Teacher and Student Narratives on Experiences of Care (and Non-Care) in the Pandemic School

Narrativas Docentes y Estudiantiles sobre Experiencias de Cuidado (y No Cuidado) en la Escuela Pandémica

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The results of a qualitative study are reported, from the perspective of the ethics of care, in which the concept of care and care practices are investigated through 49 telematic interviews with teachers and students from different communities in the country. The ethics of care conceives care as a three-dimensional phenomenon, which includes concern, affections, and actions to meet the needs of others. The pandemic context has demanded the transformation from face-to-face to virtual teaching, which has implied a series of new demands for the educational communities. Inspired by the Empirically Grounded Theory method, four central categories were inductively reconstructed from the open analysis of the teachers' and students' narratives: context, definition of care, care practices and non-care practices. It is concluded that there is a fragile relationship between the perspectives of the ethics of care and the answers obtained in the interviews, in which everyone should be conceived as caregivers as well as recipients of care in coherence with the postulates of interdependence and the intrinsic relational nature of human being. A distinction is made between teachers as caregivers and students as recipients of care. It is concluded that the pandemic context has evidenced and worsened the differences in resources available for schools according to the commune, associated with the inequity in the distribution of resources in the Chilean educational system.

Key words: ethics of care, practices of care, teachers, students, pandemic.

Se reportan los resultados de un estudio cualitativo, desde la perspectiva de la ética del cuidado, en que se indaga sobre concepto de cuidado y prácticas de cuidado a través de 49 entrevistas telemáticas a docentes y estudiantes de diversas comunas del país. La ética del cuidado concibe este como un fenómeno tridimensional, que incluye la preocupación, los afectos y las acciones para atender las necesidades de otros. El contexto de pandemia ha exigido la transformación de la docencia presencial a virtual, lo que ha implicado una serie de nuevas demandas para las comunidades educativas. Inspirado en el método de la Teoría Fundada Empíricamente, se reconstruyeron inductivamente cuatro categorías centrales a partir del análisis abierto de las narrativas de docentes y estudiantes: contexto, definición de cuidado, prácticas de cuidado y prácticas de no cuidado. Se concluye que existe una frágil relación entre las perspectivas de la ética del cuidado y las respuestas obtenidas en las entrevistas, en que todos y todas deben ser concebidas como cuidadores al mismo tiempo que receptores de cuidado en coherencia con los postulados de la interdependencia y carácter relacional intrínseco del ser humano. Se distingue entre docentes como cuidadores y estudiantes como receptores del cuidado. Se concluye que el contexto de pandemia ha evidenciado y agudizado las diferencias de recursos disponibles por los colegios según la comuna, asociado a la inequidad en la distribución de recursos en el sistema educacional chileno.

Palabras clave: ética del cuidado, prácticas de cuidado, docentes, estudiantes, pandemia.

"We are caught in an inescapable web of reciprocity, bound in the single fabric of destiny.

When something affects one person directly, it affects all people indirectly"

(Martin Luther King, 1963, paragr. 5).

Article framed in FONDECYT Project nº 1181218: Narrativas, prácticas y experiencias en torno a la construcción de comunidades de cuidado en el contexto educativo, funded by CONICYT-ANID. There is no conflict of interest to disclose.

Numerous Chilean educational proposals emphasise new forms of respect and acceptance of diversity in the construction of educational communities based on a rights-based approach and the promotion of good coexistence, as documented in a qualitative analysis of laws and Municipal Education Plans (Winkler et al, 2020). In this study it was possible to recognise some norms consistent with the proposals of an ethic of care, for example with the objects of care, of others, self-care and care for the environment (Gilligan, 2013; Noddings, 2009). However, it was not possible to identify any studies or references that would give an account of the ways in which such postulates or desirable goals are understood or applied in concrete practice.

In a first stage of a larger research project (FONDECYT n° 1181218), a set of educational public policies was qualitatively analysed, reporting how numerous Chilean educational proposals emphasise new forms of respect and acceptance of diversity in the construction of educational communities based on a rights-based approach and the promotion of good coexistence (Winkler et al, 2020)). However, no studies were found on whether and how such theoretical orientations are understood or applied in practice. Therefore, the question arose as to how the members of the educational communities understand the proposals of the ethic of care, present in the documents of the Ministry of Education (MINEDUC) and the Annual Municipal Education Development Plans (PADEM), adding how the concept of care is understood and what are the identified caring practices. At the time of starting the fieldwork, the social outbreak in Chile occurred, with the closure of most of the schools in the Metropolitan Region, and when the project was reformulated to a telematic form, the Covid-19 pandemic began, which created a context in which questions about care issues in the school context became even more relevant. Thus, this paper reports a study with the specific objective of reconstructing concepts of care and an ethic of care in the narratives of students and teachers of educational establishments, through telematic interviews, acquiring even more relevance in the context of the pandemic.

