MAPPING COLONIAL PATTERNS OF WESTERN KNOWLEDGE IN ELEMENTARY TEXTBOOKS OF NATURAL SCIENCES AND HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY AND SOCIAL SCIENCES FOR CHILEAN RURAL EDUCATION

by

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Abstract

In Chile's rural schools, cognitive, affective and relational violence are frequent experiences. From a decolonial standpoint, this thesis aims to make evident harmful patterns *in Natural Sciences* (NatS) textbooks and those of *History, Geography and Social Science*s (HGeoSS) currently use in Chile's rural schools. It also wants to localize those arrangements in textbooks' sanctioned knowledge that facilitate and normalize cognitive violence against Indigenous students and, to a lesser extent, against *mestizo* rural students.

This thesis focuses on those approaches of decolonial theory that investigate the interconnection between language and knowledge production with colonial-modernity or imperialism. I reviewed some contributions from postcolonial studies, modernity/coloniality studies and Indigenous studies. These revisions imply understanding that "colonial modernity" is not only the context where Chilean formal education unfolds but also a condition schooling itself makes possible. In this sense, "colonial modernity" is a structuring foundation of all dominant (western) social and power relations, materials, processes, thought, and consciousness. Such a structuring foundation divides the world and with-it humanity into two, presumably, separate groups and makes possible dichotomic distinctions between people (here I am referring to the notion of abyssal thought. See Sousa Santos, 2007).

I conducted a content analysis through the lenses of decolonial thought and created a discussion through social cartography to answer the primary question. This question is: What harmful colonial discourses are present in Chile's elementary textbooks, including those that are explicitly colonial and those that implicitly reproduce colonial patterns? I assumed an "inductive" approach to qualitative content analysis that implied that the topics for the study

emerged from the textbooks, the main research question, and the theoretical framework informing this thesis. The inductive approach avoids the use of theory as explanatory of reality. This way, the analysis I propose here is not intended to be prescriptive of the sources I reviewed.

The general conclusion of this thesis is the identification of colonial patterns in textbooks. And also the understanding that this identification is only one part of the long-term decolonizing work, which also requires interrupting and disinvesting our individual and collective investments in those harmful colonial patterns that reproduce colonial-modernity.

Lay Summary

It is important to notice that it is not as common today as in early colonial times for colonial patterns to be explicitly declared. Therefore, modern texts (like textbooks) are written in ways that reproduce and deny the colonial reality they help to naturalize. Therefore, any effort to analyze how colonial discourses operate in textbooks must consider those colonial discourses that are clearly related to systemic harm and those that, although connected to it, make their connection with it invisible. From here, this thesis attempts to map colonial patterns of Western knowledge in elementary textbooks of *Natural Sciences* and *History, Geography and Social Sciences* for rural education. The main contribution of this work is the identification of those colonial patterns and the justification for a broader commitment – beyond revising textbooks alone – to interrupt and unlearn the knowledge, ways of being and relating that work to maintain the status quo.

Preface

This thesis is an original, unpublished, and independent work by the author, Rosario Oyanedel-Frugone. There was no need for ethics approval for this research.

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List of Abbreviations

FAO: Food and Agriculture Organization

HGeoSS: History, Geography and Social Sciences

MINEDUC: Ministry of Education of Chile

NatS: Natural Sciences

Acknowledgements

I start this section by acknowledging that I wrote most of this thesis on the traditional, ancestral and unceded land of the Coast Salish peoples– *Sḵwx̱wú7mesh* (Squamish)*, Stó:lō and Səlílwətaʔ/Selilwitulh* (Tsleil-Waututh) *and xʷməθkʷəy̓əm* (Musqueam)*.* I also would like to acknowledge that I finished and defended this work from the traditional, ancestral, and violently taken land of the Mapuche-Pikunche Nation in the Maipo Valley in what is now known as central Chile, which is also my home.

This thesis would not be possible without the guidance from a special supervisory committee, which supported me throughout the research process. I want to offer my gratitude to Dr. Sharon Stein and Dr. Vanessa Andreotti, who co-supervise my thesis and inspire me to do this work. Their guidance implied their academic supervision regarding decolonial scholarship and a deep commitment to supporting me through my efforts to navigate and situate my own positionality in relation to the coloniality of education in Chile. They accompanied me throw the inevitable unsettling and uneasy feelings I started to experience. Thanks to their guidance, I have deepened my capacity to sit with what is difficult and uncomfortable without getting overwhelmed or seeking easy answers. Perhaps, what I appreciate the most is their care-oriented ethics and kindness. I also want to thank Dr. Cash Ahenakew for offering many insightful questions while being my examiner. His talk expanded and deepened our conversation during the defence of this thesis.

I am grateful for the in-person time I could spend with Jiin Yoo, Jessie Robinson, and Amara Fakim, my dear friends and classmates. Somehow, I thank the covid-19 virus for gifting me that time with them. I particularly thank Fernanda Rojas-Marchini, my partner. As my

Chapter 1: Introduction

Rural students of Indigenous and *mestizo* descent in Chile face, albeit unevenly, a great deal of cognitive and relational violence in their compulsory education. From a decolonial standpoint, this thesis aims to make evident harmful patterns *in Natural Sciences* (NatS) textbooks and those of *History, Geography and Social Science*s (HGeoSS) currently use in Chiles' rural schools. Specifically, this thesis focuses on those arrangements that facilitate and normalize cognitive violence against Indigenous students and, to a lesser extent, against *mestizo* rural students. The intention is that this thesis can inform decolonization efforts by making these colonial patterns evident, while also understanding that this is just one part of the long-term decolonizing work that will require us to "sit with and work through our individual and collective investments in harmful patterns so that we might disinvest from them and learn to be otherwise" (Stein et al., 2021. p. 1).

Today, colonial patterns are generally more veiled than in the past. In other words, it is less common for these patterns to be explicitly stated and named than it was in earlier colonial eras. Therefore, modern texts (like school textbooks) are usually written in a way that both reproduces and denies the colonial reality that they help to naturalize (see Rivera-Cusicanqui, 2011; Ahenakew, 2016; Maldonado-Torres, 2007a). In the words of Silvia Rivera-Cusicanqui, colonial discourses are enacted in "ways of not saying" (2011) because they evade their connection to the harm they endorse. Consequently, any effort to analyze how colonial discourses operate in textbooks must consider both those colonial discourses that are clearly linked to systemic and systematic harm and those that, although connected to that harm, make their connection with it invisible. Following this understanding of colonial discourses, this thesis attempts to answer the

primary research question: What harmful colonial discourses are present in Chile's elementary textbooks, including those that are explicitly colonial and those that implicitly reproduce colonial patterns? Then, it asks: in what ways do these colonial discourses deny and/or discredit alternative ways of being, doing, relating and knowing? How do these colonial discourses result in the naturalization of cognitive violence? What are the difficulties of challenging colonial patterns that result in cognitive violence and denial of such violence? And how do diverse colonial discourses in textbooks relate to each other?

In this introductory chapter, I first have placed background information to contextualize this study. In the second place, I present the research problem and position myself. In this way, I try to establish why I am conducting this research. Next, I offer an initial review of the literature that asks about the relevance of analyzing textbooks for the case of rural schools in Chile. At the end of this chapter, I present an outline of the chapters that follow this introductory one.

1.1   Background

The historical and contextual reflection that I offer here is intended to answer the question why the research I propose is relevant now, and to what geographies it is connected. My intention is to respond to the responsibility of thinking about context in regard to the research temporality and location (see Patel, 2016, p. 60). Sections 1.1.1 and 1.1.2 of this chapter address the colonial foundation of Chile's modern schools in order to understand why schools tend to normalize cognitive violence from a historical perspective. This analysis situates schools in relation to their role in the universalization of Eurocentrism and to the dominance and expansion of European powers.

1.1.1 The colonial foundations of the modern Chilean state and its formal education

The creation of the Chilean state entailed adopting only one cultural, religious, and linguistic model associated with the descendants of the Spanish colonizers born in Chile: *criollos*. As Mapuche historian Pablo Marimán-Quemenado and his colleagues (2006) demonstrate, before the consolidation of the modern state, diverse groups of Indigenous people and *mestizos* kept their forms of autonomy and communal administration of goods while maintaining their own linguistic, religious and cultural diversity. Despite the diversity already present in the territory, the Spanish colonial rule imposed a colonial hierarchy that used race as a codification device to organize and exploit people (and land) in the colonial society. While the Spanish exerted power through various forms of violence, *criollos* followed them; *mestizos* occupied intermediate ranks, leaving Indigenous Peoples and people of African descent to positions lower in the country's social and political hierarchy.[1]

From the third decade of the nineteenth century, the new state objective was to homogenize the various subaltern groups to assimilate them to the cultural parameters of those who unjustly had held power: the c*riollos* (Marimán-Quemenado, P. et al., 2006) and thus facilitate the appropriation of their knowledge and land. Mapuche historian Héctor Nahuelpan affirms that the idea of progress together with the consolidation of the public school played a fundamental role in the denial of the "Indian" in the construction of the new national identity (2013). Schooling sought to replace other forms of education, including Indigenous ones. Pablo Marimán-Quemenado emphasizes that the emergence of the public school made possible the advent of a

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[1] It is important to acknowledge that during the Spanish colonization not all the territory now called Chile was under the Spanish colonial rule. Some territories remined with some sort of autonomy. For instance, *Mapuche-Williche* people resisted the Spanish empire, and a portion of their territory was independent: *Wallmapu*.

social group that was intended to administer the incipient economic, political, and cultural institutions of the nascent nation, deepening even further the social hierarchy (in Marimán-Quemenado, 2006).[2] He stresses the idea that this group contributed to the creation of a homogenous Chilean national identity that, paradoxically, cemented racialized social and political hierarchies (Idem).

Marimán-Quemenado refers to the establishment of Chilean public schools in relation to scholastic and modern Western humanism (See Orellana M., 2010). These schools offered systematized instruction, pertinent to specific European traditions, exclusively to the male children of officials, landowners, and merchants (Orellana M., 2010) [3] who were the ones being prepared to lead and govern the Chilean nation. The elite later decided to expand public schooling and created a formal educational system. Although they conceived this system not only for themselves, they constructed it as a mirror of the specific education they had received. At this point, the state considered schooling as the only legitimate form of education without considering existing ones, for example, Indigenous educational systems.

Once this elite consolidated the public school system, it was possible to advance the homogenizing process to build a national identity. Therefore, the prevailing educational system was the platform for those who direct and govern – in this case, the descendants of the Spanish colonizers – to raise the main knowledge, spirituality, values and skills in which they wished to train the new generations. Schooling allowed this group to consolidate and maintain an order that was (and continues to be) a reflection of their own specific cultural, social, and political vision,

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[2] The homogenizing objective also entailed the annexation of the *Mapuche* territory, which was although reduced, respected by the Spanish empire.
[3] The rest of the people who had access to schooling were meant to attend schools oriented toward their evangelization and memorization of the catechism and catholic principles (Orellana M., 2010).

while claiming its universal value (Cruz, 2002) (see sub chapter 5.6). Considering the origins of schooling in Chile, it is possible to deduce that its roots are not exclusively tied to the need for the production of the modern national identity of Chile but also to a larger project of European colonial expansionism (See Andreotti, V., and Ahenakew, C., 2013). In this sense, when the school system in Chile was established as a compulsory form of education at the expense of existing kinds of education, it expressed the violent underside of modernity: coloniality (see Maldonado-Torres, N., 2007a; 2007b; 2008; Andreotti, 2012).

The new modern state entailed a process of homogenization through forced assimilation as part of its 'civilizing' mission. It also involved reaffirming the hierarchal social order with roots in Spanish colonization and the European Enlightenment. Such social organization resulted from a racist policy centered in blood purity and descent to establish differentiation (Lepe-Carrión, P., 2012). In simple terms, the "new" social order based its structure on the Enlightenment notion of race that puts people into groups of "backwards" and "civilized." Those who had "pure" European blood were considered civilized and could access power, positions, and privileges that were denied to the rest of the population, who were deemed inferior[4].

For Chilean philosopher Patricio Lepe-Carrió (2012), the historical inequities and injustices current in Chile are not a product of the unfulfillment of modernization as it is regularly assumed, but a product of modernity and its necessary racial division of work. Although this author only refers to labour dynamics, current inequities, injustices and violence also depend on a racial division of knowledge, spirituality, relationships, places, and territories, among others.

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[4] Europeans questioned Indigenous humanity since they doubted the fact that Indigenous persons had a soul. Madonado-Torres (2007a, 2007b) refers to this as the first sign of racism.

Lepe-Carrión (2012) invites his readers to think about the violent underside of the Chilean Enlightenment. He refers to the consequences of the obsession with categorizing people and the subsequent impacts for those classified as uncivilized. This obsession implied that those at the top of the hierarchy - the descendants of the *criollos* and the *mestizos* assimilated into the *criollo* culture - had the power to forcibly move non-assimilated-*mestizos* and people of African ancestry to work in deeply precarious and extractive conditions. They also reserved the power to violently invade and relocate Indigenous people from their lands as in previous colonial times. For Indigenous peoples, this resulted in very harmful losses in terms of knowledge, culture, spirituality, kinship with the place, family ties, among many others. In other words, colonialism was the condition of possibility for Chile's new modern state (see Castro-Gómez, 2000, on the relations between the formation of the nation-states and the consolidation of colonialism in so called Latin America).

The establishment and maintenance of Chile as a "modern state" requires the enduring dynamics of power that started with colonialism. Drawing from Nelson Maldonado-Torres, modern states depend upon coloniality,[5] which "refers to long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism" (2007a, p. 243) that manifest today in the areas of labour, knowledge, and intersubjective relationships by means of the global capitalist market and the idea of race, among other things (Maldonado-Torres, 2007a, 2007b). Therefore, as Maldonado-Torres (2007a) asserts, "modernity as a discourse and as a practice would not be possible without coloniality, and coloniality continues to be an inevitable outcome of modern discourses" (p. 244). In this sense, coloniality can be understood not merely as the persistence of harmful

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[5] Quijano was the first to use the term coloniality.

dynamics of power, but also as the violence and harm that are required for modernity as a project and discourse to be possible (Andreotti et al., 2015; Castro-Gómez, 2000; Maldonado-Torres 2008, 2007a, 2007b). Modernity depends simultaneously on coloniality itself, and on its denial (Andreotti, 2012, Andreotti et al., 2015; Castro-Gómez, 2000; Sundberg et al., 2020).

1.1.2 The current formal educational system of Chile

After reviewing aspects of Chile's formal education beginnings, I reflect on how this history relates to current times. Despite the time that has passed since the consolidation of Chile's modern state, coloniality remains the basis of Chile's current school system. This continuity is because Chile's formal education validates and acts upon the idea of "race" to define and maintain unjust social structures as well as the process for a homogeneous national identity. Thus, the Chilean school system evidences the permanence and actualization of the power dynamics and violence that came to life under colonialism. I argue that this condition is even more apparent when it comes to rural schools. In what follows, I explain how the ongoing modern project of schooling sustains and mobilizes the coloniality of power, as Quijano would suggest, or the coloniality of being, as Maldonado-Torres later expanded (see Maldonado-Torres 2007a, 2007b, 2008), in rural schools in Chile.

Chile is a highly centralized modern-colonial state with one political and economic core – Santiago-Valparaiso– that acts as the center of governmental politics and policies. This centrality permeates Chile's uniform educational curriculum, which spreads to all the schools in the country regardless of the type of community, culture, or geographic location (Garrido, 1991 cited in Quintriqueo & McGinity, 2009). This centrality of power also involves those who decide the curriculum. The power to determine whose knowledge is legitimate in schools is concentrated

among a few experts and politicians. Vanessa Andreotti and Cash Ahenakew (2013) argue that "In education, whoever decides the curriculum (…) decides the types of identities, ideologies, and relations of power that will be reproduced in the future" (p. 3). Following this idea and considering that schooling is a compulsory form of education in Chile for every person, it is worth asking whether the curriculum in Chilean schools makes space to consider rural students' and communities' knowledge and, if so, in what ways.

There is evidence that Chile's curriculum is very problematic in general, but especially when taught inside rural schools, and it is even more complicated when Indigenous students attend these schools. Mapuche scholar Segundo Quintriqueo and Chilean scholar Margaret McGinity (2009) explain that rural students in Mapuche contexts develop socio-cognitive conflicts in the construction of their subjectivity and sociocultural identity. Similarly, Silva-Peña et al. (2013) conclude that Mapuche rural students can show conflicted identities because the standard Chilean curriculum fosters the desire to "be other," and "be better than what they are." In their analysis, being "better" means to become more of an urban person, someone who receives more formal education (schooling) in the city[6].

The Ministry of Education of Chile (Mineduc), as former minister Adriana Del Piano pointed out (2018), opted for a flexible curriculum to acknowledge Indigenous struggles for recognition in the formal educational system as well as the diversity present in Chile. Therefore, Mineduc presents the curriculum as non-prescriptive in a way that allows for the integration of the social, cultural and geographical diversity currently in Chile (2018). A non-prescriptive curriculum

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[6] As a former rural teacher, I witnessed and contributed to the violence rural students regularly face both at the interpersonal/relational and at the cognitive level. For more details on this see the next section.

means that each school can create its appropriate curriculum and curricular materials according to their educational context (Mineduc, 2018)[7]. This policy leaves the responsibility of changing the curriculum to individual teachers and school administrators. Despite the advantages of this flexibility, there is evidence that rural schools do not modify the curriculum (see Turra-Diaz, 2012; Quintriqueo & MacGinity, 2009). The reasons for this have not yet been described in the scholarly literature.

My impression, as a former rural teacher, is that the curriculum remains intact largely because the education that teachers and school administrators receive is based on modern Western thinking. Therefore, maintaining the curriculum unchanged may be connected to the characteristics of this way of thinking. Drawing from Boaventura de Sousa Santos, this thinking acts as an "abyssal thinking" (2007). "Abyssal thinking" connects with dichotomic distinctions marked by an "abyssal line" that splits modern western thinking – "this side" – from the rest – the "other side." Under this logic, the traditional knowledge of rural students and their communities is simply not considered 'real knowledge.' Santos says: "On the other side of the line, there is no real knowledge; there are beliefs, opinions, intuitive or subjective understandings, which, at the most, may become objects or raw materials for scientific inquiry" (Santos, 2007, p. 47). Turning "the other side of the line" into an object of inquiry is problematic. Drawing form Santos' metaphor, Cree scholar Cash Ahenakew asserts that "those who lean towards the edge of the abyss to explore what they can see perceive themselves as objective, neutral, and transparent (devoid of 'culture') and select and describe what they see according to what can be made intelligible within their own cultural referents and imaginaries" (2016, p. 328).

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[7] http://peib.mineduc.cl/curriculo-intercultural/

Following Santos, the knowledge transmitted through schooling and its curriculum has the privilege to be part of "this side of the line." It is considered universal and trustworthy because it presumes to emerge from modern sciences, and "abyssal thinking consists in granting to modern science the monopoly of the universal distinction between true and false" (Santos, 2007, p. 47). Therefore, schools control the politics over knowledge and disregard what is considered false based on the principles of scientific inquiry. The result of this abyssal line in Chilean rural education is that Indigenous and *mestizo* students learn from a curriculum rooted in colonial discourse that affects them in multiple and uneven ways.

From another perspective, the inability to see the limits of this curriculum and the need to drastically change it for rural contexts relates to an attitude or habit of being that was first developed in colonial times. This is the attitude that Maldonado-Torres characterizes as "Manichean misanthropic skepticism" which correlates with the "imperial attitude" and racism (2007a, p. 245; 2007b, p.134). This attitude consists of a "permanent suspicion" about the humanity of colonized and enslaved people and their descendants (2007a, p. 244; 2007b, p. 133). The permanent suspicion of the people on the "Other side" of the line (Indigenous rural students, and to some degree, rural students of mixed heritage) eliminates the possibility of recognizing their distinctive epistemologies and ontologies as valid and equal. Therefore, it is not seen as necessary to modify the curriculum because it is understood by most formal educators to speak a universal knowledge that all should learn. The denial of Indigenous rural students' epistemologies and ontologies can also be partially framed as "epistemic racism" (see Maldonado-Torres, 2004). I refer to "epistemic racism" in what follows.

1.2   Positioning myself and the research problem

By positioning myself in the context of ongoing colonial domination, I want to explicitly answer why me? That is, why am I an appropriate person to undertake the research that I conduct in this thesis, and what do I bring to this work? (see Patel, 2016). It is fundamental to reflect about my positionality to ponder what are the possible contributions of this research and what are its limitations and complexities. Parallel to making evident the harm my privilege entails (see the following paragraphs), I want to mention that this privilege has restraint my ability (as part of a collectivity) to imagine and live differently (see Andreotti, V., 2012) (see 1.2.1 in this thesis).

In Chile, as in many other parts of the world, I am a privileged person. I inherited these privileges from my positionality in the modernity/coloniality social order. I am a non-Indigenous person from Chile; thus, I am a descendant of colonizers who migrated from different geographies to settle in what is now known as Chile [8]. I acknowledge here that the way I benefit from the system provokes harm in uneven and hidden ways as well as in very visible ones. An example of my complicity with hidden forms of violence can be my position as a UBC student and all that that implies (e.g. travelling, accepting funding available for students, accessing the Canadian health system, etcetera). My privileges as a UBC student are, for instance, connected to the mining industry, which is needed to produce computers, airplanes, university budget, and

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[8] Despite the European origin of my name and family names, I am not aware of the places where my relatives come from other than South America. I believe that my family decided to keep various silences about our past in order to keep their entitlement to the territory now occupied by Chile. I was taught that I am, as most Chileans, a person of mixed heritage, having ancestry from everywhere even from Indigenous peoples to the land that Chile illegitimately occupies. Lately, I started to question this story. For one side, I do not have any family story that connects me with an Indigenous relative. For another side, the education I have received (not only from schooling but also from family) is highly influenced by western thought, being and knowledge, except for the education I have received from place and my relationships to people outside my family. What I fear now is that the story of me having ancestry from everywhere and specially from Indigenous people works very well to hide the legitimacy of Indigenous people over the territories the state of Chile usurped and dominates –like previously did the Spanish Empire.

medical supplies. In parallel, mining provokes land dispossession, the exploitation of human-being and non-human-beings, the state of exception and militarization of Indigenous communities, water scarcity, habitat loss and toxification of water elsewhere (see Ahenakew C., 2019; Escobar A., 2012; Moor, 2017).

My privileges are not limited to my access to higher education and to my ability to satisfy my habits of consumption in a modern European-like society. I keep more nuanced and hidden privileges that relate to a habit of being which I perform in relation to my positionality in the modern/coloniality society. As a "professional" teacher, I embody and perform what has been named as the "imperial attitude" (Maldonado Torres, 2007a, p. 245) (see Maldonado-Torres, 2007b) or the "guest-master" attitude (Benveniste in Kuokkanen, 2008, p. 72). With this, I do not mean that I embody the attitude of the male European colonizer entirely. I instead refer to an attitude I have learnt and performed since I was a very young person: acting more like a host than a guest to the lands where I have lived. Drawing from Maldonado-Torres (2007a, 2007b), I occupy a position from where I have the privilege to reproduce the "dialectic of imperial recognition" which "presumes that every subject must obtain recognition from the white man in order to acquire a full sense of his/her humanity" (2007b, p. 158)[9]. Although I am not a white man, I have learnt this attitude and I express it in unexpected ways.[10]

My experience as a rural teacher can illustrate very well how I am complicit with the harms that modernity produces (which is coloniality) in undeniable ways and yet keep investing in it. In what follows, I refer to my experience of witnessing colonial (cognitive and relational) violence

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[9] This is my literal translation.
[10] I am committed to unlearn this attitude and disinvest in what puts me closer to the "imperial man" (Maldonado-Torres 2007a). This commitment is one to decolonization, which I explain further in this document.

in rural schools, hoping that it illustrates how teachers (myself included) are generally involved in advancing modernity's harms as we are a key social actor in the so-called formal educational system.

1.2.1   My trajectory as a rural educator and research problem

In the year 2013, I started working at rural schools as a substitute teacher until, a year later, I was hired as an elementary teacher in a school located in *Lafkenche Willimapu* (in the southern coasts of the *Wallmapu*, the modern territory of Lafkenche-Williche-Mapuche people). The school was small, one classroom for elementary and one for preschool. I shared responsibilities with the elementary teacher who also played the role of the principal. While working in this school, I realized that in Chile, rural education receives, in many aspects, the worst of Chile's formal educational system, which is related as I propose in this thesis, to the underside of modernity: coloniality. I experienced situations that illustrate this condition. For instance, a significant number of previously penalized teachers – some of whom had been sued for sexual abuse of students – were sent to rural schools instead of being fired. Adding to this situation, teachers are responsible for every age level along with the school administration. Pondering this tremendous workload, teachers often abandon their teaching responsibilities. Consequently, many students finish their days without learning anything from formal education. Furthermore, they end up learning very little because Chile has a compulsory school system based on a full-time schedule, so students' families and communities have a very limited time to educate their children.

I remember encouraging some of my colleagues – from other rural schools – to take action and state our concern about these situations, especially regarding the teachers working with child abuse charges. None of my colleges expressed willingness to do such a thing. They were

concerned about losing their jobs. I assumed the same attitude and decided to keep my privilege to teach in that school. This stance of inaction made me question myself and gifted me two questions, which I keep with me: To what extent am I willing to tolerate the harm of the persons I work with for my own well-being? Is it possible to experience well-being once one makes the connection between one's own satisfaction and others' suffering evident? If yes, I should add, why is it possible to experience this well-being?

At that time, I did not see the deepest problems of schooling nor its relationship to European colonial expansionism (see, for example, Jain, M., 2013; Andreotti, V., & Ahenakew C.: 2013) and thought the school system was perfectible and that teachers had the power to promote relevant changes. I developed a strong feeling of the relevance of justice for rural schools. Although I still have this feeling, I now see the complexity involved in substantive transformation – especially decolonial forms of transformation. While working, I not only realized that rural schools received the worst of the school system; I also witnessed how students face relational violence directly.

In the year 2016, a new principal entered the school. With him, everything changed. He started using offensive names to call the students, and he implemented punishments to "correct", as he used to say, the "children's manners." Rapidly, the students began to refuse to go to school and turned violent against themselves. I knew the new principal's practice was negatively impacting the school and the students' violent behaviour was a reaction to his attitude. Thus, I talked to him, but he replied by saying that he uses such names and punishments to show care for the students. The dialogue between him and I was not possible. The trap is that education in the context of modernity/coloniality schooling, as Leigh Patel suggests, can always be imbued with good intentions (2016, p. 32). My colleague dismissed the negative impacts of his practices (see

Idem) by referring to his willingness to do good (correct the children's manners). The problem with this is that "The trope of the well-intentioned teacher without substantive interrogation of the impact of practices has long obscured problematic patterns that are in need of (…) transformation" (Patel, 2016, pp. 32-33).

I decided to report these situations to the Ministry of Education, but they did not listen. Even when a group of parents joined me, the state simply did not reply to the reports. Somehow, relational violence toward rural children of Indigenous and mixed descent was considered normal or not relevant. But it was not only about relational violence.

Thinking of these past experiences, I clearly see the first time I realized cognitive violence was a real issue for rural students. Although I believe this kind of violence affects both Indigenous and non-Indigenous students in rural schools, I acknowledge that they face this violence in very uneven ways and that for Indigenous students it is far more brutal. I realized this on my first day at the first rural school where I worked. The principal asked me to teach a Natural Sciences class. As I was unfamiliar with this subject matter, I used the *Natural Sciences Activity Book for Rural Education*. This resource suggested starting by introducing the distinction between living beings and inanimate objects, which were described as lifeless elements (see: Ministry of Education et al., 2014a, p. 3). The examples of unanimated elements given by the book included among them the "mountains." Quickly, this example turned deeply problematic because Mapuche people know mountains are dwelled by powerful spirits which are highly respected by the people.

Drawing from Maldonado-Torres (2004), when I told the students mountains were lifeless objects, I embodied "epistemic racism" and "epistemic ignorance" (see Kuokkanen, R., 2008). I transmitted the idea that their knowledge of the mountains is not legitimate. Therefore, I

validated the idea that the students were not fully human beings. I rejected, by using the activity book, "the epistemic capacity" (see Maldonado-Torres, 2004, p. 34) of the students of Mapuche descent.

