People from the organization come to support us. In the stories for the table theater,³⁰ they accompanied us, and thus, it [interaction] has been very close" (interview, November 11, 2014). Similarly, the ELCI at Palqui Preschool commented on the Mapuche people's participation, saying that "they accompany us during ceremonies and they accompany us during meetings" (interview, October 9, 2014).

These examples support and repeat an understanding of participation from the Mapuche community as serving and assisting in the preschool's purposes. However, what is new and different from the perspective of Indigenous communities as visitors is the sense of abandonment. Throughout the interviews, and in particular in the Palqui Preschool, there were multiple references to the sentiment of being alone. The principal, teachers, and ELCI at the Palqui Preschool shared feelings of being alone in an educational system, which tangibly, does not support them. The principal stated, "IBE preschools are alone" (Maura, interview, November 11, 2014). Thus, their gratitude toward the Mapuche community presence, although often a

³⁰ This is a kind of theater with small doll who act in a scenario created in a table. It is a common practice in preschools in Chile.

passive presence, comes from institutional and societal isolation. Even having Mapuche community members only as company during events and meetings was better than the indifference and neglect of the educational institutions that should have supported them.

The sense of isolation was acutely present in the Palqui Preschool. Mapuche teachers critiqued the lack of funding and assistance from both the educational governmental institutions and the non-profit organization that manages the preschool. They demanded more substantial solutions to promote IBE, sensing that they had achieved as much as they could by themselves; teachers felt that they could not continue working without training and financial support from the institutional level. They also felt that governmental institutions had taken advantage of their work, presenting and publishing the achievements of the IBE preschool when they did not provide support to Palqui Preschool (conversation group, December 19, 2014). They felt unsupported and sometimes insulted by some authorities. Indeed, for a teacher's assistant and the ELCI at Palqui Preschool, the main problem was the lack of a sensitivity paid by institutional staff towards IBE. Both this teacher's assistant and the ELCI recounted that they were mocked at several different institutional meetings by other preschools. For instance, other preschools mocked members of the Palqui Preschool when they applauded or celebrated with an *afafán*³¹. Jacinta, the ELCI mentioned in this scenario, suggested that the non-profit organization managing the Palqui Preschool should start by *sensibilizar*³² their own staff—in other words, the non-profit organization should promote sensitivity amongst their own group members (conversation group, December 19, 2014). In short, these preschool members felt alone not only because they were not financially supported, but also because national institutions disregarded the IBE program.

³¹ Traditional Mapuche way to celebrate, and is similar to clapping.

³² *Sensibilizar* means make people sensitive to an issue.

At the Alicura Preschool, the sentiment of being alone was expressed in terms of difficulty in finding motivation. Teachers at this preschool struggled to understand the purpose of their work, particularly in a context where IBE preschools are not connected to the national school system. Frequently, these teachers mentioned that one of their challenges was being aware of the fact that after preschool education, their children would go to mainstream schools where the curriculum would not include learning Mapuche language or culture. As a result, teachers at Alicura Preschool wondered if what they taught their students would become irrelevant. They tried to find value in their teachings and IBE preschools by focusing on the impact of learning experiences in children's minds and memories. In this regard, Jacinta, the ELCI in the Palqui Preschool, said that the students "are not going to learn in this [educational] system how to speak Mapudungun, but in this preschool they will not be surprised of Mapuche people; they will be familiar with their clothes, instruments" (interview, October 10, 2014).

The sense of discontent and sense of abandonment was not only expressed towards the institutions managing IBE preschools, but also toward the Mapuche communities as well. Jacinta, the ELCI in the Palqui Preschool, valued the communities' work, but she also severely stated that the Mapuche communities have a "moral responsibility" towards the school (conversation group, December 19, 2014). She criticized the Mapuche communities for asking and demanding for the construction of IBE preschools, and then leaving the preschools alone. Jacinta also stated that "the most basic thing they [the Mapuche communities] could do is at least to attend the school events" (conversation group, December 19, 2014).

Principals at both preschools also criticized the Mapuche communities for not providing guidance to IBE preschools. The principals affirmed that the Mapuche communities demanded IBE preschools exist, but that these communities did not know exactly what they wanted the IBE

preschools to teach or to do. This is another instance where preschool administration were left alone to figure out what and how to teach. As the principal of the Palqui Preschool put it, “[C]ommonly, the organizations propose Traditional Educators, but they simply propose them. That is all. But what happens with those educators, and what those educators do in the classrooms, nobody knows” (Maura, interview, November 11, 2014). From this perspective, Maura appreciated that the Mapuche community participated in the preschool’s activities and, but she also stated that companionship alone was not enough. She said:

Organizations have to start working with the endogenous development of their own culture, in order to have their own proposal of work, because our children are here. Well, we give them topics related to the [Indigenous] culture, and some elements related to that culture, but are we actually doing something that it is going to impact the children’s lives in such a way that they will feel that cultural identity? (interview, November 11, 2014)

Maura also suggested that communities should “strengthen themselves regarding cultural themes so they can give that knowledge [to teachers]. If we want this country to be valued for its multiculturalism, our educators must have knowledge of the multiple cultures of this country” (interview, November 11, 2014).

Discussion: Transformation and Failing to Challenge the State

In this chapter, I analyzed and described several ways in which two IBE preschools connected with Mapuche communities. In this section, I review these findings with a review of relevant literature in terms of: (a) institutional constrains towards IBE preschools; (b) attempts by IBE preschools at transformation (in other words, instances in which IBE preschools challenge the State and current conditions); and (c) preschools’ failures, in terms of ways they perpetuate beliefs and structures against Mapuche communities.

Institutional constraints of IBE preschools. Several factors indicate that IBE must overcome certain challenges in order work effectively with Mapuche communities, and more specifically, restore trust and interest of this Indigenous community in IBE preschools. These factors include the revision of preschool and policy documents as well as personal perspectives of principals and teachers from IBE preschools. To a certain extent, IBE preschools also faced the challenge of convincing Mapuche communities—and perhaps convincing themselves—that the government made the proper decision in choosing non-Mapuche organizations to manage them. In other words, IBE preschools and Mapuche communities began their interaction from a broken space. Before their first encounter with one another, both preschools actors and Mapuche community members had to heal a damaged relationship, which neither partner created nor fully understood. The Chilean State implemented the construction of IBE preschools and required these schools to include Indigenous communities, perhaps to mitigate the discontent of Mapuche people; but as a result, left both groups in a struggling territory.

IBE preschools also struggled because of the lack of support they received from State educational institutions in Chile. These schools work with the intercultural office of JUNJI and with CONADI, but neither of these institutions has the necessary financial resources or authority to properly support IBE preschools. Like the IBE program in Chile, IBE preschools are marginalized in the national educational system. They are marginalized and disregarded primarily in terms of economic support, but more importantly in terms of the status of the IBE program. Preschool actors are aware of both the importance of their work for Mapuche families and the irrelevance of this work for the entire educational system. Preschool actors felt abandoned by the Chilean State due to the lack of preparation programs for teachers, and the discontinuity of IBE in the higher levels of the school system. IBE preschools were left alone in

building and deciding proper guidelines, methodologies and goals for teaching Indigenous languages and cultures.

The abandonment of IBE preschools unavoidably prompts the question, Why did the Chilean government implement a program that it has not systematically supported? Some have argued that the fragility of the IBE program is due to the fact that Chile has never genuinely wanted to have intercultural education; as seen in Chapter 1, these people argue that the construction of IBE schools was only a strategy to have both non-Indigenous movements at peace as means toward a stable country and economy that can be trusted for international investment. Thinkers from this perspective also argue that construction of IBE preschools was a strategy to prove, on an international stage, that Chile respected the rights and equity of Indigenous people. Enhancing Chile's image on an international stage is another approach to foster international capital investment. In short, some argue that IBE preschools was a strategy to help Chile function better within and for a neoliberal economy (Quintrileo et al., 2013).

Following Walsh's research and logic (2010), the absence of governmental and financial support can also be understood as a consequence of the functional intercultural perspective in Chile. Functional interculturalism attempts to accept, protect and give spaces for diversity in a country; however, this diversity has to function, ultimately, within the context, limit and structure of a country's national system. Criticism, transformation, and change in power and knowledge structures are not included in a functional intercultural system. In terms of IBE preschools, functional interculturalism translated to mean that IBE preschools are intended for Indigenous peoples and minorities in general. Members of IBE preschool must manage the demands of integrating all Indigenous communities and cultures, as well as integrate all these

cultures into the preschools. In doing so, IBE preschools are expected to function as a space of cultural inclusion, but not a space of Indigenous revitalization.

The challenges that these IBE preschools have faced demonstrate that functional interculturalism strongly affects the potential for success. If the final purpose of IBE is to create space for diversity, but not to change or advance it, then IBE-specific teacher training is not necessary. Teachers with mainstream preparation could either work in a mainstream preschool or an IBE preschool. In this sense, it could be concluded that the Chilean State has not abandoned IBE preschools because, ultimately, it is not expecting these preschools to function or offer a different type of education from mainstream preschools. By constructing IBE preschools, the State is merely providing spaces for diversity and the coexistence of cultural groups. However, since this cannot be said explicitly, policy documents express double discourse, or in other words, use terms that present two meanings, without clearly identifying its ultimate meaning. Specifically, the double discourse is as follows: intercultural education for the purposes of diversity/inclusion, and intercultural education for the benefit of Indigenous people.

Double discourse, and the confusion from it, is not accidental. As Chilean critics of neoliberalism have argued, Indigenous communities must be included (or at least appear to be included) in order to maintain a country's stability. Therefore, from this perspective, support for any type of intercultural education, inclusion or Indigenous people—in terms of resources or training or otherwise—is important to maintain this stability. Following this line of thought, the lack of preparation of teachers in formal institutions for IBE could be an indicator that the State prefers to not commit to Indigenous education, but rather diversity and inclusion in general. As a result, IBE preschools are left in a vague and unclear space that aims to promote education for Mapuche people and for all ethnic groups in general, without actually serving any particular

group. IBE preschools have to prioritize and encourage the enrollment of Indigenous children, but at the same time, serve the needs of the currently enrolled students, who are mostly non-Indigenous.

For IBE preschools, this ambiguous relationship to Indigenous communities has prompted two distinct missions for teachers to follow—specifically, IBE policy guidelines and Mapuche communities. Interestingly, IBE authorities deemed it inadequate when teachers only focused on the demands of Mapuche communities. An intercultural officer of JUNJI explained during an interview that one of IBE’s current problems is that preschools are “closed-minded.” In other words, IBE preschools focus on Mapuche communities, and in consequence, they ignore the preschool’s larger role in the community. In the officer’s view, IBE preschools should incorporate all cultures around the preschool, not exclusively Mapuche people.

Preschools’ attempts at transformation. Despite limitations imposed by the Chilean State educational system, the two IBE preschools used in this study made efforts to connect with Mapuche communities. The ways that these preschools, and preschools’ principals in particular, attempted to connect with Mapuche communities can be illuminated with the metaphor of a bridge. Principals, teachers and ELCIs made concrete efforts to create bridges between preschools and Indigenous communities by including Mapuche communities in their preschools’ activities. Both principals established strategies in their *Proyecto Educativo Institucional* [Institutional Educative Project] that would generate solid partnerships with Indigenous communities. These strategies also identified specific tasks and steps towards ongoing collaboration. Despite difficulties, neither IBE preschool used in this study considered the possibility of excluding Mapuche communities. And in spite of differences, struggles and

misunderstandings, both IBE preschools worked toward collaboration with Indigenous communities.

Using different approaches, both IBE preschools connected with communities, as evidenced in the Mapuche's participation in preschool events. The creation of these bridges—although not necessarily frequently used to change the education of children—is already a resistance space within the national preschool system, which predominately does not include any kind of Indigenous communities in their instruction or activities/events, less commonly communities that embrace openly different knowledges and paradigms. In other words, these two IBE preschools were successful in building a bridge to create hybrid spaces, in a context where success is measured not in Indigenous knowledge, but rather, in standardized test of the mainstream culture.

During these attempts at transformation, both preschools were successful in looking for and connecting with allies. Principals at these schools understood that many different actors are responsible for their students' education. They also recognized their limitations, and therefore, they intentionally partnered with other actors to acquire knowledge they did not possess. Despite problems, principals at both preschools saw Mapuche communities as a resource for learning and teaching. These preschools broadened their circles to incorporate allies that were historically excluded from preschool education (decision-making, events, etc.).

In comparison with mainstream preschools in the national educational system, the two IBE preschools used in this study were examples of an alternative approach to education. Both schools have resisted the growing pressure to deliver curriculums that only fulfill standards for reading, mathematics and other core subjects. In short, they have worked to create hybrid spaces

within their schools, where different systems of knowledge could coexist, even if only momentarily.

However, in following Gutiérrez, Baquedano & Tejada's terminology (1999), I consider that these hybrid spaces have not yet become a *third space*. Both the Palqui and Alicura Preschools accepted and encouraged multiculturalism— or in other words, functional interculturalism neoliberalism—and in doing so, created hybrid spaces where diverse cultures could coexist. Although they achieved success in this respect, both preschools failed to resist the State and societal structures. Consequently, these preschools reproduced what they aimed to change.

IBE preschools' failures: sites of reproduction. Based on the examples presented in the previous sections, IBE preschools failed in overcoming their struggles and integrating the Indigenous communities' into the preschools' larger contexts. During my interviews, none of the teachers, community members or principals connected their problems with the history of Mapuche people and the Chilean State. For instance, nobody mentioned that the construction and challenges of IBE preschools was one more example to add in the long list of abuse and fraud (of the Chilean government) against Indigenous people, and particularly, Mapuche people. All interview subjects talked about the stressed relationship between IBE preschools and Indigenous communities as issues of administration: from the perspective of preschool actors, Mapuche people did not have adequate administration knowledge, and so, they should not manage preschools. The preschools failed to consider the fact that schools have historically acted as a tool of colonizers, ignoring the fact that nowadays, a Christian and a governmental institution control the education of Mapuche people, two institutions which were the historical homogenizing agents of Indigenous people.

In the same vein, this lack of consideration of the larger historical and political struggle of the Mapuche communities in Chile prompted preschool administrators to address their partnership with Indigenous communities as a personal issue. In the view of my interview subjects, the Indigenous communities around both preschools were against a particular non-Mapuche principal, merely for being and looking non-Mapuche. And as the issue was considered personal (as opposed to political or historical), it was addressed in a personal way. The first principal of Palqui Preschool (a non-Mapuche person) was replaced by a Mapuche principal, who then created individual connections with members of the Mapuche community. Given that the level of Mapuche participation increased at the Palqui Preschool after the Mapuche principal took over, the personal nature was emphasized further. In consequence, there was no reflection regarding the historical context of building relationships with Mapuche people. In this case, the bridge was built and maintained by one person (the principal), which prompts the question: What will happen if/when the Mapuche principal is no longer at the preschool?

The lack of a comprehensive understanding of Mapuche relations inclined principals at both preschools to hold the Mapuche communities responsible for their people's limited participation in IBE preschools. Communities were blamed for demanding the construction of IBE preschools and then disappearing. No inquiries were made about why the Mapuche communities did not actively participate or about why they disappeared. Preschool actors concluded mainly local and procedural reasons: Romina and Rosa said in interviews that Mapuche communities did not frequently participate at preschools because the preschool was not easily accessible (transportation); Romina and Jacinta said in interviews that Mapuche people did not often participate at preschool activities/events because they worked during normal school hours.

In spite of these interviews, research on Indigenous communities and partnership encourage us to reflect on other possible reasons for the lack of participation. Doucet (2011) argues that community's limited participation can also be seen as "community resistance." In other words, Mapuche people may have abstained from participating at IBE preschools in order to protect their culture from assimilation.

Another facet of blaming communities was to condemn communities for requesting support but simultaneously requesting that support for the preschool. The principal of the Palqui Preschool complained about the lack of support that the preschool received from governmental institutions. Yet, this principal did not recall the same lack of governmental support of the Mapuche community. In fact, in her view, preschools have the right to demand help from the government, while Mapuche communities should stop focusing on what the government has not offered them and concentrate their efforts in the education of their children. In other words, this principal identified the injustice toward one group (the preschool actors), but not towards another group (Mapuche community members). In the same lines, the principal of the Alicura Preschool complained about the unfair treatment she received from the Mapuche communities, since, for Mapuche people, the preschool had stolen their "conquest" (here, conquest referred to the chance to manage the preschool). By using the word conquest, this principal insinuated Mapuche communities were soldiers and the preschool members were victims, without reflecting on history and Spain's conquest of the Mapuche.

Similar findings have been obtained in research on racialized contexts. Philip and Benin (2014) asserted that individuals in the position of privilege "often personalize institutional analyses of racism" (p. 4) and perceive themselves as "the new victim". Even though I do agree that teachers in IBE preschools were left alone to work in struggling and highly challenging sites,

insinuating the image of the victim “abdicates their responsibility in critically engaging with the questions of what it means to be [a teacher]” (p. 13) for Mapuche children in a racialized society. Simultaneously, “these statements work to reproduce... relationships of power” (p. 19). In terms of preschools, this reproduction of power means the exclusion of Indigenous knowledge and of the Indigenous community members in the decision-making process.

The disregard of the political and historical context of Mapuche people is also related to a conception of IBE preschools as not corrupted by political conflicts. In fact, in the Alicura Preschool it was seen as a favorable characteristic for teachers not to be involved in the political conflicts and demands of the Mapuche people in the south of Chile. However, their exclusion also acts as veil that masks situations in which Mapuche children have been involved. Rosa explained the struggles on Mapuche people in the south as conflict, without mentioning that Mapuche children have been shot by police forces or have been in situations that in news or forefront of public discussion during the same period that her interview was conducted.

In the same lines, Mapuche communities were criticized for primarily focusing on politics—for wanting to be part of the government or for condemning the government and demanding land and resources. In the view of the principal and ELCI of Palqui Preschool, schools and communities should focus on the education of its students, which would not be influenced or shaped by political issues. Both preschools failed in resisting the functional interculturalism, and on the contrary, they reproduced the ideas that preschools are ideologically-free, and perpetuate conceptions to avoid conversations regarding issues of societal and power structures in Chile. In other words, both IBE preschools fail in conceiving education as a transformative space to change society. Considering Grande’s (2004) research, schools for Indigenous children should act as sites that are “centrally committed to the transformation of

capitalist social relations, recognizing that the attainment of real equity is impossible within the current imperialist system of economic exploitation” (p. 6), which is still not a reality for this IBE preschools.

Without universal guidelines, each IBE preschool shapes their own interpretation regarding preschool and Mapuche community partnership. The multi-perceptions of communities as bearers of culture, organizers, visitors, and companions show an ahistorical, non-relational, and static concept of culture. In this respect, both IBE preschools fail in challenging a monolithic notion of culture. For both preschools, Mapuche communities possess a stable and homogenous culture that only they (Mapuche communities) can deliver to teachers and students. The critiques and demands towards Mapuche communities come from the perspective that culture is homogenous. In this view, providing guidelines is a matter of decision for Mapuche communities. For both principals, Mapuche communities only need to have a meeting and come to an agreement regarding particular aspects of Mapuche culture to be taught in IBE preschools. Neither preschool considered culture as heterogeneous and ever-changing.

Likewise, from the Mapuche perspective, culture is seen as something pure that comes from the past and from the south of Chile. In their view, teachers should visit the south of Chile, in Santiago for instance, to learn the Mapuche culture, because in Santiago the culture has been corrupted with the urban and modern ways of living and ideas. In the same vein, culture is not considered in its relational character. Mapuche communities within themselves have Mapuche culture. How Mapuche culture changes in relation to another is omitted in the conversations about Mapuche culture. This has resulted in IBE preschools that “only illuminate the deep deficiencies of a perspective that espouse the empty rhetoric of ‘respecting differences’... [but to

fight against] market synthetic pedagogies that reduce culture to the ‘celebration’ of food, fad, and festivals” (Grande, 2004, p. 4).

I am not arguing here that the Mapuche culture in Santiago is equally relevant to the overall culture in the south of Chile, because with Battiste (2002), I believe that “Indigenous knowledge is also inherently tied to land, not to land in general but to particular landscapes, landforms, and biomes where ceremonies are properly held, stories properly recited, medicines properly gathered, and transfers of knowledge properly authenticated” (p. 13). Therefore, “ensuring the complete and accurate transmission of knowledge and authority from generation to generation depends not only on maintaining ceremonies” but also on “maintaining the integrity of the land itself” (p. 13). Nevertheless, Mapuche and non-Mapuche teachers included in this study seemed not to value the Mapuche culture of the south in terms of connection with the land, but rather, because in Southern Chile, the Indigenous culture is unadulterated. In other words, there is a romanticized view of tradition. As the intercultural assessor at JUNJI said, many Indigenous communities have an “essentialist” view of culture. From her perspective, there is an extended misunderstanding of what the terms diversity and culture mean. Grande (2004), warned us of not reproducing an essentialist view of tradition. Instead, Grande argued for a an “intellectual, social and political movement to reinvigorate Indigenous values, principles and other cultural elements best suited to the larger contemporary political and economic reality” (p. 166). In other words, tradition is also “a commitment to the future sustainability of the group” (p. 166).

However, it is worth noting that IBE teachers’ struggle to understand and revitalize Mapuche culture is shared worldwide by Indigenous communities (Battiste, 2002). As Grande

(2008) puts it, “while Indigenous people resist the kind of essentialism that recognize only one way of being, they also work to retain a vast constellation of distinct traditions” (p. 172).

The focus on political and moral aspects of education with a goal of transformation and empowering is absolutely necessary for this research and for Indigenous people in Chile, where Indigenous people have been historically subjugated to achieve colonial-political objectives and, today, neoliberal agendas. Based on the framework of critical Indigenous pedagogies, I argue that IBE preschools should “speak to oppressed, colonized persons living in postcolonial situations of injustice” (Denzin, Lincoln, Smith, 2008, p. xii). These schools should also “understand that all inquiry is both political and moral,” “values the transformative power of Indigenous, subjugated knowledge,” “values the pedagogical practices that produce these knowledges,” and “seeks forms of praxis and inquiry that are emancipatory and empowering”(Denzin, Lincoln, Smith, 2008, p. 3).

In these terms, IBE preschools should share in their common aspiration to construct and maintain schools that “are free from oppression and subordination, and stand for social justice and emancipation” (Grande, 2004, p. 6).

In the next chapter I focus on specific instances that teachers and Indigenous community members interact, and how each group refers to these interactions.

Chapter 4: Teachers and Indigenous Communities

In this section I address the main research question of this study—regarding the nature, purpose, and quality of the partnerships between IBE preschools and Mapuche communities—by looking at the work that teachers and Indigenous communities do together in IBE preschools. Some of this collaboration may be inferred from the work that IBE preschools and Indigenous communities do jointly. However, in this section I intend to analyze their connection from an inter-relational level, that is, from the interactions between members of two preschools and members of Mapuche communities. Based on salient categories of the data and theoretical framework, I examine three main themes: (a) what ELCIs and teachers do together, (b) what teachers and Mapuche community members do jointly, and (c) how teachers talk about Mapuche communities' work in the preschool. For this analysis, I focus on what the participants say (interviews and group conversations), and the few moments of *encuentro*³³ (field notes) where they talk to one other.

Based on field notes and interviews, the most significant finding with regards to teachers and Mapuche community members' interactions is that they rarely collaborated together in IBE preschool activities. They shared space within these two preschools, but only occasionally did they work and cooperate as one. The following sections develop and expand upon this idea.

ELCIs and Teachers in IBE Preschools

In understanding what teachers and Mapuche communities do together, first we have to examine the role of the ELCI—the so-called “representative of Mapuche communities”—in the preschools. It is worth noting that IBE policies do not explicitly define the work of the ELCIs in

³³ This word is similar to the English encounter, however, it also has a more positive connotation when referring to people who meet or see each other.

the preschools, and as noted in the previous chapter, Indigenous communities are criticized for only proposing an ELCI in the preschool without supporting her work throughout the year. Although the lack of ELCI regulation could be both a challenge and an opportunity for the preschool, specifically to construct their own meaning regarding the ELCI work, it is mainly seen as a problem to be solved. Indeed, Elena—the ELCI at the Alicura Preschool—was aware of the uncertainty of her role from both the IBE policy and preschool levels. She explained that due to this lack of guidance and regulation, she had to “write everything down,” everything she did in “June, July, every month,” including “dates,” “specific children she talked to,” the “classrooms and courses she participated in,” and “the lesson plans [she followed].” Maintaining this list of tasks was important because Elena got paid after sending this document to CONADI. Despite the lack of an explicitly defined role, teachers, principals, and also the same ELCI expressed concrete understandings about the ELCI’s role. In the next paragraphs, I review the role of ELCIs in the two IBE preschools used in this study.

Two salient findings in my field notes and interviews are as follows: first, teachers and ELCIs rarely interacted in the classrooms, and second, ELCIs did not participate in the decision-making process of classroom activities. An CONADI supervisor explained that the lack of collaboration of ELCIs in the lesson plans was based on the idea that many ELCIs did not finish high school, and because of this, they could not be asked to prepare a lesson plan (Natalia, interview, August 12, 2014). In fact, IBE preschools have been criticized for demanding ELCIs to “bring their own lesson plans” (IBE supervisor, interview, December 10, 2014). However, at the same time, it was expected that ELCIs and teachers work together “like a pedagogical couple”; nevertheless, what actually happened was that teachers prepared the class activities by

themselves and then informed ELCIs of what they had to do. This was especially the case at the Alicura Preschool. Corina, a non-Mapuche teacher, described this process by saying:

At the beginning of the school year, we [teachers] met. Well, we proposed the themes that we were going to see during the year, and then we talked to the ELCI. [Based on that discussion] a calendar was organized [by us, the teachers], a lesson plan was developed with Mapuche themes and world-view. (interview, September 16, 2014)

This quote shows that ELCIs were not included in the decision-making process regarding what to teach and how. The lack of ELCI involvement in decision-making can also be perceived in the classrooms (field notes, October 15, 2014). I observed classes that were taught by teachers alone, and classes taught by teachers with and ELCI to examine the differences between those classes; however, classes with or without ELCIs had the same structure, the same activities for students, and the same amount of Mapudungun language was spoken. In other words, teachers and ELCIs did not collaborate to teach a class that incorporated both mainstream and Mapuche ways of teaching.