Care and the Ethics of Care

The concept of care, which has a polysemous meaning and a long history in philosophy, theology, psychology and nursing, has its etymological origin in the Latin cogitare, meaning 'to think', which derives to 'to pay attention' and 'to assist' someone and 'to put application' in something (Corominas, 1987). The narrative would reveal that the primary role of care is to hold the human being together (Reich, 2014). The concept carries two fundamental meanings; they refer to worries, problems or anxieties - being 'burdened with cares'; and to focusing on the well-being of another, a positive connotation of diligent attention and devotion (Burdach, 1923, cit. in Potgieter et al., 2019).

From the 1980s onwards, the ethics of care movement unfolded, with the pioneering work of Carol Gilligan (1982, 1986), emphasising the perspective of women in moral development. Gilligan's research translated into the metaphor of a "different voice" - to the ethics of justice proposed by Lawrence Kohlberg (1980) - a voice that unifies the self with relationships and reason with emotion. Transcending such binary perspectives, the ethics of care is based on the premise that human beings are inherently relational and that the human condition is one of total interdependence (Robinson, 2011). The self is conceived as relational; identity and subjectivity do not develop in isolation, but are mutually constituted in relation to other actors.

This theoretical perspective is avowedly feminist and postulates that in a patriarchal context, caring appears as a feminine ethic, caring is what good women do and caring people do women's things: devoted to others, self-sacrificing. Whereas in a democratic context, the ethic of care is what humans do, caring for oneself and others as a natural human capacity (Gilligan, 2013).

However, the ethics of care is postulated as a reflection that goes beyond gender dichotomies. It is characterised as a reflexive-contextual process, in which the tendency to put oneself in the place of the other, to adopt their point of view, and to pay attention to feelings and concern for the concrete details of each situation is privileged. The ethics of care defines morality in terms of interpersonal relationships, affections and emotions and not in terms of abstract principles such as justice. It puts feelings of benevolence, compassion, empathy and solidarity at the forefront and not duties (Duran, 2015).

The ethics of care has been nurtured by different disciplines throughout its development and has been jointly conceived as the highest value for the respect of human dignity (Arias, 2007). Taking into consideration the different contexts of its development, we propose what Klaver, Van Els & Baart (2014) provide with four central criteria that allow us to delimit the concept. Firstly, the ethics of care implies a relationship-based programme, as Noddings (2009) points out in her feminist approach to moral education, so that relationships are understood as sources of knowledge that tell us what is needed, how to adjust, how to recognise and know. A second element is that the ethics of care is contextual and situation-specific,

assuming a local validation of its meanings. A third refers to the political dimension, reconceptualising the public and the private, both interpersonal relations and institutional aspects are addressed. Finally, a fourth aspect advocates the intrinsic relationship between empirical and ethical knowledge, the ideas and meanings of a context must be embraced because of its practice.

School and Care

In schools, teachers deal with problems, being the visible face of the educational institution, assuming a protective and even assisting role for the students (Podestá, 2019; Retuert & Castro, 2017), a situation that has been highlighted in the pandemic context.

It is observed that conflicts involving students are related to their social context, including economic and cultural elements (Retuert & Castro, 2017; Villalobos et al., 2017). On the other hand, teachers often feel that their professional training is insufficient to promote elements of socio-emotional development of children and adolescents (Araya, 2020; Berger et al., 2009; Podestá, 2019).

It is recognised that teachers' leadership faces demands in relation to their professional resources -both individual and group- to face different physical, mental, emotional and relational requirements, implying intense demands (Vicente de Vera & Gabari, 2019). In this way, there is a predominance of work demands that involve roles, including care, which the teachers themselves refer to as an area for which they have not been given prior university or in-service training. There are several conflicts present in schools, considering both the complications arising from relations within the institution and the relations that the institution establishes with others outside it. Within the establishment, it is worth highlighting the high importance of elements associated with respect for the figure of the teacher (Carrasco-Aguilar & Luzón, 2019; Villalobos et al., 2017) and the care that should be associated with their work (Ascorra et al., 2019), establishing dynamics in continuous reconstruction, validated from the professional experience of teachers (Retuert & Castro, 2017).

Studies in the ethics of care consider attention to the needs of the subjects as a priority, highlighting the characteristic of the human being as interdependent (Bernardos et al., 2020; Noddings, 2009; Torras, 2013) and, in the same sense, the literature emphasises considering elements of critical thinking, so that care is not used as a control mechanism in terms of blind obedience of the subjects, implying an activation of the social network (Mikán, 2019; Torras, 2013).