Although I did not have time to reflect on the origins nor in the effects of these violence, I could recognize that my pedagogical practice was violent. I became deeply drawn to understanding the reasons why both relational violence (by means of state professionals) and cognitive violence (by means of the curriculum and textbooks) were considered normal affairs. This questioning motivated me to frame the problem of the study I propose here, which focuses on mapping the discourses that make possible and even normal cognitive violence by means of a content analysis of elementary textbooks informed by decolonial studies.

1.3   Why is it relevant to analyze textbooks?

Textbooks, as many researchers have argued, are the dominant tool to teach and learn in schools as well as to arrange school time (Apple, M. W., & Christian-Smith, L. K., 1991; Olivera, 2016; Zárate, A., 2011; Bryan & Bracken, 2011; Turra Diaz et al., 2019; Turra Diaz, 2012; Zagumny, L. & Richey, A., 2012). While it is reasonable to affirm that textbooks do not entirely determine what teachers teach and what learners learn in schools (Bryan & Bracken, 2011; Kuzmic, 2000; Turra Diaz et al., 2019; Apple, M. W., & Christian-Smith, L. K., 1991), it cannot be denied that textbooks shape to a large degree what students and teachers do in schools. Audrey Bryan and Meliosa Bracken suggest, in their analysis of global citizenship and international development education in Ireland, that the predominance of textbooks and their influence in schools have "an effective steering capacity which steers readers towards certain interpretations, while steering

them away from others" (2011, p. 46). It is worth asking then what interpretations and knowledge textbooks make available for students and teachers, and which ones they foreclose.

The previous questions can be partly answered by paying attention to what is shown or presented as sanctioned knowledge in textbooks.[11] This knowledge is what is considered valid, and truthful to know. Textbooks transmit the knowledge of a specific group of people as universally valid (see Apple, M. W., & Christian-Smith, L. K., 1991:4; Zárate-Pérez, A., 2011). Scholars have recognized that textbooks are not neutral devices (Zárate-Pérez, A., 2011; Zárate-Pérez, A., 2015; Castillo, S., 2009); therefore, they claim the content of textbooks is shaped by its authors' world views. Quechua educational theorist Adolfo Zárate Pérez describes textbooks as historical and cultural products (2015). He proposes textbooks are written by persons who are located in a particular context, that is, by individuals who belong to a specific culture, type of society and who might possess a specific view of the world and particular interests and ideologies (Idem). Accordingly, this scholar (Idem) suggests textbooks cannot be analyzed outside of consideration of the authors' contextual parameters, cultural community, social practices, roles, interests, and identities.

In a modern/colonial context, it is possible to assume sanctioned knowledge has more to do with who writes[12] the textbook than with who uses it. Regarding this assumption, some scholars emphasize that the knowledge present in textbooks is always in dispute and under negotiation

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[11] I am intentionally avoiding the use of the concept "official" knowledge here, coined by North American educational theorist Michael W. Apple. The reason for this avoidance is that, with this term, Apple brings to the fore the idea that this knowledge is –however, not exclusively-- mainly disputed among social classes (see Apple, 1990) and what I am focussing here is that that dispute is mainly among different cultures.

[12] The subject who writes a textbook not only entails the author but also the editors, the ministry and any other person or institutions who is involved in the making of such a book. In this context, they all correspond to Western-like/Chilean social actors.

(Apple, 1990; Apple, M. W., & Christian-Smith, L. K., 1991). Some others, as I will further discuss in the second part of the literature review, believe the outcomes of those disputes are frequently shaped by colonial politics of inclusion and identify the limitations and problems of the mechanisms through which "alternative" knowledge is translated into textbooks (e.g., Kaomea, J., 2000; Canales-Tapia et al., 2018).

1.4 Outline of the following chapters

This thesis is comprised of six chapters. The first one is this, the introduction. Chapter number two is an extensive literature review to investigate what has been advanced in analyzing school textbooks from decolonial, Indigenous and postcolonial perspectives. Here, I identify a space for possible contributions. I also present in this second chapter the research questions. Chapter number three consists of a theoretical framework that considers different perspectives of decolonial thought. Perspectives such as those of modernity/coloniality, postcolonial and Indigenous studies guide the analysis that follows. In the fourth chapter, I present the research methodology and the research design. Chapter five presents and analyses six lines of inquiry. A discussion follows this section in chapter six. Finally, chapter number seven consists of concluding points.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This literature review aims to map what has been advanced in the analysis of textbooks from the lenses of decolonial, Indigenous and postcolonial perspectives, and to identify a space for a possible contribution. This review considers articles and books that introduce studies of colonial discourses present in school textbooks. Although this literature review considers texts from diverse parts of the world, there was a special consideration to read about Chile in particular and Latin America in general. This criterion helped to bring literature more alike to the geographical area of this research. This review navigates three main topics that were found as relevant from the perspective of decolonial perspectives: (1) representations of the 'Other' in textbook analysis; (2) inclusion of the 'Other' in the analysis of textbooks, which reviews articles that refer to the politics of inclusion in the study of textbooks; and (3) beyond the "Other: the analysis of investments in western innocence in textbooks, all the texts informing this topic are from regions other than Latin America.

2.1   Representations of the "Other" in textbooks analysis

In his extensive review of studies on the analysis of the representation of Indigenous peoples in school textbooks worldwide, Adolfo Zárate-Pérez (2011) refers to several studies that have demonstrated the continuity over time of an erroneous and negative representation of Indigenous peoples in textbooks (see also. Turra-Díaz et al., 2019; Canales-Tapia et al., 2018; Kaomea, J., 2000; Rogers, 2012; Zagumny & Richey, 2012; Eriksen, K, J., 2018). Zárate-Pérez draws attention to colonialism to explain the persistence of these racist representations in school textbooks. He also suggests, in his analysis of Peruvian education, that these negative

misrepresentations of Indigenous nations, lead to building a national identity that excludes the

Indigenous heritage of a relatively big portion of the population (2011).

Some have said that the European cultural hegemony and the biased representations of

Indigenous people affect Indigenous students who interact with textbooks (see Turra-Díaz, et al.,

2019 and Zárate-Pérez, 2011). In this line, scholars have shown how problematic it is when the

textbook excludes the cultures, knowledges, and experiences of the person who interacts with it

(Turra-Díaz, et al., 2019; Canales-Tapia et al., 2018; also see, Quintriqueo & MacGinity, 2009).

From this kind of conclusion, it is feasible to assume that textbooks are only problematic when

their content conflicts with the ontology of the reader. The rationality of this assertion fails to

recognize the socialization function of formal education contained in textbooks. Dutch

philosopher of education Gert Biesta refers to this function of education as such:

> The socialisation function has to do with the many ways in which, through education,
> we become members of and part of particular social, cultural and political 'orders'.
> There can be no doubt that this is one of the actual 'effects' of education, since
> education is never neutral but always represents something and does so in particular
> ways" (2008, p. 40).

Assuming the effects of this function of education, it can be said that a textbook plays a role in

"insert[ing] individuals into existing ways of doing and being and, through this, [education]

plays an important role in the continuation of culture and tradition – both with regard to its

desirable and its undesirable aspects" (Biesta, 2008, p. 40). Hence, textbooks' socializing

functions help determine what types of society are seen as valid and, consequently, what kind of subjectivities are accepted.[13]

   If all these functions of education are to some degree embedded in textbooks, then textbooks not only make available specific knowledges and interpretations of certain people, textbooks can also restrain the possible subjectivities and the type of society that are sanctioned and legitimized. Textbooks can disseminate an imperial attitude of domination that will impact non-dominant societies further. In this line, the analysis of Adolfo Zárate-Pérez (2011) shows how textbooks in Perú limit the possibilities for Indigenous students to identify themselves as such. Chilean scholars Pedro Canales-Tapia, Matías Fernández-Alister and Ana Rubio-Poblete (2018) arrive at a similar conclusion. They question the limits of the available subjectivities in the History textbook, which naturalize the hegemonic project of the Chilean state:

> the interpretation of history in textbooks is unidirectional towards a type of discourse
>
> that generates a representation of history from patriotism and *modernity* without
>
> recognizing indigenous otherness as an expression of history, society and identity. (my
>
> literal translation: Canales-Tapia et al., 2018, p. 165. Emphasis in original).

Likewise, Adolfo Zárate-Pérez reflects that the representations expressed in textbooks shape the "mental models and structures of the people," and in this way, these representations have the potential to "control the acts, thoughts, and discourses" available for the learners (my literal translation: Zárate, A., 2011, p. 337).

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[13] Biesta (2008) mentions in this respect the effects of education in the construction of subjectivities as its "individuating 'effect'" (p. 40).

2.2   Inclusion of the "Other" in the analysis of textbooks

Many studies researching colonial discourses of textbooks focus their attention on the exclusion of some groups. These studies typically engage with questions about the presence or absence of Indigenous people (e.g., Zárate-Pérez, A., 2011; Turra-Díaz et al., 2019; Canales-Tapia et al., 2018; Kaomea, 2000; Eriksen, K. G., 2018; Rogers, 2012; Zagumny & Richey, 2012a; Subreenduth, 2013; Villalón-Galvez & Pages-Blanch, 2015). They commonly find that Indigenous people are completely excluded from textbooks, they are described as static cultures of a past that is over, or they are functionally depicted in relation to "dominant" European-like groups (nation-states) (Zárate-Pérez, 2011). This last point refers to representations that position Indigenous people as being part of a backward past while showing European people as leading modernity. Therefore, many of these studies point to colonialism as one of the central discourses and organizing logics that allows these erroneous representations, or the absence of representation (e.g., Zárate-Pérez, A., 2011; Turra-Díaz et al., 2019; Canales-Tapia et al., 2018; Kaomea, 2000; Eriksen, K. G., 2018; Rogers, 2012; Subreenduth, 2013).

Textbooks are major subjects of dispute and negotiation. As is the case of particular Indigenous movements, many social actors consider the many forms of exclusion existing in textbooks and seek to be included as native Hawaiian scholar Julie Kaomea (2000) suggests. This kind of inclusions is sometimes offered as the only possible avenue to reform schooling and make it more attuned to the needs and interests of diverse groups. However, Indigenous and other critical scholars warn that the politics of inclusion are not enough to counter colonial and

racist discourses persistent in textbooks (Canales-Tapia et al., 2018)[14]. Cree scholar Cash Ahenakew suggests that Indigenous knowledge is not considered relevant in mainstream institutions because these institutions center modern Wester thought as one with universal legitimacy (2016). In similar lines, Native Hawaiian scholar Julie Kaomea exposes the dangerous effects of the conditional and limited forms of inclusion that happen in textbooks.

Kaomea analyses how three Hawaiian elementary textbooks include Native Hawaiians in a way that is functional to the tourism industry, which aligns with the discourses of the first European "explorers"/colonizers in the islands. Kaomea quotes the work of performance theorist Peggy Phelan to argue that "in a society which has been and continues to be racist and colonialist, curricular inclusion can be a dangerous aspiration" (p. 320) since, in words of Phelan, "visibility is a trap . . . it summons surveillance and the law; it provokes voyeurism, fetishism, the colonialist/imperial appetite for possession" (Kaomea, J., 2000, p. 340). Therefore, Kaomea, advises that "increased visibility does not always mean increased understanding, prestige, self-esteem, or power" (2000, p. 341). Her analysis shows how colonialism persists even within efforts that purport to interrupt it. In line with Kaomea (2000), non-Indigenous researcher Christine Rogers Stanton (2012) explains, in her analysis of US textbooks, that even textbooks that include Indigenous histories tend to write them from Eurocentric interpretations and representations. The effect of this is that the histories of Indigenous people are depicted with "stereotypical misinformation" (Rogers, 2012, p. 173).

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[14] For a theoretical discussion on the complexities and limitations of inclusion see Ahenakew (2016), and Coulthard (2014).

A common conclusion from the critical studies evaluating the politics of inclusion in textbooks is that struggles over textbook tend to favour the reproduction of dominant social relations and notions of epistemic value (see: Rogers, 2012; Kaomea, 2000; Canales-Tapia et al., 2018). Rather than discourage decolonizing struggles related to the transformation of textbooks, these conclusions (i.e., the idea that inclusion could be dangerous or ineffective) can be taken as tools to be extra suspicious and aware of the complexities involved when it comes to seeking change.

From a slightly different proposal, Kristin Gregers Eriksen reflects that including learning "about" the "Other" (in her case Sami people in Norwegian textbooks) is not necessarily productive for advancing students' learning about how to situate oneself in relation to injustice, and to respond to it: "Although learning about the Other through stories of oppression is valuable, the ability to act upon injustices relies on input that makes pupils able to reflect on their own positionality" (p. 63). She goes further, suggesting that as textbooks teach about those who are oppressed, they should also teach about the perpetrators of such oppressions, which, as her analysis suggests, is almost always omitted (Eriksen, 2018).

Other studies argue the perpetrators of oppression are not omitted from textbooks but depicted in such a benevolent way that textbooks 'steer' readers away from identifying them (see Keenan, 2019). These studies not only consider how textbooks represent the "Other" (e.g., Indigenous people) but also how the oppressor is represented. How do textbooks do this?

2.3   Beyond the "Other:" analysis of investments in Western innocence in textbooks

There is a group of studies that analyses diverse aspects of what could be named (neo)colonial global relations. Namely how the Global North constructs both itself and the Global South. Therefore, most of the studies related to this stream work with textbooks written in the North and for the North (e.g., UK, US, Canada, Australia, Republic of Ireland, Germany). In this lane, there are many studies analysing how discourses of development are constructed in textbooks from the Global North (e.g. Bryan & Bracken, 2011; Marmer, E. & Ziai, A., 2015; Purwanta, H., 2017; Bendix et al., 2015); how Eurocentrism and Western superiority are depicted (e.g. Purwanta, H., 2017; Kim et al., 2013; Mikander, P., 2016; Bryan & Bracken, 2011); how scientific colonialism and slavery are presented (e.g. Weiner, M., 2014); how "Western" "discoveries" are portrayed (e.g. Mikander, P., 2016 and and Kaomea, 2000; Kim et al., 2013); how stories of Western triumphalism and heroism are narrated and normalized (e.g. Bryan & Bracken, 2011 & Mikander, P., 2016); how white superiority is articulated in textbooks (e.g. Benix et al., 2015; Kim et al., 2013); how wealth and poverty are explained (e.g. Bryan & Bracken, 2011; Marmer, E. & Ziai, A., 2015; and, Bendix et al., 2015); and, how the West is constructed as opposed to the non-West/the West's "Others" (e.g. Mikander, P., 2016).

A sub-group in this stream looks at these discourses and relations from a decolonial perspective[15] (e.g., Bryan & Bracken, 2011; Marmer, E. & Ziai, A., 2015; Bendix et al., 2015; Kim et al., 2013). These studies focus their analysis on textbooks of areas related to Development Education (in Europe), Global Citizenship Education (in North America) or World

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[15] Decolonial here refer to all the theories and studies that are attuned with what has been referred as the "de-colonial turn." Maldonado-Torres refers to this turn to group the contributions of postcolonial studies, black studies, modernity/coloniality studies, and Indigenous studies (2011c).

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History (South Korea). Something interesting these articles do is show the existent friction and resistance involved in teaching complex narratives that address the interdependent relationship that exists between the North (the production of wealth) and the South (the reproduction of poverty) in the world. A common conclusion is that textbooks do not make possible an interpretation that connects the production of wealth with the reproduction of poverty (see Bryan & Bracken, 2011; Marmer, E. & Ziai, A., 2015; Bendix et al., 2015; Kim et al., 2013). These studies suggest that the dependence of rich upon the poor is very sensitive topic to be addressed, as it shows the production of poverty as an outcome of wealth. This resistance to offering such narratives prevents students from unpacking structural or systemic aspects that work well to preserve the inequitable distribution of wealth in the world. The consequences of textbooks that elude more complex narratives and which tend to naturalize European superiority, triumphalism, innocence, and benevolence are well described by Vanessa Andreotti in her forward to Bryan and Bracken's work:

> if the connections between power relations, knowledge production and inequalities are overlooked, the result is often educational practices that are ethnocentric (projecting one view as universal), ahistorical (forgetting historical/ colonial relations), depoliticised (foreclosing their own ideological location), paternalistic (seeking affirmation of superiority through the provision of help to other people) and hegemonic (using and benefiting from unequal relations of power) (Bryan & Bracken, 2011, pp. 5-6).

This way, the elision of more complex, critical narratives works to maintain systemic inequities and global harm. Critical approaches to Global Citizenship Education, Development Education (DE) and World History Education suggest addressing more complex narratives. Bryan and

Bracken indicate that these approaches "emphasize the extent to which contemporary difficulties in social and economic conditions in the developing world are rooted in exogenous factors, including colonial processes of wealth extraction, neo-colonial political-economic arrangements imposed by Western-led international institutions, and Western consumption patterns and lifestyles" (2011, p. 44). Many scholars find that mainstream textbooks favour narratives that construct some people as in need while some others are in a position to help without addressing the connection between wealth and poverty (see Bryan & Bracken, 2011; Marmer, E. & Ziai, A., 2015; Bendix et al., 2015). Or as Bryan and Bracken suggest using a social cartography proposed by Vanessa Andreotti (2006): "Softer versions of Global Citizenship Education [mainstream and not critical] include those which explain poverty primarily as a result of internal problems and endogenous factors and attribute 'underdevelopment' to such things as a lack of national resources, including skills, technology, education and so on" (2011, p. 44). The effect of this conceptualization of poverty is to justify the need for help and charity from those who are "fortunately" wealthy without making visible how that poverty is precisely a product of their wealth (Bryan & Bracken, 2011; Marmer, E. & Ziai, A., 2015; Bendix et al., 2015).

These responses to injustice --charity and help-- as promoted in textbooks are problematic in that they tend not only to "reinforce the vulnerability of the recipient" but also to produce a "conscious-salving effect in that it helps donors to feel better about themselves" (Bryan & Bracken, 2011, p. 71). The effect of this is that donors (helper-students) "are arguably less compelled to look at the multitude of ways they are themselves involved in perpetuating global injustices through their 'ordinary actions'" (Lawson in Bryan & Bracken, 2011, p.71). In the same line, Daniel Bendix, Chandra-Milena Danielzik and Timo Kiesel propose that the result of a lack of a complex narrative informed by 'postcolonial perspectives' is the reinforcement of current

'hierarchical power relations,' which consist in: "on the one hand those who need to be 'developed' and on the other hand helpers, saviours of the world, and responsible cosmopolitans." In their words, "Rather than destabilising the 'superiority complex' of White people and elites in Global North and South, it is thus consolidated" (Bendix et al., 2015, p. 56).

From the perspective of textbook analyses that view colonial discourses from a decolonial frame, what textbooks do is functional to keeping hierarchical power relations and inequities in place (Bryan & Bracken, 2011; Marmer, E. & Ziai, A., 2015; and Bendix et al., 2015). A remarkable conclusion is that colonial discourses work in such a way that make unreachable an interpretation that the Global North (including here Global South elites)[16] is involved in or responsible for global inequalities and suffering. In direct relation to this tendency, there is an inclination in textbooks to locate world problems in the Global South itself, leaving arguably the most significant perpetrators of harm in a position of innocence and superiority (Bryan & Bracken, 2011; Marmer, E. & Ziai, A., 2015; and Bendix et al., 2015). For instance, there is a trend to frame Global South countries' population growth as the cause of global inequalities, underdevelopment, hunger, poverty, desertification, and the destruction of soil (Marmer, E. & Ziai, A., 2015). As people from that geographical location are depicted to be responsible for all these 'problems,' this frames people from Northern countries as innocent from complicity in those problems.

In the end, the researchers that use decolonial lenses generally agree with Vanessa Andreotti's argument around Global Citizenship Education:

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[16] Despite the critiques to the conceptualization of North-South relations (see McGregor, A. & Hill, D., 2009), I decided to use these concepts because they are productive to understanding how the distribution of wealth and power works in a global scale. These terms have replaced the notion of the existence of a presumed "First and Second world" because these reinforce the idea superiority.

In order to understand global issues, a complex web of cultural and material

local/global processes and contexts needs to be examined and unpacked. My argument

is that if we fail to do that in global citizenship education, we may end up promoting a

new 'civilising mission' as the slogan for a generation who take up the 'burden' of

saving/educating/civilising the world. This generation encouraged and motivated to

'make a difference', will then project their beliefs and myths as universal and

reproduce power relations and violence similar to those in colonial times (Andreotti,

2006, p. 41).

It might be worth asking how textbooks might be changed to prevent the promotion of this 'new

civilizing mission' or as Andreotti suggests: "How can we design educational processes that

move learners away from this tendency [civilizing mission]?" (Andreotti, 2006, p. 41).

2.4   A space for possible contribution

The above literature review shows that school textbooks from Chile, particularly those

corresponding to *History, Geography and Social Sciences[17]*, have been analyzed from lenses that

consider to some degree decolonial perspectives. It also demonstrates that there is a tendency by

Chilean scholars to explore how Indigenous people are depicted as "Other" and characterized in

pejorative and ignorant ways (e.g., Turra-Díaz et al., 2019; Turra-Díaz, 2012; Canales-Tapia et

al., 2018; Villalón-Galvez & Pages-Blanch, 2015). There is also a discussion about the limitation

of the politics of inclusion in textbooks (e.g., Canales-Tapia et al., 2018) due to the universal

value attributed to modern western thinking (see Ahenakew, 2016). The reviewed studies reveal

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[17] Textbooks from Natural Sciences have not been analyzed from such perspectives.

the knowledge textbooks present as valid and truthful in Chile undermines Indigenous students' knowledge, experiences, and even their existence.

A conclusion running through the articles and books in this review is that textbooks tend to reproduce uncomplicated, depoliticized narratives. These narratives overlook power relations and ignore the link between the production of wealth and harm which results in neglecting coloniality as modernity's underside (e.g. Bryan & Bracken, 2011; Marmer, E. & Ziai, A., 2015; Bendix et al., 2015; Kim et al., 2013). These narratives reinforce ideas of European superiority, triumphalism, innocence, and benevolence. When textbooks evade more complex narratives, they arguably contribute to the preservation of systemic inequities and global harm (See Bryan & Bracken, 2011; Marmer, E. & Ziai, A., 2015; Bendix et al., 2015). The narratives present in textbooks may also promote what Andreotti (2006) names a "new civilising mission." The generation of students encouraged to carry out this mission may end up universalizing their beliefs and myths, reproducing power dynamics and violence like those in colonial times, Andreotti (2006) observes.

While the analysis of how the "Other" is depicted in – or silenced from – Chilean textbooks is extremely important, there are other dimensions that also need to be considered, namely the ways that knowledge is presented more generally in ways that naturalize colonial patterns of knowing, being, and relating. If these colonial patterns are not identified, interrupted, and unlearned, then any effort to "include" more accurate or empathetic representations of the "Other" might result in the reproduction of those same colonial patterns and consequently in the invalidation of different ways of being, knowing and relating. Therefore, I propose to focus on how Western knowledge, present in Chile's textbooks, sets the basis for the refusal of alternative ways of being, relating, doing and knowing resulting in the naturalization of cognitive violence. I also propose to map

what discourses could potentially challenge colonial patterns that result in cognitive violence. Although this focus risks recentering colonial discourses, it has the potential to guide a more ethical response to the modern project that formal education has advanced in Chile and to its many harms (coloniality).

2.5   Research questions

To map those colonial patterns evidently connected to systemic and systematic damage and those that, although linked to that damage, veil its connection to it, I propose to delve into textbooks of *Natural Sciences* (NatS), and in those of *History, Geography, and Social Sciences* (HGeoSS) currently in use inside elementary rural schools through the following research questions: What harmful colonial discourses are present in Chile's elementary textbooks, including those that are explicitly colonial and those that implicitly reproduce colonial patterns? From this question, I plan to tackle the following four sub-questions:

1) In what ways do these colonial discourses deny and/or discredit alternative ways of being, doing, relating and knowing?

2) How do these colonial discourses result in the naturalization of cognitive violence?

3) What are the difficulties of challenging colonial patterns that result in cognitive violence and in the denial of such violence?

4) How do diverse colonial discourses in textbooks relate to each other?

I see these questions as one possible way of engaging in the required questioning and challenging of school discourses in Chilean rural settings. These questions will allow the identification of colonial patterns that, if overlooked, cannot be interrupted nor unlearned. On the one hand, this work will make evident the relationship between modernity (schooling) and

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coloniality (cognitive violence) in the colonial discourses present and presently veiled in textbooks. On the other hand, it will help to demonstrate the need for a broader commitment – beyond revising textbooks alone – to unlearn and disinvest in the knowledge, ways of being and relating that work to maintain the status quo of modernity/coloniality.

Understanding the colonial patterns of "Western knowledge" (See Santos, 2007) present in Chilean school textbooks,[1] which constitute the condition of possibility for cognitive violence (see Ahenakew, 2016), can contribute to the pluralization of possibilities for a more ethical education for people in rural Chile, and perhaps in the country as a whole. In this regard, understanding how "Western thinking" works in Chilean textbooks of the proposed two subject matters can help to comprehend the complexities implied in trying to gesture toward the possibility of a more ethical alternative for rural education in Chile. In this line, I propose to analyze how textbooks in Chile work to reproduce and at the same time deny systemic violence of modernity (see Ahenakew C., 2019)[1] and how textbooks offer potential openings for challenging systemic violence of modernity/coloniality.

To answer these questions, I conducted a content analysis (Mayring, P., 2000) of school textbooks from the perspective of decolonial thought (see chapter 3) and generated a discussion through two social cartographies (see Paulston, R., 1999; Suša, R. & Andreotti, V., 2019; Ruitenberg, C., 2007). In what follows, I refer to decolonial perspectives as a theoretical approach.

Chapter 3: Theoretical approach

The theoretical approach of this thesis consists of decolonial perspectives and focuses on those approaches and theories that investigate the interconnection that exists between language and knowledge production in contexts of colonial imperialism and the many harms these make possible. Edward Said (1978) can be considered the first to study the discourses of colonial imperialism in language and knowledge production in contemporary cultural studies (Young, 1995; Gandhi, 2019). However, there are many more who produced critiques of colonialism, modernity, and imperialism beyond its military and economic objectives (some of them long before Said). These authors have also shown that European imperialism relies upon racism, death, violence, and the impoverishment of the many, among other structural harms (e.g., Waman Poma, 1612-1615). Some have called the whole of these authors' theories and studies the "de-colonial turn" to group the contributions of postcolonial studies, black studies, modernity/coloniality studies, and Indigenous studies (e.g., Maldonado-Torres, 2011c); others have asserted that there were people critiquing colonialism and its language from its beginning (e.g., Rivera-Cusicanqui, 2010).

To build this theoretical framework, I refer in the following sections to the contributions of postcolonial studies, Indigenous studies and modernity/coloniality studies. The value of these theories is its questioning about the reproduction of colonial patterns of representation and its conflicting power relations

3.1   Contributions from Postcolonial Studies

Various scholars assign the foundations of postcolonial studies to Edward Said's *Orientalism*
(see Young, 1995; Loomba, A., 2015; Gandhi, 2019). This means that for a globalized academia,
Said (1978) was the first to orientate the cultural criticisms of colonialism towards its discursive
processes and the first to show the interconnection between the language and knowledge
produced from the study of cultures with imperialism and colonialism (Young, 1995). In
concordance with Said's viewpoint, colonial ("Orientalist") discourses appear when some claim
the power to speak for "others" who presumably can not talk for themselves (see Spivak, 1983).
In this exercise, the "Other" is stereotypically depicted in a negative way, and it usually
represents a wrong and impoverished one. As Gandhi (2019) explains it, this representation of
the "other" allows justifications from the ones who produce depictions (the West) to establish a
hierarchical relationship with its "Other":

> Orientalism becomes a discourse at the point at which it starts systematically to
> produce stereotypes about Orientals [others] and the Orient, such as the heat and dust,
> the teeming marketplace, the terrorist, the courtesan, the Asian despot, the child-like
> native, the mystical East. These stereotypes, Said tells us, confirm the necessity and
> desirability of colonial government by endlessly confirming the positional superiority
> of the West over the positional inferiority of the East (Gandhi, 2019, p. 77).

In this sense, "orientalism" as a discourse consists of the persistent production of stereotypes.
The problem with this discourse is precisely the assumed hierarchy that it validates and
reproduces. In this regard, Said's work makes evident the "representational violence" that
colonial discourses disseminate (Gandhi, 2019).