In the Alicura Preschool, teachers commented that they did plan the classes together with ELCIs, but the actual participation of the ELCI in preschools did not resonate with teachers' statements. The ELCI usually had a secondary participation in the classroom, or in other words, she was subordinated to the teachers' instructions. In one class that I observed, the teacher and the teacher's assistant were in charge of all classroom activities. The ELCI waited for the invitation from the teacher's assistant and the teacher to participate and interact with students. In short, the ELCI did not teach anything directly to the children, nor did she suggest activities to the teacher (field notes, September 13, 2014). The following summary of events in a classroom at Alicura Preschool shows the extent of the ELCI's participation with students and teachers.

Episode 1: Class Observation with Non-Mapuche Teacher and ELCI (field notes, September 9, 2014).

The following is an excerpt from my field notes taken during class observation of a non-Mapuche teacher and an ELCI at Alicura Preschool:

Then, the ELCI enters the classroom. The teacher says that the boys will play *palín* and the girls will go to the school's small farm. The boys set up for the game in the middle of the yard. The teacher's assistant and the ELCI stay with the boys, and the teacher goes with the girls. The teacher's assistant and the ELCI organize two groups of male students. The boys are noisy and energetic. Two groups of male students are in the middle. They shake hands and say "*marri marri*"³⁴.

The teacher's assistant chooses the names of the teams, counts the goals in Mapudungun, and organizes the boys, cheering them on using Mapudungun words. The teacher's assistant decides to have a "*Consejo Mapuche*"³⁵ in the middle of the yard with the children. She says that she is going to play with the ELCI, and because a child was crying, she reminds them that the purpose of the game is to participate and share, and not to win.

The teacher's assistant gets a call from the teacher, so we all go the *ruka*. Once inside the *ruka*, the children get in a circle. The children are very uneasy, and it is difficult to make them participate in the circle. Finally, the ELCI plays the *kultrún*³⁶ when prompted by the teacher to do so. The teacher's assistant directs the activity and

³⁴ Mapudungun word that means "hello"

³⁵ Traditional Mapuche meeting

³⁶ Traditional Mapuche instruments used in ceremonies

motivates the children to sing in Mapudungun. Some children sing, others prefer to draw or paint. The teachers ask some questions, and some children answer.

Through this description, we can observe that the ELCI's participation was directed and limited by the teachers' instructions, perhaps because the ELCI did not know when or how to teach the children, or perhaps because the teachers did not trust the ELCI's work (and thus monitored and limited what the ELCI could teach). Although it is plausible, and even recognized, that the ELCI was not knowledgeable in school-teaching strategies to work together in the classroom with the teachers, the lack of any interaction between the teachers and the ELCI suggests that the ELCI was not even trusted in her opinions or views. Teachers did not exchange ideas with the ELCI. Indeed, this episode is also telling as it shows that teachers and the ELCI almost did not talk to each other. During four hours of observations, the teacher and the ELCI only spoke to each other once, when the teacher asked the ELCI to play the *kultrún*. In the same period of time, the teacher and teacher's assistant dialogued multiple times, asking each other to monitor the girls or the boys, organizing what to do first and what to do next, deciding the duration of each activity, when to go back to the classroom, among other things. They even called each other over their cellphone to communicate their activities when they were in different rooms (field notes, September 9, 2014).

It is worth mentioning that this episode was not unique, but rather an example of a common case in the Alicura Preschool. On a different occasion, the teachers again decided to play *palín* with the children, and again the teacher's assistant and the teachers were in charge of all the activities, leaving the ELCI to a minimum level of participation. The teacher and the teacher's assistant organized the students into two teams, put together all the students in the middle of the field for a *Consejo Mapuche*, and then asked the children how to say relevant

words in Mapudungun, such as *ball*, *goal*, *classmates*, and *stick*. Then the teachers reminded the students that the purpose of the game was to share an experience with their friends. Whereas Romina taught the children how to play, the ELCI helped bringing the sticks (used in *palín*) to the playing field. The teacher's assistant asked the children what name they wanted for their teams, the students selected their team names, and then the game started. The ELCI played with one team and greeted some children, saying “*marri marri peñi*” (field notes, October 11, 2014).

It should be noted too that in all the classes and school events observed, the main role of the ELCI was to teach the children how to play *palín*. This may be a consequence of the *Regional Palín Event*³⁷ organized in Región Metropolitana, during which ELCIs and teachers were responsible for teaching students how to play *palín*. During this event, both ELCIs and teachers spent significant amounts of time teaching the students about *palín*, a game which was perceived as a standard to measure the degree of interculturalism at the preschool. This was a perception given by Romina, a teacher's assistant Alicura Preschool, who shared that “it was so sad to see that students in other preschools did not know how to play *palín*.” She felt proud of her work and the preschool's participation in the *Regional Palín Event* because the children of the Alicura Preschool had an excellent performance (field notes, October 10, 2014).

The focus on playing *palín* may also be a result of the fact that ELCIs and teachers—and preschool members in general—did not know what the role of the ELCI was. Therefore, when teachers wanted to give space in the class for an intercultural activity, they asked the ELCI to play *palín*. In fact, in all my visits to the preschools, at some point of the day, the ELCIs were always playing *palín* with the students.

³⁷ A *palín* event was organized in Región Metropolitana by JUNJI and CONADI where all the IBE preschool of this area participated.

Along with the participation of ELCIs as *palín* players, the most frequent contribution of the ELCIs in the preschools was as translators from Spanish to Mapudungun. In the Alicura Preschool, teachers commented multiple times about the instances that they looked for the ELCI's support in translating a sentence they wanted to teach to the students or incorporate in the teaching materials. Actually, Elena, the ELCI in this preschool, also described the importance of her work in terms of translation; she included specific details of the instances in which she saw mistakes in Mapudungun phrases in the classrooms, and how she corrected those errors. She described that sometimes the “teachers looked for words anywhere,” and then she read and noticed, “that is bad, that word is wrong, it has to be this other way.” Other times, she corrected the teacher's spelling when she noticed an error: “a letter is wrong,” she remarked. “Instead of *u*, she (the teacher) wrote *v*; they [the teachers] do not know how to write ‘winter.’” She also recounted situations in which teachers called her to ask about phrases to use during preschool events. She carefully described what she taught to the teachers:

I have to teach them [teachers] Mapudungun, everything; for instance, [if I were to say] “drink milk,” the word for *milk*...is *lici*, so “we are going to drink *lici*... [If I were to teach the concept of family]...I have to use dolls—a man, a woman, a child, a brother— [and] I have to say all of this in Mapudungun. This is *ñuque*, this is *chao*, and *lamien*, etc.... And at the end, the baby. I have to teach all of this in Mapudungun. And the songs, I already have a song, I think I sang once. (interview, September 15, 2014)

Romina, a non-Mapuche teacher's assistant in the same preschool, shared this view of ELCIs as translators. When talking about the decisions made in how to teach greeting sentences in Mapudungun, I asked her how she learned those sentences, and Romina explained that she wrote a list of phrases in Spanish and then gave the list to the ELCI to translate in Mapudungun.

She wanted to teach “the children every morning how to greet” so that the students could learn every day. Given that the ELCI was in Romina’s classroom only once a week, Romina requested these important phrases for use even when the ELCI was absent.

The teachers in the Palqui Preschool also conceived of the ELCI as a translator, but less intensively. During interviews, teachers at this preschool talked about situations in which they asked the ELCI for the meaning of a phrase or word. These occurrences happened less frequently than at Alicura Preschool. Gema mentioned that she only asked the ELCI for a translation when she wanted to confirm the meaning of a word, because “Mapudungun varies in different zones”; therefore, Gema and Jacinta, the ELCI, may have different pronunciations or translations for the same words. Miranda, a non-Mapuche teacher at Palqui Preschool, commented only once that she asked the ELCI for a phrase to be translated in Mapudungun. However, asking the ELCI less often for Mapudungun phrases or words may not necessarily indicate that actors at Palqui Preschool had different conceptions of the ELCI’s role. Instead, it may highlight the fact that Miranda left the teaching of Mapudungun to the Mapuche teacher candidate, who was in the class with her every morning.

Similar to the experiences of the Alicura Preschool, the ELCI in the Palqui Preschool also illustrated her work in terms of translating phrases. When talking about a song they had prepared for a big school event, the ELCI described that the teacher created a song with Mapudungun rhythm, but in Spanish, which the ELCI then translated “including phrases in Mapudungun that the children could learn.” During her interview, the ELCI provided several examples of situations in which she did this sort of work:

There are phrases [that I translated into Mapudungun]. For example, “how can we call a child?,” “we are going to change diapers,” and “how can I tell him to come and give a

little kiss?” Things like that, how we can tell those things to the children. Or they (the teachers) asked me, “you know, there is a song, for example, ‘the little hands;’ how can we sing it in Mapudungun?”... We were translating those songs. (interview, October 9, 2014)

The extent of detail relayed in the ELCI’s interview, particularly in the value and need for her translation and teaching proper Mapudungun pronunciation, indicates the ELCI’s desire to publicize the significance of her role. This desire could come from the fact that I was interviewing her, and also from a sense of lack of appreciation from the teachers or others in the preschool. Considering the entire realm of data gathered through field observations and interviews, I am inclined to think that it is the latter. Specifically, that the ELCI felt underappreciated by the teachers in the preschool, and as a result, felt the need to prove her value.

It is worth noting as well that none of the ELCI’s saw this translator task as problematic or considered their role as insufficient. On the contrary, the ELCI at the Palqui Preschool described her role as translator as a way to connect more closely with the teachers, beyond academic matters. She explained that some teachers started to ask her how to say romantic phrases because “some of the teachers had boyfriends” so they wanted to know how to say “I love you” and other phrases in Mapudungun (interview, October 9, 2014).

Differences between the IBE preschools. Along with these similarities, there are also differences in the ELCI’s roles. In the Alicura Preschool, the ELCI spent a significant amount of time in the school’s small farm. The Alicura Preschool has a small farm in its yard, which was built by a group of college students, Mapuche community members, and parents for a communitarian environmental class (informal conversation, August 26, 2014). Each preschool class had a small space of land on the farm to plant vegetables, and the ELCI was the main

person in charge of these activities. She spent most of her time at the small farm gardening, cleaning, watering and harvesting vegetables. In fact, if I was looking for the ELCI during a site visit and she was not in a classroom, she would be in the small farm, most of the time by herself. As the following conversation indicates, both the teachers and the ELCI were aware of the fact that most of the ELCI's time was spent taking care of the farm instead of teaching: while walking toward the farm, Elena, the ELCI, told me, "I was told that I have to take care of the farm with the children, not by myself,"—insinuating that she had to teach the students how to garden, rather than maintain the farm by herself. She added that "the farm is the project of the teachers," and that she watered the plants "only to help them." These comments suggest that she was not entirely pleased with her role on the farm. It seems that as she did not have particular tasks in the preschool's activities, the only tasks that remained for her to complete were ones that related somehow to Mapuche culture, (tasks such as gardening, which were not necessarily teaching activities).

Elena also worked primarily in the classrooms to make sure that students ate their food and were safe from accidents. She also made sure that the children didn't get wet when they washed their hands, and when the children played *palín* she constantly helped them get off of the floor or dusted off their clothes (field notes September 9, 2014 and November 11, 2014). Her interactions with the students and the ways she took care of them seem to be more related to the role of a grandmother or guardian than that of an educator. Teachers also helped the children with cleaning and food matters; however, that was not their primary focus. Instead, the ELCI was primarily devoted to taking care of the children in lieu of teaching. Once, when playing *palín*, the ELCI was in charge of one group of children, and Romina, a teacher's assistant, was in charge of the second group of children. Both adults were the leaders of each team; however, the children

could barely follow the instructions given by the ELCI, because she was mostly preoccupied with ensuring that the children didn't hit each other with the *palín* stick. Therefore, most of the children began to play with the teacher's assistant's team instead of the ELCI's (field notes, September 9, 2014).

This ELCI also prepared or served food frequently. At school and regional events, Eliana made sure that the children and the Indigenous leaders had drinks and food. For instance, the ELCI served *sopaipillas* and provided *mate* to all the guests, adding more water to the *mate* cups, and making sure all the guests shared the *mate* (field notes, October 5, 2014). She paid particular attention to the Mapuche community members who visited the preschool for these activities. When Mapuche communities were present, her role was to provide them with cold water on hot days, hot *mate* on cold mornings, and breakfast or snacks after work hours (field notes, October 14, 2014 and November 26, 2014). In short, the ELCI acted like the host of the Mapuche communities, ensuring the Mapuche community members felt comfortable at the preschool events.

At the Palqui Preschool, the ELCI had a more leading role. She was the presenter of the *Palín Regional Event*, and sang with her band and by herself at all the school events I attended. She also organized the activities and gave advice to teachers and the principal regarding the events (field notes, November 14, 2014). In an important preschool celebration in which parents, families and members of the Indigenous communities around the school participated, Jacinta collaborated with a Mapuche teacher and parents in creating a dance and song with Mapuche elements. She exchanged ideas with the teachers and proposed different choreography (field notes November 2, 2014). Another example of this ELCI's active role was that she partnered

with the principal to apply, and eventually win, a project to tell Mapuche stories in the preschool *ruka*.

Considering and comparing the differences between levels of ELCI participation at these two preschools, a question arises: What are the factors that accounted for these differences in ELCIs' roles? One relevant answer—at least in the view of the preschool actors—was the fact that the principal at the Palqui Preschool was Mapuche, while the principal at the Alicura Preschool was non-Mapuche. And in fact, in the Palqui Preschool there was ongoing discourse in regards to the role of the ELCI. The principal at the Palqui Preschool, as well as Miranda, a non-Mapuche teacher at this school, reiterated similar ideas, saying that, “the ELCI is another member of the classrooms,” and “she [the ELCI] has the same influence [on students] as teachers in each classroom.” (Miranda interview, November 14, 2014). In their descriptions of the ELCI work, Maura and Miranda tried to clarify that the ELCI and the teachers have the same power in the classrooms.

However, it is worth noting that the ELCI at the Palqui Preschool was rarely in the classrooms with the teachers. As a matter of fact, the ELCI described her work as “interventions,” that is, she was not a teacher who taught Mapuche language and culture in the classrooms, but rather, someone who proposed informal situations in which she interacted with the children with a learning goal. For instance, the ELCI played *palín* in the preschool yard with some students while the rest of the children were on break or in classes (field notes, November 2, 2014). Other examples of the ELCI's interventions were greeting the children in Mapudungun during classroom breaks, approaching them when they were eating (field notes, November 15, 2014) and making Mapuche instruments together (Gema interview, September 10, 2014).

Despite the differences in extent of ELCI participation, ELCIs at both preschools only superficially influenced the lesson plans and what was taught. In both cases, ELCIs participated and/or intervened one day each week in the same classroom. The model of these interventions, or in other words, the model of “one day a week in each classroom,” excluded the ELCIs from most teaching decisions and practices. It can be argued that the purpose of the intervention model was to teach Mapuche language and culture with a “more natural” approach, which relates more closely with Mapuche traditional ways of teaching. However, in both preschools, the approaches translated to mean marginally teaching the Mapuche knowledge, only to be included in brief moments in more mainstream lesson plans.

Returning to the question posed earlier (“What factors account for the differences in ELCIs’ participation?”), the personal characteristics of each ELCI seemed more significant than the principals’ ethnicity (as either Mapuche or non-Mapuche). As was briefly mentioned in the method section, the ELCI at the Palqui Preschool was previously a professional psychologist and also actively participated in a Mapuche organization in Santiago, where she has lived her entire life. On the other hand, the ELCI of the Alicura Preschool was a woman in her 60s who had to migrate from the south of Chile to Santiago at the age of 12 to work as a house cleaner and “trying to survive” by herself, eventually learning to read and write as an adult by “trying and trying” (interview, September 15, 2014).

It is important to note, however, that during interviews, and informal and group conversations at the Alicura Preschool, there was no reference made to the ELCI’s personal life as a potential factor that could have shaped her performance. In all the interviews and conversations, none of the teachers of the Alicura Preschool included the life background of the ELCI when describing her current role at the preschool. They required that ELCIs know teaching

skills and have completed professional development, but they did not mention that Eliana only finished fourth grade. Eliana's detailed description of her experiences as a young student in the south of Chile, seems to insinuate that she wanted her personal life to be acknowledged in the preschool.

In contrast, the ELCI at the Palqui Preschool holds a professional degree, a fact that is mentioned multiple times as an asset. When talking about the beginning of the preschool work, the principal, a Mapuche person herself, explained that it was an easy process to exchange ideas with the ELCI because she was "a professional," and as such, they could have a conversation on the same level:

The ELCI was proposed by an organization, and she also was also a psychologist... I had an initial conversation with her, and I showed her the preschool's educative project. I told her, "you studied, you have a higher degree, therefore I can explain to you all the terminologies of what this [our educative project] means, and how we are applying it." And she [ELCI] understood. That is, it was easier to communicate on an intellectual level—[we were exchanging] technical knowledge such as "this is what we are doing, this is the project, these are the goals," and she understood. (interview, November 11, 2014)

The lack of interaction between teachers and ELCIs went beyond the classrooms. They shared school spaces together, but they did not talk to each other. During a site visit where I observed the ELCI's activities, the ELCI and teachers were in the school's small farm gardening for approximately one hour. In the course of this activity, the ELCI only talked to one preschool staff member—Rosa, a Mapuche teacher, who was also his daughter. Otherwise, not one

interaction between the other teachers and the ELCI happened during this activity (field notes, October 21, 2014).

The participation of the ELCI in the classroom activities and her interaction with teachers was less visible in the Palqui Preschool. The conception of the ELCI's work as interventions made it so that the teachers' decisions were not connected to the ELCI's knowledge, which isolated the ELCI's work to activities outside the classroom. In my 13 visits to the preschool, I never saw the ELCI in a classroom; instead, her interventions were mainly in the playground. The teachers reported in interviews and informal conversations that they worked with the ELCI, so I asked them if I could attend the classes or interventions where they were together. I joined those classes, but the ELCI and the teachers did not collaborate or spend time concurrently in a classroom. In an afternoon during the time and date that the ELCI supposedly worked with the class (as documented in the preschool calendar), the ELCI spent more of her time in an office talking with a teacher. Almost at the end of the school day, she organized a short *palín* game in the playground. She approached the group of children, who were in the "milk/tea time"³⁸ outside of the classroom, near to the door, and invited the children to play. The children played with her until the end of the school day. In preparing the closing circle at the end of the school day, the teacher noticed the absence of some children in the classroom and asked the teacher's assistant where they were. The teacher's assistant answered that the ELCI took them outside to play *palín*. With an upset tone, the teacher asked the teacher's assistant to bring the children back because they needed to do the final closing activity together as a group (field notes, November 2, 2014).

Again, the minimal ELCI participation in the classrooms activities was, not seen as problematic for teachers or ELCIs. The teachers did not complain or request more participation

³⁸ Meal eaten at dinnertime, usually bread, milk, and tea.

from the ELCI in the classrooms. On the contrary, the fact that the teachers could teach Mapuche language and culture without the ELCI was considered a positive characteristic of the preschools. In Jacinta's words, "the teachers do not need me to be here to teach Mapuche language and culture." Likewise, Romina commented, "the ELCI is with us one day [each week], and then we keep teaching the same [such as Mapuche language and culture] during the week." These comments suggest that neither the teachers nor the ELCI valued the ELCI's interactions in the classroom. The culture and knowledge of the ELCI was conceived as static and stable, easily transferrable from the ELCI to the teachers.

Interactions between Teachers and Mapuche Community Members

Shifting from the teachers' interactions with ELCIs to their interactions with Mapuche community members, it is possible to notice that exchanges between teachers and community members were also highly infrequent. Mapuche community members were part of preschool activities only during school events; therefore, those occasions were the only moments they could interact. In both preschools, Mapuche teachers were the ones who most frequently interacted with Mapuche community members. There were only few exceptions in which non-Mapuche teachers and community members interacted.

One example of an interaction between Mapuche teachers at Alicura Preschool and community members was in preparation for the *Preschool Palín Event*³⁹, particularly in deciding which music to play during the event. They shared ideas about what the best music for children was, as well as appropriate music options to start the event (field notes, November 26, 2014). They also tried to install the music equipment together. Rosa, a Mapuche teacher, easily talked to Mapuche community members about daily life and preschool themes.

³⁹ This event was organized by the Alicura Preschool. Three non-IBE preschools of the district were invited to experience the Mapuche culture.

Similarly, in the Palqui Preschool, Mapuche teachers talked and participated in tasks together with community members, while non-Mapuche teachers worked with other non-Mapuche teachers (field notes, December 8, 2014). In a preschool theater event where Mapuche stories were represented, Mapuche teachers and the ELCI participated by narrating the story and by playing instruments, while a Mapuche teacher helped organize the characters and the scenography. Meanwhile, Mapuche community members, as well as parents, were in charge of selecting the background music for the event, while non-Mapuche teachers prepared the food that was offered at the end of the event.

Likewise, during the *Preschool Palín Event* at the Alicura Preschool, the Mapuche community members prepared the music and the initial ceremony, while the non-Mapuche teachers took care of the children and organized the tables and chairs in the playground (field notes, November 26, 2014). Even within the same exact activity, teachers and community members at Alicura Preschool avoided interactions and situated themselves physically in different spaces. The following summary of an event at *Preschool Palín Event* at Alicura Preschool illustrates this point (field notes, November 26, 2014):

Episode 2: *Preschool Palín Event* at Alicura Preschool (field notes, November 26, 2014).

Two teams of children begin the game. In the center of the field, the *palife*⁴⁰ teaches the children the basic rules of *palín*, because some of the children playing are not part of an IBE preschool. The *palife* organizes the teams and teaches the children how to greet one another in Mapudungun, saying “*marri marri peñi*”⁴¹. He also teaches the children to be careful and to not hurt each other with the *palín*.

⁴⁰ Mapudungun word that mean *palín* player

⁴¹ Mapudungun greeting that means “Hello brother”

Both teams play for 20 minutes, while the ELCI, the intercultural assessor, and other Mapuche community members play *kultrún* or sing Mapudungun songs along the border of the field.

In the meantime, Romina, the principal, Corina, and other teachers, located outside the field, encourage children in the audience to cheer up the teams with special songs. Each team has their own song.

In this episode, Mapuche members have a different role than non-Mapuche members. When talking about these school events, teachers in both preschools described that they “created groups to organize the events,” and each group had “a specific mission,” namely, so that they could “all collaborate” (group conversation Alicura Preschool, December 18, 2014). Therefore, they did not see any potential problem in the distribution of tasks. Although the group arrangement was helpful to effectively organize the event, it did not allow for the interaction and exchange of ideas between teachers and community members. Instead, this arrangement promoted exchange of ideas only within the groups of Mapuche people and non-Mapuche people, respectively. In other words, there was little exchange across the two groups. In the Alicura Preschool’s *Preschool Palín Event*, which lasted five hours, only once did Romina, a non-Mapuche teacher assistant, talk to a Mapuche community member, whom she met outside the event and whom she talked to because she “felt more comfortable” talking to (group conversation, December 18, 2014).

It seems that the preschool system was aware of this lack of interaction, as it used the JUNJI Intercultural Assessor⁴² to connect Mapuche community members and teachers. At the same *Preschool Palín Event*, the JUNJI Intercultural Assessor communicated the teachers’

⁴² Person from the IBE program and preschool education in charge of supporting the preschools, specifically in terms of interculturality.

decisions to the Mapuche community members. The following summary of an instance at the end of the *Preschool Palín Event* illustrates this point:

Episode 3: End of *Preschool Palín Event* at Alicura Preschool (field notes, November 26, 2014).

Corina announces at the microphone that the *palín* activity is ending. The *machi* and another community member walk to the center of the field and are followed by all the attendees. All participants walk and sing towards the *canelo*⁴³. Once close to the *canelo*, all the participants walk around the *canelo* twice, while many participants—teachers, children, and parents—go back to the *ruka*. The *machi* is about to start leading the group around the *canelo* again, but the JUNJI Intercultural Assessor tells her to stop because it is too hot.

When the *machi* noticed that many participants had left the preschool event before the community members had the opportunity to do the closing ceremony, she told the JUNJI Intercultural Assessor that the participants could not leave because the closing ceremony was important. The JUNJI Intercultural Assessor answered that it was necessary to talk to the teachers first before alerting the participants. The JUNJI Intercultural Assessor then talked with Corina and, after that, Corina used the microphone to reunite all the participants in the field again.

Similarly, at the same event, the JUNJI Intercultural Assessor talked with a Mapuche community member about how teams would be organized to play *palín*. She explained to him that since there were too many children they would form four teams, because this was what the teachers had agreed to previously.

⁴³ Sacred Mapuche tree

The separation of groups was also visible at the end of this *Preschool Palín Event*, when Mapuche community members stayed in the *ruka* because the preschool members had prepared a lunch to show their gratitude. Besides the principal, all the teachers and community members present at the lunch were Mapuche. The ELCI, a Mapuche cook, and the Mapuche teachers set the table, and cooked and served the food for the community members; meanwhile, the non-Mapuche teachers managed the preschool's daily activities in the classrooms. The principal noticed that non-Mapuche teachers (who had applied for the funding to produce the *Preschool Palín Event* and who were also in charge of the arrangements of activities) were not part of the lunch, and so she went to the classrooms to invite them to join in.