Pandemic and School

Pandemics have been present intermittently throughout human history, always leaving in their wake major consequences, such as crises of social and economic organisation, and exacerbations of prevailing segregation: political instability, high death rates, feelings of uncertainty and havoc (Castañeda & Ramos, 2020; Ledermann, 2003; Leiva et al., 2020). COVID-19 has also affected many levels of society, highlighting the costs of social isolation and increased mental health illnesses. Thus, conditions of exclusion became extremely acute, and care needs for professionals and parents increased. Schools, hospitals, families, remained as critical spaces of readaptation to sustain the protection of different groups, among them mainly children and adolescents (Leiva et al., 2020; Pérez & Martínez, 2020). In this way, the alterations in daily life and social relations added a great difficulty in sustaining care work (Ramacciotti, 2020); the need to support those who traditionally care for others from their homes, as well as families experienced an overflow of needs associated with the matter (MINSAL, 2020).

In relation to the above, schools have been critical terrains, facing constant demands and rearticulations, positioning themselves as a privileged place to face natural or pandemic disasters (O'Connor & Takahashi, 2014; López de Lérida, 2016). Although MINEDUC has been involved in the measures taken, they came late, being general and generating a lot of confusion and uncertainty (Quiroz, 2020). In 2020, a commitment was made to remote learning with the expectation of a return to normality and the creation of an Aprendo en Línea portal (Cornejo & González, 2020), assuming broad technological accessibility for students (Quiroz, 2020). The Pedagogical Guidelines for the 2021 study plan opted for a face-to-face modality that was adapted to health conditions and measures, with a focus on new knowledge articulations and synchronous teaching guidance (MINEDUC, 2021).

This is how the current context has exacerbated segregation and the violence of inequality (Piketty, 2015) in educational communities. Distance education is possible for those who have technological resources and becomes impossible for those who lack them, thus developing pedagogical continuity in a pandemic according to the characteristics, needs and possibilities of each educational institution, its teachers and, fundamentally, the technological resources of families (Anderete, 2021). In some scenarios, this has compromised the intensification of the social role of educational institutions, especially public schools, which have been an essential support in this era (Giroux et al., 2020). In addition, some wonder what to do with students in rural areas, where internet access is limited (Narváez & Yépez, 2021; Silva et al., 2020).

Today, teachers have changed the way they teach, not only because of the pandemic, but also because the scenario has changed and the goals of education have shifted to an approach associated with the development of competencies, ideally accompanied by processes of ongoing enquiry (Viñals & Cuenca, 2016). This has meant a great deal of wear and tear for the teams, tensions and pressures arise when taking the work home when there are no facilitating conditions, and there is also a lack of protocols and health safeguards for the performance of ethical shifts (Cornejo & González, 2020). However, the opportunity to create their own restructuring lines in each educational community has been expressed (Ramírez & López, 2020; Jiménez & Valdés, 2020). It is necessary to investigate to what extent this opportunity has been implemented.

Method

Type of research and design

A qualitative study was carried out, epistemologically inspired by the constructivist and feminist postulates of Yvonna Lincoln (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Denzin & Lincoln, 2012), with a descriptive design based on the narratives of key agents, by means of telematic interviews.

The study of narratives, as a way of accessing knowledge (Domínguez & Herrera, 2011), seeks to reconstruct experiences in order to understand the process of recreating meanings of the participants' own actions in a given context (Arias & Alvarado, 2015); the meaning that social actors elaborate in their discourses, actions and interactions becomes the central focus (Ministerio de Educación, Ciencia y Tecnología de la Nación Argentina, 2007).

In this project, narratives are understood as "a short story with a given topic" (Chase, 2015, p. 60), based on in-depth interviews initiated with an open-ended question, probing the narrator's experiences, emphasising their point of view, emotions, thoughts and interpretations. Narrative research is conceived as a subset of qualitative research in which a thematically organised text is analysed (Polkinghorne, 1995). In order to reconstruct the experiences of teachers and students in a context and subject little studied in our country, we were inspired by Empirically Grounded Theory, specifically in the stage of open categorisation, for a simultaneous process of invitation to participate and analysis of the interviews, inductively elaborating the categories that finally constitute a tree that accounts for the shared aspects - as well as some differences - in the narratives of the interviewees. Of particular interest is the inductive analysis of the experiences, validating the emerging categories, in coherence with a perspective that seeks to give voice to the participants in a new and highly complex context.

Participants

Teachers and students were contacted using the snowball technique (Taylor & Bogdan, 1987), considering that they belonged to secondary education, from any type of school and region of Chile, obtaining the following distribution:

Table 1Characterisation of participants

		Teachers	Students
Sex	Woman	15	17
	Man	9	8
Type of Educational	Municipal	12	6
Establishment	Private Subsidised	9	14
	Private individual	3	5
Region of Residence	Atacama	_	1
region of residence	Valparaíso	3	1
	O'Higgins	2	2
	Maule	-	2
	Bío Bío	1	1
	Los Rios	-	1
	The Lakes	3	-
	Aysén	-	1
	Metropolitan	14	15
	Not reported	1	1
Total		24	25

Procedure

Contact with participants was made by email from an initial group identified in the researchers' networks, extending the invitation to participate to those who collaborated in previous phases of the larger research. The Informed Consent process was ratified with a signature on the document or with a conductive email, to subsequently conduct interviews by Meet platform, recorded only in audio and transcribed verbatim; they were conducted between October 2020 and January 2021, with an approximate duration of 50 minutes, covering definition, practices, agents and experiences of care within the establishment.