Robert Young (1995) proposes that the contribution of Said's work on the analysis of colonial discourses is that it offers, from a Foucauldian perspective, a necessary framework to analyze the language used to enact colonialism after the supposed colonial independencies. This framework allows a complex understanding of this language and its historical implications. Young (1995) also explains that Said's work opened the possibility to look at a varied range of texts to "emphasize the ways in which colonialism involved not just a military or economic activity, but permeated forms of knowledge which, if unchallenged, may continue to be the very ones through which we try to understand colonialism itself" (p.155).

3.1.1 General Contributions

The political urgency that postcolonialism assigns to transforming colonial power relations, its decolonising commitments (see Gandhi, 2019), and its ethical commitments to stop the many harms of postcoloniality[18] (Andreotti, 2011), are important engines for postcolonial studies. Following Andreotti (2011), postcolonialism also advocates for the relevance of non-European epistemologies. Thus, one commitment of postcolonial studies is to affirm the capacity of non-European peoples to act in the world (see Andreotti, 2011). With this idea in mind, the purposes of postcolonial studies can be seen as an effort to interrupt the structural hierarchies once established by Western dominance that have attempted to annihilate non-European ways of being and knowing.

The meaning of "post" in postcolonial studies points (at least in its poststructuralist conception) not only at a time "after" but also a condition of "going beyond" colonialism (Hall

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[18] "Postcoloniality" is the aftermath of colonial occupation; it is the condition addressed by postcolonialism. (Gandhi, 2019).

1996, p. 253). In this line, "postcolonial" is not related to establishing "epochal stages" by which it is assumed that entirely new relations replaced previous ones and dissolved them forever (Hall, S., 1996, p. 247). Rather, it offers an invitation to remember and make visible ongoing forms of colonial subordination, as well as to imagine alternatives, both of which may be understood as conditions of the possibility of finally overcoming colonialism.

Gandhi (2019) suggests that there is an ongoing process of forgetting the colonial past:

> This 'will-to-forget' takes a number of historical forms, and is impelled by a variety of cultural and political motivations. Principally, postcolonial amnesia is symptomatic of the urge for historical self-invention or the need to make a new start- to erase painful memories of colonial subordination. As it happens, histories, much as families, cannot be freely chosen by a simple act of will, and newly emergent postcolonial nation-States are often deluded and unsuccessful in their attempts to disown the burdens of their colonial inheritance. The mere repression of colonial memories is never, in itself, tantamount to a surpassing of or emancipation from the uncomfortable realities of the colonial encounter (p. 4)

For her, postcolonialism reacts to this process of forgetting and resists its results from a theoretical approach. In this sense, postcolonial studies constitute a "disciplinary project devoted to the academic task of revisiting, remembering and crucially, interrogating the colonial past" (p.4) and present. Although these are shared concerns for postcolonial studies, there is no general, univocal agreement about what constitutes or defines this area of study.

Following Gandhi, "there is little consensus regarding the proper content, scope and relevance of postcolonial studies" (2019, p. 3). A variety of different and even opposing theories and disciplines converge in postcolonialism. While this has enabled a rich interdisciplinary exchange,

"its uneasy incorporation of mutually antagonistic theories- such as Marxism and poststructuralism- confounds any uniformity of approach" (Gandhi, 2019, p. 3).

Despite the complexity of postcolonialism, a significant aspect of postcolonial studies –which comes from a more poststructural strain—is the conceptualization of colonialism as being not only a history of European power dominance but also a way of producing what gets to be known about that history. Colonialism implies not only the commercial and military control of the colonized but also the dominance of certain ways of knowing and being over "others" (see Young, 1995; Hall, S., 1996). According to Stuart Hall (1996), "It is precisely the false and disabling distinction between colonisation as a system of rule, of power and exploitation, and colonisation as a system of knowledge and representation, which is being refused [by postcolonial studies]" (p. 254). Therefore, postcolonial studies constitute a critical area of study that researches the history, politics, sociology, ideologies, belief systems, cultural legacy, and discourses of colonialism, European imperialism, and Western civilization.

3.1.2 Contributions from the Postructural Strain of Postcolonialism

There is in postcolonialism a poststructural strain that conceives language as a highly ideological discursive practice. At the same time, postcolonial theorists assume that the representations and interpretations of the world, which are produced through language, shape our experiences of the world itself. Vanessa Andreotti (2011) suggests that this conception of language brings two explanations:

> One, that there is no absolute world "out there" (no absolute reality), just the realities constructed in language. Two, that the world "out there" (as it is experienced by different people) cannot be described in language in ways that are objective (with universal validity and intelligibility) or uncontaminated by culture, and that the

construction of one's world through (collective) discursive practices is permeated

with power (p. 87).

She warns her readers that this conception of language does not entail the nonexistence of truths and realities. Instead, it means that "all truths and realities are discursively located" (Andreotti, 2011, p. 87).

The poststructuralist approach to postcolonialism assumes that interpretations and representations of the world are more related to the person who produces and uses them than to reality itself. However, this quality creates an effect of reality. In other words, as Andreotti shows quoting Loomba (1998), "discursive practices make it difficult for individuals to think outside them— hence they are also exercises in power and control" (2011, p. 87). In line with this, Loomba explains, that "The concept of discourse extends the notion of a historically and ideologically inflected field— no utterance is innocent and every utterance tells us something about the world we live in. But equally, the world we live in is only comprehensible to us via its discursive representations" (quoted by Andreotti, 2011, p. 87).

Poststructural postcolonial studies focusses on the relationship between discourse and the exercise of power. While referring to Said's notion of discourse, Leela Gandhi clarifies that "They [discourses] are modes of utterance or systems of meaning which are both constituted by, and committed to, the perpetuation of dominant social systems" (2019, p. 77); I suspect that school textbooks fit this model. Gandhi continues, saying that "Discourses are, in point of fact, heavily policed cognitive systems which control and delimit both the mode and the means of representation in a given society" (2019, p. 77). The one who produces and sanctions discourses that are widely circulated and validated holds the power to control representations that have symbolic and material impacts in a determined society.

The previous is related to what Foucault once wrote: "I am supposing that in every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organised and redistributed according to a certain number of procedures, whose role is to avert its powers and its dangers, to cope with chance events, to evade its ponderous, awesome materiality" (Foucault, 1971, p. 8). Foucault also refers to the idea that "a particular discourse cannot be resolved by a prior system of significations," in this sense, he suggests that "We must conceive discourse as a violence that we do to things, or, at all events, as a practice we impose upon them" (Foucault, 1971, p. 22). The conception of discourse that Foucault offers echoes with what Said describes as "representational violence" (See Said, 1994). Here it is relevant to mention that Foucault's "we" refers to European cultures. This means that not all discourses produced by humans are necessarily violent but colonial discourses certainly are.

3.2   Contributions from Indigenous studies

Indigenous studies constitute a highly diverse field. In this theoretical framework, I stress its more critical strands and quote on the work of Indigenous scholars from diverse places. I write this section with a feeling of discomfort and by acknowledging my limits to interpret Indigenous scholarship. Although my intention is to read Indigenous scholarship with an open attitude to fully listen to what Indigenous scholars have to say, I acknowledge that I have a limited understanding due to the education I have received and my positionality in the modern world. Because of this, I want to start this section by introducing a discussion offered by Cree scholar Cash Ahenakew regarding the limits of the "schooled modern subject," which is helpful for holding conversations about decolonization with a full awareness of the non-neutral position I occupy.

In "Grafting Indigenous Ways of Knowing Onto Non-Indigenous Ways of Being" (2006), Ahenakew exposes the limitations of the politics of inclusion as a decolonial effort. The politics of inclusion work in such a way that condition Indigenous people's participation to adopting Western ways of being and doing which can lead to assimilation (Ahenakew, C., 2006). While recognizing the strategic value for Indigenous persons working from the academia, Ahenakew suggests that decolonization is more complex than achieving inclusion and suggests that there is an urgency to subvert the logics of "inclusion as grafting."[19] Ahenakew urges that such transformation requires from Indigenous people "remembering forgotten ancestral literacies that situate Western sciences within a relatively useful, but ultimately a severely limited, framework for conceptualizing existence" (2006, p. 334).

In parallel, Ahenakew suggests that in order to comprehend the decolonial task and being able to subvert inclusion as grafting, there is a need to pay attention at "the frames of reference of the schooled modern subject" and the limits of their structures (2006, p. 334). Drawing from Andreotti (2016), Ahenakew explains that:

> Logocentrism compels him [the schooled modern subject] to believe that reality can be described in language (Andreotti, 2016). Universalism leads him to understand his interpretation of reality as objective and to project it as the only legitimate and valuable worldview. Anthropocentric reasoning makes him see himself as separate from nature and having a mandate to manage, exploit, and control it. Teleological thinking makes him want to plan for the engineering of a future that he can already imagine. Dialectical thinking makes him fall in love with a linear logic enamoured with consensus, solutions, and resolutions and averse to paradoxes, complexities, and

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[19] The metaphor of inclusion as grafting positions western onto-epistemes as the roots and trunk of the tree, while indigenous knowledges take the position of the leaves and fruits that have to grow from those roots and structure.

contradictions. Allochronic and evolutionary thinking make him judge others according to criteria where he is represented as being in the present of (linear) time while others are in the past and where he leads humanity in a single path of evolution (Ahenakew, 2006, p. 335).

These six habits of knowing and being constitute the "schooled modern subject." Ahenakew suggests that this subject, which "we have historically inherited," has important lessons to offer (2006, p. 336). Far from rejecting him, Ahenakew advocates that it is important to understand him and work from his lessons (see, p. 336). The ways of knowing and being of the "schooled modern subject" also shape educational institutions:

> These institutions have a specific national mandate to reproduce these referents to construct a sense of social cohesion and intelligibility, which has the effect of reproducing onto-epistemic hegemony. Thus, our self-image and desires for security, certainty, control, comfort, and autonomy have depended on the reproduction of these referents and the denial of other possibilities of knowing or being (Ahenakew, 2006, p. 336).

This way, formal education rejects Indigenous ways of knowing, being, and relating and welcome Indigenous subjects only if they accommodate themselves to fit the model of the "schooled modern subject" and as long as they do not endanger business as usual, which requires to keep the hegemony of the colonial society intact.

Distinctively, many Indigenous peoples know how to coexist with diverse worlds (that of other humans, of the spirits, the plants, the animals, the gods) (Yampara-Huarachi, S., 2011; Whitt, 2009) and also know that the wellbeing of humans relies upon the balance of all these worlds (Yampara-Huarachi, S., 2011; Whitt, 2009; Whyte, K., 2020). Speaking from his Aymara ancestry, Yampara-Huarachi (2011) describes the decolonial task as the impulse to live with the various existing worlds, including the world of people different from his own. He argues that this

is possible only if there is mutual respect for different models of organization, of economy, of ways of being and knowing: "we want to forge mutual respect among diverse people," which means the coexistence of "ancient millennial knowledge" with "centenary western knowledge" (2011, p. 16, my literal translation). While the "schooled modern subject" and his/her educational institutions work for keeping the status quo of colonial domination by making his world the only possible one, many Indigenous people argue for its subversion and advocate for the coexistence of diverse worlds (see Yampara-Huarachi, 2011).

Indigenous ways of knowing considers the interconnection of all relations (Whyte, K., 2020). The ethics that inform Indigenous ways of knowing bases its frames in the logics of responsible and respectful relationships with all beings and entities (Yampara-Huarachi, S., 2011; Whitt, 2009; Whyte, K., 2020). In other words, the ontology at work in Indigenous studies includes non-human agency and ethics that put humans and non-human persons into responsible relations (Rosiek, J. L., Snyder, J., & Pratt, S. L., 2020). Indigenous knowledge production –as the enactment of responsibility—requires the quality of consent and that of reciprocity (Whyte, K., 2020). This conception about consent differs from mainstream Western science that considers consent as a restriction to achieve knowledge and a regulation to prevent or mitigate harm (Whyte, K., 2020).

Ch'ixi[20] scholar Silvia Rivera-Cusicanqui is a sociologist and an activist of Aymara ancestry. She proposes that in the context of the present global crisis it is necessary to build knowledge

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[20] Silvia Rivera-Cusicanqui uses Ch'ixi, an Aymara concept, to provide and option to the binary that opposes indigeneity to modernity and an alternative to the supposed mixed of both, which has been term in Latin America as "mestizage." Ch'ixi means a color that is form by the juxtaposition of small squares or dots of two contrasting colors (white/black or green/red) ch'ixi combines an Indigenous world with its opposite without ever mixing. The result is something that is and is not at the same time. A Ch'ixi gray, says Rivera-Cusicanqui, is white and not white at the same time, it is white, and it is also black, its opposite (2010, p. 69) (see also Rivera-Cusicanqui, 2018). This means that she is Aymara, and she is not Aymara while she is Bolivian.

from the quotidian and argues that the renewal of the world is possible. In her 2018 book "*Un mundo Ch'ixi es possible: ensayos desde un presente en crisis*," Rivera-Cusicanqui refers to decolonizing practices and the urgencies for these. In her study of Waman Poma de Ayala´s images and letters (2010), she characterises colonial discourses: "there is in colonialism a very peculiar function for words, words do not designate, but mask" (my literal translation, 2010, p.19). With this, she refers to a specific condition that has characterized the language produced by colonialism since its beginnings[21]. The words of the colonizer's language are fictional, "plagued by euphemisms that cover reality instead of naming it" (Rivera-Cusicanqui, 2010, p. 19; my literal translation). Silvia Rivera-Cusicanqui emphasizes that this aspect of the language produced by colonialism transformed public discourses into "ways of not saying" (Idem). Because of this characteristic of the language enacted since colonialism (and modernity by extension), discourses of racism or racial hierarchy, among many other colonial forms, often appear in hidden or opaque ways. Thus, language becomes evasive of reality.

If colonial discourses are enacted in "ways of not saying," any attempt to analyze how colonial discourses are at work should consider both what is apparent and what is absent or veiled. Quechua thinker Waman Poma vividly shows how colonial language is elusive of reality and, at the same time, his work, as Rivera-Cusicanqui (2010) states, allows for seeing the multiple ways in which "colonialism is fought, subverted, turned ironic, now and always" (p. 6). In this sense, she considers that "in his [Waman Poma's] drawings there are powerful critical

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[21] See the image in page 17 in Silvia Rivera-Cusicanqui (2010) piece, which receives the name of "Good Government."

arguments that point to the impossibility of a legitimate domination and a good government in a

colonial context" (p. 25), marking a continuum to present times.

Silvia Rivera-Cusicanqui is especially critical of dominant groups in the nation-states of the

so-called Americas for its colonial continuities, much as modernity/coloniality studies does. She

describes this continuity as archaic and is reluctant to refer to Bolivia's elites as being modern

in the sense that they dwell in the present without renewing it but reproducing the colonial

condition that harms Indigenous people. She takes the word modern here as a quality of time not

as a historical periodization as mainstream understandings assume, nor as a historical, military,

economic, geo-political and philosophical Euro-centered movement as the modernity/coloniality

group considers. In other words, Rivera-Cusicanqui centers her analysis in what

modernity/coloniality studies have termed "coloniality:" [22] those elements of the colonial past

that are reproduced today by dominant groups (being of *mestizo* or European heritage) who are

invested in keeping the promises initiated in the colonial past intact in the present time. The

elites in the Americas are the most invested in western modernity and consequently the most

invested in keeping harmful and old colonial relationships:

> The present is the setting for simultaneously modernizing and archaic impulses, of
>
> strategies to preserve the status quo and of others that signify revolt and renewal of the
>
> world: *Pachakuti*. The upside-down world created by colonialism will return to its feet
>
> as history only if it can defeat those who are determined to preserve the past, with its

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[22] It may be relevant to mention here that Silvia Rivera-Cusicanqui (2010) is a critic of modernity/coloniality studies (specifically of the work of Mignolo, Quijano, Dussel, Walsh, and Sanjinés). She states that these group of academics uses a Eurocentric narrative that in some works have cataloged, for example, Indigenous political structures as archaic, work as punishment and so on, which for her constitute colonial discourses according to which the authors presume an alleged superiority. She also seas a colonial pattern in the type of academic hierarchy that they have produced as they work from the Global North.

burden of ill-gotten privileges. But if the preservers of the past succeed, the past cannot escape the fury of the enemy, to paraphrase Walter Benjamin (2012, p. 96).

In a similar line, Aymara scholar Yampara-Huarachi (2011) states that there is a tendency to value recent times (which corresponds to nation-states centenary history) at the expense of millenary Indigenous history. For him, "celebrating centenaries is a way to mask the millenary" (2011, p. 6). The result is for him a "cognitive problem," one of a "double illiteracy" because "some of us are illiterate in the centenary [Western knowledge], others are illiterate in the millenary [Indigenous knowledge]. The academy has probably made us literate in one of them, but in the other it leaves us cognitively blind" (Idem). From this perspective, instead of proposing the inclusion of Indigenous knowledges in Western institutions (e.g., universities) he proposes renewed spaces (e.g., a *Cosmoversity*).

In Latin-America and especially in countries such as Bolivia and Mexico, the study of *Internal Colonialism* constitutes an area of relevance characterized by a sense of political urgency to allow the renewal of the world. Unlike the concept of colonialism, which frequently refers to the external relations of power between different peoples or nations (González-Casanova, 2006), *internal colonialism* refers to the social hierarchies and power-knowledge relations that persist internally once these external relations have somehow ceased (see Rivera-Cusicanqui, 2010). Mexican Sociologist Pablo González-Casanova, in the year 1969, started to speak about colonialism as an internal process for nations in so-called Latin America. This author offers a structural definition for what he calls "internal colonialism." Briefly, this term describes the intranational process of social and racial hierarchization that commenced alongside the independencies of the territories that were ruled by European powers. Rivera-Cusicanqui

(2012) characterizes the policy at work in internal colonialism as "*gatopardista*" to explain the tendency of the, although of mixed heritage, Western-like elites of Bolivia to "changing everything so that everything remains the same" (p. 101).

In Chile, folklorist Violeta Parra, whose mother was Indigenous and her father Chilean, refers to the colonial condition that the postcolonial era continues to reproduce in one of her songs dedicated to Mapuche people and their chiefs. She sings in the first verse of "*Arauco tiene una pena*":

> *Arauco tiene una pena/ que no la puedo callar,/ son injusticias de siglos/ que todos ven aplicar,/ nadie le ha puesto remedio/ pudiéndolo remediar./ Levántate, Huenchullán.*

My literal translation is:

> Arauco has a sorrow / that I cannot silence, / they are centuries-old injustices / that everyone sees applied, / no one has remedied them / being able to remedy them / Get up, Huenchullán.

And she keeps going in the sixth verse:

> *Arauco tiene una pena / Más negra que su chamal / Ya no son los españoles / Los que les hacen llorar / Hoy son los propios chilenos / Los que les quitan su pan / Levántate Pailahuán*

My literal translation is:

> Arauco has a sorrow / Blacker than their clothes / They are no longer the Spanish / Those who make them cry / today they are the Chileans themselves / Those who take away their bread / Get up Pailahuán

Although some of the Chilean folklore acknowledges the Mapuche people's situation, among other Indigenous nations, this does not mean that Indigenous peoples are respected nor that there exists a real and just solution to the problems that colonialism and internal colonialism have produced and continue to reproduce. In her lines, Violeta Parra coincides with Gonzáles-

Casanova in suggesting that independence from European colonial powers did not mean the liberation of Indigenous people. Instead, it meant the continuity of Indigenous exploitation and expropriation (in material, spiritual and symbolic terms) under an internal power (Gonzáles-Casanova, P., 2006)–a power that in Chile was first taken by *criollos* and *mestizos* socialized into the criollo culture.

3.3   Contributions from Modernity/Coloniality Studies

Waman Poma proposed at the beginning of the seventeenth century that colonialism implies violence against Indigenous people, the land and human dignity in general, which translates into the impossibility of a legitimate domination of the European over Indigenous people (Rivera-Cusicanqui, 2010, p. 25).[23] Waman Poma's lucid understanding of the harms of colonial imperialism moved him to understanding that what the Spaniards called a "good government" was an impracticable project (See Rivera-Cusicanqui, 2016; 2010). Centuries after Waman Poma, scholars working from modernity/coloniality studies underline that colonial violence has persisted and that it is at the basis of the modern project. Despite this continuity, mainstream discourses frame modernity as an innocent and ideal project.

There is a common understanding that sees modernity as somehow unrelated to colonial and imperial expansionism. Drawing on Nelson Maldonado-Torres (2004), the reason for this is that modernity is usually associated with time, while colonialism is usually associated with space:

> What the concept of modernity does is to ingeniously hide the significance of spatiality
>
> for the production of this discourse. That is why most often than not those who adopt the
>
> discourse of modernity tend to adopt a universalistic perspective that does away with the

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[23] To see Waman Poma's image, see Rivera-Cusicanqui (2010, p. 17).

significance of geopolitical location. The escape from the legacy of colonization and

dependency is provided for any by modernity, as if modernity as such has not been

intrinsically tied to the colonial experience. (Maldonado-Torres, 2004, p. 37)

Following Maldonado-Torres, dominant discourses frame modernity as the production of a

historical periodization that presumes the exclusive possibility of reaching modernity (as a stage

of development) to Europeans without engaging in what is required to achieve such a stage:

European expansionism. Yet, this conception of modernity, as Maldonado-Torres cautions,

"cannot escape a reference to geopolitical location" (2004, p. 36). In short, what this author

proposes, as opposed to mainstream conceptions, is that modernity cannot exist without the

colonization of non-European lands. This means that the condition of possibility for modernity

relies upon two different conditions. One condition consists of the harms produced on colonized

lands; Walter Mignolo calls these harms coloniality. The second condition of possibility for

modernity is given by the ability to maintain the fiction and fantasy that modernity and

coloniality are unrelated events (see Mignolo, 2011; Maldonado-Torres, 2004).

Understanding how Western imperial conceptions of space have shaped the "modern

experience" is urgent to advance any alternative thinking toward a decolonizing process. In this

regard, Maldonado-Torres (2004) analyses what J.M. Blaut calls the "diffusionist myth of

emptiness" which represents how imperial Western thought has conceived space.[24] J.M. Blaut

says:

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[24] Whitt (2009) suggest that the discourse of "land of no one" have been replaced in present times by "property belonging to everyone" (p. 12), which in her view facilitates European extraction of Indigenous lands, knowledges, and spirituality.

This proposition of emptiness makes a series of claims, each layered upon the others: (i)

A non-European region is empty or nearly empty of people (hence settlement by

Europeans does not displace any native peoples). (ii) The region is empty of settled

population: the inhabitants are mobile, nomadic, wanderers (hence European settlement

violates no political sovereignty, since wanderers make no claim to territory). (iii) The

cultures of this region do not possess an understanding of private property—that is, the

region is empty of property rights and claims (hence colonial occupiers can freely give

land to settlers since no one owns it). The final layer, applied to all of the Outside sector,

is an emptiness of intellectual creativity and spiritual values, sometimes described by

Europeans . . . as an absence of 'rationality (in Maldonado-Torres, 2004, p. 37).

Drawing from Maldonado-Torres, the final layer relates to cognitive violence because its more

evident result is "epistemological dominance" (see Ahenakew, 2016, p. 328). By assuming that

there is in the colonized lands an "emptiness of intellectual creativity and spiritual values,"

Western society imposes its own episteme over the colonized.

More broadly, the three layers Blaut described, which resonates with an Imperial European

conception of space, made possible the colonization of the Americas and are the condition of

possibility for the modern experience. If modernity's birth is dated as far back as the colonization

of the Americas, and the enslavement of the people of what is now known as Africa, [25] then, it is

possible to relate modernity with the diffusionist myth of emptiness and its required conceptions

regarding non-European human beings who were insidiously classified and differentiated as

"backwards."

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[25] Nelson Maldonado-Torres (together with Quijano, Dussel, Mignolo and Wallerstein) date the birth of modernity
in the 15th century with the colonization of the Americas.

Walter Mignolo (2011) proposes that modernity is constituted by coloniality as its underside. In line with the relations that Nelson Maldonado-Torres establishes between modernity, colonialism and the "diffusionist myth of emptiness," Mignolo connects modernity with the harms that modernity requires to succeed. He states:

> Modernity is a three-headed hydra, even though it only reveals one head: the rhetoric of salvation and progress. Coloniality, one of whose facets is poverty and the propagation of AIDS in Africa, does not appear in the rhetoric of modernity as its necessary counterpart, but rather as something that emanates from it (2011, p. 46).

Modernity, following Mignolo (2011) is not separable from coloniality. This means that without the impoverishment and degradation of some – including the Earth itself and other-than-human beings – it is not possible to achieve "progress" and "development" as European nations have conceived of and experienced them. Modernity therefore requires that the production of wealth that is experienced by some is produced through the impoverishments of the many. And it also entails the degradation of nature since modern progress also consists of conquering the material world in search of wealth (Quijano, A., 2007).

Development, following this line of thought, is relative to modernity/coloniality. The idea of development, as envisioned by European civilizations, is conceptualized in relation to modern Western humanism and Cartesian philosophy, in that it requires the idea of positioning some people as civilized (developed) while positioning others as backwards or behind in the process of becoming fully civilized (developing). This rhetoric of development, which carries a civilizing mission, assumes a universal path and scale in which Western industrial nations are at the top of human civilization.

Considering the conceptual framing of modernity/coloniality studies, any attempt to analyze textbooks from the perspective of decolonial thought must be aware of discourses relative to modernity, development and progress. Following Rivera-Cusicanqui (2010), the analysis of these colonial patterns should consider the masked forms of colonial language. In order to detect "the euphemisms that cover reality," in the words of Rivera-Cusicanqui (2010, p. 19), the examination of colonial discourses should involve what is hidden: the underside of modernity, progress and development that is coloniality.

3.4 Concluding Points

Although scholars from postcolonial studies, Indigenous studies, and modernity/coloniality studies put forward the idea that colonialism implies discursive practices and knowledge production (See Young, 1995; Gandhi, 2019; Andreotti, V., 2011; Rivera-Cusicanqui, S., 2020; Yampara-Huarachi, S., 2011), it is fundamental to consciously remember that colonialism as such produces effects that transcends the limits of the text and continually imprint harm in people referred as 'Other.' Some researchers focus their attention on imperial discourses and imperialism rather than colonial discourses and colonialism to point out that colonialism has current effects and renewed characteristics[26]. As Indigenous scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith puts it, "Imperialism still hurts, still destroys, and is reforming itself constantly" (2012, p. 20). In this regard, one could say that imperialism as a concept shares some features with that of colonialism. However, these two terms are not interchangeable. There is a common understanding that colonialism is one manifestation of imperialism (Ibid). In the context of this

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[26] Vanessa Andreotti (2011), for instance, explains that Spivak is one of these scholars. She uses, as Andreotti suggests (2011), the term imperialism and not colonialism because she observes that the critiques that come to question colonial discourses frequently dismiss the fact that colonialism is an ongoing process and fail to analyse neo-colonial practices.

research proposal, I refer specifically to European imperialism, the origins of which are the invasion of Europeans in *Abya Yala*[27] during the fifteenth century.

Many authors refer to European imperialism as a process and the principles that allowed and continue to enable European expansionism and domination. Colonialism, in concordance with this conception of imperialism, is just one face of imperialism. Tuhiwai Smith puts it this way, "Colonialism was, in part, an image of imperialism, a particular realization of the imperial imagination" and colonialism also was "an image of the future nation it would become" (2012, p. 24). With this last phrase, Tuhiwai Smith refers to the relevance that Colonialism has for current times as Rivera-Cusicanqui does through the concept of "internal colonialism."

An existing outcome of imperialism is the creation of the so called "Third World"—now often referred as Global South to avoid narratives that position Europeans and their descendants as being more than or ahead of the many people that inhabit the "Global South" (for a better explanation of these concepts see McGregor, A. & Hill, D., 2009). The condition of possibility for the Global South depends upon the existence of a Global North (here I consider Global South elites too) and its hegemonic pretensions. Consequently, both North and South depend upon an ethnocentric view of the world that positions Europe as the center of the world. Eurocentrism is then a basal feature of European imperialism. Spivak refers to this process as "worlding the world." For her, the process of worlding entails the whole world being inscribed in Western cultural traditions (See Andreotti, 2011; Mangalagiri, 2004). European Imperialism needs to universalize and naturalize Western culture and interests in the whole world (Andreotti, 2011).

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[27] *Abya Yala* is the name used by *Guna* people to refer to what is now called the Americas.

Spivak says that once these processes started with colonialism, world inequalities were produced

that led to the socioeconomic impoverishment of the Global South (see Andreotti, 2011).