This lunch episode—as well as previous interactions between teachers and Mapuche community members—seem to suggest that being Mapuche or non-Mapuche was a significant factors that influenced teacher and community member relations. In fact, these events showed that being Mapuche or non-Mapuche has more of influence for a person in this relationship than his/her role as teacher or community member. This lunch episode is also significant because it is the only natural moment during six months of observation that both Mapuche and non-Mapuche teachers, and community members, interacted and talked to each other. However, as the next excerpt shows, this lunch was a moment of both positive encounter and disconnection.

**Episode 4: School Lunch at Alicura Preschool—Moment of Encounter and Disconnection
(field notes, November 26, 2014)**

Lunch is ready, and while non-Mapuche teachers are not present, the *machi* expresses to the JUNJI Intercultural Assessor and the ELCI her discontent. She asserts that people should not have left the event before they closed the ceremony, saying that it was “disrespectful.” JUNJI Intercultural Assessor responds that children finished class early

that day, and as a result, teachers had to give them their lunch before the children went home. The *machi* responds that these things should be discussed prior to the onset of the activity. The principal arrives in the *ruka*, so JUNJI Intercultural Assessor and *machi* stop their conversation.

With the principal in the *ruka*, all the participants begin eating and chatting. The Mapuche community members talked about common friends or stories in their life both in Spanish and Mapudungun. When Corina, a non-Mapuche teacher, arrived to the *ruka* and lunch event, a toast was made for the Mapuche communities. The atmosphere of the lunch feels awkward, perhaps because previously, only Mapuche members were talking. After the toast, there is a long pause, and then the conversation continues. Corina does not talk again.

Although this was an informal lunch, the atmosphere was not completely relaxed. The *machi* and the president of a Mapuche organization initiated the topics of conversation for the entire table. They talked about stories in the south of Chile, engaging the Mapuche cook and the ELCI. They talked about the new Mapuche teacher at the preschool, highlighting her value to the preschool, and about her family, who were common friends. Alongside the main conversation during the lunch, some side conversations also occurred. Romina and Corina were seated in a corner and talked to each other during the lunch, and basically did not participate in the larger conversation involving the whole group.

During the one-hour lunch, there was a short moment of connection between non-Mapuche teachers and community members. The *machi* began talking about her family, and shared how she lost family members in an accident. This story changed the tone and atmosphere of the dialogue. Romina engaged in the conversation and asked her details and shared with her a

family challenge she faced in her life. The *machi* continued narrating how she overcame her pain, and how she decided to work with children. The principal and some teachers thanked her for her decision and her strength, and they all nodded in agreement about the importance of family. After this moment, the topic of the conversation shifted towards the good work of the preschool. The president of a Mapuche organization expressed her gratitude toward the teachers and their work. The *machi* and a Mapuche community member commented on the positive efforts of the preschool and the importance of continuing this work with children and in Región Metropolitana. No further comments were made about the closing ceremony incident that Mapuche teachers and Mapuche community members discussed previously.

Perceptions Toward the “Other” During Interactions Between Teachers and Mapuche Community Members

In order to fully comprehend teachers’ interactions with ELCIs, as well as teachers’ interactions with Mapuche community members, in this section I examine perceptions and references to ELCIs and communities in preschools. Two overarching themes emerged from my interviews, and informal and group conversations. The first theme regards ELCIs focuses on lack of teaching strategies. The second theme regards Mapuche communities focuses on lack of trust.

Lack of teaching strategies. Both parties, teachers and ELCIs, criticized each other more frequently in the Alicura Preschool than in Palqui Preschool. In Alicura Preschool, Corina, a non-Mapuche teacher, commented that ELCIs need to know about methodology, as this will help in planning and hosting the school’s activities. This comment resonates with one of the most common critiques towards Traditional Educators in schools, and also with IBE program’s perceptions of ELCI’s work. In an interview, a CONADI supervisor stated that if ELCIs had “more tools at the beginning,” the preschools could have “avoided problems and confusions

regarding how to link Mapuche knowledge with the western knowledge [taught] in the schools” (interview, September 29, 2014). Based on this critique, the IBE could have partnered with CONADI to implement workshops and training sessions for the ELCIs, thereby increasing their knowledge of western education, and helping them to participate in more activities that integrate Mapuche culture and language into preschools.

However, the lack of clarity and agreement regarding the role of the ELCIs created different perspectives. At one point, the IBE supervisor explained to me that one of the problems regarding ELCIs was that they are expected to know how to create lesson plans in IBE preschools, and yet, in her view, ELCIs do not need that knowledge in order to participate in school activities. For her, what was significant about ELCIs’ work was that they brought new knowledge to children and teachers. However, she noted, “preschools have difficulties understanding this” (interview, December 10, 2014).

When talking about how easily children learn in a preschool environment, Rosa, a Mapuche teacher, described an experience of the first ELCI at the Alicura Preschool. The ELCI struggled in the classroom, Rosa recounted, because she did not have the personality to teach a group of children:

When she [the ELCI] arrived [in the preschool], that first day, she was not a native [Mapudungun] speaker. She only knew some words, like me, so when she arrived and she knew she had to go to each classroom, she did it, but she did not have the charisma to be with a big group of children. [So she told me] “No, they do not understand me,” “yes, they do understand you” [I said] “Greet the *palu*⁴⁴” [I said] “*marri marri palu.*” [the children answered] So, they [the children] already knew [Mapudungun], because they

⁴⁴ *Palu* means aunt in Mapudungun

had class the entire past year, because I had taught them with my family, practically ...The first month was very difficult for her...then, the second month [she said] “no, I have to be able to continue.” I think it was two months, and after that she said she could not do it, because she felt the children knew more than her. (interview, September 15, 2014).

The principal of this preschool shared Rosa’s vision of the ELCI. In her view, the ELCI was “respected in an infinite way,” but she did not have adequate knowledge about “teaching methods” (interview, November 6, 2014). The principal further explained about the importance of personality, saying that even if the ELCI had “all the knowledge” she still would not be able to teach children unless she knew “how to be in front a group of children, how to manage a group, how to motivate a group, how to keep their attention.” For this principal, possessing the right kind of personality is a universal characteristic that all preschool teachers must have. She expected that all preschool teachers, including the ELCI, to be “creative” and “funny,” have a “sparkling personality,” and be able “to change [their] tone of voice, move [their] hands, do something, play in the floor, paint their hair” (interview, November 6, 2014). She added that preschool teachers have to be “histrionic and playful” because “children learn by playing...with play and love.” The ELCI can only offer love, in the principal’s opinion, and it is because of this love that “children respect her” (interview, November 6, 2014).

On the other hand, at the Palqui Preschool, the principal commented, “(other) principals criticize the ELCI,” that they “are not open to [the ELCI’s],” and consequently, the ELCIs “do not feel their work is valued” (interview, November 3, 2014). It is important to note that the principal spoke these comments around the same time that the preschool administration hired an

ELCI with a professional degree from Santiago, who was thought to be able to easily navigate the urban school system.

The lack of training regarding teaching skills was related to the passive role of the ELCI. For Corina, “the role of the ELCI is passive because they do not have the foundation about how to use teaching strategies.” She went on to say that ELCIs “have a role with the children— children know her and they know she is part of a Mapuche community” because the teachers “are not dressed like that [the way the ELCI dresses].” Still, Corina noted that the ELCI “need to be empowered in her role” (interview, September 16, 2014). This view reaffirms the perspective of the CONADI staff member that asserted that CONADI provided the necessary tools for ELCIs to obtain leadership roles (interview, August 12, 2014).

On the other hand, the ELCI in the Alicura Preschool stated that sometimes teachers did not react positively to her work. This ELCI described an incident in the school’s small farm: the ELCI was gardening and inadvertently cleaned a part of the garden that she was not supposed to clean. When a problem arose with a teacher based on this incident, the ELCI recounted in the interview that she decided to care only for her daughter, Rosa’s, section to avoid future problems.

“They do not trust us”. The fieldwork and the group conversations at the Alicura Preschool show that teachers, in particular non-Mapuche teachers, felt worried about saying or doing something that could offend the Mapuche community members. During the conversation group, when talking about the most recent preschool event with community members, a teacher’s assistant who worked with Rosa expressed that she felt nervous when the community members were in the preschool, because she was worried she might make mistake, and that she was “afraid” of saying something inappropriate without knowing.

Catalina, a teacher assistant, went on to describe an incident when the teacher's assistants were having lunch in the teachers' cafeteria and the community members arrived at the room to have lunch, too. However, because the room was small, the teacher's assistants "left the room to give them (community members) more space." She explained that the group of teacher's assistants had almost finished their lunch, and therefore wanted to offer the best space for their guests. However, she heard later that the communities were insulted by this gesture, considering it disrespectful. Since that incident, the teacher's assistant mentioned in the group discussion that she decided "not to say anything because, of my ignorance, I don't want to offend anybody" (conversation group, December 18, 2014).

While the teacher's assistant described this incident in the focus group, Rosa, a Mapuche teacher, told the teacher's assistant sitting next to her that she never felt uncomfortable with Mapuche communities. Rosa also asked another teacher's assistant, "Have you felt uncomfortable?" and did not wait for an answer. Noticing that the group supported the teacher's assistant's sentiment, Rosa began to explain that for Mapuche people, everything has to be shared, including space, food, etc., so that nobody is left out. To be clearer, she gave this example: if there is one glass of water and 100 people, each person should take a small sip. Mapuche people would give water to all 100 people, Rosa said, and then added, "sharing is part of our culture, and my mother would do the same thing." After Rosa's comment, there was a long pause in the group conversation, and the conversation felt tense. In an attempt to continue with a relaxed conversation, Romina said, "all cultures are different" (conversation group, December 18, 2014).

Following Romina's comment, Rosa added that "misunderstandings happen" between Mapuche and non-Mapuche people because "we do not have a closer relationship" amongst one

another. She explained that Mapuche community members think that the teachers are “nice,” “loving” and “caring,” but that is all; Mapuche members do not actually know the teachers at the preschool. Rosa said that building a closer relationship with non-Mapuche people at the preschool was difficult because community members only visited the preschool for events, during which there was little time for conversation—since the teachers were preoccupied “taking care of the kids” and making sure “everything was working well” (conversation group, December 18, 2014).

The difficulties in building a trusting relationship were also present in Romina’s account of what teachers and community members could learn from each other. She stated that for her, it would be essential if Mapuche community members could accept the teachers and their work, acknowledging that teachers do not want to “steal” or “misuse” Mapuche knowledge:

For me, the main thing would be that they [community members] learn to accept us and share with us—share everything they know—[so that we can] do as they do. [However, right now] everybody keeps things [this knowledge] to themselves. [Community members] need to learn to share it [knowledge] and understand that we [teachers] only want to spread it [Mapuche knowledge] and teach it. We will not misuse it; we do not want to steal anything. And when they come here [to the preschool], they could see the work with we do, with love, and they could respect it. [They could] learn and realize that they have a treasure in their culture, and we only want to take care of it ... As Chileans, we understand that it (Mapuche culture/heritage) is valuable, ancestral, and it is something that we all should know and respect. (interview, November 13, 2014)

In addition to lack of trust between teachers and Mapuche community members, there is also a conception that community members did not share their knowledge with non-Mapuche

people because Chileans will misuse the knowledge. Jacinta, the ELCI at the Palqui Preschool agreed with this perspective, saying that Mapuche events outside the preschool were not for all teachers. In talking about the potential positive experiences for teachers, Jacinta said that teachers should spend time with the Mapuche communities outside school hours. I asked if she was talking about non-Mapuche teachers, rather than Mapuche teachers, to which she answered “no.” In other words, she said, “not all the teachers are prepared to attend” a traditional Indigenous event, for instance, *We Tripantü*.” She then told me that she had invited teachers of the preschool to the *We Tripantü*, but she “selected” the teachers that she invited, and she did not “invite everybody” because that could be worse (interview, October 9, 2014). Ultimately, the ELCI was concerned that non-Mapuche teachers would criticize the event or find reason to reaffirm their stereotypes about Mapuche people.

This conception of Mapuche people as individuals who do not share their knowledge was also mentioned in reference to community members in both preschools. At the informal lunch in the Alicura Preschool described above, the *machi* said to the teachers and principal that she was glad the Mapuche community participated in the preschool event. She stated that the collaboration for the *Preschool Palín Event* was made possible because not all Mapuche people are “unkind” or “annoying,” but rather, some Mapuche people are “generous” and “nice.” Pablo, a Mapuche community member in the Palqui Preschool, was also aware of this perception towards Mapuche people; in his interview he clarified that not all Mapuche people are “unfriendly” and added that sometimes non-Mapuche people get closer to communities just because “they are looking for something,” or in other words, have an ulterior motive, which could make Mapuche people upset. He said that in his community, several times non-Mapuche people have approached them, asking, “teach me this,” or “do this for me,” but these people do

not communicate their underlying motives. This community member felt that some non-Mapuche people are neither “respectful” nor “humble,” and they think that, Mapuche communities must “teach them whenever they want.” But, he explained that, “it [Mapuche culture] does not work like that.” Mapuche people like to know if a person “is respectful,” “knows how to listen,” “is a brave person with enthusiasm” and “who supports the Indigenous community” (interview, November 15, 2014).

Discussion

Using the framework of hybrid spaces and established principles for the education of Indigenous people, that is, within the critical Indigenous pedagogies approach, in this section I review how the teachers’ interactions with ELCIs and with Mapuche community members reproduced or resisted relationships and beliefs existing in the broader context. These findings show that some interactions go beyond reproduction or resistance of the system, and begin creating spaces of healing.

Efforts for change. The ELCIs in both preschools succeeded in acting as a bridge between teachers and Mapuche community members. They played an important role in making community members feel welcome; in particular, the ELCI of the Alicura Preschool acted as a soothing agent in the tense relationship between the non-Mapuche principal and the Mapuche community. In addition, the ELCI of the Palqui Preschool, who was not needed exclusively as a bridge between the principal and the community members, had a more active role directing and supporting the preschool’s activities. Even more important than being in charge of an event, the ELCI at the Palqui Preschool had more opportunities to create and shape her own role. In her view, she was not only a bridge that connected preschools and communities; her passion was to bring people —teachers, parents and children — to the Mapuche communities. She wanted to

strengthen the Mapuche identity for those who rejected or hid their heritage, and as a result, help make them a constructive part of the Indigenous community.

Teachers and ELCIs saw the value in (teachers) teaching the Mapuche language and culture by themselves, particularly because this would indicate that they, too, learned the Mapuche culture. Teaching the Mapuche culture was also deemed valuable because this meant the Mapuche language and culture would be integrated in the entire preschool, and as a result, the responsibility of this integration would be distributed throughout the school and staff. In their views, ELCIs were not the only ones in charge of teaching Mapuche knowledge; instead, this task was everybody's responsibility in the preschool. This is a significant finding, as studies on IBE have shown that only Traditional Educators or Mapuche bilingual teachers use Mapudungun in their classes, while the other teachers focus exclusively in their subject matters (Olate & Henríquez, 2010). Similarly, it has been shown that in university programs with an emphasis on IBE, only the Indigenous professors and the professors who teach courses about Indigenous culture or language include bilingual and intercultural perspective in their instruction (Hernández, 2007).

Teachers and community members also succeeded in acknowledging the difficulties of their interaction and wanted to identify better ways to collaborate. Rosa provided ideas about how to create better relationships, advocating that teachers and community members should have personal and more intimate conversations with one another. This is a significant finding, as it shows that teachers have begun to reconstruct their understanding of their role as teachers, and have begun considering that education does not belong solely to schools, but also to communities. This new conception of the role of teachers resonates with what others have found

about the impact of teachers and community partnerships (Williamson & Gómez, 2004; Zeichner & Meyer, 1994).

Furthermore, teachers and ELCI's interactions were fruitful in terms of seeing each other as a source of knowledge. Teachers saw the ELCIs as knowledgeable: ELCIs are knowledgeable about Mapuche language and culture, and therefore, when needed, teachers approached the ELCI to translate phrases and words into Mapudungun. Likewise, teachers understood that Mapuche community members possessed important knowledge that teachers wanted to learn. Teachers wanted the Mapuche communities to share their language and culture, because they were the bearers of culture. In addition, non-Mapuche teachers, such as Romina, wanted to participate in the Mapuche revitalization of their ancestral language and culture. They were aware that this responsibility was important, and they had an honest interest in using Mapuche knowledge for good purposes.

The need for IBE preschools to transform when attempting to make Indigenous communities part of their activities. In spite of these attempts at understanding and partnership, teachers were unsuccessful in establishing more active collaboration with ELCIs and other community members, as well as in incorporating ELCI's knowledge into their teaching and practices. In short, the teachers still primarily controlled what and how things were taught, regardless of ELCI's knowledge. In the Alicura Preschool, the ELC was informed what to do, and in the Palqui Preschool, the ELCI intervened only in activities outside the classroom setting.

In attempting to understand why teachers and ELCIs did not work closer, data from conversation groups, interviews, and site visits suggest that teachers held a deficit view of ELCI's competence in the classrooms. According to teachers, since ELCIs did not possess pedagogical skills, ELCI's knowledge was considered as less valuable to lesson planning and

teaching. And yet, teachers expected ELCIs to have the same knowledge that they had. Western-school knowledge was the norm in the two preschools used in this study, and teachers valued and appreciated this type of curriculum more. ELCI's knowledge regarding the Mapudungun language was used to achieve the goals of the school systems, when ELCIs were needed primarily as translators or to play Mapuche games that related to the general perceptions of Mapuche communities. Institutional staff members, principals, and teachers expected ELCIs to have the necessary knowledge and attitude to include Mapuche language and culture. Despite the contradictions and vagueness of ELCI's role, ELCIs were considered responsible agents of Mapuche culture. Without having any training, ELCIs were required to teach Mapuche language and culture in accordance with both the preschool system and Mapuche traditional ways of teaching.

Interestingly, in the Palqui Preschool, where the negative view of ELCIs was less severe, the ELCIs still worked on a limited basis with teachers. Studies on the connection of families, schools and communities at large have shown how educational systems often position teachers in opposition to parents and communities (Graue, 2005). In this perspective, parents and communities are considered less knowledgeable than teachers. From Graue and other researchers, we know that community members' and teachers' interactions are anything but simple. "They are sites of struggle, full of opportunity, but often fraught with frustration" (Graue, 2005, p. 158).

When ELCIs' educational and personal background differed from the preschool' norms for teachers, ELCI's knowledge became problematic. From the teachers' perspective, what and how much ELCIs knew was irrelevant if they did not know the school's teaching strategies. ELCIs were expected to bring new knowledge to the classroom and to behave as another teacher.

To avoid this discrepancy over the ELCI's knowledge, the principal of the Palqui Preschool hired an ELCI with a professional degree, and the principal of the Alicura Preschool proposed that more Mapuche people should attend universities (thereby encouraging an increase in Mapuche people who possess professional degrees and later become ELCIs). An ELCI with a professional degree means knowledge not only about Mapuche language and culture, but also a set of skills that are aligned with the dominant education system, in turn helping the ELCI navigate the school's system easier, and therefore requiring less change from the preschool system. I am not saying here that IBE preschools should not hire Mapuche professionals as ELCIs. I believe that a variety of actors should be a part of the education of Mapuche children, and Mapuche people bring different knowledge and skills to the classroom. However, it is worth asking: What is gained, what is lost, and what are the consequences of giving preference to young professional ELCIs over elders? Research in countries such as Canada suggest that the participation of elders is crucial to ensure that work done for formal institutions—where the aim is to improve the education of Indigenous children—is relevant to Indigenous communities and the field of education at large (Archibald, 2015).

The teachers at both preschools also failed in situating ELCI's work in a larger societal context, and in recognizing the ELCI's unique and distinct backgrounds. Teachers at these schools reiterated that ELCI must meet the standards of the school system while ignoring ELCI's previous classroom experience as well as the experiences of Mapuche people in the larger community. Corina and the Ingrid expressed the need for ELCIs to learn teaching strategies; however, neither Corina nor the principal, nor none of the teachers in either preschools questioned why ELCIs did not know about pedagogical skills. In short, they did not consider the limited knowledge of the ELCIs as a product of the limited educational opportunities that the

State has offered them. In overlooking these aspects, these teachers and the principal seemed to insinuate that ELCIs do not have the proper school knowledge, not because the entire school system has negated opportunities for Mapuche people to finish high school and obtain a university degree, but because they simply do not want to acquire this knowledge.

The superficial interactions between teachers and ELCIs may also be explained by the static notion of culture regarding teachers and other preschool members. In both preschools used in this study, culture was not seen from its *relational level*, or in other words, the concept of culture was not understood as an element constructed communally through the exchange of Western-Chilean and Mapuche cultures. Neither teachers nor ELCIs presented or encouraged dialogue between these cultures in their classrooms. In accordance with a *banking* perspective of education (Freire, 1970), teachers seemed to believe that Indigenous knowledge would be purely and entirely “deposited” in their heads. By disregarding the relational aspect of underlying a culture’s construction, both teachers and ELCIs failed to notice that their distribution of tasks reduced potential for interactions. As a result, teachers and ELCIs reproduced the ideas of separation and disconnection that existed in the macro level of the interactions between preschools and communities.

Understanding Mapuche culture as stagnant rather than relational affects the teachers’ attitude toward Mapuche knowledge as well as the school’s overall culture. In other words, by ignoring the relational aspects of culture, both Mapuche’s culture and preschools’ cultures do not evolve. A static notion of culture that does not consider the relational component is convenient for homogenizing goals in education. If the Mapuche culture is contained within one person, if it is unchanging and not affected by others, then it will have less impact on the classroom culture and the school system in general. The notion of culture as static is not only a belief, but also a

strategy to keep the culture within specific limits: a geographical limit (the south of Chile), and an individual limit (Mapuche people keep their culture within their own community).

However, it is important to note that both preschool administration as well as Mapuche community members used strategies to avoid interaction with the other group. Indeed, Mapuche community members created their own hierarchies, and on the few occasions when they were on the top of the hierarchy (for instance, when they taught a traditional dance or played a traditional song or instrument), they did not necessarily include non-Mapuche teachers. The lack of interaction and trust from both groups toward one another created a situation in which community members felt devalued for not knowing pedagogical skills, and at the same time, non-Mapuche teachers felt unappreciated for not knowing Mapuche language and culture. I am not trying to say that Mapuche communities do not have the right to use only Mapuche teachers to teach their culture, or self-determination. Neither am I trying to say that the Mapuche community's interest for minimal interaction with non-Mapuche has the same results or is the consequence of the same cause. Nevertheless, it should be noticed that both preschools and community members distanced themselves from closer interactions with the other group.

These findings suggest that the limited cooperation, and distance, between teachers and community members could be explained by the lack of trust between preschools and Mapuche communities, as discussed in Chapter 3. Teachers' sentiment of non-appreciation, was not viewed as connected to the larger historical and political context. As a consequence, teachers saw themselves as victims who tried to teach and learn about Indigenous culture from the Mapuche communities that did not want to share their knowledge. There was no discussion about why Mapuche communities resisted sharing their culture with teachers, and teachers did not consider the connection to the present struggles of Mapuche people. Without the historical knowledge of

abuse toward Mapuche people—and that it was a lingering issue in present day—teachers believed this situation was a personal issue. In fact, the ELCI's concern with regards to not bringing any non-Mapuche teacher to a Mapuche spiritual celebration resonates with research on mainstream teachers interacting with minority communities, which has shown that these occasions may reinforce stereotypes instead of changing them (Boyle-Baise, 1998).

In addition, teachers reproduced the societal ideas that perceive Mapuche people as problematic people. Though stronger negative perceptions exist in the Chilean society, such as stereotypes that label Mapuche people as violent protesters, teachers are not necessarily the ones upholding these stereotypes. However, they frequently presented Mapuche people as a closed community that rejected sharing their knowledge with non-Mapuche people; and without considering the larger historical and political struggles of the Mapuche, their reluctance to share information made them seem selfish. Only once was it mentioned that teachers do not want to steal, as colonizers or others did with the Mapuche land; however, this reference was seen as a situation of the past, unrelated to the present struggles of the Mapuche people. In other words, in the teachers' views, the Mapuche communities should not have been worried, because the abuse against their culture and land was part of the past, not the present.

These findings resonate with what Chilean scholars have found in the interaction of elementary school teachers and Traditional Educators. Specifically, these studies have found that Traditional Educators are excluded, that there is no collaboration between teachers and Indigenous educators, and that tensions over determining who is the expert are common in this relationship (RED EIB Chile, 2013). These findings suggest that the mere inclusion of Indigenous people in IBE schools do not support teachers, nor do they guarantee the incorporation of Indigenous language and culture in the classroom, or benefit the education of

Indigenous children. More complex efforts have to be made in this area in order to create horizontal and dynamic collaborations between teachers and ELCIs.

Beginning spaces for healing. Although conventional—and sometimes stereotypical—understandings and treatments of Mapuche knowledge and people persisted at both preschools used in this study, some spaces of healing also began to emerge. A moment in the focus group demonstrated both the need and awareness of teachers to foster different relationships with Mapuche community members. After defending and explaining why Mapuche communities felt offended in the lunch room, Rosa moved a step back in her argument, and instead of presenting an antagonist perspective, she asserted that what teachers and community members need is to become closer, not only in discussing organization of events, but also identifying the teachers and community members. She acknowledged that personal relationships were not developed at that time, but that these relationships could be significant in fostering trust between preschool staff and community members. Other teachers in the focus group also shared this sentiment, and they nodded their heads in agreement.