Ethical aspects

The study was approved by the accredited Ethics Committee of the University of Santiago de Chile. Given the changes in the methodology from a face-to-face to a virtual modality, due to the closure of the schools, as well as the low risk of participation, the Committee approved the implementation of an Informed Consent process based on the concept of mature minor (León, 2012), so that those over 14 years of age did not require parental approval for their participation. The identity and image of the participants was strictly protected.

According to ANID guidelines, this study is strictly governed by the Singapore Declaration (National Science and Technology Development Fund, 2016). The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest, following international ethical guidelines (Canadian Institutes of Health Research, 2018).

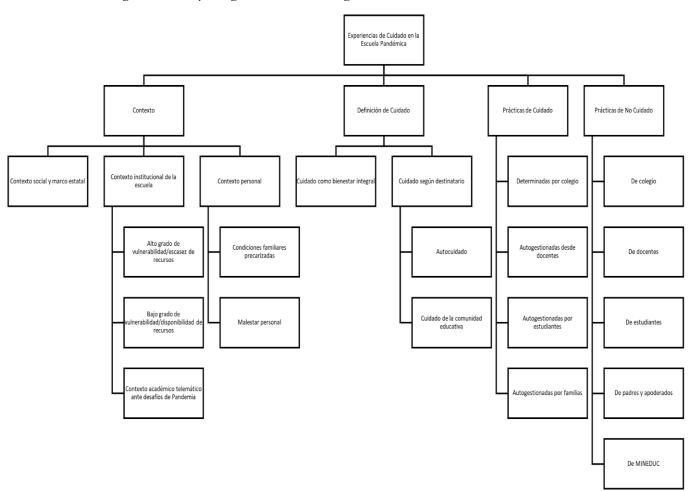
Data construction and analysis

Based on Empirically Grounded Theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Vivar et al., 2010), an open categorisation was carried out, validated intersubjectively by the researchers. First, the teacher interviews were analysed by constructing a tree of categories, then the student interviews were analysed in the same way and finally an integrated tree was elaborated. For both teachers and students, we proceeded to an intracase and then inter-case analysis, in order to configure an integrated system of experiences around the reconstructed narratives captured in the category tree, exemplified with textual quotations.

Results

The inductive analysis for the open categorisation of the narratives obtained through the interviews resulted in the identification of four central categories and their respective subcategories, the first being context, definition of care, care practices and non-care practices:

Figure 1
Integrated tree of categories and subcategories



Source: Own elaboration.

The results presented below include the narratives shared by students and teachers as well as the reconstructed distinctions and exemplary quotes. The following indicators were used to identify the interviewees: teacher or student, Mu for municipal school, Pa for public school, PS for subsidised public school, Fe for female and Ma for male.

Context

This category contains teachers' and students' references to the circumstances surrounding their experiences during the pandemic. It is broken down into three subcategories, from the social/state context to the personal context.

Social Context and State Framework

As a framework for their personal experiences, this subcategory refers to the effects of the economic recession, machismo and equality gaps in different municipalities and regions of the country. Likewise, in the case of teachers, it includes explicit questioning of MINEDUC regulations on the pandemic.

Table 2
Quotes from teachers and students

Subcategory	Quote
Social Context and State Framework	Those who have not been connected is because some of them have had to go to live in the countryside, outside the region, because their families were left without work. So they had to leave their homes and go live with relatives (Teacher 1, Mu, Fe).
	(Regarding MINEDUC regulations): These orientations have been changed. I mean, first the orientation at the beginning of the year was 'nothing is evaluated with a grade', () they are formative evaluations; () now it's like 'not everyone can pass', there has to be a grade and blah, blah, blah, so it's like they contradict each other (Teacher 7, Mu, Fe).

Institutional Context of the School

This subcategory refers both to the availability of resources, depending on the degree of vulnerability of the respective educational establishments, and to the changes from face-to-face teaching to the telematic modality.

High degree of vulnerability/scarcity of resources. Corresponds to contexts where poor material and human conditions prevail. In some cases, it is associated with the presence of different types and degrees of violence, from school authorities towards teachers and, in some cases, from teachers towards students.

Low degree of vulnerability/availability of resources. Such contexts include availability of material resources for e-learning, human resources training and some positive relational experiences, from authorities or among colleagues.

Telematic Academic Context in the face of Pandemic Challenges. This refers to the change from face-to-face teaching to telematic teaching, entailing a series of alterations: all the schools took on an online class modality, being disrupted by difficulties for virtual communication such as: connection problems, insufficient knowledge in the use of technologies, lack of material resources, lack of feedback (cameras turned off) and low student participation, elements that were attempted to be remedied through training for teachers, provision of computer equipment and/or vouchers for internet expenses. However, students recognise that the virtual context has led to a reduction in academic demands and class hours.