Chapter 4: Methodology and Research Design

This chapter is about the methodology for this research. It introduces the qualitative approach to content analysis this research used, and the different methods employed to conduct a colonial content analysis of textbooks. Also, it introduces the tools created and employed to generate a discussion and the consequent concluding points.

4.1   Methods for the analysis and rationale

State Textbooks in Chile outline the curriculum available at schools. A study commissioned by UNESCO and the Curriculum and Evaluation Unit of the Ministry of Education of Chile (Mineduc) (Olivera, 2016) points out that teachers in Chile use textbooks not only to work in classes but also to plan the school year. Around 90% of schoolteachers frequently uses the textbook of *Natural Sciences* and *History, Geography and Social Sciences* in elementary schools because they declare these materials align with the learning objectives proposed by the Curriculum (Olivera, 2016). Therefore, I will analyze textbooks as they present sanctioned knowledge and organize teaching and learning practices delineating possible identities, ways of being, relating, doing, and knowing, while neglecting other ones.

As I previously mentioned, this research focusses on the analysis of textbooks of *Natural Sciences* (NatS) and in those of *History, Geography, and Social Sciences* (HGeoSS) that are currently in use inside rural elementary schools in Chile. It is important to notice that today it is not as common as in early colonial times for colonial patterns to be explicitly declared and named. Therefore, the primary purpose of this thesis is to identify and analyze both those colonial discourses that are clearly linked to systemic and systematic and harm, and those that, even though related to that damage, make their connection with it invisible and consequently make other onto-epistemologies appear not possible. Subsequently, the main research question

is: What harmful colonial discourses are present in Chile's elementary textbooks, including those that are explicitly colonial and those that implicitly reproduce colonial patterns? And the sub-questions are: 1) In what ways do these colonial discourses deny and/or discredit alternative ways of being, doing, relating, and knowing? 2) How do these colonial discourses result in the naturalization of cognitive violence? 3) What are the difficulties of challenging colonial patterns that result in cognitive violence and in the denial of such violence? 4) How do diverse colonial discourses in textbooks relate to each other?

To answer the research questions, I conducted a Qualitative Content Analysis (Mayring, P., 2000; Lee & Cho, 2014; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005) from a decolonial standpoint to generate a discussion through Social Cartography (Paulston, R., 1999; Suša, R. & Andreotti, V., 2019; Ruitenberg, C., 2007). I assumed an "inductive" approach to qualitative content analysis (see Lee & Cho, 2014, p. 4 and Mayring, 2000). This implies that the themes or lines of Inquiry to conduct the analysis emerged from the textbooks themselves, the main research question, and the theoretical background informing this thesis. Conversely, deductive approaches to content analysis work with previously formulated and theoretically driven categories of analysis. I opted for the inductive approach in an effort to avoid the use of theory as explanatory of reality (in this case textbooks). Also, an inductive approach to qualitative content analysis allowed me a "subjective interpretation of the content of text data" (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1281), in this case through the analysis of identified patterns of colonial discourse. This way, the lines of inquiry I propose here are not intended to be prescriptive of the sources I analysed.

I identified six lines of inquiry that I later explored. The first step I took to shape these lines of inquiry was to determine a "criterion of selection" which was informed by my main research question: What harmful colonial discourses are present in Chile's elementary textbooks,

including those that are both explicitly colonial and those that implicitly reproduce colonial patterns? This criterion allowed me to select excerpts and images from the twelve reviewed textbooks. Out of this material, I shaped preliminary topics or categories for the analysis from a decolonial standpoint. Before starting the analysis, I reviewed these lines of Inquire to assure all the content I selected during the first selection could be analyzed from one of these. In an attempt to answer the research question, these six lines of inquiry consider both "manifest content" and "latent content" (see Mayring, P., 2000). The first correspond to those topics that are evidently related to colonial patterns while the second consists of content which requires implicit and contextual information to be identified in relation to a colonial discourse (see Mayring, 2000, p. 2).

    Lines of Inquiry:

1)   Line of Inquiry I: Separation as a Way of Hierarchically Being and Relating

2)   Line of Inquiry II: Domination (and Denial) as a Way of Knowing

3)   Line of Inquiry III: Discourse as a Way of Not Saying

4)   Line of Inquiry IV: Progress and Development as a Way of Valuing Urban Life at the Detriment of the Rural.

5)   Line of Inquiry V: Historical Linearity and Evolutionary Thought as a Way of Denying Other Possibilities of Being, Doing and Knowing

6)   Line of Inquiry VI: Eurocentrism and Universalism as a Way of Inflicting Cognitive Violence.

    The expectation is that each of these lines of inquiry and its particularities "serve to make previously obscure theoretical relationships suddenly apparent" (Mitchell in Andreotti, 2011, p. 90). In this sense, these six lines will show how diverse and related colonial patterns are both

explicit and implicit in textbooks from Chile. Contributions from the "de-colonial turn" functioned as the "underlying theory" on which the analysis of these lines of inquiry was based (See Andreotti, 2011, p. 91). Thus, these lines of inquiry showed to have the potential to illustrate how textbooks are connected to colonial patterns both in evident ways and in veiled ways. The importance is that if the connection between textbooks and colonial discourses continues to be obscured, textbooks will continue to promote cognitive violence --among other harms-- toward Indigenous students attending rural schools in Chile and to a lesser degree to Chilean rural students. In this sense, these lines of inquiry can make evident how colonial discourses in textbooks work to reproduce existing uneven power relations.

The following table shows all textbooks that were considered for the textual and visual analysis. Here, I use the acronym HGeoSS for textbooks of *History, Geography and Social Ciences*, and NatS for those of *Natural Sciences*.

HGeoSS 1	Cabrera-Castillo, C. and Bugueño-Salvo, D. (2017) *Texto del Estudiante Historia, Geografía y Ciencias Sociales 1ero Básico*. Mineduc 2020 Editora Zig-Zag S.A. ISBN: 978-956-09441-1-5
HGeoSS 2	Quiñones-Martínez, M., Poblete-Bravo, C., and Muñoz-Sereño, E. (2019) *Texto del Estudiante Historia, Geografía y Ciencias Sociales 2do Básico*. Mineduc 2020 Editorial Santillana S.A. ISBN: 978-956-09441-1-5
HGeoSS 3	Latorre-Chávez, S., Palacios-Oñate, A., and Rodríguez-Terrazas, I. (2018) *Texto del Estudiante Historia, Geografía y Ciencias Sociales 3ero Básico*. Mineduc 2020 Editorial SM S.A. ISBN: 978-956-363-298-9
HGeoSS 4	Fernández-Leiva, C., Fuentes-Illanes, F., and Panza-Concha, P. (2017) *Texto del Estudiante Historia, Geografía y Ciencias Sociales 4to Básico*. Mineduc 2020 Editorial SM S.A. ISBN: 978-956-363-299-6

HGeoSS 5	Flores-Salinas, P. (2019) *Texto del Estudiante Historia, Geografía y Ciencias Sociales 5to Básico*. Mineduc 2020 Editorial SM S.A. ISBN: 978-956-349-939-1
HGeoSS 6	Garrido-Contreras, M., and Olate-Galindo, D (2019) *Texto del Estudiante Historia, Geografía y Ciencias Sociales 6to Básico*. Mineduc 2020 Editorial Santillana S.A. ISBN: 978-956-349-939-1
NatS 1	Vera-Muñoz, Y. (2019) *Texto del Estudiante Ciencias Naturales 1ero Básico*. Mineduc 2020 Editorial SM S.A. ISBN: 978-956-363-731-1
NatS 2	Ortiz-Gutiérrez, P., and Russi-García, P. (2019) *Texto del Estudiante Ciencias Naturales 2do Básico*. Mineduc 2020 Editorial SM S.A. ISBN: 978-956-363-734-2
NatS 3	Calderón-Valdés, P. and Gutiérrez-Fabres, S. (2018) *Texto del Estudiante Ciencias Naturales 3ero Básico*. Mineduc 2020 Editorial SM S.A. ISBN: 978-956-363-288-0
NatS 4	Molina-Millán, C., Morales-Aedo, K., and Ortiz-Gutiérrez, P (2018) *Texto del Estudiante Ciencias Naturales 4to Básico*. Mineduc 2020 Editorial SM S.A. ISBN: 978-956-363-289-7
NatS 5	Valdés-Arriagada, P., and Rojas-Mancilla, E. (2016) *Texto del Estudiante Ciencias Naturales 5to Básico*. Mineduc 2020 Editorial Crecer Pensando S.A. ISBN: 978-956-9593-08-6
NatS 6	Morales-Aedo, K., and Ortiz-Gutiérrez, P., and Valdebenito-Cordovez, S., (2016) *Texto del Estudiante Ciencias Naturales 6to Básico*. Mineduc 2020 Editorial SM S.A. ISBN: 978-956-363-203-3
-	Mineduc (2014) *Módulo didáctico para la enseñanza y el aprendizaje en escuelas multigrado: Educación Ciudadana*. Edición Nivel de Educación Básica MINEDUC.
-	Mineduc (2014) *Módulo didáctico para la enseñanza y el aprendizaje en escuelas multigrado: Historia 1*. Edición Nivel de Educación Básica MINEDUC.
-	Mineduc (2014) *Módulo didáctico para la enseñanza y el aprendizaje en escuelas multigrado: Historia 2*. Edición Nivel de Educación Básica MINEDUC
-	Morales-Aedo, K. (2016) *Guía didáctica del docente 4to básico, tomo 1*. Mineduc 2020 Editorial SM S.A. ISBN: 978-956-363-305-4

Table 1: List of Textbooks for the Analysis

4.2 Methods for the discussion

I used social cartography to generate a discussion about the resulting analysis. According to Rolland G. Paulston, social cartography is "the art and science of mapping ways of seeing" (in Ruitenberg, 2007, p. 9). Mostly, social cartography's primary goal has been to make visible the locations of ideas, discourses, and people as well as the ways they juxtapose and relate (Paulston, 1999). The promise of social cartography in line with the latter is that its resulting maps can assign spatial and visual forms to multiple existing discourses, positions, and knowledges (Paulston, 1999). The visualization of this multiplicity opens the possibility to positioning oneself and look for alternatives to that position. Through metaphors, social maps can help people to push the limits of their own frames of reference.

In this research, social cartography allows a discussion in tune with decolonial perspectives to see the discourses in textbooks that reproduce and challenge colonial patterns and how they relate to an alternative horizon aimed beyond the cognitive violence of modernity/coloniality. In maps, the relationships among the diverse discourses can be made visible: how they compete and challenge each other, the power dynamics among various discourses, the points they converge and differ, the spaces where they trespass the agreed limits of one another. Because of these characteristics, the discussion centers on how various "onto-epistemic assumptions produce different kinds of (relationships with and expectations about) knowledge" (Suša & Andreotti, 2019, p. 7). As previously mentioned, this capacity can make possible alternative positions and the rearrangement of desires.

It is crucial at this point to bear in mind that despite the potential of social cartography to map multiple "ecologies of knowledges," its results are not conclusive depictions. Maps are always

"situated, provisional and contested" (Paulston in Suša & Andreotti, 2019, p. 2). In other words, the maps resulting from social cartography (as any other map) are closely related to mapmakers and their positionality; therefore, maps should be shared and remapped accordingly to those encounters (see Paulston, 1999). Rather than represent fixed truths, mapmakers present "alternative metaphors" (see Huggan, G., 2008, p. 28). For me, the possibility to use visual or textual metaphors when trying to refer to a complex reality is of great help because metaphors can craft an alternative way to see phenomena and discussions. Metaphors transfer the meaning of what is being observed by establishing a simile with it. The observed phenomena acquire new dimensions and meanings that can clarify positions and open alternatives for dialogue. As "alternative metaphors," social cartographies motivate non-prescriptive and reflexive conversations rather than offer fixed truths about reality.

To reduce the risk of producing fixed depictions, I shared the cartographies with my supervisors and remap them according to their feedback. I will also invite readers to engage pedagogically and dialogically with the cartographies that result from this study. This way, the cartographies I made for the discussion will remain open to "constant reinterpretation, reimagination, and contestation" (Suša & Andreotti, 2019, p. 3). I chose this methodology because social cartographies allow the visualization of multiple perspectives and levels of engagement and, thus, they provide with the possibility to positioning oneself and look for alternatives to that position. I hope the cartographies I offer here can motivate conversations to start a decolonial dialogue oriented toward more challenging work.

Chapter 5: Data Presentation and Analysis

In this chapter, I present six lines of inquiry and offer an analysis of each of them. I refer to these lines of inquiry as exemplary of different dimensions of coloniality in education for analytical purposes. However, I acknowledge that they are deeply entangled. As a former rural teacher, I seek to examine how textbooks used in rural areas of Chile repeat patterns within the different grades. Such patterns are precisely those that rural teachers use to plan multigrade instruction. The lines of inquiry I present here are common ideas repeated within textbooks, sometimes using different names and provoking different degrees of engagement depending on the school grade.

These lines of inquiry also show how textbooks reproduce a specific episteme that reinforces colonial violence –and sometimes challenges it. Thus, this analysis shows how school textbooks perpetuate or challenge an "onto-epistemic hegemony" (see Ahenakew, C., 2006). The effect of such onto-epistemic domination is the foreclose of other ways of being, knowing and relating. Thus, challenging it is an essential yet insufficient part of seeking more ethical relations among various forms of conceiving and living in the world. Despite the violent and universalizing effects that textbooks can make possible, it is relevant to open them and attentively read their words in order to learn with them. With this, I do not mean to learn their discourses as sanctioned knowledge but the trajectories where these discourses come from, where they are going, and especially the harms they have produced.

In what follows, I invite you to imagine opening the textbooks with children from grade 1 to grade 6. I encourage you in the first place to see how the Chilean textbooks of *Natural Sciences* (NatS) and those of *History, Geography and Social Sciences* (HGeoSS) work to center human reason to teach the nature-human separation in Line of Inquiry *I*. The following analysis, Line of Inquiry II, delves into how textbooks allow a way of knowing based on domination (and denial).

In Line of Inquiry III, I show how textbooks transform discourse in a way of not saying. Line of Inquiry IV addresses how textbooks center urban life under a Western view of progress and development. Line of Inquiry V analyzes how textbooks deny other possibilities of being, doing and knowing while naturalizing and universalizing Western notions of time. Finally, I introduce and explore how textbooks set the basis to inflict cognitive violence by centering Eurocentrism and universalizing Western modes as the only possible.

5.1   Line of Inquiry I: Separation as a Way of Hierarchically Being and Relating

Modern subjectivity creates the "illusion of separation" (see Andreotti, 2016; Ahenakew, 2016; Stein et al., 2020). This illusion determines the way of being and relating of the modern subject in relation to other humans and other beings. Therefore, the modern subject denies the fact that we all are entangled in the same "socio-ecological metabolism" (Stein et al., 2020; see Andreotti, 2016); this entanglement is a fact of our shared existence on a finite planet, rather than a product of individual choice. This way of being reproduces an immature attitude; the modern subject cannot assume responsibility for many harms it has caused (see Stein et al., 2020). In what follows, I present how the illusion of separation is taught in *Natural Sciences* (NatS) and in *History, Geography and Social Sciences* (HgeoSS) textbooks in Chile. Then, I analyze how this illusion determines a way of being and relating that perpetuates the wrongs of colonization and those of modernity/coloniality and reinscribe the modern ideal that humans (in particular, European-descended humans) are exceptional.

5.1.1   Presentation

At a very young age – when they are in grade 1 – students open their textbooks of NatS in its second unit to find that nature is what surrounds them (p. 42); in other words, their textbook tells them that **they are *in* nature**. In the following pages of this unit, they learn that nature is formed by "living beings" and "non-living entities." Living beings are described as those that "get born, grow up, reproduce and respond to stimuli," while "non-living entities" are defined as inert (NatS 1, 2019, p. 47). This separation establishes a hierarchy between living beings and those that are merely cast as inert. Other textbooks refer to this hierarchical separation and describe the "components of nature" as "biotic" and "abiotic" (NatS 4, 2018, p. 75; also see p. 67). This idea of separating nature among living and non-living entities and teaching it as a universal truth is problematic for some Indigenous contexts where their spiritual knowledge of mountains, rivers, water, and rocks among others conflicts with the idea that they are inert (see Yampara-Huarachi, S., 2011).

Just before learning *about* nature and its separate components, the grade 4 textbook of NatS invites students to experience a "journey through our body" (NatS 4, 2018, p. 22, my literal translation). Although the focus of this unit is the "locomotor and nervous systems" (Idem), students learn that they have a brain that is guarded by the skull and that "in order to learn, the brain needs to perceive and encode information and for this, it uses the body" (Morales-Aedo, K., 2016, p. 21). In other words, students also learn the separation and hierarchization between the body and the mind (brain), specifically with the framing that the body is present primarily in order to be instrumentalized in service of the brain.

Separations within nature take their part in textbooks of NatS. Within the grade 2 textbook, students learn that living beings can be classified between plants and animals and are invited to

experiment with plants to learn what they need to survive and thrive. This separation also implies a hierarchization. This time, plants are considered less relevant (almost lacking agency) when compared to animals. Therefore, students are encouraged to put a plant in a pot and stop giving water to it. This way, they can witness how the plant dies when it cannot access water (NatS 2, 2018). Similarly, grade 3 students are also encouraged to experiment with plants. Their textbook invites them to observe what happens to plants when they cover their leaves with petroleum jelly (see p. 124) and when leaving them without any access to light, air or water (see p. 132). Here, the students learn that they are separate from plants and that experimenting with them to the point of witnessing their death does not affect the plant itself, or any other relevant beings. Therefore, there is no protocol to enact respect for the plants. The students are simply invited to take the position of being subjects of scientific inquiry without acknowledging how practising science damages plants (nature) which are merely considered objects of their inquiry.

Grade 3 students learn about light and sound in unit 2 of their NatS textbook. After establishing individual goals and learning a bit about photonics, they read that there is a difference between the things that "are created by humans and those that are part of nature" (p. 76). The textbook introduces this separation with the concept of the" **artificial"** and **"natural"** (see pp.76-78). These two concepts correlate with the separation between culture and nature, something students explicitly learn with HGeoSS textbooks.

Students explicitly learn the distinction and separation between nature and humans in the grade 2 textbook of HGeoSS. Unit 1 invites them to differentiate those landscapes that are natural from those that are cultural. The former is described as being "part of nature" while the latter as being "created by human beings" (HGeoSS 2, 2019, p. 28). **Thus, children learn that they are separate from nature and as such can use nature for their own will.** At the bottom

of page 28, children see an image that illustrates a landscape. This image uses text boxes to point the "elements" children should look at. The idea is that children classify those elements that are part of nature and those that correspond to humans. Here, students are also asked to explain why "humankind has intervened nature" (p. 28). The answer to that question is that "human beings have historically adapted to their surroundings, modifying nature to develop their life and obtain needed resources" (2do *básico guía del docente*, p. 18). Here, **nature is framed as a resource *for* humans.**

    The separation between humans and nature and the conceptualization **of nature as a resource** is deepened in grade 4. When grade 4 students open unit 2 of their HGeoSS textbook, they learn the separation between culture and nature again (see pp. 84-89). This textbook also offers a conceptualization of nature as a resource and culture as the inventiveness that humans have developed to "exploit," "extract," and "transform" those "natural resources" (see pages 96 to 107)—**humans *dominate* nature**. On page 98, students read "nature is the source of the resources that human beings need to satisfy our needs. Thus, nature is depicted as a passive resource to be exploited by humans who need it to satisfy their needs. This idea teaches again the illusion of humans being superior and separate from nature. As seen in all the previous excerpts, humans are supposed to occupy a privileged position with respect the natural world. Humans appear to be creative (in possession of a mind) and exceptional. Because of these qualities, humans themselves can "experiment," "extract," and "exploit" nature to satisfy their needs.

    Textbooks also recognize that nature is damaged, and "humans" have harmed it (e.g., NatS 4, 2018, p. 68) — the text transmits the idea that all humans **are *against* nature**. When textbooks acknowledge these harms, they tend to encourage student to think about solutions: "How can **we** protect the natural environment?" (NatS 4, 2018, p. 69, my emphasis) "What responsibilities do

humans have in species extinction? What actions can people take to protect those species?" (NatS 4, 2018, p. 100). These questions jump too fast from admitting harm and then simplistically assuming we can easily interrupt that harm and 'fix' things. On the one hand, this move does not allow students to reflect on what the roots of that harm are and whether we could get to know how to actually stop reproducing it. On the other hand, they present a contradiction with previous ideas: while the textbooks invite students to destroy plants for their individual scientific understanding, textbooks ask the students to come up with ideas to stop damaging nature.

As a way of complementing the students' ideas, NatS 4 introduces "three strategies that have been created to protect and take care of nature" (p.101). These are: "hunting ban," "the control of over-exploitation of natural resources," and "the creation of natural protected areas" (p. 101) (see also pp. 102-105). This last one, "the creation of natural protected areas," is exalted as a very relevant way to "prevent nature from being altered by human activity" (NatS 4, 2018, p. 101). Natural protected areas require separating humans from nature by making patches of fenced nature. This strategy assumes that humans are naturally destructive. This naturalization erases those other ontologies that relate to land very differently (e.g., Indigenous ontologies) (see Whyte, K., 2020), and universalizes one way of being human and relating to the natural world. Also, without having the possibility to think how isolating humans from nature to take care of it has had historical consequences over the ecological balance (see Sundberg et al., 2020), the students learn the illusion that this has an easy solution that does not necessarily implicate them as a society. Thus, the students understand that ecological crises can be solved without considering their own complicities and the complexities of trying to care for nature.

5.1.2   Content Analysis

In the observed textbooks, various discourses contribute to constructing the illusion of separation as a way of hierarchically being and relating. When the grade 1 textbook of NatS says human beings are "surrounded by nature," it transmits the idea that students are *in* nature rather than a constitutive part of it. This way, the textbook implicitly refers to the separation between nature and humans. This separation is also (absently) present when children "learn *about* nature" as a concept (e.g., the environment, natures' components). When textbooks restrict the relationship between nature and humans to what the latter must learn "*about* nature," textbooks deny other ontologies of rural students (especially Indigenous students) that might have been socialized by their communities to learn by "knowing *with* nature" (see Higgings & Madem 2018).

Textbooks define nature not only as something separate from humans but also as something that humans can distantly observe, categorize and experiment with. This differentiation of roles implies a hierarchization between the two. While nature occupies the passive role in the human/nature relationship, humans are granted an active one (humans possess a mind and inventiveness). In this way, nature is considered of lesser value when compared with humans. From this way of relating, an extractive relationship is possible and valuable from the perspective of humans who rate nature according to the services and resources it can provide them (e.g., nature as Ecosystem Services).

The separation between nature and humankind becomes clearer when analyzing the invitation to experiment with plants in grade 2 and 3 NatS textbooks, which is possible once students learn to classify the components of nature between what has life (biotic) and what does not (abiotic) (see grades 1, 2, 3 and 4 NatS textbooks) and the hierarchy between plants and animals. Here, students take the position of subjects while nature is the object of their scientific experimentation

for fulfilling individual learning. Beyond this human/nature separation, there is also an implicit

naturalization of a human/nature hierarchy, as there is no critical engagement with the fact that in

this experiment, plants are deprived of their needs in the service of students' learning. For a

person whose epistemology does not deny their entanglement with plants, and whose scientific

knowledge is based on protocols of consent and responsibility (see Whyte, K. 2020) such an

experiment can constitute an act of forced learning, which inscribes violence.

From a decolonial perspective, the positioning of humans (students) as subjects and nature

(plants) as a passive object of inquiry is not universal. Thus, it does not constitute a natural nor a

neutral relation that can scape historical and geographical location. The position of students as

subjects in opposition to nature as an object resonates with the modern/colonial idea that humans

possess a particular quality, only available to them, namely, reason or the Cartesian *ego cogito*

(see Maldonado-Torres, 2007; Quijano, A., 2007). This particular understanding of humans

grants them (in particular, European-descended humans) with a superiority and the pretended

quality of being good by nature that differentiates them from the rest (see Todd, 2009) –humans

appear to be exceptional. The Cartesian idea that humans' existence is determined by their

exclusive capacity to think (*cogito ergo sum*) and that the mind is hierarchically separate from

the body are what holds that capacity to objectivize nature for humans' inquiry and

instrumentalization (see Sundberg, J., et al., 2020; and Ahenakew, 2006). These ideas are

actualized in Chilean textbooks and explicitly taught as previously presented.

Here, a problem of separating mind and body and the overestimation of the reason is that their

roots are attached to a colonial way of being, as Maldonado-Torres (2007) argues. Drawing from

Dussel, Maldonado-Torres explains that the *ego cogito* as a modern subjectivity was only

possible because of a previous subjectivity that is the "*ego conquiro"* (2007). In other words, the

ego cogito relies upon a subjectivity that emerged in the context of the European conquest and colonization of the "Americas." Maldonado-Torres clarifies that "the certainty of the self as a conqueror, of its tasks and missions, preceded Descartes's certainty about the self as a thinking substance (*res cogitans*) and provided a way to interpret it" (2007, p. 244). Furthermore, he suggests that the "conquering self and the theoretical thinking substance are parallel in terms of their certainty" (Idem). Thus, the certainty of the reason-centred modern subject is inseparable from the "permanent suspicion regarding the humanity" of those who came to be racialized and conceived as backward, irrational "Others" (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p. 245). Consequently, the body-mind separation is both rooted in and reproduces coloniality and racism.

The reason-centred modern subjectivity also allows western and westernized societies to separate culture from nature (see Quijano, A., 2007). The idea of students as active subjects and nature as their object of study is connected to the nature-culture divide. This separation and hierarchization came to be naturalized with the Enlightenment and the colonization of the so-called Americas. Grade 2, 4, 5 and 6 textbooks of HGeoSS make explicit this separation by asking the students to differentiate "cultural landscapes" from "natural landscapes" or "cultural components" from "natural components." NatS textbooks make clear the idea that nature is *apart* from culture (humans) by asking students to separate what is "artificial" from what is "natural" or, as I previously noted, by inviting students to act as subjects of scientific experimentation with plants.

Because its roots are linked to the history of colonization, the nature/culture divide also generates "Othering" with people. That is, the separation between humans and nature is directly related to colonial domination and racism among people. Juanita Sundberg and her colleagues reflect that along with the "inferiorization, colonization, and domination of nature," the

separation between culture and nature implies that "particular groups of humans also have been framed as closer to nature (women or peoples cast as primitive) and therefore as inferior" (2020, p. 315) (see also, Stein et al., 2021). Importantly, this dichotomy and inferiorization allow certain humans to harm "Other" humans and nature. Thus, separation is tightly linked with coloniality and domination. Grade 5 children can read in their HGeoSS textbook that an "*encomienda*" consisted of "a group of Indigenous people that **was given to a Spaniard to be used** as labour" (HGeoSS 5, 2019, p. 146. My emphasis). In this way, they learn to normalize the idea that Indigenous people were considered objects.[28] Unsurprisingly, children do not learn that the Spaniard's permanence in the so-called Americas depended (and still does) on Indigenous peoples' knowledge and in the dispossession, genocide, enslavement, and dominion of them. Sundberg et al. (2020) put it this way: "in dualist relations, the superior category denies its relation with and dependency on the inferiorized one" (p. 315).

The inferiorization and objectivization of nature and some humans as "Other" imply that the nature-culture divide is not a neutral division, but rather based on the constant construction of hierarchies. As such, it works as a "a technology of power" (Sundberg et al., 2020, p. 315). Accordingly, it is not surprising that textbooks conceptualize nature as a "resource for human's exploitation, extraction, and transformation" (see HGeoSS 4, 2017). This narrative assumes that certain, supposedly superior humans possess the power to *dominate* and *own* nature, as well as those humans who are deemed to be closely associated or aligned with nature.[29]

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[28] An illustrative example of how this relationship is being updated is explored in "Textbook Analysis II." There, I show how the observed school materials require students to investigate about indigenous peoples rather than with them. Furthermore, there are examples where Indigenous knowledges are presented as mere mythology or believes while Western knowledge is considered true and real knowledge.

[29] *I will expand on domination in the following section.

Various textbooks refer to the harm that "humans" have done to nature, without specifying what humans. Here, humans are portrayed as being *against* nature. Thus, one of the solutions is to deepen the separation between humans and nature by creating "protected areas" to "prevent nature from being altered by human activity" (NatS 4, 2017, p.101). This trope makes it very hard for students to build relationships with/and as part of nature, and very hard to understand that "other" people live with those relations.