Another moment that shows the possibilities of healing was the relationship between Romina and the Traditional Educator, who participated in a project in the preschool. Romina, the Traditional Educator (who is no longer in the preschool), and other school members recognized and mentioned this specific relationship when talking about teachers' and community members' interactions. This relationship was seen as a space in which both could openly share their knowledge and plan class activities together. They both connected, and both were invested in learning from each other and truthfully expressing that they did not know something. Romina explained with details and an amiable voice that she stayed hours after the class because she wanted to talk to the Traditional Educator and learn more about Mapuche language and culture.

She trusted the Traditional Educator because he shared his knowledge, appreciated her work, and spoke highly about her teaching skills. Although I did not interview the Traditional Educator, he stated in an informal conversation that Romina was the best teacher he had ever met, and he felt confident saying to her that he was not good with children because Romina always found a motivating and playful way to teach the children.

In the next chapter, this learning relationship and other moments of learning in the partnership are examined.

Chapter 5: Becoming a Teacher or Educator for an IBE Preschool

As we have seen in the previous chapters, the findings of this study show that, despite the adversities that IBE preschools and Indigenous communities faced in their partnership, teachers and ELCIs made important efforts to work together, and to teach Mapuche language and culture. This finding begs the question: How has this linkage, although fragile, influenced teachers' and ELCIs' knowledge, skills and attitudes?

Based on the expansive learning model of Engeström (2001)—presented in the framework—in this chapter, I analyze how teachers and ELCIs learn to become educators for IBE preschools. Engeström's (2001) proposed that any effort in understanding learning should address the following questions: (a) Who are the subjects of learning? (b) Why do they learn? (c) What do they learn? and (d) How do they learn? I use the theory of expansive learning within the framework of hybrid spaces to understand the learning processes that occur in urban IBE preschools. Two main themes emerged from the analysis of interviews, and informal and group conversations: (a) motivations and previous knowledge in entering IBE preschools, and (b) the process of becoming a teacher or educator of IBE preschools.

Entering IBE Preschools

Before addressing “what,” “how” and “why” teachers and ELCI have learned to become IBE educators, it is important to examine what brought these teachers and ELCIs to work in an urban IBE preschool. All teachers and ELCIs included in this study shared a common experience: entering IBE preschools without knowing about them or about the IBE program prior to employment. The non-Mapuche teachers in both preschools explained the process of applying to the IBE preschools as a coincidence. Corina indicated that she was “the substitute teacher in a preschool some blocks away,” (interview, September 15, 2014) and while being

there, somebody told her about an open position at the IBE preschool. At that time she was finishing a Master Degree in curricular innovation and also had spent the summer volunteering in Bolivian schools with Indigenous children; therefore she felt the IBE preschool was a “challenging and different experience” (interview, September 15, 2014) in the beginning of her career.

Similarly, Miranda, a teacher at the Palqui Preschool, described that she had met the principal of the preschool in an event where the principal told her about the IBE preschool. After that, she got a call with a job offer, and she decided to accept it since the IBE preschool and the Waldford pedagogy—her area of expertise—had similar approaches. In short, both these non-Mapuche teachers were looking for jobs and they happened to see or hear about the hiring process at IBE schools, and therefore they decided to apply. Likewise, the Mapuche teachers began their work in the IBE preschools as an accident, that is, these teachers did not study to be preschool teachers in IBE preschools; and in fact, neither were purposively looking to find a job in these types of institutions. This situation may be explained by the fact that none of the teachers knew about IBE preschools, as they were created recently in Chile—2009 and 2010. In fact, three of the four teachers interviewed helped in the implementation process of the IBE preschool during their first year of their employment with these preschools.

Although both Mapuche and non-Mapuche teachers shared the experience of entering the IBE preschools because of a fortuitous conversation with somebody who knew about the hiring process, only the Mapuche teachers described that applying to the IBE preschool was a “job opportunity” (Rosa interview, September 15, 2014), and a chance to be part of the Mapuche cause (*causa Mapuche*). Rosa said that when she heard about the IBE preschool, she “improved her resume,” adding “a lot of things about interculturality,” and about her “Mapuche culture”

(interview, September 15, 2014). She insisted that she was very interested in the IBE preschool, saying in my interview with her that she deeply “wanted to work in the IBE preschools” since she had actually “studied preschool education to avoid what she had to live as a kid” (interview, September 15, 2014). She emphasized that she spent time and effort on her application because she felt she had something “special” to offer, as she was Mapuche, and also because she was afraid she may not be hired because “everybody in the preschool said that there was a long line of applicants” (interview, September 15, 2014).

Gema’s account, in the Palqui Preschool, resonated with Rosa’s. Gema said that she “never imagined” (interview, September 9, 2014) she would work in an IBE preschool, because she never thought that Chile would have these types of preschools. She commented that her goal had always been to work in preschool education to protect and revitalize Mapuche language and culture; therefore when she got a call from the principal offering her the position, she immediately accepted the offer. It is worth noting that Gema worked in the preschool the first year, she then left to go back to her community in the south of Chile, returning to the preschool for a second time when she was back in Santiago. During her second hiring experience, she got a call from the non-profit organization that administers the preschool, and after that conversation, her interest “began emerging...in coming back to the Palqui Preschool” (interview, September 9, 2014).

The ELCIs’ stories portrayed similar experiences. They did not know about IBE preschools, and it was not part of their life goals to work in these institutions. As a result, not only did both ELCIs not know about IBE preschools, but they also had no interest in them. The ELCI in the Alicura Preschool stated that she “kind of was not interested in IBE” (interview, September 15, 2014) and in the next sentence, she emphasized that she “was never interested”

because she did not have the school knowledge to participate in a school, as she only “finished fourth grade.” In short, this ELCI never imagined being part of a school because she “did not know anything beyond” (interview, September 15, 2014) fourth grade. The ELCI began working in the preschool because her daughter was a teacher in the same preschool, and as she informally helped her daughter, by chance she met the principal and was invited to be the ELCI of the preschool.

In the case of the Palqui Preschool, the ELCI, Jacinta, recalled that she got an offer for the position because she “was a speaker of the language [Mapudungun]” (interview, September 16, 2014), and she decided to accept it because she did not have any job at the time. She also shared the sentiment of not being interested in IBE, because she was uncomfortable teaching non-Mapuche people. In her own words:

Before I was reluctant to teach non-Mapuche people, I was obstinate in that, because I said, “why I am going to teach them if they are not going to understand.” After that I said, “well, but they are children, and children also have to learn about respect, and Mapudungun.” But I thought it might be complicated to teach Mapuche culture at the same time as western education. (interview, September 16, 2014)

However, her conceptions changed as she noticed the satisfaction she felt in teaching children, and being able to teach the knowledge that she was taught. This idea will be further discussed in this chapter.

Learning in IBE Preschools: Becoming an Intercultural and Bilingual Educator

Why do educators/teachers learn? To understand what and how teachers and ELCIs learned by working in IBE preschools, we have to examine what motivations teachers and ELCIs have to work in these educational institutions. I have briefly mentioned their motivations in

applying or accepting the job offers, as this information was intertwined with how they began their jobs in IBE preschools. However, in the following section I explore their motivations in more details.

Non-Mapuche teachers were motivated to work in IBE preschools because it represented a career challenge for them. Romina said that she had been working for 20 years in the private educational sector and felt “like nothing new was happening” (interview, September 16, 2014). Therefore, when she heard about this new preschool, she immediately decided to apply. She also mentioned that it was the right decision, as she had “learned more in the four years in the IBE preschool than in the previous 20 [working in mainstream schools]” (interview, September 16, 2014). All the non-Mapuche teachers agreed that IBE preschools are learning environments where they have the opportunity to learn something new “every single day” (Corina interview, September 15, 2014). It is worth noting that none of the non-Mapuche teachers referred to the Mapuche language and culture revitalization, nor did they discuss broad issues related to social justice as motivation in teaching in IBE preschools. They all considered that working in the IBE preschools would enrich their teaching experiences because the context of their job would be new, challenging, and different from any other type of preschool. They were aware of the distinct and unique characteristics of the preschool, and highly valued these characteristics.

However, from these initial motivations, new motivations emerged, prompting a strong interest in non-Mapuche teachers to learn Mapuche language and culture. Nevertheless, this new interest was part of a desire to do a “good job” (Corina), not necessarily part of a larger commitment to the Mapuche revitalization or to the creation of a more equitable society. Like Corina, Romina described the beginning process of learning Mapudungun and her struggles looking for information on the Internet, in books and in dictionaries, with the sentiment that she

“had to know,” and insisted, “I had to know what I was teaching” (interview, November 13, 2014). When explaining how they had learned what to teach, regarding Mapuche culture/language, Romina again depicted this experience by referring to her professional commitment as a good preschool teacher.

Children loved it (a song) and they began, they repeated it. We have the duty—it was our duty to learn the words, so, we also learned a series of words, which are a lot, and we included them in the language circle time, we included them in the contests, in everything, every day. (interview, November 13, 2014)

Later in the interviews, when talking about how they saw themselves in five years, all the non-Mapuche teachers vaguely mentioned that they might work in the same preschool or in another institution with an IBE approach. In contrast, the Mapuche teachers had clear goals regarding their next steps in improving the education of the Mapuche children. Rosa asserted that her work in the preschool was the work “she always wanted” to do (interview, September 15, 2014). She wanted to work in an IBE preschool, and in the future she would like to apply for a principal position in an IBE preschool. She firmly expressed her interest in staying in IBE preschools because she was aware she had “not enough experience now to be a principal.” She emphasized that she needed “many, many years of experience in IBE preschool,” understanding that “being Mapuche is not enough” to guarantee her ability to provide a quality education for Mapuche children (interview, September 15, 2014). Gema also had precise ideas regarding her future plans. She voiced that she wanted to stay in Santiago for five years, and then wanted to go back to the south of Chile, to her community, to do the job she imagined doing when made the decision of becoming a preschool teacher.

Gema constantly repeated her commitment to her community in the south of Chile. Indeed, her decision to become a preschool teacher was based on a need she identified in her community. She noticed that some people in her community obtained university degrees but none of them were interested in education; therefore, her community had no Indigenous educators or teachers. She regarded that as a problem, thus she decided to become a teacher. Gema recognized herself as the first teacher and the first professional in her community with a degree in education. She shared the moment in which she decided to study preschool education:

I was thinking about that, as I told you, I believe there are so many things to rescue in the community that it has been losing, [such as] certain values, certain things, part of the culture. So, I said, “I am going to study elementary education,” so I finally studied preschool education... because it is the beginning when one can plant the first seed that will grow up and develop [as a child develops].

Gema added that it is “the legacy that educators have to follow,” mostly Mapuche educators, but also all the educators that “feel the same call.” She aspired not to be like “those [Mapuche people] who stayed in Santiago and settled down there” (interview, October 9, 2014).

Despite the differences in the motivations of Mapuche and non-Mapuche teachers, both groups saw themselves as having something special to offer. Corina saw herself as a highly motivated teacher with innovative ideas. She highlighted that she had applied for several grants to implement new projects in the preschool; and that the principal valued her proactiveness. Romina perceived herself as enthusiastic and a life-long learner. She acknowledged herself as someone playful that “acted childish” (interview, November 13, 2014) in order to engage her students and foster their learning. Miranda, with around 20 years of expertise in Waldorf pedagogy, indicated that she saw herself as a significant contribution to the IBE preschool

because she had the knowledge to connect teaching with nature and earth, which related to the ways Mapuche knowledge was also rooted in their land (informal conversation). These teachers saw that the work in an IBE preschool was difficult, therefore they were aware that in order to perform well, they had to be highly motivated, enthusiastic, and be constantly learning. These teachers had seen other teachers leave or be fired, thus they were proud of their own work. However, these skills were not explicitly linked to larger issues of justice in the education of children or Mapuche people.

As with the Mapuche teachers, the motivations of the ELCIs in both preschools referred explicitly to the Mapuche language and cultural revitalization. Although both were initially reluctant to work in IBE preschools, their acceptance was based on an opportunity to improve the education of Mapuche children. The ELCI of the Palqui Preschool more openly explained that her life goal was to “help Mapuche children identify with their culture” (interview, October 9, 2014). Her interests in learning about the IBE preschool were seen as part of a larger endeavor of the Mapuche cause. In her own words:

As I told you, we, as a culture, we have been injured (*vulnerados*⁴⁵) for a long time, and one of the things that I want to recover, personally, is that the culture stays alive, as I have done until today. I think this is my precise goal, and my grounding focus, that the culture stays, continues to exist, and we continue with our young Mapuche children by strengthening their culture and language, primarily. (interview, October 9, 2014)

What do teachers and ELCIs learn in IBE preschools?

Becoming an IBE teacher. In all interviews, teachers highly valued the need to learn Mapudungun. Multiple times, they commented and described the words, phrases and songs they

⁴⁵ Spanish word that could be translated as “injured,” even though its connotation focuses more on non-physical violence or harm.

learned in the preschools. As an example, Corina illustrated, “greeting each other with the children, the numbers, the colors, . . . The numbers that I had no idea of before. Here I have learned everything” (interview, September 16, 2014).

Along with Indigenous language learning, teachers also appreciated learning the Mapuche knowledge and culture. They said they wanted to learn both about the Mapuche culture such as music, dances and traditions, and also about the Mapuche daily life. Corina described learning about the culture:

The ceremonies, how the ceremony process goes from, for instance, the greetings, everything has a sense, to the rogation to understand what is the meaning, more or less, because they talk a lot in Mapudungun, and they talked to the heaven, they talk to the earth, so to understand something. Also some language, and the respect, this is very important. (interview, September 16, 2014)

In the same vein, Romina described learning about Mapuche culture. She articulated at length about the subjects she learned about:

The meaning of the earth. I believe this is primordial, what they conserve, say thanks. This is primordial, what I have learned in the ceremonies, what is the sun, and the elements, like the fire, the earth, the sun, the water. I think I have learned how to value the earth. Also always say thanks. Always the sun. I do not know, in this aspect it has helped me as a person, and I try to give this to the children. Always value what we have, take care of the earth, take care of the nature. . . . So, I think this is what I have learned in the preschool and with the communities. (interview, September 16, 2014)

Rosa also referred to learning Mapuche culture in her interview. However, in her case, what she learned related to Mapuche daily life experiences. She mentioned that she had learned “how they

[Mapuche people] went to buy things, if they used horses, bulls, and cows. How the milk was prepared, because it was prepared with a chemical liquid, but before chamomile was used, or another thing from the cows” (interview, September 9, 2014).

Learning specific strategies regarding how to teach the Mapuche language and culture was another frequent reference among Mapuche and non-Mapuche teachers. The non-Mapuche teachers described this process of learning as “testing the classroom” (Romina interview, November 13, 2014). In the following quote, Romina explained with details the ways she and another teacher prepared a class:

Well, the circle is always in the daily routine, the circle is done the same every day, so, when we started the year I told Corina that with my experience, because I have more experience, more years, I told her that it was the better instance to use Mapudungun... One day I told her, “Corina, we can make a contest,” and she asked me, “how?” I told her “Look, I am going to try and you tell me how it works,” without planning, and we proved it [that we could do it]. She told me, “super,” because they [the children] were interested in the story and they loved it, and they sing. [That is how] we began using Mapudungun. (interview, November 13, 2014)

After this experience, Romina learned and concluded that children “understand and responded better” (interview, November 13, 2014) to games and contests when Mapudungun was used. She added that this task was not easy because they (Romina and Corina) did not know what to do, and they also did not know how the children would react to the Mapudungun classes. She described that the first time a Traditional Educator taught in her classroom, the children stared at her with confused expressions and asked her (Romina) if that language was English. In her own words:

In fact, the first time that a *kimelfe*⁴⁶ came to the classroom and spoke in Mapudungun, and told a story, the children said, “Does he speak English? What is he saying?” In other words, they [the children] did not know [what was being said]. So little by little, we began to realize that children understood certain things and not others. (interview, November 13, 2014)

After this experience, these teachers decided to talk to the ELCI, telling her that she should go to the classroom every day and ask the children something simple in Mapudungun, such as their names and ages, how they were doing, and the names actions they were doing. However, in order to use this strategy, Romina realized that she would also need to learn the same phrases in order to practice them with the children every day; so, she encouraged them to speak Mapudungun by saying, “The ELCI is going to come and she will not be able to talk to the children” (interview, November 13, 2014).

For these two teachers in the Alicura Preschool, making mistakes and trying different teaching strategies to teach a language that they were simultaneously learning was a frequent and normal experience. Corina described the first time she and Romina taught a poem to the children. She said that they played a CD several times without explaining the meaning, because they (Corina and Romina) were not sure about it; therefore, they “made the children repeat, repeat and repeat” (interview, September 16, 2014). Then, the day arrived when the children had to repeat the poem, and both teachers realized that “the children did not learn the poem, they did not like it, and they did not want to say anything” (interview, September 16, 2014).

After this experience, Corina and Romina decided to use a different approach. In her interview, Corina indicated that after “that failure,” they decided to listen frequently Mapuche

⁴⁶ *Kimelfe* means educator.

songs in the classroom so that the children could hear it. When they noticed that the children liked one of the songs, they selected that song and played it several days in a row. They did not ask the students to do anything except to “listen” while “they did another homework.” With this strategy, the children learned the “rhythm and some words naturally.” In talking about the same situation, Romina added that they (her and Corina) had learned that the best strategy for teaching Mapudungun was to tell the stories first in Spanish, then in Mapudungun, and then to represent the story, so the children can learn the meaning, and then repeat in Mapudungun. She concluded that “it is a very slow process” (interview, November 13, 2014), but eventually the children learn.

It is worth noting that in several accounts, the non-Mapuche teachers talked about how they learned to teach the Mapuche language intertwined with their own strategies. In other words, they used the “same methodologies learned in the university.” but they also combined these methods with preschool curriculum (Corina interview, September 16, 2014). They did not see the need to use Mapuche ways of learning in their teaching strategies.

Unlike the previous cases, the non-Mapuche teacher in the Palqui Preschool did not reflect on teaching strategies to teach Mapudungun. For her, the learning experience was focused on finding the similarities between the Waldford pedagogy (where she had experience) and the Mapuche culture, so that she might use Waldford strategies in her teaching. In her view, it was not difficult to find these similarities because both models respect children’s right to choose, and both models encourage the connection between teaching and elements of earth and nature.

The Mapuche teachers spoke less frequently about their struggles and learning processes in teaching the Mapuche language and culture. For them, family members played an important role in this process. For Gema, when she did not know how to teach something or when she “had

an incomplete idea” about something she wanted to teach (interview, October 10, 2014), she called her father. Similarly, Rosa indicated that when she always talked to her mother to get help. She described a time she wanted to teach a song to the children but she “did not know the rhythm” (interview, September 15, 2014); thus she invited her mother into the classroom, and her mother started singing and then the children followed her with instruments.

Moreover, these Mapuche teachers also described how they had learned about other Indigenous cultures and how they managed to include them all in their classrooms. These accounts do not recall successful experiences, but rather attempts. As with the non-Mapuche teachers, Mapuche teachers describe these processes are described as “trial and error.” Rosa explained that:

For instance, in the middle major level,⁴⁷ the oldest [children] was Rapanui, middle minor,⁴⁸ where I am now the B, and it was Mapuche. And the middle minor, A, was Aymara, as the *salas cunas*.⁴⁹ And I was in charge of the three levels, I had to plan for the three levels, in different languages. That was the worst, I had a lot of support from the teachers, well, for their own initiative tried to look for elements that could be helpful for each culture, for each classroom, to create the atmosphere of Rapanui, so when I would go the classroom I could feel that I was in Rapanui... It was chaotic. (interview, September 15, 2014)

In these experiences of learning how to teach Mapuche language and culture, all the teachers mentioned learning about children’s competences. These teachers did not know how to teach, nor did they know if the children in their class would learn or not. They all recalled surprise and

⁴⁷ This preschool level is constituted by children between 2.8 to 4 years old

⁴⁸ This preschool level is constituted by children younger than 2.8 years old

⁴⁹ This preschool level is constituted by children younger than a 1 year old

the feeling of satisfaction after seeing that the children learned songs, words, or poems. When talking about what she learned in the preschool, Gema's first answer was finding out that the children had excellent abilities. In her own words:

One of the things [I learned] is that now I know it is possible to teach a lot with the children, and it is possible to teach the [Mapuche] culture and several languages to them, because they are like sponges—they absorb everything. (interview, October 10, 2014)

Besides learning some skills to teach the Mapuche language and culture, both Mapuche and non-Mapuche teachers also described changes in their perceptions of Indigenous communities. They mentioned that before working in the IBE preschool, they had “no idea about Mapuche people” (Romina). For Romina, this meant a change in her perceptions of what *diversity* means. She asserted that she had “learned that the diversity of thought is infinite,” and that all the children are “diverse and special” (interview, September 16, 2014) by nature. For her, it was not only a matter of being Mapuche or not. She felt that she was more aware of the differences in the world, for instance, and that people differ in “what they do in their houses” (interview, September 15, 2014), or what they choose to do with their lives. Likewise, Corina pointed out that before this experience, she had thought that to be Mapuche, it was necessary to have a Mapuche last name. Nevertheless, although she was not a “Mapuche descendant,” she felt that she was “part of it [the Mapuche culture]” because, in some way, “we all have Mapuche blood” (interview, September 15, 2014). Similarly, Romina described how her perceptions toward Mapuche heritage have changed:

I feel almost like a Mapuche, I feel good and I feel like the world is a better place, I am doing, we are doing something very pretty for those who are coming, and that is important. They (children) are growing, are growing with the wisdom and experience that

we are all the same, that there are other types of people and give them space to the people that have some difficulty too, any kind, we are going to be better, and we will be able to share this world well. (interview, September 15, 2014)

For the Mapuche teachers, their perceptions changed in terms of including other Indigenous cultures in classroom activities. Rosa indicated that “interculturality is not about only one Indigenous group, but [rather] it is about all the Indigenous groups.” She added that she had changed her views, specifically in the sense that now she believed it was not necessary to be from an Indigenous group, but rather, “how your life, your experiences” are even more important than the last name or heritage; from her view, “maybe one child is Mapuche” but this does not necessarily mean he/she will identify with the culture, or maybe “another child is not Mapuche but he has been educated in the Mapuche culture,” and as a result, identifies more with this culture (interview, September 15, 2014). Similarly, Gema explained that she now sees the importance of learning about other cultures, stating “sometimes we get stuck in what we know,” which in her case was the Mapudungun language (interview, October 10, 2014).

Both Mapuche teachers also profusely talked about changes in the perceptions of their own work as a result of these interactions. They described how they had learned to make more decisions, to propose their ideas and to feel more empowered in the preschools. Gema described feeling “more confident” (interview, October 10, 2014) to tell and share her ideas in the preschool. She sensed that the principal trusted her work and her knowledge, impacting her confidence to express and implement what she believed was better instruction for the children. For her, Gema said, “it has been a professional change,” but because of it, she “noticed a change.” She clarified she had never felt embarrassed for being Mapuche or discriminated against; when she was a child, her grandparents always told her she did “not have anything to be

ashamed of” (interview, October 10, 2014). Despite describing herself as having a strong Mapuche identity, Gema described that when talking with other educators and, in the simple fact of greeting the ELCI in Mapudungun, she felt that she was “getting stronger,” that is, felt empowered (interview, October 10, 2014).

Rosa expressed a similar change in her sense of empowerment. In previous preschools, she did not feel valued for what she knew and was. She tried to teach some Indigenous cultures, but she ended up painting or drawing “things, clothes, and foods” (interview, September 15, 2014). Contrary to those previous experiences, she conveyed feelings similar to those that were previously heard and considered in this preschool. She recalled her first conversation with the principal when the principal asked her, “Rosa, what can we do? We have all this space to create things.” Rosa said that she had “many ideas about having a small farm, planting trees and playing *palín*” (interview, September 15, 2014).

These findings relate to what others have found in the connection of teachers with communities. It has been shown that communities can play an important role in addressing these issues, as Indigenous communities positively impact the identity formation of Indigenous teachers or teachers who work with Indigenous students (Au, 2002).

Becoming an IBE educator. The ELCIs of both preschools commented that they had to learn methods for teaching Mapuche language and culture, as they only had Mapuche knowledge but not the strategies to teach it. In this regard, the ELCI of the Alicura Preschool described that she had all the *kumun* (Mapuche knowledge) necessary to teach in IBE preschools, knew the “Mapuche worldview and everything,” and “how everything started, how things are done, how people work in the country side” (interview, September 15, 2014). However, the ELCI still felt she needed to learn about songs and other ways to teach, because “it never crossed” her mind

that she would be teaching Mapuche culture in a classroom setting. Jacinta, the ELCI in the Palqui Preschool, shared this perspective as well as an interest in learning more about teaching skills, “all the educational parts,” “pedagogical things,” and also “the technical knowledge [for teaching]” (interview, October 9, 2014). However, for her it was important to learn only “a little bit” (of formal teaching methods) because she did “not want to do it completely pedagogical”; instead, she wanted to teach the Indigenous culture naturally, more like it was taught in the countryside” (interview, October 9, 2014). In her view, it was important to find a balance between school knowledge and Mapuche knowledge. In her own words:

The idea and the objective of how one wants to teach is never lost, but neither one has to necessarily follow the structure in the preschool. I think that here it is even out. That is, if I have two knowledge, I can even them out as I want, with the goal that I want, and my goal is to do it in a free manner, but at the same time, to have this tool that it is the technical part, therefore, I can even them out. (interview, October 9, 2014)

After this answer, I asked the ELCI if she foresaw any potential challenge in “evening out [two ways of teaching],” and she responded, “others may have the problem of how to come to an agreement [between two teachers]” but “this is not grave or big; it is only a matter of coming to an agreement.” She anticipated that as one person has the Mapuche knowledge and the other has the “technical school knowledge,” it is probable that the teachers could say, “no, we can’t teach this like that because it is taught this other way” (interview, October 10, 2014). In her view, including both forms of knowledge and both methods of teaching was not problematic.