Students report obstructions to the teaching-learning process, such as the completion of internships, the graduation ceremony and preparation for the University Transition Test. However, students report that the schools were cautious about the return, postponing it and establishing hygiene and care protocols.

This new teaching modality led to an overload of work for teachers due to additional tasks, for example, there were specific ethical shifts of teachers for the delivery of JUNAEB food baskets.

The transfer of the school to the home caused a blurring of the limits of the teaching role and family roles, also for the students it implied an overload of tasks and a lack of delimitation between timetables.

Table 3 *Quotes from teachers and students*

Subcategory	Quote
Institutional Context of the School	High degree of vulnerability/scarcity of resources There were no resources, there were no people. There were no psychologists in the school. There was no psychopedagogue, there was no one. So, of course, there is an inequality there, but I can't even explain it to you (Teacher 2, P, Fe).
	Low degree of vulnerability/availability of resources () The corporation () is very protective of its students. We know that () it is one of the communes that has the most resources, that its students have a lot of needs covered. I mean from the monetary, in terms of materials that there are always materials for everything () to the social, emotional, psychological support of the work teams within the school itself. There are referrals within the school itself, there are vaccination plans that go to the school itself, oral health, for example (Teacher 21, Mu, Ma).
	Telematic Academic Context in the Face of Pandemic Challenges What is most often repeated is the issue of being overwhelmed, not having space for personal life, as if everything is super mixed up and never stopping, not giving oneself the necessary space to rest, to cut the working day short and say "now, now my non-working life is starting" (Teacher 8, P, Faith). It was a bit complicated for me because I didn't have the teachers in person to ask them questions. So the consultations were more complicated (Student 25, PS, Fe).

Personal context

This subcategory contains narratives about family situations of vulnerability and personal effects of the pandemic.

Precarious family conditions

They refer to the vulnerable family context of students, reflected in the interference that certain dynamics and conditions exert on the teaching-learning process.

Personal well-being/discomfort

It alludes to the effects of the pandemic context and virtual education on personal well-being. In this context, for the teachers, references to stress and burnout arise, showing that they work in a context of high personal demands.

In the case of students, the emotional effects of the pandemic situation are reiterated, as they change their routines and are isolated from their peers.

Table 4 *Quotes from teachers and students*

Subcategory	Quote
Personal Context	Precarious family conditions As it is a complex context, imagine living in a camp, not having, I don't know, access to drinking water, there are very few people who have their own room. Some people, for example, told me now during the pandemic, that they slept, they were together, the whole family was in one room (Teacher 5, Mu, Fe). Personal discomfort Look, on a personal level, the first few months were very difficult () I feel that it affected my mental health to the extent that I myself felt more stressed, because the issue of being locked up coincided with a way of working that we were not used to and that at the beginning was very, very demanding, very time-consuming (). The stress was high () which meant that in the first few months we were self-exploiting ourselves to keep up with the circumstances and that did not change until we realised that the pandemic was not going to be a short thing and that it was going to last too long to keep up this pace of work, this pace of work is unsustainable (Teacher 17, Mu, Ma).

Definition of Care

This category contains the narratives to the question "What is care understood and how would care be defined?

Care as holistic wellbeing

It concerns definitions that assume that care exists, while referring to its different dimensions. They are abstract concepts that do not specify the actions to be taken or what care entails, and are included under the theme of well-being.

Table 5Definition of care according to teachers and students

Subcategory	Quote
Care as holistic wellbeing	Caring is like paying attention and protecting certain aspects in order to be well. Emotionally, physically. I think it's like that (Teacher 10, Mu, Ma).

Concept of care according to addressee

They focus on a dimension of the care recipient, who can be the person speaking, their close ones or the educational community where the students are prioritised.

Self-care. It implies restricting the definition of care to one's own experience and ways of caring for oneself. Some interviewees include within self-care the dedication of resources to their own family.

Care for the educational community. Narratives that focus on the local educational context. Definitions are established according to the teacher's experience within the school, referring to all members of the school or to the students with whom they work.

Table 6Definition of care according to teachers and students

Subcategory	Quote
Concept of care according to addressee	Self-care In context pandemic I think that in taking care of oneself, it is important to set limits () to set limits for people and to set limits for oneself, because I think that was another of the things that we did not know, that is, teleworking became working all day long, without timetables (). So if I work from such and such an hour until such and such an hour, I have to comply with that. Self-care also means valuing oneself, i.e. seeing eh how far I can go without overexerting myself, i.e. if I am exhausted from the computer (Teacher 7, Mu, Fe).
	In general context Like physical and psychological wellbeing, so taking care is at some point thinking about the things that affect me, giving myself a moment, when I want to cry, I give myself a moment to cry, when I need to eat I eat and now that I need to lose weight, I am losing weight -laughs- () basically that, not losing wellbeing, when I feel that physically, I don't know, I am not sleeping or physically I am () my hair is falling out, Cachay? I don't know, I am very anxious, I try to stop and find out what is happening to me, I think about it and I try to take care of it, I talk about it with my husband or with myself -laughs- and so on, so that would be like self-care (Teacher 9, P, Faith).
	Care for the educational community For All Certain needs that are safeguarded and () covered by the institution () for all the people who make up the educational community (Teacher 5, Mu, Fe). For Students There is a concern that, on the one hand, the material aspects of the student should be good and also the part about taking care that the student feels valued, that does exist, but what does not exist, in reality, is a concern about the forms, about the treatment, the treatment of students is often not dignified and during this pandemic it has been dignified, because this treatment is not centred on the