From a decolonial lens, it is crucial to notice that textbooks depict and naturalize humans as damaging nature without acknowledging that there are diverse ways of being human. By referring to the harm that "humans" have done to nature, textbooks make impossible to recognize uneven complicity among different peoples in accelerating climate change and provoking ecological destruction. Textbooks do not consider that **not** all humans based their habit of being and ways of relating in their separation from nature and in it domination. Such is the case of many Indigenous nations whose ways of being and relating are rooted in their relatedness to all (see, Whitt, L., & Wade Chambers, D., 2016) and as a way of enacting respect and consent (Whyte, K., 2020). Furthermore, not all humans see nature as a resource available for their exploitation (see Whyte, 2018a). In this sense, textbooks make invisible the unequal responsibility among different peoples in creating climate change and ecological destruction.

From many Indigenous perspectives, the separation of culture (humans) from nature is particular of a specific culture and dissonates with the notion of "being-of-the-world" (see Higgins, M. & Madden, B., 2018), which is more common in Indigenous ontologies. In this regard, it is worth asking if the separation between nature and culture (between object and subject) present in textbooks can possibly foster ethical encounters with other ways of being and relating (e.g., Indigenous ways of relating), or other ways of relating to other-than-human beings.

5.2   Line of Inquiry II: Domination (and Denial) as a Way of Knowing

Natural Sciences (NatS) and *History, Geography, and Social Sciences* (HGeoSS) textbooks foster among learners a way of knowing based on *domination*. These school materials steer this way of knowing through various exercises. The students are required to position themselves in a controlling role regarding their "others," including both humans and other-than-human beings. While being invited by the textbook to perform the role of the researcher, the planner, the settler, and the explorer, the children learn to occupy influential positions, likely without noticing the implication of those positions. In what follows, I present the most repetitive and relevant ways in which these textbooks make possible domination as a way of knowing. Also, I analyze how textbook make unnoticed the colonial violence carried by this way of knowing which materializes in the power positions students are meant to enact (e.g., being subject of scientific, historical or anthropological inquiry).

5.2.1   Presentation

Grade 5 students open their textbook of NatS in unit 1 to learn about water. They read descriptive and conceptual definitions of rivers, lakes, lagoons, oceans, glaciers, and underground water (see NatS 5, 2019, pp. 20-21). The textbook positions geographical explanations as sufficient to understand the origins and formation of rivers, lakes and other "water sources," as the book calls them (Idem, p. 20) –**they learn to build knowledge *about* nature**. After a few pages, grade 5 students can read an invitation to make "connections" with Indigenous knowledge.

   In the offered "connection with Indigenous knowledge," students can read a Ttreng-Treng and Kai-Kai Filu story short version. This story forms part of the oral tradition of the Mapuche people. It narrates their origins as a people-nation, their relations with other beings on the Earth,

their connection with the spiritual world, and how this manifest through Earth. Rather than offering this story as a source of knowledge, the textbook refers to it as mere myth and retells it as follows:

> According to the mythology of the Mapuche people, Kai Kai is the serpent who owns the waters, that is, the ocean, lakes and rivers. One day Kai Kai faced the snake that owns the land, Treng Treng. In the battle of these two titans, the serpent of the waters wanted to drown all the creatures that inhabited the Earth by means of a strong movement of its tail. To repel the attack of it oponent, Treng Treng stooped, raised the height of the hills, and invited humans to climb to the top to save themselves.
>
> However, Kai Kai made the waters rise higher, so the earth snake must have raised the hills so much that it brought people closer to the sun, a fact that made their skin darken. Finally, Treng Treng was able to detach a large number of rocks, crushing Kai Kai and saving the human being of the flood (NatS 5, 2019, p. 25).

After reading this "Mapuche myth," the students are invited to form groups to "research the mythology of another indigenous people, one related to water" (Idem) --**they are required to enact the active role of the researcher to learn *about* Indigenous people**. Grade 4 students are also invited to embody this subjectivity. Interestingly, their NatS textbook also asks them to conduct research "about" Indigenous people. The idea is that grade 4 children get to know "the vision that the original people of Chile have regarding a natural phenomenon" (NatS 4, 2018, p. 234). Their textbook invites them to follow three steps. 1) "Choose an original people from Chile;" 2) "Identify their beliefs and values, including their respect for the Earth, plants and animals;" 3) "Choose a legend or myth related to a natural phenomenon that reflects the vision of this people" (Idem). Grade 3 NatS textbook offers a very similar proposition. It requires that students "investigate the vision of the universe in the Aymara and Rapa Nui Indigenous cultures"

(2020:40). Before, they have read a short text titled: "The original peoples in Chile *also* have their own ideas about the universe" (Idem, my emphasis and literal translation), which gives a succinct explanation of the Mapuche and Selk'nam visions of the universe. Although this proposition tends to validate Indigenous understandings of the universe and proves to be inclusive under mainstream notions, the textbook fails to ethically engage with Indigenous knowledge by using the word "also." This simple word (*also*) influences the meaning of this sentence to the point that it is possible to infer textbook validates a vision that assumes Indigenous people do not possess any relevant understanding. Thus, the inclusion of Indigenous "ideas about the universe" is contradicted by the word *also*. By using this word, it is presumable that Indigenous knowledge about the universe is an exception to their lack of understanding.

In grade 5, students are not only invited to embody the research subject as a way of knowing but also that of the planner. Their HGeoSS textbook invites them to "design a new country." (HGeoSS 5, 2019, p. 188). This invitation is part of unit 4, which is about their rights and their duties as citizens of a democratic nation. In unit 3, they had read about the "European expansion" and the great qualities of the Renaissance man, the fantastic advancements in navigation, science, and economy (see HGeoSS 5, 2019, pp. 68-69). As a way to achieve knowledge about how a nation-state works, the textbook proposes:

> we invite you to imagine that a new territory has been discovered with the perfect conditions for
> human life. Up to now, no one has lived there, so the place lacks laws and history. Your course
> will settle in this newly discovered land forming a new country of which all will be citizens. So, it
> is urgent to organize a new society! (HGeoSS 5, 2019, p. 188).

This activity requires that students apply the knowledge they have gained ***about*** the nation-state and also, although not explicitly, about colonization. **Students are invited to see**

themselves as those in the position of exploration, conquest and domination, and to

assume that they are exceptional agents of history and that they therefore have an

entitlement to impose their will on other-than-human beings, who are presumed to be

passive and inert. In another activity of the same textbook, the students are explicitly

required to take the position of the conqueror-explorer, without considering the complicity

of that position in violence. Grade 5 HGeoSS textbook asks the students to: "imagine that

you are a crew member on an expedition of exploration. Write an account of a day of travel,

tell who you are, what is your role in the trip, the activities you do, and the problems you

face" (2019, p. 77). This activity is associated with "the division of the world" that happened

"in 1493 when Columbus had returned to Europe." The textbook specifies that at that time,

"a dispute began between Spain and Portugal for the rights to the new territories" (Idem).

5.2.2 Content Analysis

There are various ways to construct a way of knowing based on *domination* that the analyzed

textbooks use. One frames students as neutral, objective researchers of scientific, historical, or

geographical inquiry –as if they were invisible observers. This positioning naturalizes the

subject-object relation (Quijano, 2007) –already described in the previous line of inquiry.

Researchers (students) are the subjects of inquiry while, as shown in NatS 3, 4 and 5 and in

HGeoSS 4, Indigenous peoples and their knowledge take the position of being objects for

student's knowledge production. In this sense, the students learn "about" Indigenous peoples'

knowledge rather than "being taught by" them (see Biesta, 2019). The subject-object relationship

is limited to Western rational thought (Quijano, 2007). As such, knowledge becomes a matter of

facts and data, something that can be individually owned. Quijano proposes that the supposed

difference between subject and object is an "arbitrary exaggeration" and explains that "current research rather leads to the discovery that there exists a deeper communication structure in the universe" (2007, p. 172). In some ways, Western rational knowledge is in crisis and it has been contested. Yet, this knowledge remains at the core of the Chilean educational system, as seen in the observed textbooks.

From a decolonial lens, the way of knowing available in the textbook is problematic. This can be explained drawing from Quijano (2007) because Western rational knowledge produces othering. After introducing the conception of rational knowledge as property –"as a relation between one individual and something else" – Quijano explicates that rational knowledge as property entails individualism as a component of the relationship between subject-object (p. 173). He also states that in rational thought "the 'other' is totally absent, or is present, can be present, only in an 'objectivised' mode" (Quijano, 2007, p. 173). This component of Western rational thought can explain why Indigenous knowledge is presented in grade 3, 4 and 5 *Natural Sciences* textbooks as "myths," and "legends" rather than legitimate, valuable, and truthful knowledge.

Western rational knowledge can be related to what Sousa Santos (2007) names "abyssal modern thought." He explains that such a way of knowing requires making radical distinctions based on hierarchization. The metaphor of the abyss that Santos (2007) offers is helpful to understand the mechanism of rational knowledge that allows envisioning Indigenous knowledge as mere "myth" or "legend" in the analyzed textbooks. Santos (2007) explains that there is an abyssal line that separates what is considered truth from what cannot be viewed as such: "On the other side of the line there is no real knowledge; there are beliefs, opinions, intuitive or subjective understandings, which, at the most, may become objects or raw materials of scientific

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inquiry" (p. 47). Santos' explanation of what is "on the other side of the line" resonates with those exercises that require the children to "research about" Indigenous "myths" and "legends." By classifying Indigenous knowledge in the realm of mythology, the textbook neglects the validity and relevance of their ways of knowing and being. This is also evident in phrases such as: "the original peoples in Chile *also* have their own ideas about…" (NatS 3, 2018, p. 40). In this phrase, the word *also* makes the point that exceptionally, in some cases Indigenous people also have ideas. But their ideas are not considered relevant enough to be part of a timeline showing "how the knowledge of the universe has evolved" (see NatS 3, p. 38 in subchapter 5.5). The textbook cannot see Indigenous knowledges, even as tries to be inclusive. Santos explains:

> the visible line that separates science from its modern others is grounded on the abyssal invisible line that separates science, philosophy, and theology, on one side, from, on the other, knowledges rendered incommensurable and incomprehensible for meeting neither the scientific methods of truth nor their acknowledged contesters in the realm of philosophy and theology" (2007, p. 47).

Thus, Indigenous knowledges are inconceivable because they do not meet the methods validated by modern Western science, philosophy, or theology. When textbooks include what is "on the other side of the line" (such as Indigenous knowledge), they offer stories as Treng-Treng and Kai-Kai Filu as mere myths –something to know about but never a source for learning essential knowledge, and never as an equally legitimate way of understanding and engaging the world.

Another relevant aspect that is also visible throughout the abyss metaphor is that Western rational knowledge (scientific, philosophical and theological to a lesser extent) makes "invisible the abyssal line upon which they are grounded. The intensely visible distinctions structuring

social reality on this side of the line are grounded on the invisibility of the distinction between this side of the line and the other side of the line" (Santos, 2007, p. 47).

When children are encouraged to embody a researcher who takes Indigenous knowledge as their object of inquiry (see grade 3, 4 and 5 textbooks of NatS), they learn to embrace the attitude of domination and produce knowledge from there. Thus, they learn to believe they are objective, and neutral observers with a 'god's eye view.' Following Santos' metaphor of the abyss, the students learn to position themselves "on this side of the line," a space from where the "other side of the abyss" is taken as not capable of producing real knowledge. This same attitude is explicitly formed when children are invited to plan a city. In the following, I analyze one activity that grade 5 children are meant to complete in their HGeoSS textbook. From a decolonial point of view, the continuity between this activity and colonial patterns is evident.

The aforementioned activity proposes "to imagine that a new territory has been discovered with the perfect conditions for human life" (HGeoSS 5, 2019, p.188). The indirect allusion to the history of the colonization of the so-called Americas here is undeniable. The assumption of this activity correlates with the colonization of the sixteenth century: there are places to discover, ergo, there are empty spaces to occupy. The textbook continues. "Up to now, no one has lived there, so the place lacks laws and history" (Idem). From a decolonial perspective, one can assume that this phrase alludes to the "diffusionist myth of emptiness" described by J.M. Blaut (see Maldonado-Torres, 2004). Such a conception of space in the activity neglects the possibility to interact and establish relationships with other beings in the "new territory." It overlooks the intellectual capacity of those beings– "the place lacks laws and history" (see HGeoSS 5, 2019, p. 188). Finally, the students are invited to dominate and use their own intellect to form a "new

society." The textbook says: "Your course will settle in this newly discovered land forming a new country of which all will be citizens. So, it is urgent to organize a new society!" (Idem).

This activity teaches a colonial pattern of occupation, one meant to persist in the years to come. It takes for granted that colonization is something to be proud of, which was overall good and necessary, even "urgent" (see Line of Inquiry III). I wonder how this activity could be different if students imagine arriving at an inhabited place with its own histories and laws. I wonder how the children would react to this activity if the focus were on the wrongs and harms of colonization and in the need to build ethical relationships while embodying the attitude of being guests. The following Line of Inquiry addresses the discourses of colonization and the State as benevolent and rightful without opening the possibility to ponder the wrongs of colonization.

5.3   Line of Inquiry III: Discourse as a Way of not Saying

Children are exposed to diverse discourses in their textbooks. However, many of them mask violent practices that affect Indigenous people while contradicting what the discourses propose in the first place. In this sense, these discourses reproduce a colonial pattern that perpetuates colonial harms and makes possible the denial of complicity in that harm. Or, better stated, they respond to colonial patterns because they veil the required violence to advance their position. In so doing, words become elusive of reality (see Rivera-Cusicanqui, 2010), and colonial violence persists as a sanctioned practice. In what follows, I present three discourses that mobilize such a colonial pattern, which are present both in *Natural Sciences* textbooks –from here NatS—and in those of *History, Geography, and Social Sciences* -- from here HGeoSS. Some discourses may

challenge this colonial pattern of turning speech into a way of not saying; however, they end up reproducing it, as I explain in the analysis of this telling case.

5.3.1 Presentation

One discourse the children encounter in their textbooks of both areas is colonization as a glorious, rightful, necessary, and justifiable project for humankind. Colonization in the textbooks has assured and will assure human development and future –here, as further expanded in Line of Inquiry XI; humanity appears as a homogenous group. This discourse conflates with scientific projections of the future in NatS textbooks, where the positive effects of colonization and Western science act as adjacent discourses. One example is in the grade 3 NatS textbook. Here, the children can read: "scientists from NASA confirmed the presence of liquid water on the surface of the red planet, which could mean great chances of successful colonization and permanency of humans on Mars" (NatS 3, 2019, p. 36). **The children learn that through science, colonization of other planets will be possible and needed for "humanity's future." They learn this without pondering the wrongs colonization has cost to Earth and its beings nor to the cost it could imply to the beings leaving in those planets. This teaching presumes that the guaranteed future is that of Western people.**

NatS textbooks also refer to colonization as a highly positive past event –never ongoing. In its unit 1, Grade 5 textbook extol the technological advancements during the Enlightenment and the "development of civilization" it made possible: "Thanks to the navigation of the oceans, from the 15th century there were great geographical discoveries, among which the discovery of America stands out. Since that period, navigation played a fundamental role in the development of civilization" (p. 46). **With this, the children learn to ignore the connection between the**

Enlightenment and the required violence to position one civilization over the many already existing in Abya Yala and neglect the fact that "America" was only new to Europeans. In fact, it is implied here that it is only European cultures that qualify as "civilizations."

In HGeoSS textbooks, it is possible to find the same discourses about colonization, with some exceptions that I will analyze in the next section. These school materials justify and value colonization when referring to the Spanish invasion of Abya Yala and the Chilean colonization of Wallmapu[30] and the territories south of this[31]." HGeoSS 2 textbook represents the greatness of the "discovery" through the painting "*Primer Homenaje a Colón,*" which translates as "First Tribute to Columbus" by José Garnelo Alda (1866-1945)[32]

The Grade 2 HGeoSS textbook describes this painting as one that represents "The first encounter of Christopher Columbus with the original peoples of Guanahani Island (October 12, 1542)" (HGeoSS 2, 2019: 99). It does not mention that it was painted centuries after Columbus first travelling to Abya Yala by José Carnelo Alda to "commemorate the IV Century from the discovery [of the Americas]"[33] (Centro Virtual Cervantes, Jun. 18, 2021). **The children learn to disregard that historical source (like this painting) speak more about the time of its production and the persons who produced it (the artist, the institution that financed it)**

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[30] *Wallmapu* is the modern territory of the Mapuche people

[31] It is worth mentioning that the Chilean colonization was recently added to the school curriculum as such, before it was referred as the "pacification of the Araucanía". Pacification –*pacificación*– is the colonial term the Chilean state used to advance its colonial mission in the Mapuche country[31]. Araucanía is the Chilean word to name part of the Mapuche territory.

[32] You can view this painting here: https://cvc.cervantes.es/actcult/museo_naval/sala1/personajes/personaje_03.htm

[33] *The Museo Naval de Madrid,* which is the space where this painting is located, accompanies this piece of art with the following text "The Discovery of the New World is by far the most significant event of the reign of the Catholic Kings. And not only of significance for Spain, since it meant a total change in the future trajectory of the peoples of the peninsula, but also, naturally, for the countries that currently form Latin America."

than of the time it alleged to represent. Thus, they learn a discourse of colonization as a heroic and rightful mission; one welcomed and reverenced by Indigenous people. Unit 2 of grade 5 textbook of HGeoSS also shows this image. There, it appears as a source to describe Christopher Columbus's character (see p. 99). Following the discourse of colonialism as a success and a rightful process, European explorers and conquerors appear as benevolent heroes not only on images but also in texts:

> We know the character of the Renaissance individual: independent, free, personal; creator of the spirit of enterprise, of the heroic and glorious adventure, and of the great captain in the classic style. He accepts the danger for the fame, the renown and the financial gain that can bring him. His selfishness and cruelty run parallel to his fearlessness and determination. Eager for knowledge, he does not find a sufficient obstacle to deprive him of achieving his goals. The great discoverers of the 15th and 16th centuries were carved in such wood (HGeoSS 5, 2019, p. 68).

The children learn the discourse of Europeans as superior (worthy of reverence), ignoring the devastation they brought with their ambition of conquest and overlooking their misery after many months of travelling in unsanitary conditions.

Textbooks exalt the effects of colonization as the configuration of a new world order, one that brought unity and prosperity to the world:

> Now [with the "discovery of the Americas"], a new world is created: techniques circulate quickly; products and diverse types of food spread all over the world. Everywhere, landscapes change: Catholic churches replaced the temples of Amerindian religions. Exchanges of techniques, cultures, civilizations, artistic forms: the wheel enters the New World. A vast world economy stretches its threads around the globe: the path of the coins of the Spanish Empire minted in the American mints becomes longer and longer and, after the transatlantic voyage,

they arrive in small or large stages to the Far East, to be exchanged for spices, silks, porcelains, pearls". (Romano, Ruggerio and Tenenti, Alberto in HGeoSS 5, 2019, p. 96)

While children learn that European conquerors were heroes that made possible an interconnected world, they learn to ignore their cruelty, which is "countered" by their alleged "extraordinary achievements" and determination. In this quote, the neutrality of the idea that "Catholic churches replaced the temples of Amerindian religions" hides relevant historical facts. It is well known that the Catholic evangelization was not a natural change as the textbook describes, but a violent one. The fact is that the Catholic Church violently imposed its faith and its temples to erase the spiritual practices, sacred places, religions and the right to land of the indigenous people. This textbook continues: "the encounter with all the American foods produced an enrichment of world cuisines" (HGeoSS 5, 2019, p. 102). Of course, the textbook omits that all these foods and wealth were only known by Europeans due to the knowledge of Indigenous cultures in the territories they claim to have discovered.   Thus, in these quotes European peoples are given credit for appropriating and trading Eastern spices, and Indigenous American foods, while those who have produced them and cultivated for centuries are framed at best as passive actors, if not invisibilized entirely.

Children have to wait until they are in Grade 6 to learn about the Chilean colonization of *Wallmapu* and the Austral territories. In their textbook, the Chilean colonization through German, Croat, and Latvian immigration, among others, is frequently justified by economic and modernization purposes:

During the 19th century, the United State's elite admired the development achieved by Europe. In this way, the State of Chile sought European immigrants to live in the Southern territories of

the country [in Mapuche lands], supposing that they would contribute to the material and intellectual progress of the nation (HGeoSS 6, 2019, p. 100).

After this introduction, the text quotes as a primary source a column by Ignacio Domeyko, who was a settler of Polish descent that was recognized for his "contributions" in the mining sector:[34]

The main objective of the colonization in Chile, through foreign immigration, cannot be the numerical increase of the population, but practical education, the moral correction of the people, the introduction of order, the spirit of economy, the love of work, of agricultural techniques adapted to the soil of the southern provinces (HGeoSS 6, 2019, p. 100).

The children learn that European settlers brought development to the territories without learning that the cost of this "development" was displacement, genocidal campaigns and massive deforestation and extraction (thus, ecological destruction). No question is offered to critically question Domeyko's thinking or that of other European settlers of his time. The book does not offer an exercise that allows them to position themselves in this sociopolitical scenario, nor does it offer an exercise to weigh their complicity with the history of colonization.

Another discourse that veils colonial imperialism and its violence proposes the State of Chile as a benevolent protector. For instance, one willing to preserve nature. Nature conservation through national parks and reserves is presented as the most suitable way to protect nature (see NatS 3, 2019, p. 178). Children in every elementary school grade can read in their textbooks of NatS that humans have damaged nature –humans are again presented as a homogenous group.

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[34] The Web Site *Memoria Chilena* (Jun, 18, 2021) referes to Domeyko's biography as follows: "Ignacio Domeyko was born in Poland in 1802. Some time later, during an exile in France, in 1838, he was hired by the Chilean Government to work as a professor of chemistry and mineralogy at the Coquimbo high school, with the purpose of promoting mining development through the incorporation of technology and scientific knowledge. His contribution to the progress of Chilean mining are worthy of award."

For instance, Grade 2 textbook attributes the problem of endangered species and those at risk of extinction to "humans' activities" such as hunting and deforestation (see NatS 2, 2018, pp. 76-77). Grade 4 textbook presents the same problem. "There are many plants and animals that are at risk of extinction as a result of these human activities" (NatS 4, 2018, p. 99). [35] As a solution, a grade 4 textbook introduces nature conservation: "the creation of natural protected areas, such as National Parks and Natural Reserves, allows for the protection of ecosystems and prevents them from being altered by human activity" (p.101). **Children learn that creating national enclosed parks is a necessary solution for restoring the ecological imbalance without seeing that National Parks and Natural Reserves have excluded and dispossessed the Indigenous people and native mammals that helped to make that nature possible in the first place (see Whyte, 2018a; Kojola & Pellow, 2021)**.

In a similar vein, textbooks present the state of Chile as a protector willing to preserve "cultural and natural heritage" as totally unrelated to colonial patterns of genocide and dispossession. Archeological sites, museums and state institutions are presented as those in charge of protecting the heritage. The state museums are portrayed as the ideal places to keep cultural objects and memory traces of Indigenous nations. For instance, a HGeoSS Grade 2 textbook introduces the "Chilean Museum of Pre-Columbian Art in Santiago" (which is a private institution) and says that it preserves and "exposes the legacy of the original peoples of Chile and America" (HGeoSS 2, 2019, p.157). This textbook does not offer any question to problematize how these museums (which are normed and controlled by non-Indigenous nations) allege

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[35] These "human's activities" are: "indiscriminate felling", "indiscriminate hunt", "overexplotation," and "the introduction of exotic species." Grade 6 textbook presents exactly the same reasons to explain the ecological damage: humans (NatS 4, 2018, p. 96).

ownership and promote consumption of these Indigenous materials. Moreover, by saying "the original peoples of Chile" they allege ownership over Indigenous peoples themselves. In what concerns "Chile's natural heritage," state institutions such as CONAF[36] are introduced as those that "take care of the natural heritage of Chile" (see HGeoSS 2, 2019, p. 158). Thus, museums and state institutions such as CONAF appear as neutral and benevolent organizations. **The children learn that these institutions are doing what is needed in order to safeguard nature and culture without being introduced to the complicities of such institutions in advancing the colonial harms that have devastated wildlife and Indigenous nations and their culture in the first place**.

Under a similar concern, textbooks introduce the discourse of sustainable development as a paramount solution to a harmed nature. HGeoSS 5 unit 1 is about "Natural resources of the Chilean territory and sustainable development" (2019, p. 26). Here, the textbook introduces sustainable development as follows:

> The activities of extraction and transformation of natural resources have consequences on the environment. It is important to bear in mind that intensive and uncontrolled exploitation can lead to the depletion or disappearance of resources. To counteract this possibility, people, companies and states must commit to sustainable development (2019, p.36).

The children learn that a joint commitment to sustainable development is the solution to the ecological crisis. This learning, as I delve into in the following section, is based on persistent investments in "modern-colonial modes of existence" and the denial of its required harms (Stein et al., 2020).

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[36] CONAF is the National Forest Corporation

Finally, I want to introduce the discourse of Chileans sharing a common *mestizo* identity. This discourse masks the fact that not all Chileans have a family memory that connects them[37] to an Indigenous ancestry. Grade 2 textbook of HGeoSS dedicates unit 3 to describe the heritage of Chileans:

> In this unit, you will distinguish the contributions the Chilean society has received from the original peoples of America, the Spanish and from the immigrant communities that arrived in the country. All these contributions have allowed the Chilean culture to be diverse (HGeoSS 2, 2019, p. 92).

These "contributions" are introduced as what Chileans have "inherited" from Indigenous and Europeans. In what concerns Indigenous people, the textbook refers to language: "Our [Chilean] language has many words inherited from indigenous languages" (HGeoSS 2, 2019, p. 78). The textbook also transmits the idea that "We [Chileans] inherit from the native peoples the 'Good Living,' which allows us to live in harmony with our environment" (HGeoSS 2, 2019, p. 67). **This statement is paradoxical, given that the same textbook communicates the idea that nature has been tremendously damaged by "humans." Further, children learn to overlook that Chile has limited the 'Good Living' of Indigenous people by exploiting nature.**

Grade 4 HGeoSS textbook dedicates unit 4 to describe the heritage Chileans have received from Indigenous people and refer to Indigenous nations that are very far from the lands that Chile occupies in the present[38].

> The Mayan, Aztec [Mexica], and Inca civilizations and the other original peoples have left us a diverse cultural legacy, which is manifested in knowledge such as astronomy and medicine and in

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[37] Myself being included here.
[38] Quechua (Incas) are in part of the territory tha Chile occupies now but the Maxica and Maya people are very far in the north.

aspects such as language, crafts, music, food, and religion. All this cultural contribution has been

maintained, evolved and spread over time, enriching the culture of the American peoples

(HGeoSS 4, 2017, p. 204).

Chilean children learn to self-identify with Indigenous people without being aware of their

family roots. They understand that they are in part Indigenous without realizing the

complicity that Chile has to the detriment of Indigenous lands and the various land and

spiritual dispossession processes. Textbooks do not introduce cultural appropriation; thus,

the discourse of Chilean Indigenous heritage hides Chilean cultural appropriation of

Indigenous knowledge and heritage.

5.3.2   Content Analysis

The discourse of colonization as a rightful process with positive outcomes for all humans

correlates with that of the Chilean State as a protector of nature, the people, and Chile's natural

and cultural heritage. The idea that a post-colonial era started with the independence from the

Spanish Empire in Abya Yala has been contested. Rivera-Cusicanqui (2010) refers to the work

of Gonzales-Casanova to speak the ways colonialism has persisted internally in the new nation-

states. Without the need for a distant metropolis, the cities of the nascent states took their

position in controlling the annexed territories and their "resources." Following this line, the

Chilean State constitutes a colonial state; thus, colonization and the Chilean state formation are

part of the same process – that is, European expansionism. In what follows, I analyze how the

two discourses above turn out to be elusive of reality. In other words, I examine the ways

colonization and state formation camouflage its willingness to control and exploit Indigenous

lands and people under a discourse that positions colonization and the Chilean State as protectors of that land, its people, their culture, and promoters of their progress.

As previously presented, the discourse of colonization as a positive enterprise for all humans is spread within the observed textbooks. The main reason why this discourse masks the harm of colonization is that it erases the possibility of being plural while it oversees ontological, epistemological, and axiological differences among diverse human nations –as further expanded in Line of Inquiry XI. Thus, it veils that while colonization could be beneficial for some humans (e.g. European, European colonizers and settlers, Chilean settlers), it has been harmful to many more (e.g. Indigenous nations of Abya Yala, Turtle Island, and Alkebulan). As the perspectives of those who have benefited from colonization are dominant and universalized (see Line of Inquiry XI), and it is from that perspective that textbooks are written, western societies still celebrate colonization. They have not condemned colonization's harms. Thus, colonization has a projection in the future. Scientific discourses of possible colonization of other planets are examples of this future projection (see NatS 3 and HGeoSS 5 textbooks).