Along with this interest in learning teaching skills, the ELCI in the Alicura Preschool, also explained her struggles teaching a group of children. She described that initially, she was “not used to have too many sons, too many children.” She felt that “it was too much, because

children were standing up, and it was necessary to make them sit down” (interview, September 15, 2014). She indicated that teaching children is difficult:

One does not communicate too much with the *pichiquecke* (children). One talks, but right now, when I sang and everything, or when I talked to them..., when I asked them their name, they stared at me like, they did not answer me, some of them answer well.

(interview, September 15, 2014)

Elena described that learning pedagogical strategies also meant learning how to interact with the teachers in the preschool. Perhaps, based on past difficult interactions, she referred to this process critically, saying that at the beginning the teachers did not help her, but then they changed: “I say [to the children], ‘now we are going to sit down,’ and they [the teachers] help me.” She also mentioned learning to give instructions to the teachers, such as “give the doll to the *pichiqueche*,” or “No, teacher, you have to answer me, now.” She also pointed out that she and the teachers have been working together better because “each classroom contributes its part, but before it was not like that” (interview, September 15, 2014). She described that before the teachers left her alone with the children, and as she did not have experience with so many children, she did not know what to do. She felt that, “one gets upset with one child”; therefore a large group was even more frustrating. As a consequence, she began asking for help, saying “Teacher, can you help me here, because the principal told me that a teacher or teacher assistant must always be in the classroom” (interview, September 15, 2014).

Unlike the ELCI in the Alicura Preschool, Jacinta in the Palqui Preschool described gratefully what she had learned from the teachers. She said that she had to learn how to prepare a lesson plan, and how to understand the things taught by the teachers. As she put it:

I have learned how to plan, because, the majority of the ELCIs, we were asked to have our own lesson plans, our own workshops, or own teaching, but I had never prepared a lesson before. So, the girls [teachers] were telling me “we are teaching this, and you have to follow this, what do you want to teach? what do you want to do?, what do you want the children learn first,” and I told them how I could start, and they told me “let’s see this way.” We began to see all the objectives, all the things, and the materials we could use, and then I continue alone, and I was doing the lesson plans by myself. (interview, October 10, 2014)

For Jacinta, the teachers had also influenced her perspective on how to treat children, for instance, treating them with respect, talking to them carefully, and asked their permission. Particularly, she described learning how to talk, sing and respecting children interests.

Along with teaching strategies, Jacinta reported changes in her perceptions toward her resistance to teach non-Mapuche people. She said she was “more open to teach [non-Mapuches], because before I was very unwilling due to the discrimination and the lack of knowledge regarding the Mapuche people, discrimination in the same schools” (interview, October 10, 2014). In the same interview, she clarified that her initial resistance was based on her fear that “one can teach but they [non-Mapuches] would not use it [the knowledge] well.” Although she felt that it is possible to teach to non-Mapuche people, she was still careful with what she shared. However, her personal relationships with the teachers, and the family atmosphere of the preschool have reduced this concern.

Like the Mapuche teachers, Jacinta expressed a positive impact on her identity, which was a result of her teaching work. In her own words, “My identity, I feel, has been strengthened as a Mapuche person, I feel empowered more as a Mapuche... I feel more strengthened in my

spirituality” (interview, October 10, 2014). Indeed, Jacinta commented on the importance of reinforcing her identity as a Mapuche teacher, and how she felt she had helped teachers and particular one “teacher who did not have a Mapuche last name, but the teacher knows she had Mapuche family members, and therefore, was trying to connect with the family” (interview, October 10, 2014).

How do teachers and ELCIs learn? In a theory of learning, how people learn is as important as what people learn. When talking about how teachers and ELCIs learned what they learned for IBE preschools, both teachers and ELCIs mentioned learning with others, from experiences, and by using their own previous knowledge. These themes are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Learning from others. Mapuche and non-Mapuche teachers in both preschools described learning from their peers. Non-Mapuche teachers more frequently mentioned peers as a resource in their learning. Corina explained that her colleagues in the preschool had played an important role in her learning, in particular, from another non-Mapuche teacher. As she put it:

I learned by listening, observing, from my colleagues mostly, because they, as I came after them, they already had a base, so, I learned mostly listening, observing, trying to understand anyway, and decoding words sometimes... So learning and listening to my colleagues. (interview, September 16, 2014)

She added that when she arrived at the preschool, she “did not know anything” (interview, September 16, 2014), and having the opportunity to listen her colleagues using Mapudungun was crucial for her. She explained that her peers not only had been supportive in teaching her phrases, words and songs in Mapudungun, but they had also served as role models for learning Mapudungun—she saw that other “teachers can communicate in Mapudungun” (interview,

September 16, 2014). This process of learning with peers is described also in terms of her own motivation. For Corina, her knowledge regarding Mapudungun increased because she was “always asking and asking about everything,” she wanted to “know the meaning of the words and conversations” (interview, September 16, 2014) she heard spoken in the preschools.

In Romina’s view, peers were also supportive in her learning about the best teaching strategies to use. She described that when she was trying to figure out how to teach Mapudungun, she decided to talk to her colleagues to “question” their own activities. In those conversations, Romina and Corina noticed that the “children did not pay attention for a long time in the circle activities,” but rather, the children were “very interested in a doll called Maya” (interview, November 13, 2014); therefore they used the doll to tell an *epew* and to share some stories based on the Mapuche culture. Romina’s story went beyond a particular experience to school recommendations, when she proposed that the preschool should encourage exchange between teachers. She said that it was not necessary that all teachers do or learn the same things: if only one teacher “finds something that works very well in the classrooms,” “she should share it” with the rest of the preschool. In her view, “it is very important that teachers are not selfish” (interview, November 13, 2014) with their knowledge.

Other non-Mapuche teachers in the preschool also shared Romina’s idea. In the focus group conversation, the most productive theme of the conversation was how to support new teachers in the preschool as well as how to share their positive experiences. These teachers felt that sometimes only one classroom was implementing meaningful practices to teach Mapudungun, but nobody else was aware of these practices. Given the enormous amount of requirements imposed from different institutions, teachers at this preschool felt they needed to have more concrete instances of peer learning and sharing. All the teachers engaged actively in

this topic and proposed some specific strategies they could use in carrying out this idea. For example, Romina said they could write “a preschool dictionary” with all the words and phrases an IBE preschool teacher should know. In doing so, new teachers and existing teachers in the preschool would share a common set of vocabulary. In addition, Rosa suggested the idea to “borrow teachers [from other classrooms at the preschool]” (group conversation, December 18, 2014) some days a week for one hour. With this system, a teacher would go to another classroom for a short period of time to teach the children a song, game, poem, or host an activity that this teacher knows would motivate the children. By doing this, both teachers and children would learn new knowledge.

In the Palqui Preschool, Gema also described the importance of peer learning and sharing, as well as holding “teachers meetings” so that teachers could “learn how we are all working” and “share experiences;” this was important to her because she sometimes felt she was “the only one doing Mapuche things,” because she was Mapuche, “so it is obvious that I want to share what (knowledge) I have” (interview, October 9, 2014).

Teachers talked about situations in which a peer taught them, and also when they taught a colleague. Romina mentioned that she helped new teachers feel more confident in learning and teaching Mapudungun, because she knew “the feeling” of not knowing what everyone else knows. Her new colleagues had said to her, “I am not be able to do it [teach Mapuche culture],” “this is too difficult”; however, Romina had felt similar feelings before, and so she responded to these teachers, “only listen,” “only try when you feel comfortable” (interview, September 16, 2014). Her account resonates with what other teachers said about Romina. Corina explicitly referred to her as a “supportive peer” multiple times. In the same vein, Rosa described moments in which she shared her knowledge with her peers, and “told stories based on her experiences.

She said that her colleagues had asked her “how to sing a song,” or “how to pronounce a word [in Mapudungun],” or “if something is well written” (interview, September 15, 2014). However, when talking in the group conversation about peer learning, Rosa mentioned the same instance, to which Corina replied argued back, “that was not true,” because she “never felt supported by her [Rosa].”

Gema in the Palqui Preschool also talked about peer learning, but she did not describe examples of learning in which other teachers taught her something. However, she did value the feedback of her peers. She said that she liked when she was told, “Gema, I like the activity you did” or “the activity was very clear, very precise” (interview, October 9, 2014).

It is interesting that although both ELCIs mentioned instances in which they taught something to teachers, none of the teachers spontaneously included the ELCIs as supporting in their learning. When explicitly asking about the potential role of the ELCIs in what teachers had learned, Corina answered that she had not have the chance to interact very often with her, only once a week in the classroom while she taught. Gema explained that she had not learned specific things as words, phrases or more Mapudungun, as they both had the same proficiency in Mapudungun. They did not learn the language as a child, but they were able to have fluent conversations. After mentioning that the ELCI had not played an important role in her learning, Gema paused and added that the ELCI had been significant in her professional identity. She never imagined she would “arrive at a preschool and could have a conversation in Mapudungun.” For her, the ELCI was not somebody that taught her, but a peer to share the same experiences and a common identity. Romina responded that she had only learned some aspects of the culture such as traditions, stories and values like “asking for permission before entering to the *ruka*, because there is where the ancestors are.” This knowledge had helped her better

navigate cultural events or ceremonies with Mapuche communities, which was important because “I could make mistakes due to ignorance” (interview, September 16, 2014). However, for her, those interactions with the ELCI are too formal.

For her, the cook, a Mapuche person and community member, was more relevant in her learning because their interactions were more “spontaneous.” She said, “we talk during lunch, in the cafeteria,” and “I shared with her things about myself, things similar to the ones in the country side,” and that was enriching because “we connect” (interview, September 16, 2014). Romina added that she liked when the Mapuche cook went to the classroom because she could ask her “the name of the lunch of the day, the food, the ingredients, everything” (interview, September 16, 2014). For Romina the cook was more a Mapuche community member than a preschool staff, and she felt that their interactions had a different tone and were about different topics.

Romina also described in detail the relationship she had Traditional Educator who taught Mapudungun in the preschool the first year. She called him the *kimelfe* and explained that, “with the *kimelfe* we stayed talking for a long time, about the culture, about what they do, how they do it, so then I presented it to the children” (interview, September 16, 2014). This positive experience was recognized by others in the preschool, such as the principal who said, “I have the feeling that Romina learned a lot with Hérnan (Traditional Educator), and there was a connection. There was a kind of affectivity that you say, I open my mind to allow your knowledge to enter and I give you mine” (interview, November 6, 2014).

Experiences. All the teachers agreed that spending time and interacting with Mapuche community members had a positive impact on their learning. When talking about the

inauguration of the *ruka* in the Alicura Preschool with the Mapuche communities, Corina described that:

that day we shared *mate*, *matetun*, and we comment, they began commenting what they live, their experiences, how was the construction of the *ruka*. Also the *We Tripantü*, I had never participated in one, and that was an instance this year that one gets closer and one feels like part of the earth. So I feel like in those instances that they make us part as teachers, they make us part of the Mapuche worldview. So having that on those instances is fundamental, so we can learn and we can keep developing more experiences.

(interview, September 16, 2014)

In the same vein, Romina commented that the Mapuche ceremonies and *matetun* had been important experiences in her learning because she had the chance to talk to community members and ask them about their culture and traditions. In her view, these ceremonies and events with Mapuche communities were learning experiences because she had the opportunity to ask questions and learn new things. For instance, in one occasion, she saw a *cacho* and said to a Mapuche community member that she also had *cachos* in the countryside. Then, the community member explained to her that “*cachos* are for wine and also are good as musical instruments.” That is how a “Mapuche person started to teach me” (interview, September 16, 2014), she said.

Miranda, in the Palqui Preschool, referred to the Mapudungun class in the preschool taught by a parent, who was also a Mapuche community member, as an instance of learning. She pointed out that in that class she was able to learn more language “for conversations” and “how to use it in the classroom” (interview, November 14, 2014).

Besides, in regards to the interactions with the community members in the preschool, all the non-Mapuche teachers mentioned that going to the ceremonies and meetings of the Mapuche

communities, outside of the preschool, were “an enriching experience” (Corina interview, September 16, 2014). At the conversation group in the Alicura Preschool, all the teachers described going to a *We Tripantü* as a “life changing experience,” in the sense that they saw people talking Mapudungun in real situations, using their traditional clothes and preparing traditional food “like on a normal day,” making a distinction between Mapuche people in their land and Mapuche people in the preschool. Actually, they expressed a strong interest in visiting Mapuche communities. Corina said that:

“We should go out of the preschool more often, to look for those experiences, because we have the space, but we are lacking of having a different vision, we should get closer to certain people depending in what we want to learn, So, I think I would look for the opportunity to know more places and things. (interview, September 16, 2014)

In the same line, Corina commented that “it was illuminating to go to the *Regional Palín Event*” as it was the first time she could see what other preschools do, where for the first time she saw people talking in Mapudungun, and she even saw an ELCI talking to a child in Mapudungun “using complete sentences.” Therefore, she thought that, “it is possible to do that” (interview, November 16, 2014).

As the teachers, the ELCIs conceived the Mapuche organizations as a space for learning and growing. In particular, the ELCI in the Palqui Preschool asserted that she always “ask for help to her organization,” especially for the events where they played and shared Mapuche fusion music. For her, also the *machi* of an organization close to her house was significant. The *machi* had helped her focus when she “felt lost.” In her words, “I always go to the *machi* when I have questions about Mapuche ways of seeing the world” (interview, October 10, 2014). She added that, when she wanted to learn, she “asked, asked and asked her,” and “went to all the

activities and ceremonies.” With this attitude, she decided to go to live with a *machi*, where she “learned a lot by observing” and “living many things in Mapuche, because many things are lived only once and then it is difficult to explain it, because sometimes no many will believe” (interview, October 10, 2014).

This ELCI also described how having experiences with Mapuche communities had a positive impact in her colleague teachers. She shared that last year there was a *Guillatún*⁵⁰, “which is a Mapuche ceremony where communities from different places get together to pray, to ask and to thank” (interview, October 10, 2014). During that time, she thought that it would be a great opportunity for one teacher in the preschool to go, therefore she said “let’s go so you can learn how things are, how things are done, and where the knowledge comes from” (interview, October 10, 2014) and she felt that the teacher has been able to apply that knowledge in the preschool.

Gema, in the Palqui Preschool, was the more critical and distant from the Mapuche organizations around the preschool in Santiago. She stated that she had “never asked them anything.” When she needed help she talked to her father or relative, but not to the community members. She emphasized twice that she had not required their assistance. She indicated that community members in the south of Chile had guided her. She explained how a community member worked in a school in the south of Chile and how that experience had helped her. However, she did see the contribution of community members for teachers in general.

Family knowledge. For Mapuche teachers, family knowledge acquired during their preschool work and before was relevant in their learning and practices. As Gema, Rosa asserted that her mother and her family in the south of Chile played a main role in her learning. She said

⁵⁰ Traditional Mapuche ceremony

that she “brought her mother in soul and spirit” to the preschool the first day, since any given day when she had a question she asked her mother, or she “called to the south, and asked the aunts” (interview, September 15, 2014). When her relatives did not know, they tried to find out and then told her “these things here, this plant there, put this other element there” (interview, September 15, 2014). She also acknowledged that “almost everything” she knew was learned through experiences with her family. She received knowledge from her family without noticing, and she “did not even value that before,” but then she began feeling “that the knowledge is helpful, and it has value to teach it” (interview, September 15). She shared the experiences as a child in elementary school where she was called *india*, and how her classmates made fun of her, called her names and discriminated her. During her life as a school student, she felt that being and having Mapuche knowledge was not worth it. However, she recalled in the interview the moment when she began to value Mapuche knowledge, and began asking herself how it was possible that everything she had learned from their family could be useless. She realized that her family members knew things that nobody else in the city knew, and noticed that she and her family had valuable knowledge.

Interestingly, for Rosa, what she learned and what she knew was not only individual knowledge. The knowledge that her family taught her was group knowledge, “it is not my experience, but rather the experience of others, of my family, uncles.” She exemplified this view by telling the story of the first time she wanted to play *palín* with the children. She said she did not know how to play so she “called her uncle, but he said that the children were too little to play.” Rosa thought, “that was not true,” until she convinced him. Therefore, she used her knowledge and her uncle’s to teach. She emphasized and insisted on the role of every member of her family in southern Chile as her foundational knowledge. In her words,

Everything that I have lived, everything I have seen, all my experience in the south, was helpful to have a notion at the beginning, and now to begin to investigate more, and to look for the specific person who could help me, for instance, my uncle that I always saw organizing *palín*. (interview, September 15)

Rosa included both the learning instances she had before her work in the preschool and during the last couple of years. For her, her family had not only provided her with intellectual knowledge, but also material support. She took elements from their houses such as wool, *telares*⁵¹, food, and ceramic, for example. She used the word *network* to explain how her family had taught her and supported her, enumerating each person: her mother first, then an uncle, then the brother of her mother who helped her with the *palín*, and finally his father who helped her with musical instruments.

With this network, she did not see an extra benefit of being part of a Mapuche organization. When asked about her relationship with a Mapuche organization, she answered that she did not have a personal connection, only as a preschool teacher. She was a “contact of the preschool” (interview, September 15), but because she was Mapuche, she was frequently invited to the activities of the Mapuche organization where she helped cooking, cleaning and organizing. She felt close to the Mapuche organization even if she was not a member, in her view, “in general Mapuche people do not care about institutions, organizations, communities, it is about a ‘you-and-you’ relationship” (interview, September 15). Given that the Mapuche organization had known her entire family for decades she always felt welcome and close, like in a personal relationship. Gema shared the same sentiment regarding the role of her family, and specially her father. In her account, her father was her main guide as he was a “great wise man” and her

⁵¹ Mapuche traditional art and technique to make blankets and also for decoration.

grandfather who was also a Mapuche person that “knew a lot” (interview, September 9, 2014) and was a leader in his community.

Similarly, both ELCIs referred to their previous experiences with their families as learning processes. The ELCI in the Alicura Preschool explained that she never learned the Mapuche language and culture in the school system. She learned everything as a child, because her family was proud of being Mapuche, she was always told that she was a Mapuche, and her family was Mapuche, her grandparents talked in Mapudungun with her mother, then everybody used Mapudungun in the family. Jacinta also talked about learning with her grandparents, uncles, and all her relatives except by her father. According to Jacinta, her father was always worried she may “be discriminated against in the school.” Actually, her father did not like her to use Mapuche clothes because “everybody would make fun of her,” but she did it anyway.

Learning by themselves. Throughout the interviews, teachers expressed their own motivation to learn the Mapuche language and culture and how to teach them in the IBE preschool. Rosa described this experience as a period that nobody knew what do to. In her words, “nobody had any information, so I took pictures and wrote down the names: ‘how do I say this in Mapudungun’, ‘how do I call this’, ‘what people eat’, ‘and how it is prepared” (interview, September 15, 2014). With the same emphasis, Corina commented that they “have learned everything by listening or reading books,” because without “the intentionality it would have been impossible to do all of this: learn how to write, to speak.” She insisted that their learning was a matter of “proactivity,” it was their “own initiative,” because “no one will tell us: ‘you know what, we could do this, this and this’” (interview, September 16, 2014). Romina shared the same sentiment and strongly asserted that “at the beginning it was very difficult because nobody trained us” (interview, September 16, 2014), but she could overcome that

feeling by deciding that she had to research, find out and search on internet by herself. Jacinta's comments echoes the teachers' perspectives. She also saw that teachers' own motivations and interests had allowed them to be highly engaged in "asking, asking, and asking" (interview, September 9, 2014).

Discussion

The learning challenge: what is knowledge? Teachers in both preschools were aware that they faced a learning challenge in their work place. They knew that what they had to learn is not stable, not defined, and not know for those who work in the IBE preschool. This awareness of the learning challenge motivated the teachers to be proactive in looking for their own opportunities to learn, because they knew that no one in the preschool would teach or train them since nobody in their preschool had the knowledge they need. That is, they recognize that there was not a readily model that they had to learn to implement, and there were no wise teachers or colleagues that had all the answers. In addition, their attempts and trial and error experiences in their classrooms show that these teachers conceived their learning processes—and also act according to this view—as knowledge that was being created in the same experiences; in other words, their knowledge was literally learned and created at the same time.

However, these teachers struggled in comprehending this process as, perhaps, a natural situation in spaces that aim change or transformation. That is, these teachers were proud of their own work and of how much they learned despite the fact that nobody had trained them. Nonetheless, at the same time, teachers were upset because, in their view, somebody—somewhere—had the knowledge that had not been shared with them. These teachers conceived that there was a stable and defined knowledge somewhere outside the preschool. They acknowledged that it was not in the preschool, but rather in the Mapuche communities and the

state organizations. In connecting this finding with Chapter 3, it is possible to argue that the teachers' conception "someone has the knowledge we need" is a consequence of the notion of IBE preschools they have. Given that IBE preschools were not seen necessarily as transformative spaces, teachers do not expect to acquire transformative knowledge. Therefore, any university or governmental institution could provide them with the knowledge they have. They do not question the fact that maybe universities and governmental institutions do not even have the knowledge and skills they need.

To make an analytical sense of this perception, we need to look at the fact that Chilean teacher education programs rarely use schools as spaces for learning. These teachers, very likely, were formed in teacher education programs where theory was taught in universities and schools were merely sites to practice and test what they had learned in university classrooms. Schools were not understood as places in which knowledge could legitimately be constructed.

Learning in communities: who and where are the subjects of learning? These teachers acknowledged that within their preschools there is no one well-bounded work unit that could be the center of coordination. They recognized that all the subjects in the preschool are learning, and each one has a role, therefore, there is no need for all the teachers to have the same knowledge. This view made the teachers in the Alicura Preschool propose that teachers should create a system—called "borrow teacher"—that would allow them to share their areas of expertise with other classrooms. In other words, the IBE preschool learning challenge inspired the teachers to think of their knowledge as distributed horizontally among different preschool actors. Similarly, these teachers observed the need to work in *knotworking* (Engeström, 2001) as they realized they had to create a new pattern of activity which includes work collaboratively with several preschool actors to respond to the different demands of teaching in IBE preschool—

such as national preschool demands, IBE demands, Mapuche community's demands and family demands. It is worth noting that although teachers' perceptions started to move towards this direction, the "borrow teacher" proposal was accepted by with a range of objections, largely centering on the excessive amount of work this system was expected to cause: they have to have time to learn and to share their knowledge as well, among all the other demanding task they have.

However, this conception of distributed knowledge and the intention to work in knotworking was not extended toward Mapuche communities or beyond the preschool limits. In fact, as Chapter 4 shows us, Mapuche communities in the Alicura Preschool and Palqui Preschool were blamed for not using their time and efforts to elaborate a proposal with regards to the Mapuche knowledge and culture that IBE preschool teachers should have. As we have seen previously, these critiques may be based on a romanticized conception of culture as non-changing and non-dynamic, from which learning Mapuche knowledge was simply seen as transferring knowledge from one to another. None of the teachers, principals, or ELCIs discussed the possibility of constructing Mapuche knowledge and culture for IBE preschool and teachers in concert with the Mapuche communities. For the preschool actors, Mapuche communities have to teach the teachers, and as the teachers are highly motivated and eager to learn, the communities are the ones failing for not taking their responsibility. In other words, Mapuche knowledge was not seen relational and fluid reconstructed and recreated within the preschool and in the interactions with the teachers. I argue that preschools actors want to learn but expect the presence of "mythical collective subject" (Engeström, 2001) that they could approach and push to take charge of the transformation. Likely, based on the sense of isolation that the school actors face,

their decisions and autonomy were accompanied by a strong desire of having more top-down policies, instructions, and guide regarding their work.

Given that Mapuche knowledge was not understood as dynamic and relational, tensions and negotiations were not expected, and therefore any kind of conflict was seen as negative, and not as potential instance that could energize a serious learning effort. Indeed, when actually talking with Jacinta, the ELCI in the Palqui Preschool, about the balance between Mapuche and school knowledge she asserted that she was trying to find the balance within herself, and she regarded that between two people may not be difficult to find balance, as it is just a matter of coming to an agreement. For teachers and community representatives, Mapuche and non-Mapuche, Mapuche knowledge was never constructed in their daily preschool experiences, neither in their relationships. Interestingly, even though, they did not see Mapuche knowledge constructed in a relational dynamic, they did consider that the work done in the IBE preschool was distributed among different experts.

What are the key learning actions? Although I do believe that teachers should be offered good quality teacher education for IBE preschool, I argue that the learning challenge proposed by IBE preschool could not be completely met by only training individuals—such as teachers, ELCI, or other Mapuche community members—in universities to adopt new knowledge and skills.

Both teachers and ELCIs had a sense of having all the necessary knowledge of their expertise. They also saw that knowledge was distributed throughout all the teachers, not only few. This may be why non-Mapuche teachers frequently saw others as important in their learning. In particular, the teachers of the Alicura Preschool wanted to implement more instances of team work and knowledge exchange. Both ELCIs also conceived peers, in this case teachers,

as relevant in the learning process. Specially, the ELCI of the Palqui Preschool profusely described how teachers had taught her how to prepare lesson plans. The Mapuche teachers perceived, less often, others as a source of learning. Nevertheless, they saw themselves as supportive peers and wanted also to have their colleagues' feedback to know if they were teaching effective classes or not. It should be also noticed that although the distribution of tasks did not foster interactions, as we saw in Chapter 4, it did allow diverse protagonist roles. In cultural events, different actors had the leading position, and were the instances that allowed multiple voices in different moments. In these events, the leading subject role and agency was not fixed, but rather it kept shifting.