Care practices

Corresponds to actions, attitudes or activities aimed at caring for another or oneself and perceived as such.

Determined by school

Towards teachers. This corresponds to the implementation of self-care workshops, with an evaluation of low effectiveness. In addition, working hours have been restricted and teaching work has been adjusted, given that administrative and pedagogical tasks have increased. In some cases, the definition of weeks off for rest; also, the decision to stay at home was evaluated as a safeguard against infection.

On more cross-cutting aspects of the pandemic, some teachers emphasise the care taken to maintain a good working environment, the recognition of teachers' work by management and colleagues, as well as gifts for Teachers' Day, the functioning of the union in safeguarding labour rights, the possibility of catharsis in team meetings, and the support of management.

The student body perceives that the institution is clearly concerned about providing training for teachers, taking into account illnesses and safeguarding the maintenance of their jobs.

To students. Correspond to different forms of material support to students with common pots, collections, family baskets, computers, internet or printed guides.

Given the high level of mental health affectation, prevention, containment and meditation spaces were implemented; above and beyond the transfer of content, there was constant monitoring of how they were doing, inquiring about the reasons for absences, referrals to a professional psychologist, and home visits were made to those who were most at psychosocial risk. In this respect, the students emphasise the presence of constant questions about their state of mind and the permission to protect their privacy by not making the use of the computer camera compulsory. The course or guidance council occupies a prominent and protected place for catharsis, discussion of topics of interest or self-care. They emphasise that there is concern and communication with those who do not attend. In general, the head teacher is perceived as someone they trust, who accompanies and protects them.

There were special measures for fourth-grade students, who valued the psychologist's attention to their decisions and university entrance, the maintenance of a face-to-face graduation, zoom talks and spaces for conversation about their dreams and future. Other students pointed out that community rituals were held, such as the anniversary and the construction of the yearbook.

In academic terms, adjustments were made for those who required it: granting more deadlines, exempting attendance due to psychosocial risk, lowering the grading scales and the availability for clarification of doubts and protected timetables for work and diagnostic evaluations.

In more cross-cutting contexts, teachers report that one form of care is the curricular adjustment for those with learning or mental health problems, together with the deployment of reinforcement, the follow-up work of the different psychosocial teams on emotional well-being, reporting sensitive situations of students and looking after their rights, addressing drug use and domestic violence, promoting diversity and celebrating their birthdays. As students report, there is more support for learning difficulties or disabilities, including referral to PIE (Programa de Integración Escolar) when appropriate. Students specify the approach to conflicts or spaces to talk, definition of delegates, anti-bullying programme, very concerned head teacher, system for reporting problematic situations and integration of students. Finally, they point out the presence of a food grant.

Towards parents. Rarely mentioned, teachers emphasise communication with them as a primary source of student support in education during the pandemic: by phone, in meetings, by sending summaries of agreements, as well as video recordings of these meetings. Some families receive scholarships and benefit from common pots.

Table 7Care practices determined by educational institutions

Subcategory	Quote
Determined by school	Towards Teachers Well, the school offered each teacher mentoring. The person in charge of computers, when this issue started, at the end of March, April, May, offered us a tutorial by the teacher who is in charge of everything related to computers. So we had personalised advice (Teacher 20, Mu, Ma).
	Towards Students The issue of attendance, in my high school it was weighted in the grade, but if you could justify your attendance, you didn't get a mark. So that helps in the end (Student 8, Mu, Ma).
	To Proxies On the social level, for a time, when the quarantine issue was at its height, we made common pots and, apart from JUNAEB, we gave students a social basket every fortnight, apart from that, we made a common pot twice a week (), then when the economy was reactivated we stopped doing it and we have done solidarity campaigns such as collecting money to give some kind of scholarships and this kind of thing to families who are very needy (Teachers 17, PS, Ma).

Self-managed by teachers

Towards teachers. Teachers emphasise the union's support in various ways: support in technological management; concern for health and financial support; assistance to head teachers with high work demands; teamwork and adaptation to the different realities of colleagues; playing ball, recreational communication and birthday celebrations; safeguarding working conditions and good relations between colleagues.

From the students' accounts, the concern among teachers and the attempt to set limits on working hours is also visible.