A clear example to show that colonial harms have not been condemned is in HGeoSS 6. This source shows very clearly how colonialism is rather celebrated. This material asks the children to discern whether colonization has been good or bad. Activity 4 requires them to "write a speech in which you [they] justify or reject the occupation of Araucanía [Mapuche territory] and the colonization of the Austral territories [Selk'nam lands]" (HGeoSS 6, 2019, p. 113). This exercise, which could be judged as a neutral one oriented toward training the ability to position oneself, is far from impartial. It assumes children should learn to justify genocide, which the textbook elusively relates to the colonization of the Selk'nam nation. It also suggests that justification of genocide and rejection of genocide are equally valid positions. Unsurprisingly, it

is easier to write a public speech using the data presented in the textbook that supports the Chilean colonization (and the genocide) than writing one against it. There is more information about the "reasons that justified" colonization than reasons to reject it.

Textbooks position colonization as a positive process. One that made possible the interconnection of the world (see HGeoSS 5 and 6), and brought prosperity (See HGeoSS 5), civilization (See NatS 5; HGeoSS5 and 6), and progress (see HGeoSS 4, 5, and 6). Some counter discourses may challenge this tendency. The grade 6 textbook of HGeoSS explicitly mentions the harms advanced by colonization to the diverse people who form Abya Yala and the land they are part of. Presenting the interconnection between the Chilean colonization and the wounds it advanced (and advances) in Mapuche (Southern Territories) and Selk'nam (Austral Territories) territories could challenge the tendency to veil these harms. However, the fragment that introduces the Chilean and European settlers' genocidal campaigns against the Selk'nam nation is somehow elusive of this claim. As I explain next, the inclusion of this fragment still veils harmful colonial practices.

The textbook presents the "Selk'nam genocide" as a "negative consequence of the possession of the Austral territories [by the emerging Chilean republic]" (p. 105) –a possession that is justified for economic and geopolitical reasons on the same page of the textbook. By framing genocide as a "negative consequence," the text contradicts itself. Genocide is the "deliberate killing of a large number of people from a particular nation or ethnic group with the aim of destroying that nation or group" (Oxford Reference, June 18, 2021). Genocide is not an unpredicted effect, as the textbook claims (HGeoSS 6, 2019, p. 105). By choosing the word "consequences," this textbook allows the interpretation that "Selk'nam genocide" unexpectedly resulted from European and Chilean settlement. This narrative vails the active role of the nascent

Chilean State and the new settlers to enact the extermination of the Selk'nam nation in the

Austral territories (see Alonso-Marchante, 2019, p. 2014). Furthermore, the textbook offers a

narrative that justifies the massive killings and holds Selk'nam people responsible for their

"disappearance."

Drawing from Casall, R. (2008), grade 6 textbook of HGeoSS explains that the

"colonization of the Austral Territories caused Selk'nam people's disappearance" (HGeoSS 6,

2019, p. 113). This textbook clarifies that "Sheep farming was the main cause of the

disappearance of the Selk'nam people" (Idem). Presenting genocide as "disappearance" removes

responsibility from Chile in enacting such genocide (see Alonso-Marchante, 2019; 2014). This

textbook clarifies that with the arrival of sheep farming, "the displacement of the guanaco, the

basic resource of the Selk'nam, (...), had implied a shortage of food and raw materials and that

the Indigenous people were captured and killed for trying to use sheep as a new food" (HGeoSS

6, 2019, p. 113). By adapting Casall's article and using it as a source to explain the

"disappearance" of the Selk'nam, this textbook reproduces a colonial pattern that veils the

atrocities advanced by Chilean and European settlers in the Austral Territories. The book does

not offer any questions or comments to invite questioning how killing a person for hunting a

sheep from the land they are part of exceeds any ethical protocol. Grade 6 Chilean children

cannot learn that their possibility of being Chilean and occupying Mapuche and Selk'nam

territories rests on genocide and other colonial harms.

The use of *discourse as a way of not saying* allows the non-recognition of the wrongs of

colonization –then, the requirements to keep reproducing them are established. Not learning the

connectedness between our modern way of being and past and present colonial injustices and

atrocities allows colonial "moves to innocence," which alleviates complicity in colonial harms

and impacts by evading or erasing it (see Tuck and Young, 2012). An elusive understanding of Chilean colonization complicity with genocide and other colonial wounds is then available.

All NatS textbooks present the planetary ecological damage as a disaster that involves all human beings in the same proportion. This idea is problematic because it disregards a series of facts. It ignores some Indigenous peoples' principle of seven generations (see Bouvier, R., et al., 2016) or analogous ones that recommend taking care of all life to assure good conditions for generations to come. It overlooks that forests in Indigenous territories (under their governance) are healthier than those inhabited by "*mestizo*" people in Latin America (see FAO & FILC, 2021). It disregards the specific impact of colonization on wildlife (see Torrejón F., et al., 2004; Whyte, K., 2018b) and environmental pollution in the so-called Americas (Wade, L., 2015; Residuos-Profesional, 2015). Thus, despite the idea presented in the textbooks that all humans share the same responsibility in planetary ecological damage, complicity in ecological harm is unevenly distributed, with western nations and peoples having the greatest responsibility for the harm done. There is in Grade 6 textbook of HGeoSS one excerpt that may challenge this discourse. However, as I explain in what follows, the colonial pattern persists even when information that challenges this pattern is included.

The children can read about the ecological damage currently and previously advanced by the Chilean State in this textbook. This source exposes the Colonization Act of Chile, which allowed the advancement of the nascent State on Mapuche, Kaweskar, Selk´nam, Yámana, among other´s land. It explains that this Act aimed to facilitate the process of European settlement by promising land[39] and resources: "to convince Europeans to immigrate to Chile, the state undertook not only

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[39] Here, the textbook does not clarify that the land Chile promised to the new settlers was Mapuche.

to hand over land but also to provide the necessary inputs so they could develop their activities"

(HGeoSS 6, 2019, p. 101). The textbook also explains that "the German colonial era was not

only a contribution to the development of agriculture and livestock but also allowed the

development of industries, the practice of trades and the exercise of various professions" (Idem).

After presenting this information and explanation, this textbook describes the link between

colonization and the environmental crisis we are facing now by quoting the work of Muñoz, H

(2018), who presents this correlation as "an unknown event:"

> An unrecognized event of the colonization of southern Chile, by European emigration in the mid-
> nineteenth century (...), was the preparation of the land they would occupy. The burning of large
> areas of virgin forest; erased old forests destroying flora and fauna of the region in their wake,
> opening large areas of land in which the newcomers could settle (HGeoSS 6, 2019, p. 101).

This quote is presented with the following words: "from a current perspective, to make the

colonization of the Southern Zone of Chile effective, part of the country's natural heritage had to

be sacrificed" (HGeoSS 6, 2019, p. 101). Even when Muñoz' quote allows the children to see the

connection between state-formation, colonialism and progress with that of ecological disaster,

the idea of the devastation of the forest as a "necessary sacrifice" reinforces the discourse of

colonization as a rightful process with positive outcomes for all humans. Somehow, forest

destruction was needed in order to progress. This narrative echoes Whyte's (2018b) reflections

on settler colonialism:

> Settlers create moralizing narratives about why it is (or was) necessary to destroy other peoples (e.g.,
> military or cultural inferiority), or they take great pains to forget or cover up the inevitable militancy
> and brutality of settlement. Settlement is deeply harmful and risk-laden for Indigenous peoples

because settlers are literally seeking to erase Indigenous economies, cultures, and political organizations for the sake of establishing their own (Whyte, K., 2018b, p. 135).

Through such narratives, it is possible for the discourse of textbooks to portray the *Chilean State as a protector of nature, the people, and Chile's natural and cultural heritage.*

Textbooks introduce some public institutions as those that translate such discourse into action. A repetitive example among the texts is Conaf, and the National Parks and Natural Reserves it administers. Textbooks refer to "fortress nature" (e.g., enclosed protected areas, national parks) (see Siurura, 2006) as the best way to prevent humans from damaging wildlife. From many Indigenous perspectives, this discourse ignores that certain humans' activities are positive and even necessary for keeping healthy environments (see "Skywoman Falling" in Kimmerer, R., 2013). It also serves to mask and justify Indigenous peoples' dispossession from their motherlands. Another discourse that the textbooks mobilize to portray the State of Chile as a protector of nature is that of "sustainable development," which is presented as the capstone to keep the economy growing while taking care of nature.

Grade 5 HGeoSS textbook presents the question, "in what way can we exploit natural resources while taking care of the environment?" (HGeoSS 5, 2019, p. 52). The proposed answer is "sustainable development," which is addressed as those technological and scientific creations that will keep business as usual:

> Innovation is an essential need for our development. There is no way to grow in a sustainable way without being based on innovation and on the creation and incorporation of new knowledge into the work of the country. Innovation is a means to expand productivity, possibilities, and solutions to achieve a different and better development than the one we have today (HGeoSS 5, 2019, p. 53).

This text[40] promotes techno-sciences as those leading a "solution" to ecological and climate disasters, current and those to come. The discourses of green development and sustainable development veil their own limitations and contradictions while being promoted as the solution we all need (See Hickel, J. 2019a; 2019b). As the textbook explains it, sustainable development consists of keep exploiting the land based on innovation without considering a deeper transformation in our way of relating to the more-than-human world. This move also overlooks the connection the ecological crises have with colonization, capitalist economic growth, and state formation (see Moor, 2017; Simpson, 2019; Stein et al., 2020). Through narratives like the one present in the previous quote, children learn the illusion of techno-sciences being able to produce sustainable economic growth and the illusion of sustainable growth itself which is based on the idea of disconnecting economic growth from nature's degradation (see Simpson, 2019; Hickel, 2019a and 2019b). This learning distracts children from "see and feel and hear that nature's cycles are broken," which allows understanding that "a society built on extraction and accumulation would burn the whole planet alive" (Simpson, L., 2019, p. 2).

From the perspective of Nishnaabeg scholar Leanne Betasamosake Simpson (2019) the ecological crisis (climate change being included here) is not new to Indigenous peoples; it goes back to colonial invasion. She indicates, "We should be thinking of climate change as part of a much longer series of ecological catastrophes caused by colonialism and accumulation-based society" (2019, p. 2). Drawing from Simpson (2019), Sharon Stein and her colleagues suggest that "the biggest barrier to difficult conversations about climate change –including conversations

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[40] Interestingly, it was adapted from *www.economia.gob.cl*, a website by the Chilean Ministry of Economy. This ministry promotes the modernization and competitiveness of the country to achieve growth and its modernization.

about the impossibility of sustainable development – is not ignorance. Rather, it is enduring investments in modern-colonial modes of existence" (2020, p. 4). As seen in previous paragraphs, there is a resistance to hold a conversation capable of addressing the harms caused by "modern-colonial modes of existence." Thus, textbooks keep reproducing the illusion that green development will bring prosperity to the Earth.

5.4 Line of Inquiry IV: Progress and Development as a Way of Valuing Urban life at the Detriment of the Rural.

As mentioned in the theoretical framework of this thesis, progress, development, and modernity are constituted by coloniality (see Maldonado-Torres, 2004). Therefore, the successes and wealth they claim have an underside (see Andreotti et al., 2015; Stein et al., 2020; Mignolo, W., 2011; Maldonado-Torres, 2004; Quijano, A., 2007). On the one hand, researchers have demonstrated that Western views of progress and development depend on damaging the Earth, including people, especially those with the strongest connections to nature (see Quijano, A., 2007; Stein et al., 2020). On the other hand, Euro-centered perspectives connect progress and development to modern Western humanism and Cartesian philosophy. This connection implies that both development and progress require positioning some people as civilized (developed) while others are perceived as backwards (developing). This rhetoric, which carries a civilizing mission, assumes a universal way and measure in which Western industrial nations are at the top of human civilization (see Maldonado-Torres, 2004; Quijano, A., 2007), and rural communities and Indigenous nations as well as other racialized peoples are presumed to be at the bottom (see Idem).

Textbooks of *History, Geography and Social Sciences* (HGeoSS) and those of *Natural Sciences* (NatS) reproduce this rhetoric and potentiate it by centering urban life and its subjects as the epitome of civilization. Centering the city positions Indigenous and rural people as backward both in hidden and direct ways. I present this move in what follows. Then, I analyze how the Western rhetoric of development and progress works to advance modernity and coloniality while softly keeping this one as unrelated to modernity.

5.4.1   Presentation

Grade 4 textbook of HGeoSS starts with a unit called "We boys and girls are citizens" (HGeoSS 4, 2017, p.16). The textbook presents a story called "Marco's problem" to introduce children's right to (schooled) education and child labour problems. This story uses text and images: "Marco is happy in the countryside where he lives. He knows his parents' work and supports them by daily selling their products in the bus terminal. Marco wakes up at 5:00 am to sell his family's products and then goes to school. Because of this, he does not always manage to arrive on time and in the spirit to study" (HGeoSS 4, 2017, p. 22). The images illustrate Marco in two situations. In one, he is happily selling in the terminal. In the second, he sleeps in the classroom while his classmates attend the lesson (see HGeoSS 4, 2017, p. 22). In the same textbook, as in others, schooling as a specific form of education appears as the milestone of development and progress: "[in the XIX century] Education was promoted as a means to achieve progress" (HGeoSS 6, 2019, p. 92). **The textbook makes available the idea that dwelling in the countryside is a problem** and **that without receiving education in mainstream schools, a person cannot achieve progress.**

The idea that people who live in rural areas are behind and that citizenry is reserved for those who inhabit the city is also present in the activity books for rural education. An illustrative

example is the cover of the "Citizenship Education" activity book. This one shows a scene where two students help an older woman and a blind student cross a busy street, guarded by a police officer who directs the traffic –**the children learn to associate citizenry and development with urban centers**.

Unit 3 of the grade 4 textbook of HGeoSS introduces the question "What is a civilization?" The answer to this is: "Human societies that achieve important developments in areas such as science, arts and ideas, and present complex social organizations are recognized as civilizations." The text keeps explaining that "in these societies, people live in urban centers, there is a central authority, and their population is divided into groups with different roles and powers" (HgeoSS 4, 2017, p. 122) (see also HGeoSS 5). **The textbook explicitly relates civilization with urban centers. Moreover, it restricts civilization only to those urban centers that function under the power of a "central authority." This text makes available the interpretation that knowledge development is reserve for those who dwell in Western-like cities and that rural *mestizos* and Indigenous children need to migrate to the city to be fully knowledgeable (to be fully human beings).**

Although some textbooks allude to the development that Indigenous societies achieved in the past, they only do so when referring to Maya, Inca and Mexica (mistakenly name Aztec) urban centers (see HGeoSS 4, and 5). Unit 3 and 4 of the grade 4 textbook of HGeoSS are about the developments of these civilizations. Implicitly, children learn that only those Indigenous people who belonged to one of these "civilizations" were developed, not even their descendants. Grade 5 HGeoSS textbook is explicit in this regard. Drawing from Silva, O (1969), this textbook offers the following excerpt:

Through chronicles and archeological findings, we have verified that primitive societies (bands) coexisted with the most advanced (states). Together with beautiful cities such as Tenochtitlán, the Aztec capital, or Cuzco, the center of the Incas, there were small villages of mud and straw. The explanation for these differences is found in the geographical conditions prevailing in this long continent. Certain areas had the necessary resources to transform themselves into great civilizations. In contrast, others faced the impossibility of practicing agriculture and continued feeding on hunting (HGeoSS 5, 2019, p. 82, my literal translation).

This fragment refers to the idea that Indigenous people who did not dwell in Inca, Mexica (Aztec), or Maya cities before the arrival of the European in Abya Yala were uncivilized, underdeveloped, and backward. The textbook portraits these 'Other' people as "primitive societies (bands)," who organized themselves in "small villages of dust and straw." **The textbook makes possible the interpretation that validates the separation between civilized (urban centers) and backwards (rural Indigenous societies) and the need to minimize those differences through a civilizing mission (schooled education, rural-urban migration). Also, since the textbooks teach that these Indigenous "civilizations" were devastated by the Europeans, children learn that in the present there is no possibility for an Indigenous person to be developed.**

Similarly, in the grade 3 textbook of HGeoSS, children learn that while some follow a path of progress, others simply "adapt" and "transform" their environment. The book says: "Human beings have managed to inhabit almost all areas of the planet, even those with extreme temperatures and others that make life difficult" (HGeoSS 3, 2018, p. 56). After this explanation, the textbook offers some examples, all of them Indigenous: "the Inuit are a hunting and fishing people living in the Arctic." "The Yanomami live in small villages

located deep in the Amazon rainforest, near the border between Brazil and Venezuela." "The Maasai are a semi-nomadic African people living in the African savannah" (HGeoSS 3, 2018, pp. 56-57). After mentioning these nations, the textbook invites children to research about an Indigenous nation and then imagine themselves dwelling in their lands: "investigate how one of these people adapted and transformed their environment. (…) Conclude: if you have to live in the landscape of the people you investigated, what would your life be like? What difficulties would you have in your daily life?" (HGeoSS 3, 2018, p. 57). **With this activity, the textbook ignores that all Indigenous nations develop and transmit highly relevant knowledge (artistic, scientific, philosophical, spiritual, medicinal, astrological, ecological, and gastronomical, among many more) that makes human life possible in their places. Thus, the textbook invites children to imagine themselves dwelling unfamiliar lands. The children learn that inhabiting Indigenous lands by a simple act of occupation is possible, even if that person is totally disconnected from that place**. **This teaching ignores the fact that relationships are needed to inhabit an unfamiliar territory in order to be fully conversant with a new place. Also, it ignores that not building those relationships can end up reproducing exploitative relationships as the ones that got born with the colonization of so-called Americas.** The textbook never asks the children to write about the relationships they will need to establish with the people and the place in order to live. This colonial pattern of settlement disregards the relevance of the specific and accurate knowledge of Indigenous nations.

   After reading about how Indigenous people adapt and transform their environment, grade 3 children open unit 2 to find out that Greeks and Romans not only adapted and transformed their environment but also developed. The unit asks: "What challenges did the Greeks and

Romans face to achieve development?" (HGeoSS 3, 2018, p. 104). This unit offers various

sections about their achievements. Some are: "scientific and technical developments of

Greeks and Romans" (HGeoSS 3, 2018, p.112), their "education and knowledge" (HGeoSS 3,

2018:150), their "great thinkers." (HGeoSS 3, 2018, p. 154), their "economic and political

organization" (HGeoSS 3, 2018, p. 156). **The children learn that development is reserved**

for some and that only they have achieved valuable knowledge to achieve such a stage.

NatS textbooks also reinforce the role of science in the development of civilization. Grade 5

textbook states: "Thanks to the contribution of many scientists throughout history, today we are

witnessing countless technological applications of electricity and we also see how electrical

energy drives the development of our society" (NatS 5, 2016, p. 182).

5.4.2   Content Analysis

Santiago Castro-Gómez (2000) advises that schooling is the great architect of the modern

subjectivity in Latin America. He explains that "the school becomes an internment space to

shape the subject that the 'regulative ideals' of the constitution demand. What is sought is to

introject a discipline on the mind and body that enables the person to be 'useful to the state'" (p.

150, my literal translation). Schools are spaces that define the ideal citizen. For this regard, they

regulate and monitor behaviour, and control the acquisition of specific knowledge, skills, habits,

values, cultural models and lifestyles (see Castro-Gómez, 2000).

HGeoSS textbooks center the city and a selected portion of their inhabitants to construct an

ideal citizenry under a civilizing mission. The construction of the model citizen that textbooks

promote is problematic since it requires establishing a hierarchy between citizens and their

supposed counterparts. Santiago Castro-Gómez (2000) states that "the invention of citizenship

and the invention of 'the other' are closely related" (p. 151). He explains that "creating the identity of the modern citizen in Latin America implies generating a backlight from which that identity could be measured and affirmed as such" (Idem). The counterpart of the civilized modern subject is the backward. An illustrative example of this hierarchical differentiation in the textbooks is in "Marco's problem" story (see HGeoSS 4, 2017, p. 16).

This story actualizes the idea that while some are developed, others are backwards. Also, it reinforces the notion that citizenry as the only way to achieve progress and development happens in the city. In "Marco's problem," Marco is behind his peers. He cannot study because he is tired after helping his parents who are from the countryside. I wonder why Marco has to be a rural boy who learns in a city while his classmates are from the city. Why not a child from the city who works in a factory? Selecting a child from a rural area that attends an urban school works perfectly to build the separation and hierarchy between civilized (Marco´s urban peers) and uncivilized (rural children who work for their household and Indigenous children participating in communal activities). Illustrating child labour problems in the person of a rural boy overlooks cultural differences in the case of Indigenous descendants. From a decolonial perspective, it disregards that not all activities that have been related to child labour are abusive. For instance, Indigenous practices that Western societies interpret as child labour (e.g., Quechua children who cultivate a chakra) could be a form of cultural transmission that guarantees 'collective continuance' (see Whyte, K., 2018b).

Textbooks separate civilization from barbarity and distribute it following a colonial pattern that perpetuates systemic violence—textbooks reserve civilization for those who inhabit the urban space and match the white male bourgeois expectations. In parallel, these resources label as backwards those who do not access the city nor the white male bourgeois manners.

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Backwardness is reserved for rural *mestizo* Chilean and Indigenous persons. The offered

definitions for civilization are illustrative of this conception. Unit 3 of the grade 4 textbook of

HGeoSS defines civilization as a condition of development and assumes that it is only possible

in urban centers (see HGeoSS 4, 2017, p. 122, and HGeoSS 5, 2019). The most explicit textbook

in building this hierarchical difference is HGeoSS 5. On page 82, this textbook portraits

Indigenous people who did not form cities in the past as "primitive societies (bands)" who

organized themselves in "small villages of dust and straw" (HGeoSS 5, 2019, p. 82). In contrast,

grade HGeoSS 5 describes great civilizations and their cities as a counterpart.

    HGeoSS 5 and 3 also determines the level of development to geographical and climatic

conditions. Interestingly, "Mediterranean" zones are cast as the ideal places for the development

of civilizations (see HGeoSS 3, 2018, p. 50). Here, "Mediterranean" zones are those that have

similar climatic and geographical conditions to those regions that surrounds the Mediterranean

ocean in Europe (See HGeoSS 3, 2018; and HGeoSS 5, 2019). Assuming that development is

only possible in, or at least facilitated by European peoples (e.g., in Mediterranean regions)

centers a Western conception of development at the expense of many more ways of achieving it.

In other words, this gesture ignores Indigenous epistemes; it ignores that these societies have

developed relevant knowledge to assure their spiritual, material, artistic, well-being and

continuance over time despite the kind of geography where they have lived since times

immemorial. Because of these reasons and many more, the interpretation that geographical

conditions determine progress has been a highly contested discourse understood by many as

naturalizing and thereby reproducing assumptions of European supremacy (see Sundberg et al.,

2020).

Rauna Kuokkanen (2008) proposes the term "epistemic ignorance." She uses it to describe how the "civilizing" mission carried by schooled education has resulted in "assimilating and eradicating elements that separated and differentiated indigenous peoples from the dominant society, its culture and values" (p. 61). "Epistemic Ignorance" not only describes the lack of understanding that dominant societies have but the "practices and discourses that actively foreclose other than dominant epistemes and refuse to seriously contemplate their existence" (p. 63). For Kuokkanen, epistemic ignorance is a form of "subtle violence." Much as is the case with Santos's idea of the abyssal line, Kuokkanen explains that "when other than dominant epistemes and forms of knowing are not seen or recognized, they are made to disappear through this invisibility and distance" (Idem). Textbooks reiterate this violence, for instance by relating the ability of a nation to construct relevant knowledge (development) to their geographical location and asserting the superiority of one geographic location over another.

Textbooks transmit the idea that there is only one way to achieve progress (civilization) (see Line of Inquiry VI) and that this is through urban life and the urbanization (modernization) of rural areas. The "citizenship education" activity book for rural education clearly seeks to establish that rural life is not compatible with development and progress. This incompatibility is evident on the book's cover that illustrates citizenry as an urban project. While centering the city and the urbanization (modernization) of rural areas as a precondition to achieve development, textbooks tend to reproduce a colonial pattern. This pattern is evident in grade 3 and 5 HGeoSS textbook excerpt that explicitly refers to Indigenous societies that did not form cities as backwards (HGeoSS 3, 2018, pp. 56-57 and HGeoSS 5, 2019, p. 82). Thus, textbooks of HGeoSS and those of NatS limit the education in rural schools to an urban model of education, excluding and denying the epistemes of rural Chilean and Indigenous children.

5.5   Line of Inquiry V: Historical Linearity and Evolutionary Thought as a Way of

Denying Other Possibilities of Being, Doing, Knowing and Relating.

Linear conceptions of time and a teleology of progress dominate Chile's textbooks. Cash

Ahenakew (2016) refers to the way the "schooled modern subject" conceives time. He analyses

how such a conception determines their way of being and the quality of their relationships with

other people. Ahenakew concludes that "allochronic and evolutionary thinking" make the

schooled modern subject "judge others according to a criterion where he is represented as being

in the present of (linear) time while others are in the past and where he leads humanity in a single

path of evolution" (p. 335). Textbooks of both Natural Sciences (NatS) and History, Geography

and Social Sciences (HGeoSS) reproduce and transmit the conception of time that characterizes

the "schooled modern subject." This understanding of time makes it difficult to include other

epistemes in the textbooks and impossible to set the basis for an ethical dialogue among different

peoples. In what follows, I first present how historical linearity and evolutionary thought unfold

in textbooks. Then, I analyze how such a conception of time reinscribes a colonial pattern that

limits any attempt of including other than dominant epistemes in school curriculums.

5.5.1   Presentation

In their first year of elementary education, students open their textbooks of HGeoSS in its first

unit to find that time is a linear phenomenon. Grade 1 textbook of HGeoSS shows that events

happen one after the other. This way, there is a time "before," one "present," and one "after"

(HGeoSS1, 2017, p. 18); things happen "yesterday, today, or tomorrow" (HGeoSS 1, 2017, p.

16). --**Children start learning that there is a past, a present, and a future**. Linear time is also

introduced through activities. For instance, textbooks frequently require students to elaborate

timelines. HGeoSS 4 defines timelines as "a graphical representation of events arranged

chronologically, that is, according to the order in which they occurred over time" (HGeoSS 4,

2017, p. 126). It also explains that timelines "can include periods of the represented history, that

is, spaces of time with common elements" (Idem). This textbook justifies the need for timelines

since "they allow us to locate ourselves in time and understand how long the history of a nation

has lasted and the order in which its main events have occurred" (Idem). **Children learn that**

the present and the future are somehow disconnected from the past.

Historical time is not only presented as a linear phenomenon but also as a progressive one.

This means that the future represents the evolution of the past (thus, knowledge is cumulative).

All that is in the past takes the position of backwardness. Thus, the present's goal consists of

overcoming that unwanted past. The future under this logic symbolizes progress. Evolutionary

thought is present in both areas. NatS textbooks introduce it explicitly in their excerpts call

"science in time."

Grade 3 NatS, for instance, refers to the "evolution of knowledge:" "Since ancient times,

human beings have been interested in the universe. In what follows, we invite you to know some

milestones that show how the knowledge of the solar system and the universe has evolved"

(NatS 3, 2019, p. 38). After this introduction, the textbook presents some theories by male

European scientists (e.g. by Copernicus and Ptolemy). The same school resource refers to the

"evolution" of illumination systems. It says: "Since the discovery of fire in the Stone Age, many

advances in knowledge and technology have allowed the creation of different sources of light"

(NatS 3, 2019: 80). After this introduction, the textbook introduces the use of oil by ancient

Egyptians, the use of candles in Europe during the Middle Ages, the use of a petroleum lamp,

and the electric light (see NatS 3, 2019, pp. 80-81). Another example in this textbook introduces

the idea of evolution in music: "Although the origin of music is still unknown, thanks to

archeology, it has been discovered that our ancestors, during prehistory, used musical instruments made with pierced animal bones" (NatS 3, 2019, p. 94). Grade 4 NatS has an excerpt named: "advances in prosthetic construction" (NatS 4, 2018, p. 36). In this same textbook, there is information about the "evolution of weighing scales" (NatS 4, 2018, p. 140). With time, NatS 4 textbook explains, "weighing scales became more accurate" (Idem).