ELCIs were not highly valued as agents to support teacher learning. This may be explained by the fact that stories told by ELCI were not used to dialogue nor to create knowledge about how to teach Mapuche language and culture. The teachers did not situate ELCI's work in a societal larger context and did not either include their backgrounds. As we saw Chapter 4, these teachers reproduced the idea that ELCI had to adequate to the school system, ignoring the previous experiences of ELCI in the classrooms, disregarding questions about what is for an ELCI to work in a school system that punished and marginalized them, their families and their knowledge. Teachers expected ELCI to teach Mapuche language and culture in the school system, without recalling and forgetting what happened to them in schools. Professional, young ELCIs educated in Santiago were a kind of educator that navigate easier and produce fewer tensions in the educational system. The stories of a professional ELCI may more smoothly fit the norms of preschools.

The next figure summarized the central dimensions that were significant in the learning of these teachers and educators. Here we can see that learning from others and learning through

experiences are key in becoming teachers and educators for IBE. Experiences in and around schools—or experiential knowledge—have been widely recognized as critical to become an “expert” (Johnson, 2009). Johnson (2009) stated, “informal social and professional networks, including their own classrooms, can function as powerful sites for professional learning” (p. 96). In the Latin American context, Freire notion of praxis has been used to acknowledge the force of experiences in learning to teach, particularly in oppressed sites. In the same vein, Sawchuk (2006) assert “that it is in the realms everyday life [practices] (within and beyond schools) that we can hope to most clearly see learning as individual and collective human historical development” (p. 293).

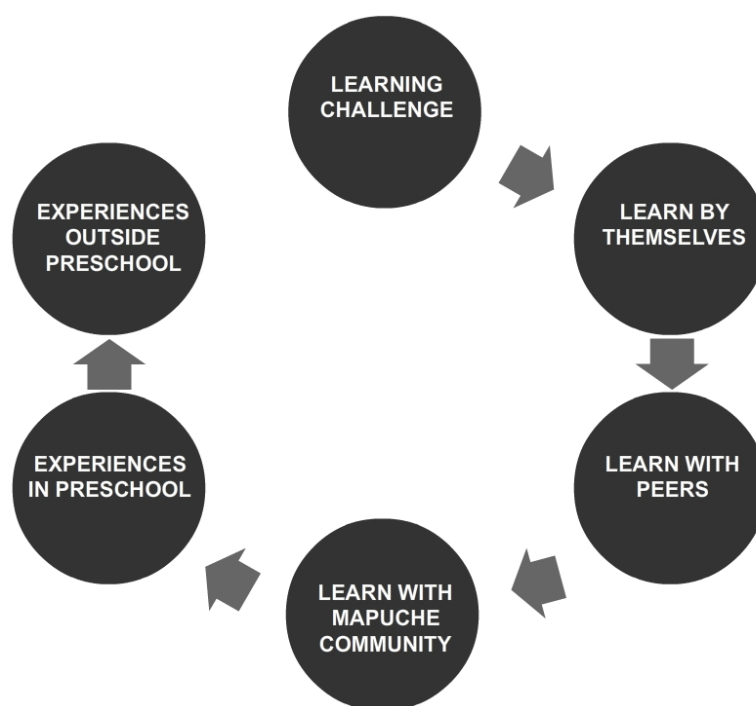


Figure 4. Key learning actions in IBE preschools.

The findings illustrated by this figure explain the influence of peers and others, such as Mapuche community members; they also resonate with the idea of learning as emerging through social practice and human mediation. This idea, which has been present in research of learning for decades, assumes that people do not function independent of others, but they mediate and are

mediated by the social relationships they have with others (Johnson, 2009). In this research, learners are always active in the sense that they do not merely copy what experts do or know; they transform those capabilities as they acquire them (Lantolf, 2000). Indeed, learners are seen as active producers of theory for their own means and for their own instructional contexts (Johnson, 2006; Johnson & Golombek, 2003). Nevertheless, teachers and ELCIs, although proud for being active learners and learning and teaching others, lived this learning process as a challenging process and struggled in actually create space for collaboration and knowledge sharing.

The notion of *relational expertise* (Edwards, 2012) helps us to make analytical sense of these findings. Even though it is undeniable that issues of power and hierarchy affect teachers and community members partnership, the strong appreciation and value of peer learning and learning from Mapuche communities seem also suggest that individuals in IBE preschools struggle for not having relational expertise, that is, not knowing how to connect the expertise of different agents. It has been shown that even in situations where professional share the same status problems arise in building a common understanding and knowledge (Guile, 2011; Ramsten & Säljö, 2012). The example of the Palqui Preschool is more telling in this regard, where, among the participants, there was a constant discourse of teachers and ELCIs that were equally knowledgeable; however, superficial collaboration was the frequent norm between these actors. By this statement, I am not trying to say that issues of power between teachers and Mapuche community members should be ignored, but rather, I aim to assert that the fact that teachers value Mapuche knowledge creates a potential space to foster collaboration through relational expertise. For this conclusion, I refer to Edwards (2012), who states, “the creating of

new horizontally linking structures is not a sufficient response” for sites that face a diversity of demands (p. 23).

Next to these key learning actions, there is an important absence of the principles of critical indigenous pedagogies that have been regarded as relevant for the education of indigenous children. Teachers and ELCIs’ concern primarily focus on the need to learn and teach Mapudungun, although I am aware of the indisputable need of teaching Indigenous languages, with McLaren (2005) I believe that teachers and ELCIs should conceive education as: (a) collective; (b) a critical, by locating class and economic oppression within the social, political, and economic infrastructure of capitalism; (c) participatory, by building coalitions among community members, and (d) a creative process. McLaren (2005) stated that teachers and educators need:

mutual respect, humility, openness, trust and co-operation: a commitment to learn to “read the world” critically and expending the effort necessary to bring about social transformation; vigilance with regard to one’s own process of self-transformation and adherence to the principles and aims of a group; adopting an “ethics of authenticity” as guiding principle; internalizing social justice as passion; acquiring critical, creative and hopeful thinking; transforming the self through transforming the social relations of learning and teaching; establishing democracy as fundamental way of life; developing critical curiosity; and deepening one’s solidarity and commitment to self and social transformation and the project of humanization. (p. 26)

Such principles are relevant to IBE in Chile and their educators as the lingering historical abuses and the present sociopolitical and economic capital system in Chile require teachers that work

critically and collective with participatory and creative process for a human, transformative and solidarity education.

Chapter 6: Conclusions and Implications

Discussion: Tying it All Together

This study was designed to contribute to the scholarship on preschool and Indigenous community partnership as well as teacher education for Indigenous children. It was also designed to improve scholars' understanding of specific efforts necessary for successful implementation of IBE programs. The overarching focus of this study was an exploration of interactions between two IBE preschools and Mapuche communities, relationships between teachers and Mapuche community members, and finally, the skills, knowledge and attitudes both groups acquired through interactions with one another.

The specific purpose of this study was to gain a greater understanding of the nature, purpose, and quality of the relationships between preschool teachers and local Indigenous communities in urban IBE preschools in Región Metropolitana, Chile, as there has been no research examining this particular partnership. Therefore, a multi-case ethnographic study was conducted to describe and analyze the connection between these two groups. Based on this goal, Chapter 3 focused on how IBE preschools and Mapuche communities worked together, and the structural factors that influenced this partnership. Following this examination, Chapter 4 addressed the relational dynamics of Mapuche and non-Mapuche teachers (at IBE preschools) with Mapuche community members, including how they interacted when they shared the same space, and the ways they perceived each other. Finally, Chapter 5 investigated the potential impact of sharing and working together in the individual's learning process. As demonstrated through this study, the nature, purpose, and quality of this relationship encompasses a diverse spectrum, including various degrees of reproducing and healing experiences for the education of Mapuche people.

When considered together, all three analytic chapters in this dissertation (Chapters 3 through 5), reveal the linkages between different, yet critical, domains with respect to the education of Indigenous children, as well as the intersections between institutional opportunities and constraints, teacher and community partnerships, and teachers' and ELCIs' learning. If one were to read Chapter 3 only, taking note of the ways that IBE preschools and Mapuche communities collaborate, one may come to the quick conclusion that the linkage is overtly determined by larger structures, which in turn, almost impede the trusting collaboration between these groups. If one were to read Chapter 4 only, one might see that teachers reproduce systems of exclusion and marginalization towards Mapuche knowledge, and that they also exert their power over Mapuche community members to keep them in an inferior hierarchy within the preschool system. If one were to read Chapter 5 only, one might conclude that teachers and community members closely work and influence each other's learning, without being significantly impacted by systemic issues such as, historical implications like colonialism. However, when these chapters are read and analyzed together, they contribute to a comprehensive understanding of the complexities within this specific partnership, at preschool sites, and ultimately, in the education of Indigenous children.

Acknowledging the need to consider these intersections, I summarize the main findings and unanswered puzzles of this research in the following paragraphs. I identify the findings of this study, which are both clear and problematic, as contributing factors to understanding the linkage of teachers and Mapuche communities. After this discussion, I review the main implications of this study for theory and research, then I present the implication for IBE policies in Chile, and finally, I present the implications for practice in the IBE preschools. I conclude with an analysis of the limitations of this study.

Indistinct impact of Mapuche communities in two urban IBE preschools. Based on a literature review on community-based learning models and on collaboration with Indigenous communities, the working hypothesis of this study was as follows: IBE preschools with stronger connections to Mapuche communities would have a stronger participation of and impact on these communities in the preschools' activities. However, fieldwork in both preschools showed that other factors, such as policy and structural constraints, were as relevant to this relationship as a preschool's connection to the Mapuche community. Indeed, a surprising finding was that both preschools—the one with frequent Mapuche participation (Palqui Preschool), and the one with limited participation (Alicura Preschool)—perceived involvement of Mapuche community members in similar ways. In both preschools, as Chapter 3 showed: (a) individuals (principals, teachers, teachers' assistants, etc.) conceived Mapuche communities as bearers of culture, organizers, companions, and guests; (b) Mapuche communities were blamed for the struggling partnership with these preschools; and (c) non-Mapuche individuals at the preschools did not recognize the socio-political dimension of the education of Indigenous children. In addition, Chapter 4 provided evidence that in both preschools: (a) teachers and Mapuche community members rarely interacted; (b) the role of both ELCIs were primarily as translator, and as *palín* player; and (c) the extent of ELCIs' classroom instruction was marginalized, or in other words, ELCIs did not actively or frequently teach in the classrooms with teachers.

It should be noted that the limited participation of Indigenous communities should not be misinterpreted to mean that Indigenous communities superficially influence IBE preschools. Instead, the lack of participation should be considered as evidence of the need to better support and guide the partnership of Mapuche communities and preschools. This idea will be further discussed in the Implication section of this chapter.

In attempting to understand why the Palqui Preschool, which had a stronger connection with Mapuche communities, held similar perceptions of this community to those of the Alicura Preschool, one possible explanation emerged. Based on the IBE model and the entire Chilean educational system, discussed in Chapter 1, the possible explanation is as follows: IBE's overarching policy constrains its preschools. Several scholars have referred to the limitations of the Chilean IBE model with this issue. For instance, Montecinos (2004) stated that a significant problem with IBE preschools is that the IBE's purpose is to provide Indigenous peoples access to their own culture as well as the dominant culture. From this perspective, only one section of the population (Indigenous people) would benefit from IBE schools, specifically by becoming bicultural and learning to navigate both worlds. However, if this is the main purpose of IBE preschools, this means that non-Indigenous people (teachers, principals as well as students) do not necessarily need to become bicultural, or if they do, this is not reflected in the primary mission of IBE schools. As it stands now with IBE schools, according to Montecinos (2004), only the "others" (Indigenous people) need to accommodate and assimilate into the dominant culture.

This particular aspect of policy affects the directionality of the relationship between IBE preschools and Mapuche communities. Following Montecinos (2004) argument that IBE's overall policy is to teach Indigenous cultures and languages to Indigenous people, this policy then makes Indigenous communities responsible for creating a plural, multicultural society in Chile. These ideas can be found among teachers and principals of both preschools, for whom Mapuche communities were accountable for proposing straightforward knowledge of their culture. In this examination, I am not proposing that Mapuche community members cannot

transform school sites, but rather, I note that it is important to uncover the possible challenges and consequences underlying this large request.

This aspect of IBE policy is problematic because it also suggests that Indigenous knowledge is closed and static, as it expects that Indigenous communities pass on their languages and cultures to Indigenous children in the same way that, for example, land is given from one generation to another generation. How knowledge changes in dialogue with another culture is not considered in IBE's governing policy. Therefore, it is worth asking the question, by understanding Indigenous language and culture as fixed, and therefore less modern, scientific, and civilized, is this perspective an attempt to keep Chile's dominant knowledge pure and Westernized? For instance, to place Mapuche knowledge geographically and conceptually in the south of Chile is convenient, particularly for a country that prefers to imagine itself as white and European, because it negates or invalidates the need for larger transformation and integration of Indigenous knowledge into the education system and the entire society.

In terms of this study, it is important to recognize the limited potential for transformation in the Palqui Preschool even with the close participation of Mapuche community members. However, it should be noted that this preschool was located in a poor neighborhood; the children attending this preschool came from working class and/or immigrant families, some of whom faced issues of drugs and crimes in their neighborhood. For the Palqui Preschool members, this means that teachers also included in their lesson plans topics of nutrition, violence, and health, among others, all of which teachers at the Alicura Preschool did not necessarily have to address. This example of economic status as influencing factor in the education of Indigenous children is further explained by Smith (2003), who noted that drawing on the social status of the culturally

collective practice (such as an Indigenous community) can reveal and overcome in the classroom what might otherwise be debilitating socioeconomic circumstances.

Teachers and Mapuche community members at the Palqui Preschool addressed these issues of socioeconomic status in their meetings and group conversations. Several times they commented on the importance of offering a safe and nurturing space in their preschool, particularly when their classrooms might have been the only safe space their children had. Surprisingly, none of the participants in my interviews or focus groups connected this socioeconomic situation with larger contextual issues. For instance, it was not discussed why the IBE preschools, aimed at enrolling Mapuche children, had to address socioeconomic matters. In teachers' views, they had two goals in teaching at an IBE preschool, which were not necessarily connected: first, to teach Indigenous language and cultures; and second, to help children and their families facing issues of poverty. The socioeconomic factors affecting this preschool are relevant, as this is the most common socioeconomic context for all IBE preschools; therefore, it might be possible to anticipate that most IBE preschools deal with similar problems.

The work of Doucet (2011), specifically on the communities' and parents' resistance to school systems, adds another layer of interpretation to the findings from this study. The historical and enduring marginalization of Mapuche people reminds us that Mapuche communities have been oppressed in many ways; however, in spite of this oppression, they are still strong agents in building their own lives. For this study, the work of Doucet (2011) translates to mean that the precarious involvement of Mapuche communities in IBE preschools could be the result of a purposeful resistance towards the school system, not only because of the problems in the construction and management of IBE preschools, but also because of Mapuche people's desire and self-determination to educate their children outside of the school system.

Although transformative experiences were not observed in the Palqui Preschool, it is important to acknowledge that there were differences between preschools in terms of perceptions and attitudes towards Mapuche communities. Chapter 3 showed that only in the Palqui Preschool did members reflect on the implications of how Mapuche organizations were formed in Región Metropolitana. Teachers at this preschool also reflected on the notion of the Mapuche community, a topic that was absolutely absent in group discussions and interviews with teachers and the principal at the Alicura Preschool. Furthermore, in the Palqui Preschool, teachers held less stereotypical views of Mapuche people, contrary to Alicura Preschool, where Mapuche communities were frequently described as “selfish” or “a closed community.” In addition, Chapter 4 also demonstrated a unique perception at the Palqui Preschool: only at this school did teachers, ELCIs, and the principal share a perception of ELCIs as having the same power as teachers. In the same vein, only in this preschool did the ELCI have the opportunity to construct her role in her own terms. However, the fact that the ELCI in the Palqui Preschool held a professional degree and professional experience reminds us of the need for future research that compares preschools that employ ELCIs with non-professional degrees.

Fragile interaction between teachers and Mapuche community members. Based on the literature review and the working hypothesis of this study, I expected that the closer connection with Mapuche communities in the Palqui Preschool would mean more interactions between teachers and Mapuche members. I thought that those interactions could be challenging and problematic, but still within a context of frequent interaction. However, in both preschools, I found that teachers and ELCIs rarely interacted. It seemed that teachers were focused on avoiding possible tensions with Mapuche community members, and as a result, ignored the possible opportunities for interactions. Several factors could have influenced in this situation.

One possible factor could be the conception of the role of ELCIs and their value. As ELCIs were seen mainly as translators and *palín* players, teachers did not feel a strong need to work collaboratively with them, or to incorporate their knowledge into the wider realm of teaching. As explained in Chapters 3 and 4, the monolithic and static conceptions of culture influenced the teachers' perceptions of ELCIs, and therefore, also impacted their interactions with them.

Another possible factor that may have contributed to this limited interaction was the fear that some non-Mapuche teachers had towards offending Mapuche people and communities. Because of this fear, non-Mapuches at the preschools decided to avoid interactions as a way to avoid problems, a tendency that might ultimately motivate Mapuche communities to stop any kind of collaboration with the preschools. The work of Hong and Anyon (2011) regarding teachers, communities and families is helpful to shed light on this particular insight, as they found that teachers' distrust of communities is an example of institutional racism. For this study, this means that issues of trust in the preschools are not only individual, but also a result of societal discrimination towards Mapuche people. Hong and Anyon's research is also a valuable reminder that teachers, in general, fear communities and families because teachers have not been properly prepared to work with them.

Another significant finding of this study is that professional Mapuche members were highly valued in the Palqui Preschool. Based on my working hypothesis, I expected that elder Mapuche people would be the most appreciated, specifically for having knowledge that was absent in the preschools (such as Mapuche language and culture). However, a comparison of the experiences of teachers and ELCIs at both IBE preschools shows that the preschool with more frequent and significant participation from community members (Palqui Preschool) is also the preschool with more professionally degreed Mapuche members. From the perspective of the

interview subjects at this preschool, both the ELCI and the most committed preschool Mapuche members were the youngest, they were raised in Región Metropolitana, and they were Mapuche professionals. As discussed in Chapter 5, the primary value of their professional degree was that it allowed them to have more technical and specialized conversations. On the contrary, at the Alicura Preschool (which experienced more challenges in creating a partnership with communities) employed two Mapuche people—the ELCI and a builder—neither of which finished elementary or high school, respectively.

It is interesting to note, however, that at the national level, employing ELCIs with professional degrees at IBE preschools is quite uncommon. Indeed, Sotomayor et al., (2014) found that schools frequently hired wise elders who came from working class families and did not finish mandatory education (high school), primarily because those who knew the Mapuche language and culture were usually the ones who did not have continued schooling.

In considering the limitations of the IBE model in Chile, it seems natural that preschools chose to work more closely with Mapuche members with professional degrees, as these members could more easily navigate both their Indigenous community and the preschool setting. In the two preschools of this study, the ELCI who did not have a professional degree was limited in responsibilities to taking care of children or tending the plants in the garden. Though the ELCI's responsibilities were limited in scope, they reflected a way of teaching that is aligned with Mapuche ways of knowing, in which learning occurs through experiencing simple daily activities between elders and children; this method of teaching is also based on prior understanding of the nature of social relationships (Quilaqueo, 2010). However, in spite of this connection to traditional ways of Mapuche teaching, the ELCI was limited by these responsibilities from participating in the larger teaching activities.

At the relational and individual level, the preference for Mapuche professional community members can be explained by taking into consideration the positive aspects of this inclusion. Aspects of the relationship among teachers, principals and ELCIs were a factor in the preference for hiring professional community members. The ELCI at the Alicura Preschool described her struggles in working in the preschool: she was forced to teach children using songs and other strategies that she did not like, particularly because they were not her preferred approach to teaching. In fact, this experience prompted her to resign from her position, and only come back a year later when the preschool administration accepted her refusal to create songs in Mapudungun.

This also affected the relationship she had with teachers. Even though the ELCI in the Alicura Preschool did not explicitly comment that she had a stressed relationship with teachers, she became upset when explaining how she learned to teach children. She mentioned the example described above, insinuating that teachers were not pleased that they had to teach her; teachers taught her because she had to ask them to do so. In contrast, the ELCI in the Palqui Preschool (who held a professional degree) spoke of the teachers, in particular, those whose ages were similar to hers, as friends. For instance, they texted each other, and spent time together outside the preschool's activities. Also, once we had to postpone our interview because the ELCI was advising a teacher regarding a personal matter. In short, the ELCI at Palqui Preschool created personal and professional relationships with teachers, whereas the ELCI at the Alicura Preschool only had a professional relationship with teachers.

Although more studies are necessary to reveal and examine other factors that affect the ELCI relationship to IBE preschools and other community members—the findings from this study here suggest that earning a professional degree has a significant impact on an ELCI's

connection to an IBE preschool. It is worth noting that the IBE supervisor of both preschools criticized preschools that demanded their ELCI to plan and teach as teachers, thereby suggesting that the main struggle of an ELCI was to teach (even though they had limited pedagogical knowledge). This comment is interesting to note, because actually neither ELCIs in the two preschools used in this study taught children or used pedagogical strategies. The fact that the ELCI at the Palqui Preschool had a more positive relationship to teachers, compared to the ELCI at Alicura Preschool, seems to be unrelated to the fact that she did or did not teach as a teacher, but rather to the fact that she had the knowledge and skills to articulate her role to the teachers. For example, in our first informal conversation, when I asked the ELCI at the Palqui Preschool if I could observe her work in the preschool, she clearly stated that she labeled her participation as “interventions,” and went on to explain the nature of her work.

At the individual level, although difficult to separate from larger issues, the ELCI of the Palqui Preschool regarded her role beyond merely teaching the Mapuche language and culture. She considered her role to include fostering a connection between children and families to Indigenous communities, in particular the Mapuche community. On the other hand, the ELCI at the Alicura Preschool only saw herself as an educator of Mapudungun.

In addition, as an urban, non-native speaker of Mapudungun, Jacinta, the ELCI at Palqui Preschool, perceived herself more often as learner than teacher, which gave her more opportunities to think of potential classroom activities for teachers to learn. Contrary to Elena, the ELCI at Alicura Preschool, Jacinta proposed activities that could teach the children as well as the classroom teachers about Mapuche identity, particularly since she also had experienced identity struggles in balancing her identity and knowledge as a Mapuche person. Her personal experience as a Mapuche educator in Región Metropolitana meant that she could more deeply

discuss this issue. Similarly, it seemed that teachers and the ELCI at the Palqui Preschool connected through the common challenge of trying to make sense of what it meant to be an IBE educator. Using the work of Edwards (2011), particularly of the concept of *common knowledge*, I believe that having a *common challenge* helped teachers and the ELCI in the Palqui Preschool to work in concert.

To summarize, the age of the ELCI, her level of education—and whether she had professional degree—as well as her life experiences as a Mapuche person in Región Metropolitana were all factors that helped to better navigate her role and tasks at the Palqui Preschool. I should note here that this finding is not a claim to limit the number of Mapuche wise elders in exchange for more professional ELCIs (in other words, those that hold professional degrees) in the preschools. Instead, these findings indicate the need for more support in working with Mapuche community members as IBE preschools try to navigate the challenges associated collaborating with the Mapuche community (such as selecting those who do not completely confront the school system). As shown in this study, the inclusion of professional ELCIs reduces hierarchical issues of power and prestige that surround teachers and ELCIs: teachers can relate easier, and even trust more, an ELCI who earned a university degree, and therefore, share with them a common knowledge and system for teaching.

The comparison between the two ELCIs, specifically their experiences and what their presence provoked, showed that Mapuche wise elders in the IBE preschool triggered more potential spaces of contradiction, and therefore, potential spaces of learning and dialogue. However, the lack of guided support in fostering and strengthening this partnership between teachers and Mapuche community members (elders and/or ELCIs) has affected real possibilities of trustful and horizontal interactions.

Emerging healing in hybrid spaces. Despite the difficulties in creating strong collaboration between teachers and Mapuche community members, healing spaces began to emerge in both IBE preschools. One of the main healing spaces emerged when teachers recognized the Mapuche communities as significant players in teacher learning. Teachers perceived their relationships with Mapuche members as problematic, and yet at the same time, important to learning Mapuche culture.

In attempting to make analytical sense of this finding, it could be explained that learning occurs in hybrid spaces in which expertise is distributed. Regardless of teachers' limited perceptions of the role of Mapuche community members in IBE preschools, they acquired new skills, knowledge, and attitudes for working in IBE preschools. The hybrid space of the preschools, in conjunction with their partnership with Mapuche communities, demanded preschool members to look outwards beyond their own roles and keep open minds. Mapuche and non-Mapuche teachers saw each other as sources of knowledge; they wanted to learn from each other, and they did. For instance, Mapuche teachers were appreciated for sharing their culture and knowledge, and non-Mapuche teachers were valued for being eager to learn the Mapudungun language. In the same vein, teachers at Alicura Preschool proposed ideas and suggestions to improve their collaborative work with Mapuche communities. In short, these teachers understood and demonstrated that cooperation was essential in their work within an IBE context. Another strong indication of healing spaces in the Alicura Preschool was the way in which the teachers protected their connections with Mapuche community members. Perhaps because of the difficulty and fragility of these relationships, Alicura Preschool members made extra efforts in maintain their relationships once they were established.