Towards students. Teachers report having taken on a more protective role as head teacher, attending to urgent calls, trying to get telephone numbers, providing greater follow-up, supporting in situations of bereavement and funerals, making collections and providing support in classes. At the same time, they are trying to innovate in virtual classes in order to motivate students who are discouraged and find it difficult to concentrate. They emphasise the establishment of dignified and respectful treatment and conversations between colleagues in the face of student concerns.

The students, in turn, highlight their teachers' initiatives, such as asking about their state of mind, the "rounds of unburdening" - in which humour is used in a relaxed dynamic -, and their availability and willingness to talk.

Towards parents. Teachers stop to listen to parents during the pandemic, which is also made visible by students who mention them as organisers of solidarity campaigns.

Table 8 *Teacher-led self-managed care practices*

Subcategory	Quote
Self-managed by teachers	Towards Teachers The group of teachers is quite united, at least at the school where I am, we haven't felt that much help from them [management], because we are very proactive in that sense, so there is a kind of organisation in which we celebrate birthdays and give them presents and we are constantly calling each other, but it comes more from us than from the school that concern for their emotional wellbeing (Teacher 17, PS, Ma).
	Towards Students At least I was very lucky that all my teachers were very flexible, and they communicated with me () this year, it was a lot of: kids, what date suits you, if you need more time let me know, and my head teacher at least, was always there () and he always asked us, how do you feel, be realistic, has something happened to you, how have you been with the delivery of the work, do you need me to talk to a teacher; the contact with the teachers was quite good (Student 22, P, Fe).
	To Proxies I have a proxy of my boss who was being evicted from her house because she couldn't pay the rent (). The student was very unmotivated, she was doing very badly, she didn't want to join the classes, she didn't want anything (). So we started to see, I did a solidarity campaign with some friends and we raised the money for the rent of their house so they wouldn't be evicted (Teacher 22, Mu, Fe).

Self-managed by students

Students emphasise the importance of keeping in touch with their peers to provide academic support and create spaces for relaxation. They emphasise video calls with friends, showing their concern through messages, writing together pending guides, sharing study material, lending notes to classmates who do not have internet, taking printed guides to them, reminding each other of activity deadlines, notifying teachers if they detect that a classmate needs help, and choosing classmates to be the link with teachers. In addition, they indicate helping their teachers with technical problems when they perceive that they have difficulties with the use of technology and empathising with them, to the point of organising themselves to activate their cameras and prevent their teachers from feeling alone.

Table 9
Student self-managed care practices

Subcategory	Quote
Self-managed by students	Towards Students Once I made a jamboard for all of us so that we could anonymously tell each other and encourage each other to keep going. It was like the end of the semester and the girls could say motivational phrases or () I don't know, I love you, thank you, I miss you. We could also put photos of ourselves and I think it was a very emotional moment (Student 14, PS, Fe).

Self-care

Teachers refer to setting limits on working hours as self-care, along with making time for the family. Some mentioned attending dance classes, individual psychotherapy, leaving home, opting for better working conditions, trying not to get involved in students' personal conflicts and adjusting teaching methods to require less preparation time.

Students report practices aimed at prioritising their peace of mind over academic performance, giving themselves time to be distracted, even turning off their mobile phones to have a moment of disconnection. Some report contacting teachers to ask for extra time or to consult psychologists at school.

Table 10Self-care practices expressed by teachers and students

Subcategory	Quote
Self-care	Teacher So, personally, I also felt a bit saturated with the workload, so I am also receiving psychological support, on my part, also because of the stress. Now in my forties, because in the background, well, my partner is also depressed here at home, so it was more difficult for me and I suddenly felt that I would not be able to cope with so much work and () I thought that it would be much better to have this psychological support and it has done me a lot of good (Teacher 6, P, Fe).
	Student I think () I don't know if it was the best strategy that I took, but it was like prioritising my peace of mind or my mental health rather than, for example, my grades at school or trying to talk to my teachers to see if they could give me a little more time to look for help or to let everyone know (). I also spoke to the pre-university psychologist at the time, and she recommended that I make different study plans that also included relaxation time and that I should also be constantly talking to my friends and understanding that I wasn't the only one going through this situation, that we were all going through it. I think that helped me a bit (Student 22, P, Faith).

Managed by Family

Families, meanwhile, appear in the students' discourses as mediators of learning and regulators of academic demands, providing material conditions for attending online classes and offering constant emotional support. In addition, they intervene by contacting the school in the event of conflicts with teachers, they oppose the return to face-to-face classes to protect their physical health, and they organise important rituals for their sons and daughters, such as the completion of their bachelor's degree.

Table 11Family-managed care practices

Subcategory	Quote
Family-managed	My mum still helps me, she understands that I'm stressed about some things at school, because they send a lot of things, even though they give us plenty of time, there are still a lot of all the subjects. She talks to me and tells me that it's not the end of the world if I do badly in something (Student 4, PS, Fe).