HGeoSS textbooks do not refer explicitly to evolutionary conceptions. However, this way of thinking is implicitly present in HGeoSS schoolbooks. Grade 2 HGeoSS textbook, for instance, proposes that "despite the years, some Indigenous peoples' practices remain and are part of the culture of Chile" (HGeoSS 2, 2019, p. 82). Evolutionary thought is implicit in this phrase because it makes possible the assumption that those practices of Indigenous people should have disappeared. It makes possible the interpretation that, after all, Indigenous traditions belong to the past. And that as a matter of time passing, they should have disappeared together with the people who developed them. Without mincing words, the HGeoSS 2 attributes ownership over Indigenous knowledges to Chilean people. This proposition presumes modern Western cultural parameters lead the present-future while Indigenous ones naturally correspond to the past. Complimentary to this, HGeoSS 2 uses the past tense when referring to Indigenous ways of being and knowing. There are many examples of the use of this verb tense in a subunit called "How did indigenous peoples live?" (2019, p. 68). Paradoxically, this subunit uses verbs in the past tense while it offers images of the present to illustrate what the words say (see page 68 onwards).

HGeoSS textbooks present sedentarism as a necessary condition to form a civilization, which is presented as the most complex social organization (see Line of Inquiry IV). Thus, textbooks persistently differentiate "nomadism" (equivalent to backwardness and relative to the

past) from "sedentarism" (equal to development, representing the future), hunter-gatherers from farmers, rural people from citizens (see Line of Inquiry IV). An example is in the grade 4 textbook. Besides an image that illustrates people working with animals and in agricultural activities, Grade 4 HGeoSS asks: "The people you see in the image. Were them nomadic or sedentary?" In a civilization, do you think that people lead a sedentary or nomadic life? Why?" (HGeoSS 4, 2017, p. 122). This question is reiterated in this textbook (e.g., p. 128).

Another explanatory way of reinscribing evolutionary thought in HGeoSS is through those activities that consist of "comparing societies." On page 178, Grade 4 textbook invites students to compare two educational systems by looking at two images (one of each culture). The first image is introduced by the phrase "Inca education" and shows a boy learning from a male adult to work the chakra (farm) and a girl learning from a female adult to weave. The other image is introduced by the title "current education" and shows a classroom with a female teacher and eight students sitting on chairs. Implicitly, the textbook refers to Inca education as something that belongs to the past. By doing this, this school resource disregards the fact that Quechua people (the Inca descendant) still educate their children following their traditions. Also, it overlooks the fact that schooling corresponds to a specific culture. The children learn that Chilean society (dominant, Western-like) corresponds to the present while Indigenous societies correspond to the past.

5.5.2 Content Analysis

Textbooks insist that time is linear and progressive, as seen in the presentation of this Line of Inquiry V. While NatS resources explicitly refer to evolutionary thought, HGeoSS ones do it implicitly. NatS textbooks represent Western science as the quintessential human development and represent "our ancestors" and ancient cultures as a preliminary stage of what "humans" are

now. Grade 3 NatS, for instance, pretend to show "how the knowledge of the solar system and the universe has evolved" "since ancient times" (NatS 3, 2019, p. 38) by exclusively referring to European male scientists' theories. The same school resource refers to the "evolution" of illumination systems (see NatS 3, 2019, p. 80). There is information about the "evolution of weighing scales" (NatS 3, 2019, p.140). The way this information is presented triggers the question regarding the possibility of being present for those who illuminate, cook, and heat their houses with fire, who have their particular understandings of the universe, and use systems for measuring different than weighing scales.

The idea that Indigenous people are in the past while Chileans (Western-like society) are in the present and are leading the future (see Ahenakew, 2016) is evident in textbooks. An illustrative example is in allusions to the discourse of *colonization as a rightful process with positive outcomes for all humans,* previously introduced in Line of Inquiry III. Elusive uses of words facilitate this discourse. As seen in Line of Inquiry II, the most frequent one is the word "disappear," which works to mask enacted colonial violence while showing it as a natural process, **as a matter of linear time passing**. One case is in grade 2 textbook of HGeoSS. Drawing from Conadi,[41] this school material reports that "the Yagan and Kawésqar[42] languages are on their way to disappearing (…). The languages of the Chango and Diaguita peoples disappeared without leaving any descendants" (HGeoSS 2, 2019, p.79). Here, the word "disappear" camouflages the active role of European and Chilean colonization in the process of language loss. Another example of using this word to veil colonial harms and replace it as a

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[41] Conadi is the National Corporation for Indigenous Development.
[42] Kaweskar and Yagan used to be neighbours of the Selk'nam nation. As them, their people have confront the Chilean colonization of their lands.

matter of time passing is in the grade 4 textbook of HGeoSS. This textbook explains that "Although the great [Indigenous] American civilizations disappeared as social and political organizations, there are important indigenous peoples in the present who are descendants of these civilizations" (HGeoSS 4, 2017, p. 202). With this kind of narratives, the textbooks make possible the understanding that the "disappearance" of Indigenous languages and "[Indigenous] American civilizations" is inevitable with the passage of time. In other words, the textbooks propose that as Indigenous societies belong to the past, they are meant to disappear.

The linear and evolutionary conception of historical time present in textbooks naturalizes Indigenous losses as a matter of time passing. This move alleviates Western societies' burden regarding their responsibility in inflicted harms connected to colonial domination and coloniality. This way, colonization can occupy a safe space where its "benefits" are more relevant than its "consequences" –which are presented as negative outcomes far from being deliberate actions (see Line of Inquiry III).

The idea that time passing is a natural factor for the disappearance of Indigenous people and their particular knowledge is not only an effect of linear time passing but also a consequence of an evolutionary conception of time and knowledge. While discussing Eurocentrism (see next Line of Inquiry), Anibal Quijano and Michael Ennis (2000) correlate the two:

> The fact that Western Europeans will imagine themselves to be the culmination of a civilizing trajectory from a state of nature leads them also to think of themselves as the moderns of humanity and its history, that is, as the new, and at the same time, most advanced of the species. But since they attribute the rest of the species to a category by nature inferior and consequently anterior, belonging to the past in the progress of the species, the Europeans imagine themselves as the exclusive bearers, creators, and protagonists of that modernity (p. 542)

Quotes such as "despite the years, some Indigenous peoples' practices remain and are part of the culture of Chile" (HGeoSS 2, 2019, p. 82) echoes Quijano and Ennis' understanding of Western conceptions of linear time. As already mentioned in the presentation of Line of Inquiry V, the phrase "despite the years" implicitly locates Indigenous traditions in the past while Chilean tradition (presumably Western-like) in the present with a projection to the future. The complexity of this phrase is that it not only produces a past conformed by Indigenous people, but it also produces a projection of the future without them but with their knowledge as Chile's property. The implicit future positions Chileans as the "new" "and most advanced" and the ones to perpetuate a selection of Indigenous practices. Chileans can transmit those Indigenous practices that "despite the time" have persisted. The most concerning of this phrase is that it erases the historical condition that *despite colonialism and coloniality* Indigenous people and their practices still live in and with them. Then, the Chilean state can silently erase Indigenous peoples' present and deny their possibility for a future. Chileans are meant to occupy the present of those peoples. By actively removing and denying the cruelty of its past, the Chilean state and its citizens find a rightful projection to the time to come. A future without autonomous Indigenous nations but with "*mestizos*" who are willing to replace them.

Similarly, HGeoSS 4 textbook proposes that students compare the Inca (Quechua) and the Western educational systems. For doing this, it offers two images and places a name for them. The Inca/Quechua education is titled "Inca education" and the Chilean/Western-like education is named "current education" (HGeoSS 4, 2017, p. 178). Even when the textbook does not refer to the Inca/Quechua education as a past event, it indirectly does it by naming "Current education" the Chilean/Western-like schooling. It is known that comparisons have to be done using comparable categories. This exercise makes possible the interpretation that Chilean society

(dominant, Western-like) is located in the present while Inca/Quechua society (Indigenous society) corresponds to the past. The problems of referring to Western education as "current education" while Quechua education as "Inca education" are at least two. First, it denies the present and relevance of Quechua education. Second, it universalizes a particular educational system as the only one existing in the present. In this sense, the conception of time implicit in this phrase is not only linear but evolutionary because it needs a dualistic relation that depicts one education as being in the past (backward by definition) of linear time while Western education as leading the present and planning the future.

When linear and evolutionary notions of historical time are at work, the inclusion of other than dominant epistemes in textbooks is counter-productive. Such an understanding assumes that some societies (Western-like) are in the present (they are developed), while others belong to the past (they are backwards, they are meant to disappear). Assuming that Indigenous people (among others) are supposed to vanish makes it impossible to include their perspectives in the textbooks. It is urgent to make this evident in order to make possible an ethical encounter among these two.

5.6   Line of Inquiry VI: Eurocentrism and Universalism as a Way of Inflicting Cognitive Violence

Eurocentrism and universalism infuse Western institutions. When these two are at work, an ethical inclusion of other than dominant epistemes is almost impractical. Mi'kmaw scholar, Dr. Marie Battiste, reminds her audience that "Eurocentrism is not just an opinion or attitude that can be changed by some multicultural or cross-cultural exercise" (2013, p. 6). For her, "Eurocentrism is a contrived foundation of all dominant scholarship, law, media, consciousness and structure of contemporary life" (Idem). Eurocentrism is why other than dominant epistemes, specifically Indigenous ones, are overlooked or disregarded in dominant educational curriculums (Battiste,

2013; Quijano, a. and Ennis, M., 2000). Universalism works to reinforce Eurocentrism and happens when one culture (European) claims itself as universally valid. Thus, universalism is contiguous to imperialism. In turn, cultural and cognitive imperialism determine a Eurocentric view of the world, knowledge, experience, arts, spirituality and languages as the rule for education (Battiste, 2013).

Drawing from Battiste (2013), it is not surprising that Eurocentrism and universalism constitute the norm in the observed Chilean textbooks. These two set the point of view from where everything is seen and projected in these textbooks. Thus, all historical narratives and other text types in these school resources are written from a Eurocentric perspective. Illustrative examples are when *History, Geography, and Social Sciences* (HGeoSS) textbooks refer to the history of Chile and that of Abya Yala or when referring to the history of science in *Natural Sciences* (NatS) textbooks. In what follows, I first present how textbooks express Eurocentrism and universalism. Then, I analyze how Eurocentrism and universalism work in the observed sources to inflict cognitive violence.

5.6.1   Presentation

In textbooks, Eurocentrism is not always explicit, but it is nonetheless present throughout these school resources. For instance, all textbooks refer to Abya Yala under the name "America." Grade 6 students can read an excerpt that clarifies the origin of this name in their HGeoSS textbook. Such a text centers on Eurocentrism and explains: "After exploring the coasts of South America between 1497 and 1499, Américo Vespucio determined that these lands correspond to a new continent. Later, it was named America in his honour" (HGeoSS 5, 2019, p. 71). Eurocentrism is evident in this quote because it manifests the geographical location underpinning it. That is Europe. Naming Abya Yala with the name of "America" honours Américo Vespucio,

an Italian explorer, and the European colonial domination of so-called "American" lands and all its beings. In addition, it ignores that there were people who perfectly understood that Abya Yala was a unit surrounded by oceans (a continent). Likewise, grade 5 students can read that "America was one of the last continents on which human beings settled and the one that remained isolated for the longest time in terms of cultural contact with the rest of the world" (HGeoSS 5, 2019, p. 82). Saying that "America" was one of the last continents to establish "cultural contact with the rest of the world" implicitly refers to the idea that there is a center in this world **not** located in Abya Yala but somewhere else --probably in Europe. Thus, it can be inferred that this continent is missing something. Otherwise, if centring Abya Yala, one could say that Europe, Asia and Africa remained isolated from this continent. Or, if not centring any particular area of the world but the world itself (the Earth), it is impossible to conceive of the possibility that one region remains isolated from another one and vice versa.

The idea of Europe being the center is clearly stated in HGeoSS 4. This textbook proposes a whole unit to learn about "geographical coordinates and absolute location" (HGeoSS 4, 2017, p. 72). Throughout this unit the children can learn about "the characteristics of geographic coordinates and their use as a reference to locate places" (HGeoSS 4, 2017, p. 72). The reason to learn about them that HGeoSS 4 gives is: "to accurately locate places on Earth's surface" (Idem). This school text explains that "in order to locate **any place on Earth**, parallels and meridians can be used as a reference" (HGeoSS 4, 2017, p.74, my emphasis). In a similar line, the textbook exposes that: "The set of these lines is called a **network of geographic coordinates**, with which it is possible to know **the absolute location of a place**" (HGeoSS 4, 2017, p.78, emphasis in original). Eurocentrism is present in these sentences because they take a European system of representing the Earth as the most accurate and universally valid. Assuring this European tool

works "to know **the absolute location of a place**" – of "**any place on Earth**" is at least presumptuous. Without explicitly stating that geographic coordinates are a European tool that only works to find certain types of locations at a specific scale, the textbook universalizes it as if this were the only feasible way to locate or relate to a place on Earth's surface.

Additionally, Eurocentrism is evident in the conception of geographic coordinates themselves. Meridians, which are "the imaginary lines drawn on the earth's surface as semicircles of equal size that go from pole to pole" (HGeoSS 4, 2017, p. 76), have their center in England. "The most important [meridian]," says the textbook, "is the Greenwich meridian, also called the prime meridian or meridian 0" (Idem). From this imaginary line, "the longitude of a place is determined, that is, the exact meridian where it is located" (Idem). Again, this European tool is inscribed as accurate by nature, universally valid, despite using England as the center for every locational measurement.

Narratives about the history of the invasion of Abya Yala are written from a similar Eurocentric vision. "Columbus," says HGeoSS 5, "set sail from the port of Palos on August 3, 1492 and arrived at Guanahani Island on October 12 of the same year, taking possession of the new lands in the name of the Catholic Monarchs" (HGeoSS 5, 2019, p. 71). This statement does not recognize that those territories were already inhabited by many and that were new only to Europeans. It also ignores the problems that follows this misrecognition. Instead, it transmits the idea of Abya Yala as an empty space to be discovered and consequently legitimately possessed by Europeans.

Universalism manifests itself in the idea that humans constitute a homogenous group all over the world. Children from grade 1 to 6 can conclude exactly this idea from their NatS textbooks. Propositions such as "Effects of human activities on the ecological balance" (NatS 6, 2016, p.

94) are abundant among NatS textbooks. These kind of phrases precisely refer to humans as a uniform kind and consider responsible all humans for the wrongs of some. In other words, **textbooks usually disregard onto-epistemic differences and blame ecological imbalance over a homogenous humanity**. This pattern ignores the uneven distribution of responsibilities in the current environmental disaster (see Line of Inquiry III). This ignored irregularity of responsibilities is evident in grade 6. After reading about the damages contamination and the introduction of "exotic species" have over the balance of life, children can read, "Exotic species have been accidentally or voluntarily introduced into ecosystems as a result of human activity" (NatS 6, 2016, p. 95). In the same line, grade 6 students read: "Human beings, like all species, need a space to live and develop. The problem is that we [humans] have modified nature to such an extent with our activities that this has altered the balance of ecosystems and trophic webs" (NatS 6, 2016, p. 94). Another example of how humans appear as one homogenous group when introducing ecological damage or imbalance is this:

> Since the beginning of humanity, human beings have fed on animals, using them as a source of nutrients, in addition to hunting them to make use of their skin and fat. Now a day, and worldwide, overexploitation has had negative consequences on large groups of animals (NatS 6, 2016, p. 96)

This quote universalizes the habits of some human beings –that is, Europeans-- as if all humans have the same way of feeding, doing, and relating, in this case, with animals and hunting. Universalization in this case prevents understanding the correlation between colonization and modernity/coloniality and the ecological crisis (see Stein et al., 2020). HGeoSS 5 presents a similar narrative when introducing the harmful effects of deforestation (see p. 32).

The universalization of a Euro-centered perspective is also evident when textbooks interpret the history and culture of peoples other than Europeans. An illustrative example is when

textbooks offer information about Mexica, Inca and Maya, who are depicted as civilizations under the dominance of an empire (see HGeoSS 4). Under this classification, these nations are associated to the European history of power and hierarchical control: "from this city [Tenochtitlan], they [Mexica] began to conquer territories, building in a few centuries a powerful empire, that is, a state with a centralized power that dominates other peoples" (2017, p. 149). Similarly, the lands of the Inca empire are depicted as being owned by the Sapa Inca (an authority for the Quechua people) (HGeoSS 4, 2017, p. 183). This narrative disregards social, cultural and relational differences among diverse peoples. In opposition to textbooks, Quijano, A., and Ennis, M. (2000) explain that Maya, Mexica and Inca dominators exerted their power very differently to Europeans. They explain that "the colonial dominators of each one of those worlds did not have the conditions, nor, probably, the interest for homogenizing the basic forms of social existence for all the populations under their dominion"(p. 545).

Likewise, NatS textbooks speak to a homogenous group. All students in Chile are assumed to come from the same cultural background regardless of the fact that children from various Indigenous nations are obliged to attend formal Chilean education. Regarding the specific topic of electricity, grade 5 children can read: "Many daily activities require electricity. From it, we can illuminate our homes and use a series of electrical devices that improve our quality of life" (NatS 5, 2016, p. 160). **This statement assumes a universal "we:" all human beings illuminate their houses with electricity and use electrical devices or they should do ones they have developed**. By overlooking that there are people that do not depend on electricity for sustaining their well-being, the textbook only makes it feasible to imagine one possible world: "Electric power is essential in the world we live in because it allows lighting the streets at night and the operation of hospitals, seaports, schools, the telecommunications system, among others.

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It is important to bear in mind that the resources from which electricity is obtained are not unlimited" (NatS 5, 2016, p. 164). **Despite their cultural differences, children learn that there is only one possible way of being in the world.** The assumption of a universal "we" is present in narratives of Chile's history (see HGeoSS 2, 4, 5, 6), in descriptions of state foundation, its institutions, and identity formation (see HGeoSS 1, 2, 3, 6), in narratives of scientific development and achievements (HGeoSS 3, 4), and those of citizenry (HGeoSS 4, 6).

5.6.2   Content Analysis

Eurocentrism is a fundamental piece in the textbooks and for this analysis. It is complex to analyze it separately from previous lines of inquiry because it contains notions already observed. For instance, Eurocentrism requires a lineal and evolutionary conception of time; it necessitates "Othering," human exceptionalism, and the narrative of progress, among others. Anibal Quijano and Michael Ennis (2000) analyze Eurocentrism and conclude that its foundations depend on two myths. These are:

> First, the idea of the history of human civilization as a trajectory that departed from a state of nature and culminated in Europe; second, a view of the differences between Europe and non-Europe as natural (racial) differences and not consequences of a history of power. Both myths can be unequivocally recognized in the foundations of evolutionism and dualism, two of the nuclear elements of Eurocentrism (p. 542).

The first myth correlates with already analyzed notions of linear and evolutionary time and with discourses of development and progress. The second myth is present in lines of inquire such as "Progress and Development as a way of valuing urban life" where the contiguity of citizenry and patterns of "Othering" is evident. This means that analyzing how the textbooks reinscribe Eurocentrism to inflict cognitive violence requires examining how evolutionism and dualism

work to favour Western civilization while denying other possible ways of knowing, being and relating.

Contrary to what HGeoSS 4 proposes (2017, p. 149), Quijano, A. and Ennis, M. (2000) clarify that while millenary Indigenous powers (e.g., Inca, Mexica and Maya) did not imply the universalization of their culture to homogenize the peoples under their rule, Europeans have used Eurocentrism as a tool to achieve such a feature. They put it this way:

> the modern world-system that began to form with the colonization of America, has in common three central elements **that affect the quotidian life of the totality of the global population**: the coloniality of power, capitalism, and Eurocentrism. Of course, this model of power, or anyother, can mean that historical-structural heterogeneity has been eradicated within its dominions (Quijano, A. & Ennis, M., 2000, p. 545, my emphasis).

Following these authors, Eurocentrism affects the totality of the global population and results in its homogeneization. Accordingly, by applying a Euro-centered perspective and universalizing it as the norm of human experience, textbooks limit rural Indigenous children's experience to cultural assimilation. This process does not happen without violence since their cultural parameters are different from those textbooks set. Therefore, these school materials constantly belittle Indigenous knowledges, as previously shown in the presentation of inquiry VI. While relational violence against Indigenous people is ongoing but less prevalent than in the past centuries, cognitive violence through schooling is prevalent. Textbooks have a lot to do with this.

Textbooks foster cognitive violence by universalizing a Euro-centered literacy. In 1986, Marie Battiste warned her audience: "Literacy is an ambivalent process of modern consciousness" (p. 1). "When the processes of becoming literate," she explains, "are applied to the youth of their own culture, literacy is called cultural transmission. But when a certain literacy

is forced upon youths outside that culture, literacy becomes cultural assimilation and cultural imperialism" (1984, p.1). For her, literacy as 'cultural assimilation' and 'cultural imperialism' is a sword. One that inflicts cognitive violence and which results are cognitive inconsistency and cultural vagueness (1986). The assumption that all children studying in Chilean schools are part of the Chilean culture (see the presentation of line of inquiry 6) tends to inflict cultural assimilation through the learning of a European literacy which is assumed as universally valid. Such a tendency despises millenary Indigenous cognition. The result for Indigenous children studying in compulsory education in rural Chile is, therefore, cognitive violence. That means in part cultural assimilation. This kind of forced assimilation occurred through the imposition of an exogenous literacy and way of being while their own cultural parameters and epistemes are ignored (see Kuokkanen, R., 2008).

Chapter 6: Discussion

This chapter builds upon previous data analysis. It discusses how colonial discourses present and presently veiled in Chile's elementary textbooks relate to each other, in what ways these patterns make possible or deny alternative ways of being, doing, relating and knowing, and how these colonial discourses result in the naturalization of cognitive violence.

At the beginning of this thesis in chapter 1.2, I mentioned my interest in understanding why relational and cognitive violence have been normalized in Chiles's rural schools and clarified this study's focus on patterns that tend to normalize cognitive violence in textbooks. Here, I want to make it evident that both types of violence are connected. Without cognitive justice, it is not possible to reach the level of our relationships. Cognitive justice is an essential piece to pave the route toward relational justice (see Sutherland, A., 2018; Sousa Santos, 2007).

The analysis in Chapter 5 shows textbooks' tendency to address relational problems between Indigenous people and the Chilean state through the politics of inclusion (see Coulthard, 2014). These school materials show encapsulated pieces of Indigenous knowledges among their pages (e.g., Ttreng-Treng and Kai-Kai Filu "myth" in NatS 5, 2019, p. 25). Likewise, the analysis shows that the politics of inclusion are not sufficient to forge ethical relations or the reparation of those relations between colonized and colonial nations (e.g., Indigenous nations and the Chilean nation) in a schooled education. It is not enough merely to include knowledge capsules in textbooks or activities that promote learning *about* Indigenous knowledge. "Encapsulated inclusion" conditions other than dominant knowledges to dominant tendencies (see "conditional forms of inclusion" in Ahenakew, C., 2016). Therefore, included Indigenous and rural *mestizo* knowledges appear less relevant than sanctioned knowledge or appear as mere myths or beliefs (see Line of Inquiry II).

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A radical transformation toward cognitive justice (to finally reach relational justice) for rural students of Indigenous and *mestizo* descent needs radical disinvestments in modern/colonial patterns present and presently veiled in textbooks. Beyond proposing what should change in these texts in light of the previously presented and analyzed results, this chapter discusses the complicities with the underside of modern/colonial patterns that textbooks enact and the complexities of pursuing different alternatives to what is available now.

The idea of disinvesting in harmful modern/colonial habits of being is not of my own. There is a collective of Indigenous scholars and allies encouraging the need for disinvesting from such patterns of being and knowing (see Stein et al., 2021; Stein et al., 2020; Stein, S., 2020; Mignolo, W., 2011b; Whyte, K., 2019). They suggest the importance of identifying and attempting to interrupt problematic modern/colonial habits that have resulted in harmful relations (see Whyte, K., 2019). These damaging relations unevenly affect mestizo and Indigenous descent students in rural schools in Chile who learn from the tools of the dominant society.

In what follows, I present two social cartographies to build this discussion. The intention is that these maps assign spatial and visual forms to the existing discourses, positions, and knowledges present and presently veiled in textbooks. It is vital to bear in mind that these maps are not conclusive depictions. Instead, as already said in chapter 4.2, cartographies are always "situated, provisional and contested" (Paulston in Suša & Andreotti, 2019, p. 2). These maps are "alternative metaphors" (see Huggan, G., 2008, p. 28) to look at and discuss alternatives to what textbooks offer. Thus, these tools are intended to foster ongoing, agonistic, non-prescriptive, and self-reflexive discussions rather than to offer fixed truths about analyzed school resources.

To visualize the relation between sanctioned knowledge (what textbooks teach) and cognitive violence, I have outlined "The Teaching of Textbooks" social cartography. This one

also shows how cognitive violence paves the route to relational violence. The second map --"A Cargo Ship of Textbooks" -- I have sketched works as a metaphor for the modern/colonial system that keeps textbook production and distribution. This one offers three possible levels of engagement with that system.

6.1   "The Teachings of Textbooks" Social Cartography

This cartography makes evident how sanctioned knowledge in textbooks (what "textbooks teach…" "with promises…") facilitates investments in harmful habits of thought and being. These harms translate here into cognitive violence. Such violence enables, through textbooks, relational violence in such a way that forecloses an ethical restoration of relationships between dominant society and other ones (e.g. rural Indigenous and rural *mestizo* societies in Chile). Thus, this cartography shows how sanctioned knowledge in textbooks works to deny alternative ways of being, doing, relating, and knowing.

"The Teachings of Textbooks" cartography has the form of a table. It has two major columns. The left one shows "Modern/Colonial Investments" of textbooks in the form of the knowledge or concepts "textbooks teach" and the "promises" related to those concepts. The right one illustrates the "underside" of the offered teachings, which translates into cognitive and relational violence" that sanctioned knowledge makes possible. Holding conversations with this cartography may result in dialogues oriented toward the complexities and urgencies to divest from those "Modern/Colonial Investments" textbooks facilitate in schooled education.