In addition to these examples, the teachers' personal motivation for teaching Indigenous cultures and languages made them eager to acquire knowledge. On the few occasions that teachers did interact with Mapuche community members, the teachers tried to make the most of these interactions. For instance, they asked questions and shared what they learned. In brief, teachers' individual agency in their partnership with Mapuche communities, and their motivation to learn about this Indigenous culture, was crucial in the Alicura Preschool. Non-Mapuche teachers looked outside the preschool for Mapuche groups or other community members when they noticed that the preschool was not succeeding in creating these partnerships.

However, obtaining knowledge was not enough to establish and maintain a connection with the Mapuche community. Indeed, new ties are considered necessary which are "oriented towards a reworking of practice to take forward the purpose of more fluid and flexible work" (Edwards, 2011, p. 36). In addition, the challenges of creating a partnership and teaching Mapuche culture inspired some teachers "to ask fundamental questions about the 'why' and 'where' of their practices" (Edwards, 2011, p. 37). The following figure summarizes these connections between teachers and Mapuche community members, the opportunities and constraints of their work, and how their perceptions affected their partnerships while teaching.



Figure 5. Connections of teachers' work and perceptions of individual learning in IBE preschools.

Implications for Theory and Future Research

The framework used in this study was helpful for me to see and comprehend the experiences of teachers and Mapuche community members in IBE preschools. The intersection between theories of hybridity and expansive learning was fruitful to understand fully the teachers' and community members' interactions. Instead of seeing the differences, contradictions, or tensions among participants as hypocrisy, this conceptual framework allowed me to see the complex axis of their interactions, and also to perceive and examine the potential spaces for actions. In particular, the concept of healing was significant to my observations of those instances in which healing began to occur, as well as in my observations of those situations where healing was needed.

In this regard, the findings of this study show a significant need for including ways to heal the damaged relationship between IBE preschools and Indigenous communities. The education of Mapuche children cannot be improved without addressing the historical harm that Mapuche people have faced, and continue to face. This enduring issue has multiple manifestations today, one of which being the lack of trust between preschool teachers and Mapuche communities.

Based on the conceptual framework of this study, in the next paragraphs first I describe the links of this study with the larger field of Indigenous education across countries, and then I indicate the contributions of this research to the field; and second, I propose recommendations for the Chilean context and future research.

Transnational Indigenous education and its struggles. Inspired by the work of Tsing (2005) in her book *Friction*, in this section I connect the findings of this qualitative case study to the struggles of Indigenous people around the world. Although the differences between Indigenous groups have to be acknowledged, following Tsing I believe that “it has become increasingly clear that all human cultures are shaped and transformed in long histories of regional-to-global networks of power, trade and meaning” (2005, p. 3). In addition, connecting this study with the larger context of Indigenous peoples is important because, as Child and Klopotek (2014) pointed out, education has been a central domain for contestation among Indigenous groups in different territories such as the United States, Canada and Latin America.

Furthermore, the findings of this study are not only relevant for Mapuche communities in Chile, but also for many Indigenous groups worldwide; Indigenous people everywhere share important stories and experiences that should be recognized. In line with Klopotek (2014), when considering the similarities of Indigenous groups across countries, we may be able to “envision

different kinds of alliances, different senses of belonging...different futures” (p. 64). In what follows, I briefly review some of these commonalities in relation to the field of education.

Colonial education and its languages. A common experience of Indigenous groups in different countries is the effect of education on their knowledge, language and sovereignty. As Child and Klopotek (2014) stated, “Across the hemisphere, colonial education for indigenous people was initially designed to contain them, to make them into safe neighbors and subjects of the state” (p. 4). In this argument, these authors remind us that “Prior to the arrival of Europeans, the peoples of the Americas had their own educational systems, or ways of transferring knowledge from one generation the next” (p. 2). But, colonial educational institutions have had a destroying effect on those knowledge systems as they have interrupted “the intergenerational transfer of knowledge” (Child & Klopotek, 2014, p. 3).

Because Indigenous languages were seen as a threat to the nation state, Indigenous languages were forbidden, and the speakers of those languages punished. Only when Indigenous native languages stopped being considered a threat to the “stability” and “cohesion” of nations, and also, when political systems and land had been successfully controlled, state programs began revitalization projects of Indigenous languages (Child & Klopotek, 2014).

As a result of these events, in Chile and globally, “European languages are politically, economically, and socially empowered, while indigenous languages are consequently disempowered” (Child & Klopotek, 2014, p. 5). Therefore, in Chile and Latin America, even with the implementation of intercultural and bilingual policies to protect Indigenous languages, the trajectory of history is erasing indigenous languages. Indeed, “Spanish is privileged in all realms and threatened in none” (Gustafson, 2009, p. 17). In line with this political situation for revitalization of Indigenous languages, along with other factors, Gustafson (2009) asserted that

intercultural and bilingual policies in Latin American have produced only a modest shift in a long history of assimilationist language policies. Similarly, Graham and Palmar (2013) have stated that in Venezuela, IBE programs are not always intercultural, nor are they bilingual.

This modest shift in language policies in education could be explained from the *white supremacy* ideology, which is predominant across hemispheres. For authors such as Klopotek (2014), colonial domination, and its colonial narrative of educational assimilation, has positioned in its center an ideology of white supremacy, that is, “an ideology in which white people and their ancestors are understood to be morally, intellectually, politically, and spiritually superior to nonwhites, and therefore entitled to various forms of privilege, power, and property” (p. 51).

Indigenous resurgences. Along with colonial and assimilationist educational policies, the strong organization of Indigenous movements is a common characteristic worldwide. In Chile and in other Indigenous communities, as Child and Klopotek (2014) described, the 1960s and 1970s were a turning point in colonial education “with the founding of Native studies departments in the United States and Canada, the eradication of the Native Schools system in New Zealand, and the rise of indigenous movements in Latin America that pushed for bilingual, bicultural community schools” (p. 8).

In fact, I believe that the case of Mapuche people in Chile in IBE preschools is one example in a sea of examples “whereby indigenous people—communities, families, parents, and children—expressed autonomy even as others positioned them as dependent subjects to be controlled through education” (Child & Klopotek, 2014, p. 2).

In demanding proper education for Indigenous children, a recurring question that Indigenous peoples face, in the Chilean context and indeed, in much of the world, is “How do we

best twine the two systems of knowledge together..., creating a strong connection to both our indigenous communities and our nonindigenous neighbors?” (Child & Klopotek, 2014, p. 13).

In this regard, efforts to documents the work of Indigenous movements in Latin America have reported, for instance, that in the state of Oaxaca, Zapotec communities coordinated social movements often organized around taking control of local schools, and saw languages as an important political tool, therefore, they published magazines in their Indigenous language in order to teach it to their children. Similarly, Indigenous peoples in Peru also have been conducting similar campaigns for language rights (García, 2005).

It should be noted here that Indigenous resurgence does not only aim to improve the education of Indigenous children, but as Gustafson (2009) affirmed, Indigenous movement campaigns have merged with “narratives of class struggle, the defense of national sovereignty, and demands for the decolonization of the state” (p. 6). This last point is crucial to understand Indigenous resurgence in the context of education, since, in line with Gustafson (2009), the main demand is not for inclusion in the existing states, but rather, transformation of the nation-states and conversion of current relations of power, legitimacy, authority, and territory. In summary, outside of Chile, “international indigenous movements [are] carving out spaces for encounters of indigenous people throughout the world” (García, p. 168).

Neoliberalism and poverty. In much of the world, and particularly in Latin American countries, poverty and the neoliberal measures used to reduce this poverty have been a frequent struggle of Indigenous peoples. As Gustafson (2009) affirmed, “A well-documented correspondence between illiteracy, indigeneity, and poverty exists across Latin America” (p. 15), along with a correspondence between other issues, such as racism, and political marginality. These neoliberal policies have not only exacerbated inequality and exclusion, but these measures

also have left Indigenous groups in Chile, and elsewhere, “dealing with the colonial legacy on one hand whilst simultaneously engaging with the demands posed by rapid globalization on the other’ (Crossley and Tikly, 2004, p. 151)” (Gustafson, 2009, p. 3).

Not surprisingly, as I mentioned in Chapter 1, neoliberal policies have strongly affected educational policies. In this line, Gustafson (2009) has argued that school reform in Peru and in other Latin American countries, such as with the IBE programs, are an extension of neoliberalism. According to Gustafson (2009), this neoliberal understanding of IBE in Peru has enabled us to talk about interculturality with a focus only on inclusion, while ignoring issues of racism and inequality. Certainly, Indigenous movement differ with this understandings of interculturalism from a neoliberal standpoint (Gustafson, 2009).

These shared struggles of Indigenous peoples in terms of colonial education, Indigenous resurgence and neoliberal policies help me to frame the contributions of this study outside the national space of Chile. Firstly, I contribute to the line of work in Latin American by asking: Can the IBE program, by itself, change the colonial ideas existing in Latin American countries? Like several scholars, such as García (2005) and Gustafson (2009), doing research in Bolivia and Peru respectively, I follow a critical view of schooling, and also a critical view of the IBE program, since “interculturalism in the neoliberal mode promised recognition of sorts” (Gustafson, p. 22) but not a redistribution of any kind. Therefore, I agree that in Chile, like García (2005) described for Peru, the IBE program and other “converging international and state agendas are double edged, useful to both movements of resistance and projects of governance” (p. 3).

But a critical view is not sufficient to change the current state of Indigenous education. Therefore, with this study I also contribute to the line of work that considers the IBE program, and the education of Indigenous children worldwide, as a contested place (García, 2005;

Gustafson; 2009; Luykx, 1999), which is a view that requires us to keep all the complexities of this issue in mind. This means that a vision that sees IBE merely as “an expression of neoliberal governmentality leads to a pessimistic view” (Gustafson, p. 21), which contributes to maintaining the status quo, while failing to see the multilayers of political struggle that Indigenous people face.

Secondly, the research presented here continues the critical line of ethnographic work presented by García (2005) and Gustafson (2009) by suggesting the need to study spaces not “neatly defined,” but rather, “zones of engagements” (García, 2005, p. 3) or “contact zones” (García, 2013, p. 178) of different actors that were geographically and historically separated. In this line of thought, I selected hybrid spaces because in these spaces, as Gustafson (2009) asserted, Indigenous knowledge are not static corpus, but a “hybrid networked form” (p. 23); additionally, in this context, actors are able to generate dialogic spaces across boundaries.

In the same vein, as Gustafson (2009) claimed in his ethnographic work in the southeastern Bolivia with the Guarani, I argue that—acknowledging the problems—IBE has also offered spaces for healing. In this respect, Mapuche communities have pushed IBE preschools towards change through their participation. In Gustafson’s words, IBE has “tentatively addressed indigenous educational marginality, and opened doors to those epistemes and languages historically relegated to the margins” (2009, p. 256). In this sense, I regard IBE preschools as a vehicle for a different kind of encounter and creative engagement across languages and worldviews.

However, as with Gustafson, I cautiously do not conceive IBE “as the privileged site for indigenous epistemic agendas, but rather as a way of clearing space for such projects to unfold elsewhere” (Gustafson, p. 257). Indeed, with advocates of public education, I believe that

education in general, not only IBE programs, cannot solve by itself all the wider social and racial problems of a society, because, as Huhndorf and Huhndorf (2014) stated in their research of Alaska Natives: in the past and today, education connects to the broader political and social challenges that Indigenous peoples encounter.

Thirdly, as García (2005) and Gustafson (2009) both stated, and as I have tried to do with this research study, we must pay close attention to the complexities of Indigenous communities, acknowledging, for instance, that many Indigenous community members and leaders did not support IBE because of both the colonial symbolic meaning and the pragmatic problems of schooling. On this subject, Child (2013) reported that Indigenous communities in the United States use the term *boarding school*⁵² as a metaphor to talk about state interference of family life and exploitation of Indigenous lands and resources. Similarly, we have to carefully consider that nowadays “Neoliberal discourse often glorified the [Indigenous] community as an actor in the management of its own education” (Gustafson, p. 272), which means that any efforts to include Indigenous communities in the educational system has to be critically examined before they are implemented. Graham and Palmar (2014) have also documented contradictory relations of Indigenous peoples with educational institutions in their research of IBE schools in Venezuela.

Considering these precautions, the research presented here aimed to add to the line of work that examines how IBE programs connected with Indigenous and non-Indigenous alliances. Following Gustafson’s (2009) argument, I regard that studying Indigenous and non-Indigenous alliances are crucial since “Decolonization is not primarily something indigenous peoples need” (p. 271), but rather something the *huincas* (in Mapuche language: foreigners and outsiders) and whites need.

⁵² Boarding schools are schools where students reside. They were implemented in the US in the 19th century with the initial intention to assimilate Native American children.

Fourthly, as García (2005) demonstrated in her insightful ethnographic study of Peruvian Indigenous citizenship, these “twists and turns”, that Peruvian Indigenous movements faced, “are not unique to Peru but are part of a broad pattern of local and global interactions characterized by contradictory projects of resistance and integration” (p. 3). In a similar spirit, this study here contributed to the line of research on Indigenous education by showing how Mapuche community members and teachers negotiated these exclusions and inclusions in the school system. Like García (2005) described about communities in Peru, I believe that the actions and struggles of Mapuche communities and teachers in IBE preschools are emblematic of the contemporary struggles over the very meaning of what decolonization and education for Indigenous children means in Chile, Latin American and across countries.

Finally, the research presented here continues the critical work on this subject by presenting additional ways to move beyond the questions of absences and failures; more specifically, “rather than explaining the absences” (García, 2005, p. 177), I examined the dynamic ways in which actors can negotiate IBE contexts, and recognized that there is “no single unified response to intercultural education” (García, 2005, p. 167).

Recommendations for research in Chile. Moving from the larger to the local context, and based on the findings of this study, I suggest that researchers should open their horizons and include both the failures and successes of the IBE program in the Chilean context. Nowadays, most of the research in the Chilean context addresses the problems of the IBE program, even though it is undeniable that the current IBE Chilean policy has significant constraints that limit the possibilities of preschool change. The emphasis on the problems of the policy has hindered the efforts of IBE preschools in working towards a better education for Mapuche children. Although there a larger number of changes are necessary to achieve the level of education that

Indigenous groups demand for their children, there are also a number of efforts that preschool teachers and community members have already done toward this goal so far. A perspective based solely on absences and failures does not allow us to see these successes, and provides us even less ability to achieve change.

Similarly, future research should consider not only teachers' failures in IBE schools, but also what aspects of their daily experience in IBE institutions have fostered their learning. The current emphasis on teachers' lack of knowledge (of Mapuche culture and language) has not considered IBE preschools as sites of teacher learning; therefore, possible opportunities for teacher professional development have been missed. This perspective of IBE schools has also challenged our ability to understand how teachers and other educators, such as ELCIs, perceive their responsibilities and their roles. Given these limitations, future research should consider the learning that occurs in everyday experiences at IBE preschools.

New research should also examine IBE preschools as hybrid spaces, or at least sites of struggle. IBE preschools are criticized today for failing to meet the requirements of the Chilean national education system. At the same time, they are also criticized for not meeting the demands of the Mapuche people. Future research should consider that IBE preschools cannot simply be one or the other.

Furthermore, the framework and analytical method used in this study was also helpful to connect macro and micro levels that influence the work of teachers and community members. Specifically, it allowed me to conceptually bridge these two dimensions and also to examine the instances in which communities and preschools build and use these bridges. As described in Chapter 1, most of the studies conducted in Chile to date have focused only on one side of the spectrum (macro or micro, Mapuche or non-Mapuche, and so on). A significant number of these

studies have addressed the policy level without connecting this level with the practices of administration and teachers in IBE schools. On the other hand, some studies have examined the experiences of teachers, but exclude how these teachers' practices and knowledge could be limited by the larger educational policy context. Future research should address the “messier” intersection of these levels.

Future research should also address the global dimension of the IBE program. Currently, emerging research (discussed in Chapter 1) has observed and analyzed the impact of Chilean neoliberal policies in the IBE program; however, this research has been conducted with descriptive and explanatory purposes for the policy level. We need more research that incorporates the impact of neoliberal ideas in the work of IBE teachers and educators. Similarly, further research should address the sociopolitical nature of the work of teachers and IBE schools. Aligned with a purist perception of school and teachers in the IBE policies, research on IBE teachers has focused on issues related to Indigenous languages and cultures, but has excluded political components. In this line, IBE policies, IBE teachers, and research on the IBE program has mostly ignored the political dimension of education.

Although emergent research is beginning to address the issues and challenges that teachers and educators face by teaching Mapuche language and culture in IBE preschools in Chile (see Chapter 1), we need research to go beyond these actors' perceptions, knowledge and discourse. We need research that moves toward examining the agency—or lack of agency—of these actors in the preschools' classrooms. We need to better comprehend exactly what teachers and educators do in their IBE classrooms; then, using this understanding, we need to propose ways to foster educational opportunities for teachers at work. Through this lens, research could focus on the complexities that teachers and educators face in their work places, addressing, for

instance, how teachers cross boundaries, build bridges, and find allies to improve their own practices.

In following with the idea of looking at the complexities of teaching in IBE preschools, future research should study the identity processes that teachers experience in IBE school contexts. No research in the Chilean context has examined how these actors make sense of their roles or how their perceptions of these roles influence their work. It has been assumed that Mapuche teachers have a stronger Indigenous Mapuche identity, and as a result, they will be more competent and skilled with teaching Mapuche language and culture. However, the findings of this study suggest that both Mapuche and non-Mapuche teachers experience identity struggles that affect their work. Considering this fact, future research should observe and analyze their understandings of their identity and professional roles in order to better support their work.

The finding of this study that ELCIs have been merely validated by a Mapuche community, but not necessary chosen by the members within their community, leads me to propose that future research should study the identities and roles of ELCIs in preschool. The findings of this study show that ELCIs navigate both hybrid worlds, a fact that should be acknowledged by future studies. On this subject, Park and Richards (2007) found that Mapuche individuals enact hybrid identities when working in formal institutions.

The ethnographic findings of this study could be used to design, implement and assess possible strategies to enhance IBE preschools and Mapuche communities in Región Metropolitana. The absence of research that describes and explains how IBE preschools implemented the policy of working with Mapuche communities made it necessary to conduct a study that could answer the question: “What is going on here?” However, future research should propose and evaluate specific plans or models of teacher and community partnership.

In addition, there should be future research that focuses primarily on Indigenous community experiences in IBE preschools, without first having access to IBE preschools, as was done in this study. Cañulef (2013) noted that the IBE program has never considered the demands of the Mapuche people, which could be a factor when considering the participation of Mapuche communities in IBE preschools. New efforts that address the lingering exclusion of Mapuche voices in the education of their children prompts the pressing need to create less hierarchical relationships between teachers and Indigenous communities in which Indigenous elders' or community members' expertise is valued and privileged.

In summary, I regard that future research should include theories that expand understanding of teaching and learning in IBE contexts. We need theories that take into consideration all the principles of critical pedagogies; however, it is very important that these newly created theories aim to restore trust between the participants in charge of the education of Indigenous children. We need to continue to advocate for Indigenous people's rights to land recuperation, rights for teaching and learning Indigenous language, and rights for Indigenous self-determination. At the same time, we need to acknowledge (and therefore, begin to heal) the fact the Indigenous lands were and continue to be stolen, Indigenous knowledge was and continues to be destroyed, and that Indigenous people were and continue to be discriminated against and oppressed.

Implications for IBE Policies

The findings of this study showed that the well-intended efforts of preschools and Indigenous communities are not sufficient to maintain relationships between these parties unless there are strong educational policies that directly support this partnership. The IBE program and other educational institutions in Chile have a responsibility to support its people to learn in their

workplace, especially when these workplaces are characterized by being hybrid sites. Both the lack of IBE teacher education programs and the lack of funding for the preparation of these teachers require, on the one hand, the creation of teacher education programs for IBE preschools in Región Metropolitana, and on the other hand, identification of alternatives to better prepare teachers who already work in IBE preschools. The following paragraphs refer, firstly, to recommendations for the IBE programs—changes that could positively influence the work of teachers currently in IBE preschools. Secondly, the following paragraphs provide strong recommendations for the creation of IBE teacher education programs that address the specific needs of these teachers, families, communities and children.

Recommended changes in the IBE program. Based on the fact that Indigenous teachers and pre-service teachers do not always decide to come back to their communities (Educación Intercultural Bilingüe Amazonía, UNICEF, & Finland, 2012), Chile’s neighboring countries (such as Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia) have opted to concentrate their professional development efforts on in-service teachers, or in other words, Indigenous and non-Indigenous teachers with several years of experience in IBE schools. Research in these countries has shown that in-service teachers often stay in their IBE schools. Thus, I argue that efforts in and with IBE preschools must be made to support the preparation of current teachers in IBE preschools in Chile.

The following recommendations speak to the need to reframe the conceptions towards IBE preschools, Mapuche communities and Indigenous knowledge. These shifts in perspective could foster more enriching cooperation and learning opportunities for teachers and educators without necessarily enforcing top down practices that could limit even further the relationship of

IBE preschools and Mapuche communities. Scholars such as Edwards (2011) warn us that the complexities of cooperative efforts cannot be easily imposed from the top down.

For this reframing effort, the first recommendation is that IBE policies should expand their understanding of IBE preschools in order to truly benefit from their partnerships with community members: Policy makers need to accept that IBE preschools in particular are full of challenges, which are deeply influenced by their larger social, historical, and political context. Though it may seem that taking these factors into consideration could make teachers work even more difficult, indeed, the findings of this study suggest that ignoring these facts hinder and complicate their perceptions of this partnership, and therefore, the work they perform. Due to their lack of consideration of the larger contextual issues surrounding IBE schools and Indigenous communities, teachers in this study were hindered from fully understating Mapuche community members' roles and knowledge. The teachers considered their struggles in the IBE preschools as "personal" and "particular," or in other words, disconnected from the historical struggles of the Mapuche people. These beliefs only increased frustration and tensions among groups of teachers and ELCIs, and as a result, also weakened teachers' ability to work.

In addition, understanding communities as dynamic and ever-changing could positively affect the relationships between IBE preschools, teachers and Indigenous community members. The findings of this study suggest that the understanding of well-bounded communities negatively affect how preschools and communities collaborate, as this perspective expected that Mapuche communities had one voice and one proposal about Indigenous education. Consequently, preschool members perceive complex and multi-voiced communities as problematic, or in other words, an issue they have to cope with instead of as an expected situation in a complex partnership. Broadening teachers' perspectives of the concept of

community could also encourage teachers and others to focus on the possibilities of cooperation rather than looking for one flawless partnership between community and organization.

Following this same recommendation, IBE policies should take into consideration that contradictions amongst groups is a source for Indigenous language learning and teaching. Scholars have found that imagining strict lines of demarcation between naturally ambiguous practices could inhibit learning (Edwards, 2011; Guile, 2011) because boundaries can contribute to feelings of mistrust among individuals, or reinforce tensions between people on either side of a given boundary. Rather than taking boundaries between communities for granted and leaving them implicit, it has been noted in relevant literature that when boundaries are made explicit via *explication mechanisms* or *re-voicing the position of another member*, more learning opportunities occur (Guile, 2011).

Third the IBE program should also expand its notion of Indigenous knowledge to one that includes its dynamic, moving, changing, multidimensional nature. Acknowledging the historically rooted and contextual dimension of language would allow teachers and Indigenous community members to move beyond the view that the Mapuche knowledge is “sacred,” or in other words, that the traditional Mapuche knowledge is primarily for people who came from or have lived in the south of Chile. This sacred view has limited possibilities for interaction and teaching.

This recommendation is even more important for IBE schools in Región Metropolitana, where both static notions of Indigenous knowledge and stereotypical views of Mapuche people exist. In this region, Mapuche people are seen as anachronistic, or in other words, “out of time” and “out of space.” As Aravena (2007) observed, “in the minds of most Chileans, the Mapuche is still thought of as a person with an Indigenous surname, living in the southern region of

Araucanía, belonging to an old-fashioned community and fighting for rights to land. All the rest are ignored and segregated” (para.1). Furthermore, the important migration of Mapuche people to Región Metropolitana has been one of the main factors that has contributed to the discussion regarding what is Mapuche culture, and who is a Mapuche person. This conversation is relevant for both urban Mapuche communities and urban IBE preschools.

Assuming that the three previous recommendations are carried out, the fourth recommendation is that IBE policy makers should consider fostering an understanding of knowledge as something to be learned while being created. This framework may produce more spaces in IBE preschools to encourage dialogue, to take risks, to work collaboratively, to listen each other’s ideas, and to value each other’s knowledge. The findings in this study show that teachers perceived that somebody had the knowledge they needed. This belief increased teachers’ frustrations because for them, their lack of training, and thus, lack of necessary knowledge, was due mainly to the unwillingness of authorities to provide adequate support and preparation resources. Even though this view is accurate, it is also true that authorities and institutions did not have the knowledge that teachers needed (regarding Mapuche culture and language).

Furthermore, to improve the working relationship of IBE preschools and Mapuche communities, IBE policy makers should clearly define the role of ELCIs or other Indigenous educators in IBE preschools. Even though I believe that excessive guidelines may reduce the creative possibilities of ELCIs’ work, the total lack of definition currently in place shows that IBE preschools tend to treat, and expect, ELCIs to act like teachers. An explicit description of ELCIs’ responsibilities made available to the entire preschool administration may help ELCIs to move from the periphery of the classroom experience to becoming a fully recognized member of

the teaching staff (Ramsten & Säljö, 2012). This study shows that there were important issues of power and asymmetries between teachers and ELCIs. Although this situation could be addressed by providing more training to ELCIs, this approach is insufficient; research shows that in situations where one group dominates over others, additional learning does not necessarily result in empowerment to the non-dominant actor (Ramsten & Säljö, 2012). In addition, emphasizing the training of ELCIs insinuates that they, and they alone, are responsible for improving the level of collaboration with teachers; it also glosses over the everyday challenges of Mapuche people face in the larger social structure.