"The Teachings of Textbooks" cartography:

MODERN/COLONIAL INVESTMENTS		THEIR UNDERSIDE	
Textbooks teach… ⟶	with promises…	These teachings require cognitive violence in the form of…	These teachings could facilitate relational violence as…
…**time as** a linear and evolutionary phenomenon. Past, present and future are somehow unrelated.	…of a **renewed future** without responsibility for the past. …of leaving the backward past behind in the name of **progress**.	… **denial of the relevance of Indigenous knowledges** (which are associated with the past). … **supposition that Indigenous knowledges will disappear** due to the passage of time.	… **nonexistence**. That is the denial of the present existence of Indigenous students. And the consequent restriction to Indigenous children being educated in their own cultural parameters.
…**knowledge** as progressive reasoning -- what was known in the past represents backwardness, while the future symbolizes the subversion from that state (that is modernity).	…of a guaranteed **modern future** leaded by Western techno-scientific knowledge.	… **rejection of the history of power** that has relegated Indigenous onto-epistemes to a space of lesser value. … denial of complicity in historical attempts to eliminate those epistemes.	…**silencing.** This conception of knowledge transmits a hierarchy of knowledges that implies silencing Indigenous voices and rural ones to a lesser extent.
…**knowledge** as rational and objective facts about the world with a universal value that can be owned, accumulated and consumed. These facts constitute an effort to explain the world in order to dominate it. Anything that the rational mind cannot know is viewed as irrelevant or non-existent.	…of **universalizing** one rationality and the consequent certainty that it will be legible and dominant everywhere.	… **a hierarchy of knowledges** that positions Western ones as the only real, useful, and reliable. "Other" knowledges appear as non-existent, not real (myths, belief), unreliable (irrational), and useless. … **cultural imposition.** This happens when the grammar of one group is universalized as the only reliable one.	…**belittlement.** Destruction of other knowledges, and efforts to explain the world from one point of view in order to dominate it leave Indigenous and rural students to a lesser extent subjected to ridicule from their pairs, and teachers among many more.
…**relationship** as consumption which implies understanding separation as a way of being.	…that **human beings are exceptional** and exist apart from nature so they can consume nature without entering into reciprocal relationships. … some human groups are supposed to be exceptional and **separate** from other humans. These qualities have given them the power to exert control over others.	… **onto-epistemic ignorance**. Assuming separation as the only way of being and relating ignores other possible ways of being together and prevents plurality from being possible.	…**objectification, exploitation, and consumption.** When students are invited to perform the researcher to learn *about* Indigenous Others, they assume the active subject (and can consume Indigenous material). In contrast, Indigenous students and communities take the passive role.
Humanity as a homogeneous group whose more advanced	… **of certainty** that "my" cultural parameters will be universally legible and	… **Eurocentrism.** Textbooks generally disregard onto-epistemic differences while centring	… **invisibility.** Eurocentrism is why other than dominant experiences, specifically

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expression coincides with that of Western people.	dominant, that is **Eurocentrism.**	European frames as the only legible ones. This denial provokes **cognitive assimilation.**	Indigenous ones, are overlooked in dominant educational environments.
Humans as a hazard to the natural world	… **of individual agency** to promote change and safe the more-than-human-world from being destroyed.	… **blame.** Textbooks overlook onto-epistemic differences and blame ecological imbalance over a homogenous humanity. This pattern ignores the uneven distribution of responsibilities in current environmental disaster.	… **sameness**. Assuming all human' cultural patterns constitute a hazard to nature, disregards other than dominant ways of being.
Nature as resource to be exploited, extracted, and consumed by humans who are apart from "it."	… power to exploit, extract, and consume nature to produce wealth and sustain a better life for some human populations.	… **cognitive imperialism**. Textbooks impose one frame of reference *about* nature	… **impoverishment**. The exploitation of nature by some human populations promotes expropriation, dispossession and forced displacement of other human populations whose ability to live well is restricted by this pattern.
Nature as being damaged.	… of humans' unique power to occupy the primary role to achieve change and save nature.	… **damage-centred relationship**. reinforces and reinscribes a one-dimensional notion of nature as diminished, ruined, and hopeless.	… **lack of agency**. Defining nature only as damaged establishes a hierarchical relationship that gives some humans the position of benevolently "saving" nature.
Nature conservation as the only way to keep nature safe from human intervention.	… a fenced and pristine nature that will keep Earth safe.	… the **illusion that keeping people apart from nature is the solution** to what is supposed to be only an ecological crisis. … negation of experienced expropriation for natural reserves and national parks limitation.	… **separability** as a way of relating and nature conservation as justification for forced displacement.
Progress as one way to produce wealth in the name of civilization. That is Wester urban way of prosperity.	… being better than before. That imply being better than the people who represent the past.	… **denial of the connection between wealth production and the impoverishment** of the many and the history of colonialism. … denial of other forms of conceiving progress.	… **racism**. Progress and its contiguous discourses (development and modernity) necessitate positioning some as civilized (urban) while others as backwards (Rural). … **civilizing mission.** One led by citizens to correct backwardness.
Sustainable development is the solution to keep economic	… keep business as usual (that is, sustained economic growth and the	…**illusion that exploiting nature is compatible**	Forced displacement and negation of experienced expropriation and

growth by exploiting natural resources while taking care of nature through technoscience.	promise of its distribution through the exploitation of nature and some human populations).	**with care** for the more-than-human world. Conceptual imposition of Earth and her beings as passive resources to be exploited to seek economic growth.	exploitation for economic growth production.
The roots of all Chilean people as one conforms by European and Indigenous heritage (*Meestizaje*).	… of unity, of being the people of a homogeneous nation-state.	… **as cultural homogenization**. The population of Chile and even that of Latin America appears as a homogenous one despite the present existence of Indigenous people.	… **cultural appropriation** and its negation: Indigenous knowledge and practices can be extracted and consumed as if they were part of the dominant society.

6.2 "A cargo ship of textbooks" social cartography

As you can see, the second map illustrates a cargo ship arriving at a port of an industrial nation and its underwater toxic scraps followed by disaster. This cartography shows three levels of engagement with the ship. 1) A celebratory engagement, 2) a damaged-centred[43] engagement, and 3) a decolonial engagement.
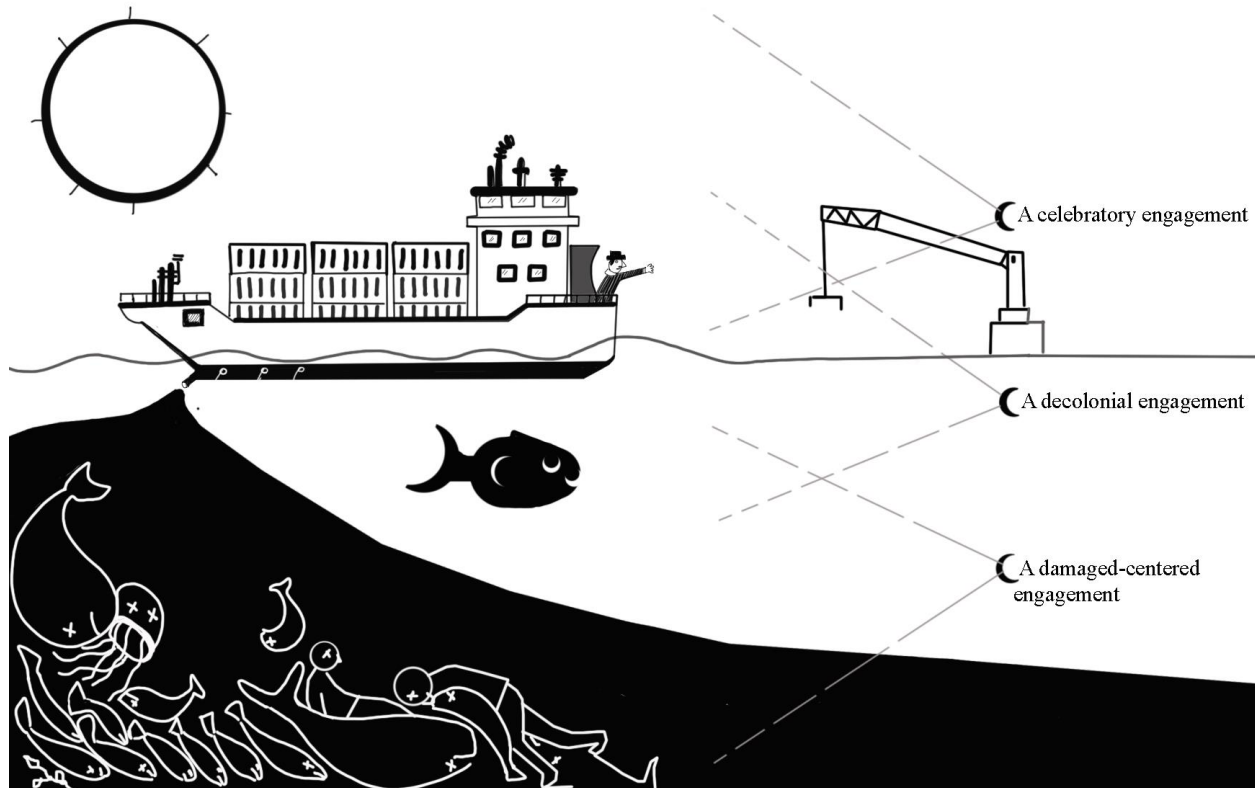

Figure 1: A Cargo Ship of Textbooks

6.2.1 A Celebratory Engagement with the Cargo Ship

From this level of engagement with the cargo ship, one cannot see its toxic scraps, even less the damage this toxic waste causes. Therefore, the connection between the promises of the teachings of textbooks and its underside is overlooked (see chapter 6.1). In Line of Inquiry III

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[43] See Eve Tuck, 2009

(see chapter 5.3.1), you can see how textbooks celebrate development, colonization, the Chilean state, national institutions, technoscience, sustainable development, and nature conservation without engaging in complicity in harm production, nor in conversations about complexity where paradoxes are recognized. In this sense, words become elusive of reality (see Rivera-Cusicanqui, 2010). From here, "Discourse as a Way of not Saying" perpetuates colonial violence as a sanctioned practice.

As chapter 5.3 shows, textbooks celebrate colonization and the Enlightenment without engaging in complex conversations about the devastation these two entailed and continue to require. The Enlightenment is celebrated because of its scientific developments and presumed "discoveries." NatS 5 puts it this way: "Thanks to the navigation of the oceans, from the 15th century there were great geographical discoveries, among which the discovery of America stands out. Since that period, navigation played a fundamental role in the development of civilization" (p.46). In line with this celebration, textbooks extol the Renaissance man for being: "independent, free, personal; creator of the spirit of enterprise, of the heroic and glorious adventure, and of the great captain in the classic style" (HGeoSS 5, 2019, p. 68) (See how HGeoSS 2 and 5 treat the paint "*Primer homenaje a Colón*"). All these attributes actively mask the many harms the Enlightenment and its men made possible for the many.

Textbooks also celebrate later colonial settlements. This time, these settlements are celebrated as the processes that made possible development. Textbooks teach development only from the dominant perspective. From here, development is an achievement of European settlers. Interestingly, textbooks do not show the required harms of this specific kind of "development" (e.g., displacement, genocidal campaigns, massive deforestation, and extraction). Without

accessing this connection, textbooks describe settler colonialism as a positive and benevolent process:

> The main objective of the colonization in Chile, through foreign immigration, cannot be the numerical increase of the population, but practical education, the moral correction of the people, the introduction of order, the spirit of economy, the love of work, of agricultural techniques adapted to the soil of the southern provinces (HGeoSS 6, 2019, p. 100).

Generally speaking, "a Celebratory Engagement with the Cargo Ship" promotes the sanitization of history. As it is impossible to see the interconnection between what is on top of the ocean and under its water, the brutal historical processes (underwater) turn into soft narratives. HGeoSS 5 says, "Now [with the "discovery of the Americas"], a new world is created: techniques circulate quickly; products and diverse types of food spread all over the world. Everywhere, landscapes change: Catholic churches replaced the temples of Amerindian religions" (2019, p. 96). This kind of narrative not only softened what is submerged in the ocean but denies its reality. Saying that "Catholic churches replaced the temples of Amerindian religions" neglects the fact that Catholic Evangelization was a violent and active process that ended with replacing other religions at a very high cost (see chapter 5.3.1).

Denial of what is happening underwater and the celebration of what is on top create the illusion that everything is fantastic. Consequently, there is no need to focus on solutions. Since everything seems correct and just, there is no need to demand justice, reparation, or responsibility for the damage.

6.2.2   A Damaged-Centered[44] Engagement with the Cargo Ship.

This second level of engagement only sees the damage. It is not possible to see the connection

between what is on top and under the water from here. The most common tendency here (as

underwater reality seems so disturbing) is a rush to fix the toxic scraps and the harms it provokes.

The problem of projecting solutions or promising change from this level of engagement is that it

is impossible to view the connection between the cargo ship on top of the water and its harms

underwater. It is even harder to see the relationship the participant has with what is on top. Therefore,

the possible solutions and changes that come to life here focus on what is underwater. In this way,

the cargo ship of textbooks can continue to navigate the oceans without being liable for the damage it

has caused.

Furthermore, as the connection between the underwater damage and the cargo ship is totally

invisible, the most common solutions of this level of involvement suggest the need to load more for

the cargo ship. Thus, the load of it becomes more significant and consequently, the injuries necessary

to transport it increase as well. In other words, harmful colonial habits of being and knowing are

exacerbated while trying to solve the problems they generate.

   Discourse as a way of not saying is also at work here. The damage is detected and evidenced.

However, the reasons that explain it are linked to the damage itself (toxic scraps) or those who have

been damaged (depicted as lacking something). Then, the relationship between the cargo ship and

the damage continues to be imperceptible. The most problematic of this level of engagement is

that damaged-centred (See Eve Tuck 2009) narratives can only speak and depict brokenness,

drama, damage, harm. In so doing, those who have been damaged are presumed to lack the capacity

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[44] See Eve Tuck, 2009

to think and act, and those who are most responsible for causing the damage are left out of the picture entirely, apart from perhaps being framed as benevolent "saviours." Thus, damage is reinscribed.

An illustrative example of how textbooks allow this positioning is when referring to nature as being damaged. As nature is collapsing, textbooks propose individual solutions in which students hold the agency for changing that state. For instance, recycling, reducing and reusing. Also, textbooks suggest national solutions such as "the creation of natural protected areas" (NatS 4, 2018, p. 101) that also place the idea of a passive nature controlled by active human populations. In this case, protected areas are a national solution to "prevent nature from being altered by human activity" (Idem). This solution as chapter 5.1 shows requires separating humans from nature while assuming all humans are naturally destructive. This way, other than dominant ontologies – including other ways of relating to and respecting nature – are overlooked and limited, and the continued displacement of Indigenous peoples is naturalized. Without having the possibility to relate this intended separability to the root causes of ecological damage itself (see Sundberg et al,. 2020), textbooks invest in the illusion that ecological crisis has an easy solution. One that does not necessarily imply mainstream society as a collective. Thus, textbooks tend to offer solutions that do not take into account the complicities and complexities when trying to take care of nature. Consequently, the projected solutions tend to deepen the problem.

This engagement with the cargo ship of textbooks reproduces the tendency to favor narratives that position some people as in need while others are in a position to help (see Bryan and Bracken, 2011; Marmer, E. & Ziai, A., 2015 ; and Bendix et al., 2015). The effect of this tendency is the justification for help and charity of those who are "fortunately" wealthy without making visible how poverty is an outcome of their wealth. The lack of narratives referring to the interconnection between what is on top of water and what is under it is the reinforcement of

current unjust and hierarchical power relations. I wonder if it is possible to engage differently with the cargo ship of textbooks to move wealthy learners away from these narratives

6.2.3   A Decolonial Engagement with the Cargo Ship

This level of engagement is the only one that does not dissociate the promises and wealth the cargo ship brings with its toxic scraps and the harms it provokes. In this sense, it represents a radical space where words are not elusive of reality. From here, it is possible to see how the reality on top of the water and the one underwater are intertwined. Also from this spot, it is possible to reflect on one's own positionality in modernity/coloniality and start learning how oneself is positioned in relation to injustice. In other words, this level of engagement with the cargo ship facilitates a spot to sit with its cargo and starting to recognize complicity in the violence this cargo ship brings with it. Siting with the load of the cargo ship implies a long self-reflexive and collective recognition of complicity with the cargo ship scraps (especially for those of us who have been socialized in the celebratory engagement with the Cargo Ship of textbooks) and complexity in addressing it systemic mal functioning. Although this recognition may open a space of dialogue to try imagining the cargo ship of textbooks differently or understand there is no need for it to exist, such a respond may take longer since recognition and dialogue are important, but they are just part of a much larger, longer, and difficult process through a decolonial commitment. Regardless of the need for such a longer commitment to decolonization, this level of engagement represents one possibility to start disinvesting from modern/colonial harmful habits without denying the complexity it implies and acknowledging our complicity with its devastating scraps.

Unfortunately, none of the reviewed textbooks offer this level of engagement as a possible standpoint. The lack of engagement from this level may suggest it is not a comfortable

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standpoint to see at and be with the cargo ship. The view from the other two offers a safer space.

Assuming this level of engagement requires accepting responsibility for past and present

destructive processes the cargo ship requires to arrive at the port. It requires dealing with

"difficult knowledge," which is resisted (see, Britzman, D., 1998). Drawing from Shoshana

Felman and Jonathan Silin, Britzman proposes that when confronting "difficult knowledge"

students and teachers develop a "*passion for ignorance"* because there is an affective rejection to

learn from their own resistance to learn (1998, p. 118). Here, I expand this to textbook makers

who resist reality and turn discourse in a way of not saying.

The tendency to avoid this level of engagement is so strong that even when textbooks try to

recognize complicity with what is under the water, they fail and reiterate "a Celebratory

Engagement with the Cargo Ship." Having conversations about complicity with this harm is

nearly impossible. An illustrative example of how textbooks avoid this level of engagement is in

HGeoSS 6 (previously analyzed in chapter 5.3.2).

Although elusively, this textbook recognizes that the Chilean colonization of the Austral

territories implied the genocide of the Selk'nam nation. However, while making this statement,

HGeoSS 6 presents the "Selk'nam genocide" as a "negative consequence of the possession of the

Austral territories [by the emerging Chilean republic]" (p.105). As I previously analyzed in

chapter 5.3.2, describing genocide as a "negative consequence" is vague and insufficient–. The

thing is that genocide is not an unexpected effect of European settlement, as the textbook claims

(HGeoSS 6, 2019, p. 105), but an intentional act to eliminate a particular nation (see Oxford

Reference, June 18, 2021). By describing genocide as a mere "consequence," this textbook

assumes that the "Selk'nam genocide" unpredictably resulted from a foreign settlement. This

narrative does not permit accepting responsibility for what the cargo ship leaves underwater.

Instead, it masks the active role of the Chilean State and new settlers in enacting the extermination of the Selk'nam nation. Moreover, the employed narrative justifies the massive killings and holds the Selk'nam nation responsible for their "disappearance" (see chapter 5.3.2).

6.2.4 Concluding points

These cartographies might be presented and used to hold conversations with different actors (e.g., school teachers, school administrators, teacher candidates, high school students). If I can work as a rural public educator again, I would introduce these two cartographies to my colleagues. It is always comforting to find people who may support you. Thus, my first step will be to form a group of colleagues that may be interested in holding conversations oriented toward the generation of a decolonial dialogue. In the first place, we may review the cartographies with them and re-map them accordingly to their own perspectives and experiences. In the second place, we may present and use the cartographies with an extended audience of rural educators.

Conversations with "The Teaching of Textbooks" social cartography can perhaps start a dialogue regarding one of the teachings of textbooks and its underside. Let us take the first one (time as a linear and evolutionary phenomenon) as an example here. A way to start a conversation is by asking about their experiences teaching this conception of time. Have you felt that you or your students may have another even conflictive notion of time? Have you experienced the feeling that this notion prevents considering relevant aspects of the past? Can you recall when you realized some people (living in the present) are related to the past because of this notion of time? We can use the school textbooks to recall some examples to complement our conversation. We can wonder if schools can open space for the idea that there may be plural ways of understanding time. As some colleagues (highly invested in "Celebratory engagements

with the cargo ship of textbooks") may disagree to this possibility the second social cartography may be relevant to open space for holding other meaningful conversations.

Conversations with the "Cargo Ship of Textbooks" social cartography can perhaps start a dialogue of what does it mean the three levels of engagement. An example can be given to facilitate this dialogue. For instance, we could take "poverty" as a reference and define it from each level of engagement this cartography offers.

From a "Celebratory Engagement with the Cargo Ship," poverty is hardly recognized. When identified, it is explained as an inherent condition of certain people who cannot overcome it; thus, those in power positions can extract them and their resources to keep the Cargo Ship sailing the oceans. From a "Damage-Centered Engagement with the Cargo Ship," poverty is an endogenous problem due to a lack of resources (including skills, knowledge, hygiene, technology, and formal education among others), thus it can be overcoming with the help of those who are "fortunately" wealthy (in resources, knowledge, hygiene, technology, etcetera) that can push the poor to the top of the water. From a "Decolonial engagement" poverty is not a condition inherent to certain people and places, nor an internal problem of those populations but the impoverishment of the many in the process of wealth production. Thus, those in the position to help others overcome poverty may enter a self-reflexive process to recognize complicity in the impoverishment of the many and complexity in addressing this unjust situation.

After this example, we may ask questions to motivate meaningful conversations: How do we relate to the cargo ship of textbooks (and the texts themselves)? Should we fix the cargo ship to be more efficient and less polluting? Maybe we need to build another cargo ship so that more

people can travel on it? Should we destroy it? Can we learn from its mistakes to imagine another boat? Can we stop sailing and wait for other means of ocean navigation to travel in a coordinated way?

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1   Conclusions regarding goals of the thesis and considering current research in the field

This thesis aimed to inform, as previously stated, a long-term commitment to decolonization (see Stein et al., 2021) by making harmful colonial patterns evident in the analysis of textbooks currently use in Chilean rural schools. Revealing such patterns in textbooks may inform a commitment to sit with textbooks and work through our personal and collective investments in harm "so that we might disinvest from them and learn to be otherwise" as Stein and her colleagues propose (2021, p. 1). Thus, this thesis identified how sanctioned knowledge is presented in textbooks in ways that naturalize colonial patterns of knowing, being, and relating.

This thesis shows how investments in sanction knowledge and its related colonial patterns result in cognitive and relational violence for rural students of Indigenous descent and to a lesser extent for those of *Mestizo* descent (see "The Teachings of Textbooks" social cartography). At the basis of textbooks' sanctioned knowledge, there is an illusion of being separate from nature and other humans (see chapter 5.1 and chapter 6.1) (see Andreotti, 2016; Ahenakew, 2016; Stein et al., 2020). This illusion forms in some humans an attitude of being exceptional (see Suša, 2016). These privileged human populations learn to normalize their alleged right to exploit nature and other people in the name of progress, development, or economic growth (see chapter 5.2) (see Stein et al., 2021). Observing separability and human exceptionalism in the form of domination in textbooks is not a frequent topic of study in Chilean textbooks (see chapter 2.4). However, there are relevant studies committed to unmasking the colonial commitments of sanctioned Western knowledge in textbooks (see Bryan & Bracken, 2011; Marmer, E. & Ziai,

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A., 2015; Purwanta, H., 2017; Bendix et al., 2015; Kim et al., 2013; Mikander, P., 2016) (for references see chapter 2.3).

Another colonial pattern in textbooks' sanctioned knowledge is the tendency to use words in elusive ways. Textbooks tend to mask the connection of modern-colonial discourses with the harm they make possible. This way, this thesis shows textbooks' tendency to avoid complex engagements with reality (see chapter 6.2.2). Especially when a conversation regarding complicity in harm is demanded, textbooks tend to prefer either celebratory or damage-centred narratives, or a combination of both (see "A Cargo Ship of Textbooks" cartography in chapter 6.2). This preference implies that textbooks use "Discourse as a way of not saying" (refer to chapter 5.3). As "The Teachings of Textbooks" social cartography shows, the consequences of this colonial pattern are cognitive violence in the form of "rejection of the history of power that has relegated Indigenous onto-epistemes to a space of lesser value" and in the form of "denial of complicity in historical attempts to eliminate those epistemes" (see chapter 6.1).

Likewise, discourse as a way of not saying allows maintaining business as usual, so textbooks may inflict cognitive violence in the form of "a hierarchy of knowledges that positions Western ones as the only real, useful, and reliable. "Other" knowledges appear as non-existent, not real (myths, belief), unreliable (irrational), and useless" (see "The Teachings of Textbooks" social cartography in chapter 6.1). The harmful result of keeping things as they are is "cultural imposition" which affects Indigenous children at cognitive and relational dimensions (see in chapter 6.1). The analysis of discourse as a way of not saying is not abundant in textbook analysis. Differently, there is a tendency to analyze how "Others" are depicted in depreciative and ignorant ways in textbooks (see Zárate-Pérez, 2011; Turra-Díaz et al., 2019; Canales-Tapia

et al., 2018; Kaomea, J., 2000; Rogers, 2012; Zagumny & Richey, 2012; Eriksen, K, J., 2018) (for references see chapter 2.1).

Also, at the heart of Western sanctioned knowledge in textbooks is a specific conception of time and knowledge. On the one hand, a linear notion of time conflates with a teleology of progress (See Ahenakew 2016; and Andreotti, 2016) (see chapter 5.5 and chapter 5.4). On the other hand, there is a conception of knowledge as "rational and objective facts about the world with a universal value that can be owned, accumulated and consumed. These facts constitute an effort to explain the world in order to dominate it. Anything that the rational mind cannot know is viewed as irrelevant or non-existent" (see "The Teachings of Textbooks" social cartography in chapter 6.1). This conception of knowledge also conflates with a teleology of progress. Thus, "what was known in the past represents backwardness, while the future symbolizes the subversion from that state (that is modernity)" (chapter 6.1). These ideas inflict cognitive violence in the form of a "supposition that Indigenous knowledges will disappear due to the passage of time" and "denial of the relevance of Indigenous knowledges (which are associated with the past)" (see chapter 6.1). Therefore, rural students are exposed to relational violence in the form of being silenced, being overlooked as Indigenous people, and being subjected to belittlement. There is no literature in Chile analyzing how fundamental conceptions of knowledge and time prepare the terrain for cognitive and relational violence. In chapter 2.3, I refer to some international studies investigating Western notions to make evident their commitments with coloniality.

How Eurocentrism and Western superiority are depicted in textbooks have been observed in places distant from Chile (see Purwanta, H., 2017; Kim et al., 2013; Mikander, P., 2016; Bryan & Bracken, 2011). As these studies and this thesis show, Eurocentrism and its universalization

are powerful facets of Western knowledge in textbooks to facilitate cognitive and relational violence. Mi'kmaw scholar, Dr. Marie Battiste, points out that "Eurocentrism is not just an opinion or attitude that can be changed by some multicultural or cross-cultural exercise" (2013, p. 6). In this sense, a solid commitment to identify, interrupt, and unlearn colonial patterns such as Eurocentrism is a necessary element of decolonization. As already pointed elsewhere in this thesis, if this does not happen, then any ethical effort to "include" the "Other" in formal education texts may result in the reproduction of those same colonial patterns and, therefore, in the termination not only of different ways of being, knowing and relating but also of existing.

It is appropriate to note here that while an intellectual critique is relevant, it is limited in addressing violence, especially relational violence. While cognitive violence indeed feeds relational violence, naming it cognitively does not necessarily shift desires, investments, and behaviors. An academic thesis probably cannot do this, but how can we point out the need for many other types of commitments along with others like the one in this thesis?

7.2   Comments on strengths, limitations, futures research, and possible applications of the research findings

This research identified colonial patterns in textbooks and analyses the observed patterns to show how they are involved in coloniality (in the form of cognitive and relational violence). It shows that these patterns and its contiguous cognitive violence deny alternative ways of being, doing, relating and knowing. In this sense, it constitutes one possible important starting point to commence unlearning and disinvesting in harmful modern/colonial patterns of thought and being. In line with a long-term commitment to decoloniality, the most meaningful conclusion of this thesis is that more has to be done. It is not enough to cognitively mention that colonial patterns in school textbooks deny "Other" than dominant epistemes. This study is only a

beginning. This thesis has demonstrated the need for a broader commitment to change – beyond reviewing textbooks alone – in order to unlearn and divest in the knowledge, ways of being and relating that work to maintain modernity/coloniality intact in schools and the wider society. With this I do not mean that more research has to be conducted. What I am trying to say is that a commitment beyond the academy is necessary. A broader commitment to change may imply a work at a phycological and collective level. Beyond detecting how textbooks reinscribe harmful colonial patterns, it is needed to engage in an individual and collective process to disinvest and unlearn the knowledge, ways of being and relating that guarantee modernity/coloniality.

If further research is required, this may focus on how this long-term commitment to disinvest and unlearn the knowledge, ways of being and relating that work to maintain modernity/coloniality may become a reality in schools. Specially in those contexts that individuals and collectivities are more invested in modern/colonial habits of being, thought, and relating (usually, highly privileged contexts). The first stage of such research may observe how schoolteachers and students' colonial discourses detected in this study are reproduced or challenged. Since textbooks do not determine what is taught and learned in schools, participatory fieldwork with teachers and students may be relevant to observe how far textbooks can reach.

Do teachers challenge these colonial patterns? Or do they simply reproduce them by using textbooks? How far teachers change the colonial narratives of textbooks? How aware are students of colonial patterns in Chilean schools? Do they reject or reproduce discourses that celebrate the state of Chile, development, and colonial settlement? Is this different in the context of privilege to those of less privilege? Do students incorporate colonial attitudes? Are these celebrated in their communities or questioned and challenged?

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A second stage may consist of a workshop to explore how different school communities may work through an active, long-term commitment to decolonization. In this line, a possible application of the research findings may consist of using the social cartographies that emerged for the discussion in this study and remapping them with teachers and students. In other words, these tools can be used in an exploratory experiment to invite participants into a space of disinvestment in the observed colonial patterns. This research may analyze the difficulties, complexities and experienced resistance that could emerge when trying to commit to a long-term decolonial process oriented toward disinvesting in modern/colonial patterns.

While these projections for how research findings can be used are practical, there is something relevant to keep in mind. Decolonial work involves contradictions, paradoxes, and difficulties that are imponderable, unpredictable, and uncertain. This thickness and complexity of decolonial change requires a way of being open to that complexity. Because there is no paved road to a decolonial future, decolonial commitments require long-term stamina to walk in one direction, make mistakes, look at them, learn from them, stand up, and keep trying.

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