Implementation for teacher education programs for IBE contexts. The findings of this research strongly suggest the need to create teacher education programs that address the needs and expectations of teachers and communities in IBE preschools. The specific challenges Mapuche communities face, their stories, their demands, as well as the particularly hybrid—and struggling—nature of IBE institutions, require the cooperation of teachers with specific sets of skills, knowledge and attitudes.

As I have been arguing in this dissertation, these knowledge, skills and attitudes are not monolithic and universal, and therefore, they cannot be completely defined by universities. Instead, they are defined by significant and ongoing collaboration between teachers and Indigenous communities.

In the United States, a growing number of efforts have been made to develop community-based teacher education initiatives. The theoretical approaches and results of these initiatives are significant for the Chilean context because they have shown that in the creation of hybrid spaces—where universities and communities collaborate—it is possible to build bridges to include marginalized voices; to create more opportunities to cross spaces and boundaries; and to

foster spaces of cultural, social, and epistemological change in which competing forms of knowledge are brought into dialogue.

As it is needed in Chile, teacher education programs in the United States have begun to examine, for instance, what experiences are promoted in the preparation of teachers; that is, what knowledge is shared and what knowledge is valued. Nevertheless, we have to consider that when teachers learn from others, and when knowledge is distributed across persons, these processes do not necessarily mean that the knowledge of different actors is equally shared and valued in a specific context. As shown in this dissertation and in other relevant studies the mere inclusion of less traditional experts in teacher preparation, such as Indigenous wise elders, does not entail an equal incorporation of Indigenous knowledge or ways of knowing. In fact, Zeichner (2010) found that when both academic and Indigenous expertise has been put together, academic knowledge is privileged, and is considered superior.

In this regard, the findings of this study suggest the necessity of explicitly addressing issues of power in teacher education programs for IBE programs. Scholars in the United States (e.g. Glass & Wong, 2013; Zeichner & Payne, 2013) have contended that power is always part of what constitutes knowledge; in other words, political forces influence a person's dispositions, thinking, and performances. Therefore, these scholars have strongly criticized the fact that teacher education programs usually have narrow conceptions of knowledge and generally avoid discussions about power and its political implications. To address this issue, Zeichner and Payne (2013) have proposed that power hierarchies should be minimized in teacher preparation programs in which universities and communities are involved. They argued that "more participants and more perspectives [should] be brought into the decision making, [so that]...different views are seriously considered" (p. 4). Zeichner (2010) has strongly

recommended that “the old paradigm of university-based teacher education, where academic knowledge is viewed as the authoritative source of knowledge about teaching, needs to change to one where there is a nonhierarchical interplay between academic, practitioner, and community expertise” (p. 89). In his view, the current emphasis of most teacher education programs seems to suggest that the hidden curriculum of teacher education views knowledge P-12 practitioners and non-professional educators in communities as irrelevant.

Klein, Taylor, Onore, Strom, and Abrams (2013), Zeichner and Payne (2013), and other scholars have spoken openly about the creation of hybrid spaces as necessary in the preparation and continuous professional development of teachers; in these models, schools and community members’ knowledge can be brought together in less hierarchical ways in order to support teacher learning. In Chile, we need teacher education programs for IBE preschools that make use of these hybrid spaces, at least where the majority of Mapuche families live. But, these teacher preparation programs should be developed in strong alliances with Indigenous communities.

Implications for Practice

The multi-level framework of this study reminds us that even without profound changes in IBE preschool policies, the individual preschools, their teachers, and the participating community members can address some of these challenges and work towards transformation. Furthermore, the findings of this study suggest that the incorporation of Indigenous communities in IBE preschools is not enough by itself. Rather, integration of these communities must be accompanied with a committed approach that allows preschool and community actors to interact in supportive ways. Scholars have stated that despite the importance given to community participation, successful experiences are limited in number, scope and duration (Craps, Dewulf,

Mancero, Santos & Bouwen, 2004). Therefore, it is not surprising that IBE preschools need more support to implement new measures.

The following recommendations are designed to create awareness about the partnership between teachers and community members, as well as to provide guidance for taking initial steps towards meaningful and sustainable change. It is worth mentioning that these recommendations are primarily for preschools teachers. I acknowledge that IBE preschool teachers already face the challenge of completing an extenuating list of tasks. However, that is exactly why these suggestions are proposed—namely, to rethink possibilities that currently exist and that could be realistically implemented. It should be noted as well that some preschools are already working in this direction; however, what has been done is not enough.

First, IBE preschools should present opportunities for interaction between teachers and communities that go beyond school activities. As shown in the findings of this study, teachers and community members rarely meet to talk, and on the few occasions that they did interact, they did so primarily to discuss the organization of a preschool event. As Rosa (a Mapuche teacher in the Alicura Preschool) suggested, teachers and communities would benefit from interacting more personally as a way to share their personal lives. In considering the ways that Indigenous communities, such as the Mapuche, share knowledge, teachers and community members should meet to share their personal life stories in a similar way, going beyond their preschool roles. Archibald (2015) asserted that “Indigenous cultural practices such as prayer, talking circles, feasts, ceremony, land-based/environmental experiences, traditional arts, and storytelling are integral” (p. 16) to learning about Indigenous ways of life. Similarly, Kirmayer et al. (2011), have pointed out that autobiographical narratives can be important in the healing process of a community, stating that collective forms of narrative serve not only to help people make sense of

their experience and construct a valued identity, but also ensure the continuity and vitality of a community (p. 86).

As shown in this study, preschool members were moving slowly towards interacting informally with Mapuche communities, particularly in situations where food and drink was shared; indeed, I observed two situations in this study where this informal interaction happened. However, this space can also be fruitful as a time to discuss other issues that communities face, such as poverty and justice, as well as teaching-related issues. For instance, this type of interaction could be an opportunity to share the life stories of ELCIs and the circumstances that affected their schooling, as well as their path in returning to work in a school environment. To promote this knowledge sharing experience, preschools should intentionally create opportunities for teachers to examine the ways that they consciously privilege some knowledge and some people in preschool classrooms over other forms of knowledge and other people.

This dialogical and informal space could enact the *principle of interrelatedness* proposed by Archibald (2015), which emphasizes the importance of extending one's self, one's family, and one's community/environment into the wider world. Spaces of extension are needed in IBE preschools, where all these dimensions (individual self, family, community, wider world) interact within the education of Mapuche children.

Furthermore, by explicitly addressing issues of power and privilege, preschool members could have more opportunities to create deeper instances of collaboration. With the aim of improving participation and cooperation, preschool members should invite community members and ELCIs to co-create the preschool curriculum and plan for the school year in a collective process. This may allow teachers and community members to express their understandings and ideas of what an IBE program means for preschool children. In this collective planning, related

topics, such as what Mapuche knowledge is, could arise. Throughout these discussions, Mapuche knowledge could be shared from a dynamic and relational perspective, hence, Indigenous knowledge would be rooted in the specific urban local context that is created, compared to the current system—which requires requiring Mapuche communities to present a formally written proposal (for incorporating Indigenous languages and cultures into the classrooms) for all IBE preschools.

Likewise, these conversations would make teachers aware of Indigenous people's power of self-determination, since, as Kirmayer et al., (2003) have asserted, “Aboriginal peoples are engaged in an ongoing process of re-articulating themselves in the modern world in ways that honour their ancestors, maintain links with crucial values, and creatively respond to the exigencies” (p. 19) of a “modern” world.

Additionally, the work of Archibald (2015) in a teacher education program in Canada is an example of the possibilities of Indigenous leadership and active participation in formal educational institutions such as a university. In this case, the author documented that community partners assist with recruitment, provide physical classroom and office space, engage elders and cultural knowledge holders, and participate in the program's governance council.

However, addressing these issues might not be an easy or friendly endeavor. Both teachers and community members must feel safe and trust their groups to work collaboratively. In order to achieve this goal, preschools should identify an Indigenous community member that they trust to facilitate the conversation. Indeed, Hill (2008) acknowledged that Indigenous wise elders are crucial healers. This author claimed “Aboriginal healing work needs to be intimately linked to relationships with elders and other cultural leaders, involving ceremonies and protocols

designed for personal development and for the restoration of healthy relationships within families and communities” (p. 24).

For instance, in the Alicura Preschool, a previous Traditional Educator was highly valued and respected because of his interest in teaching Mapudungun to Mapuche and non-Mapuche teachers. In the Palqui Preschool, a Mapuche parent and young professional was trusted in the preschool community for his commitment and his flexible understanding of who a Mapuche person. These people can be important actors in leading dialogues and meetings in the preschools.

Establishing trust is important to facilitate these relationships because issues of distrust have been identified as crucial factors that have hindered the interactions of teachers with communities, families and parents. The research of Bryk and Schneider (2002) in elementary schools in Chicago reminds us that the challenge of distrust is common among poor and diverse families and local schools. They affirmed that:

Teachers often see parents’ goals and values as impediments to students’ academic accomplishments. Parents in turn believe that teachers are antagonistic toward them and fail to appreciate the actual conditions that shape their children’s lives. This lack of trust between teachers and parents—often exacerbated by race and class differences—makes it difficult for these groups to maintain a genuine dialogue about shared concerns. The resultant miscommunications tend to reinforce existing prejudices and undermine constructive efforts by teachers and parents to build relational ties around the interests of children. (p. 68)

With the presence of a trusted and respected community member, other topics beyond technical school issues should be addressed. For instance, both preschools used in this study offered

Mapudungun classes for teachers; however, it seems that those classes focused on the linguistic component without directly addressing the social and political dimensions of their language. I argue that being aware of the political nature of education would help teachers to understand communities' struggle within a larger context, and also open the possibilities of conceiving community members as allies in achieving the same endeavor, that is, teaching their children.

This particular focus on IBE preschool activities would definitely affect teachers' perceptions of their role and professional identity. To facilitate these activities, preschools should include spaces for dialogue regarding self-transformation and identity. In this study, teachers spoke of their fears, doubts and concerns with teaching in IBE preschools; however, these topics could not be discussed in meetings with other teachers because these meetings were primarily designated for lesson planning and administrative topics. By creating new spaces for dialogue, teachers and community members could construct their own notion of what the term "transformative educators" (Archibald, 2015) means for IBE preschools.

In this regard, Cajete (1994) identified the concept of *authentic dialogue*—that is, dialogue "about what is important to people in context of social and political situations that directly affect them (p. 217)—as a significant component of healing. In his view, authentic dialogue is even more important in situations where issues of "implicit paternalism, social control and non-reciprocal orientation" (Cajete, 1994, p. 217) exists, like in IBE preschools.

I argue that these conversations of authentic dialogue are necessary, as historical and current conditions of Mapuche people require teachers who: (a) know how to work collaboratively with Indigenous wise elders, thereby, value Indigenous expertise; (b) possess a competency of Mapuche language and culture in order to then incorporate this knowledge into their teaching; (c) resist and stop their own possible stereotypical beliefs and discriminatory

perceptions against Mapuche people; (d) be strongly committed to the education of Indigenous children in highly diverse and impoverished conditions; and (e) possess a strong professional identity as a Mapuche teacher or as a teacher in an IBE school.

Preschool members identified many barriers and obstacles that they faced, and so, they should also work in trying to find other ways of working and thinking about these obstacles that would validate different groups and could contribute to the preschool environment.

Limitations

Like any research study, this investigation has its limitations. In the methodology, one limitation is the use of self-reported data from interviews. However, with their length and depth, these interviews offered rich emic perspectives and detailed accounts of personal experience. Corroborating evidence and triangulating interviews with other data sources, including observations during site visits, helped to increase the credibility of my analyses that were based on this data.

Other than methodology, one limitation of this study is that in my site visits, my presence may have altered the subjects that I observed. In addition, another limitation is the sample size used in this study, only two IBE preschools were included, and the limited time of data collection. An extended period of field-work would have allowed me the opportunity to create stronger relationships with more Mapuche community members. Also, additional research is necessary to ascertain how common the patterns found within this study are, and if these patterns extend to other contexts. In terms of data analysis, the inability to use video recording technology inhibited my ability to extensively analyze participants' interactions, including information such as, gestures, proximity, distance, among others.

Furthermore, although not a limitation, it is important to note the contextual nature of this study. The highly diverse experiences of Mapuche people in different regions of Chile require us to be cautious in using the findings of this study as means to understand preschool and Mapuche community partnerships in rural, or other contexts.

Despite the limitations of this study, my aim remains to combine my framework, literature review, all of my data sources in the service of increasing understanding about the partnership between IBE preschools and Mapuche community. Through this understanding, my intention is to improve teachers' experiences in IBE settings and more importantly, improve the education of Mapuche children in Chile.

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Appendix A.

Interview Protocols

A1. Semi-structured interview for teachers

Preamble: Thank you for your agreeing to meet with me. As you know, I am a doctoral student at the University of Washington in the College of Education and I am hoping to learn more about teachers who work with Indigenous students. This conversation will help me better understand the kinds of considerations that teacher training program may consider.

Interview 1

Background

1. Can you tell me a little bit about what brought you to teaching? What was your path to teaching?
2. Could you describe your current role and your responsibilities?
3. Why do you work in the IBE preschool?
4. What did you know about IBE before working in the school?
 - a. Follow up: What do you know now?

School and communities

1. Could you tell me about the school's community at large? (Probe: Who is involved?)
2. Could you describe how the school began the collaboration with that community (communities)? (Probe: When and why were those ties created?)
3. Could you describe how the Indigenous communities participate in the school? Could you give an example?

Interview 2

Preamble: Thank you for your agreeing to meet with me and continue with the second part of the interview.

Teachers and communities

1. Could you describe your personal relationship with an Indigenous community member?
2. What experiences have you had that shape your understanding of IBE? In thinking about the skills and knowledge you now use in working with IBE, where and when did you learn these skills?
3. What have you learned in relation to Mapuche language and culture?
 4. Have you learned about Indigenous pedagogies to teach Mapuche language and culture? If so, may you describe and give an example
5. Why do you think community members participate in the IBE preschool?

Community knowledge in schools

1. Is Indigenous knowledge used in the school? If so, how? Can you give an example?
 - a. Do you use Indigenous knowledge in your classes? If so, how? Can you give an example?
2. Do you use community knowledge in the classroom to teach Indigenous language and culture? If so, how? Can you give an example?

Possibilities for partnerships

1. In your view, what are the potential challenges in a collaboration between teachers and community members?
2. What could the preschool do to overcome these challenges?

Concluding

1. Do you have any additional comments or thoughts you would like to share?

A2. Semi-structured interview for community members

Preamble: Thank you for your agreeing to meet with me. As you know, I am a doctoral student at the University of Washington in the College of Education and I am hoping to learn more about teachers and Indigenous community relationships. This conversation will help me better understand the kinds of considerations that teacher training program may consider.

Interview 1

Background

1. Tell me a little bit about your community.
 - What is special or unique about it?
 - What special challenges does it face?
2. Could you describe your current role and your responsibilities?

School and community

1. Could you describe the relationship of your community with the school?
2. Could you describe how your community began the collaboration with the school? (Probe: When and why were those ties created?)
3. Could you describe how your communities participates in the school? May you give an example?
2. Could you describe an activity that you have done with teachers?

Community motivation

1. Why did you start participating in the preschool?
2. What do you think teachers can learn from the community?
3. How do you see your role in the preschool?
4. What do you think teachers have learned from your participation?

Interview 2

Preamble: Thank you for your agreeing to meet with me and continue with the second part of the interview.

Community knowledge and schools

1. In your view, how the preschool use Mapuche knowledge in the activities?

Possibilities of partnerships

1. What are the potential benefits of a collaboration between teachers and community?
2. What are the potential challenges in a collaboration between teachers and community for teacher learning?
3. What the school could do to overcome these challenges?

Concluding

1. Do you have any additional comments or thoughts you would like to share?

A3. Semi -structured interviews for principals

Preamble: Thank you for your agreeing to meet with me. As you know, I am a doctoral student at the University of Washington in the College of Education and I am hoping to learn more about teachers and Indigenous community relationship. This conversation will help me better understand the kinds of considerations that teacher training program may consider.

Context of the school

1. Tell me a little bit about your school.
 - a. What is special or unique about it?
 - a. What special challenges does it face?
2. Could you describe your current role and your responsibilities?
3. Could you tell me a little bit about the students within the classrooms in which you work?

School and community

1. Could you tell me about the school's community at large? (Probe: Who is involved?)
6. Could you describe how the school began the collaboration with that community (communities)? (Probe: When and why were those ties created?)
7. Could you describe how the Indigenous communities participate in the school? May you give an example?
8. Why do you think community members participate in the IBE preschool?

Teacher and communities

9. Do you think Indigenous communities have any role in teacher learning? If so, could you describe it?

Interview 2

Community knowledge and schools

1. Is Indigenous knowledge used in the school? If so, how? Can you give an example?

Possibilities of partnership

1. What are the potential benefits of collaboration between teachers and community??
2. What could the school do to overcome these challenges?
3. What could the community do to overcome these challenges?

Concluding

1. Do you have any additional comments or thoughts you would like to share?

Appendix B.

Observation Guide

B1. Teachers Meeting

Field notes will be recorded as a backup to the video-recording, with a focus on the following information:

Meeting environment/surroundings

- General protocol and agenda
- Wall postings, furniture arrangement, other artifacts in the meeting area

Documents Created or Used During Conversation

- What documents/materials are used
- How the documents/materials are used in the conversation

Content. Conversation topics

- Teachers Indigenous language and culture needs
- Teachers Indigenous language and culture challenges
- School and teachers relationships with Indigenous communities.

B2. Classroom Observation Guide

Classroom Environment

- Wall postings
- Arrangement of furniture and materials
- Student seating
- Small group and whole class work areas
- Display and posting of student work

Materials

- Lesson plans
- Materials, games and songs used to teach Mapuche language and culture

Teacher instruction

- Focus of the lesson
- How Mapuche language and culture is included in the classroom
- What strategies are used to teach Mapuche language and culture
- Participation of ELCI or community member
- Interaction of teachers and ELCIs

Appendix C.

Group Conversation Guide

Observation Guide

Date/Time

Location

General description

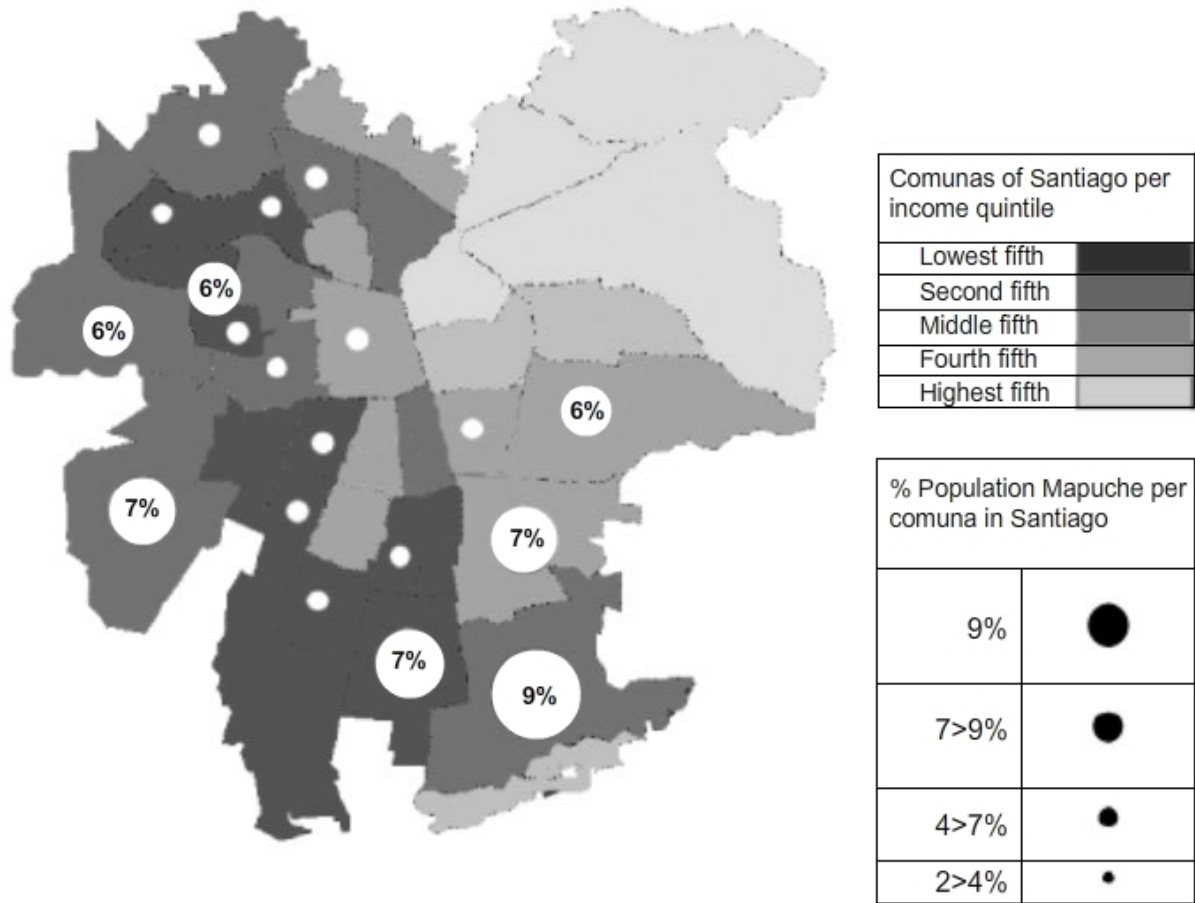
Summary	
Setting	
Actors/Participants	
Talk	
Tasks	
Tools	
Impressions	
Lingering Questions, Thoughts, Speculations	

Observation details

Time/Episode Chunk	Observation Details	Inferences, speculations, questions

Appendix D.

The Distribution of Mapuche People in Santiago



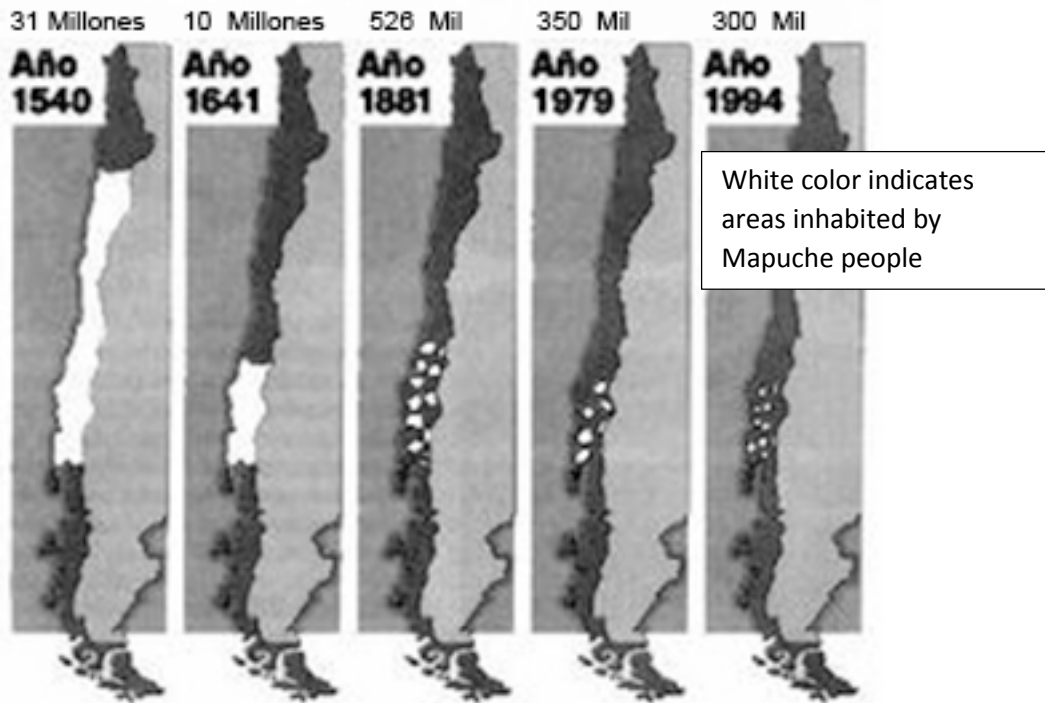
Source: Ojeda (2009)

Appendix E.

Map Mapuche Territory over the Centuries

Proceso de pérdida del territorio mapuche

Fuente : WATU



Source: <http://bip.tumblr.com/post/211522371/mapa-perdida-territorio-mapuche>

Appendix F.

Example of a Palín Game



Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/28468237@N07/10949967685/in/photostream/>

Appendix G.

Example of One *We Tripantii*



Source: http://www.galvarinochile.cl/webv2/?attachment_id=2930

Appendix H.
Glossary of Terms

Glossary of Institutions

CEP: Center of Public Studies

CONADI: National Corporation of Indigenous Development

EIBAMAZ: Intercultural and Bilingual Education in Amazonia

IBE: Intercultural and Bilingual Education

MINEDUC: Ministry of Education

Programa de pueblos originarios: Program of original (First Nations) peoples

PROEIB: Program of Intercultural and Bilingual Education

Glossary frequent Mapuche vocabulary in this study

Afafán: move and get up the hands to celebrate

Catutos: Mapuche food

Epew: story, tale

Huinca: foreigner

Lamien: sister

Kimelfe: educator

Kultrún: Traditional Mapuche instrument.

Machi: religious authority, healer

Marri marri: hello

Mapudungun: Mapuche language

Matetún: meeting with *mate*

Palín: Traditional Mapuche game

Palife: Aunt

Palu: Uncle

Peñi: brother

Pichiqueche: children

Purrún: Traditional Mapuche dance

Ruka: house

We Tripantü: Mapuche new year celebration