Non-care practices

Corresponds to actions and activities described and evaluated negatively, which have produced discomfort and affected the overall well-being of the participants.

From the establishment

Towards teachers. The teaching staff repeatedly state that they do not care about the precariousness of their working conditions, normalised with a focus on production in a short period of time. For example, devaluation of their work in caring for students, dismissals, disincentives to union organisation, little support in the face of difficulties with parents.

The above referred to the pandemic translates into extensive meetings with mistreatment, the absence of the delimitation of working hours - the private becomes public -, little support in training, uncertainty in information about the measures of the establishment, working with their own implements, not feeling listened to or cared for, and attending school in person without sufficient sanitary safeguards.

Students report situations where they do not care for teachers, such as not receiving enough support from management.

Towards students. The students narrate several circumstances considered as not caring, without clearly distinguishing what would be typical of the pandemic context, relating experiences lived at different times in their education, such as expressions of machismo and homophobia, specifically on the part of adults.

Teachers refer to an academic emphasis on more holistic care of students' mental health, favouring the production of good academic results. There is a tendency to discourage student organisation and the generation of community, and even the student centre is not listened to, with an adult-centred approach and an over-intervention centred on diagnostic measures occasionally taking precedence.

The students themselves also report an academic emphasis to the detriment of their psychological well-being, with a concentration of evaluations that precipitate emotional crises and a more beneficial differentiated treatment of students with good performance. They point out that the school tends not to get involved or treat students badly in conflictive or crisis circumstances, for example: poor communication with students; lack of information about activities and measures; non-attendance at student assemblies; concern about the school's image in the face of teachers' funas and harassment of students who complained; and no intervention in cases of bullying and/or harassment.

They recognise that the teaching staff responds with personal care measures and not the school authorities. Likewise, in many cases, the students refer to practices of non-care in the context of social unrest, for example, the entry of the police and the closure of the establishment in the face of protests and the lack of concern for students detained in demonstrations.

In municipal schools, there is a lack of concern for infrastructure issues, with students reporting leaks, old furniture, bathrooms in poor condition, associated with a sense of hopelessness and disinterest on the part of the authorities.

Table 12Non-care practices identified by teachers and students interviewed

Subcategory	Quote
By school	Towards Teachers I think there was little empathy with the teachers. They thought that if we didn't do anything because we didn't have the tools, we were on holiday. But deep down you know that you have to comply and you don't have the tools, you start to feel unwell, you get stressed, you get nervous, what do I know, you sleep badly, you think about how to solve it, but there is no way to solve it (Teacher 19, Mu, Fe).
	Towards Students There is a lack of concern for understanding what is really happening to the student and why the student is the way he/she is, there is an attempt to fix the problems through the consequences of their actions, rather than the causes of their () what made them the way they are (Student 6, PS, Ma).

Of teachers

Towards teachers. There are reports of tensions between colleagues experienced as not caring, for example, insufficient flexibility in the face of the timetable difficulties of colleagues with children, abuse of the help offered, greater validation of the voice of head teachers and teachers of scientific-humanist subjects versus teachers of artistic-sports subjects.

Towards students. Teachers mention disqualifications of various kinds (xenophobia, homophobia, scribbling) from colleagues towards students.

For their part, students mention abuse of power by teachers, ill-treatment experienced as humiliation, favouritism towards students with good performance, lack of concern for their emotional state and non-response to e-mails.

Table 13Non-care practices identified by teachers and students interviewed

Subcategory	Quote
By Teachers	Towards Teachers For example, I have a colleague who has a 2-year-old baby and the only time she can work is at night, so I have had to adapt, be empathetic and work late so that we can work together. As there are other colleagues who say no, my timetable is from 8 to 6 and I am not going to extend my timetable (Teacher 16, PS, Fe). Towards Students
	() the thing is that one class we were there talking and the teacher asked a question and nobody answered, as usual, nobody answered, everybody stayed quiet, I answered it all right and the teacher said to me ah R, ah you can answer, well, I thought you were a little bit stupid, with that kind of tone that bothered me a lot, I'm joking I'm answering the question that nobody answers, I'm fishing the class and there, and then it was like what am I going to say (Student 23, P, Ma).

From students

Some teachers report receiving abuse and harassment from their students, such as teasing, while some students report irony and homophobic remarks among themselves.

Table 14Non-care practices identified by teachers and students interviewed

Subcategory	Quote
By Students	Towards Students There are many situations that you see on a daily basis, for example these anonymous pages, that reach you as messages and () well, personally for me, I went through a very unpleasant situation: they started to harass me virtually - which had already happened before when I was in eighth grade - and they started to send me very denigrating and ugly messages; there were about three accounts. Then they took them down, or people helped me to take them down. And then, the last one, they made one with my personal photos () I felt very vulnerable in that aspect (Student 14, PS, Fe). Towards Teachers We had our religion teacher () who was in a room by himself, facing forty-five students who didn't catch him and it was every week and in every class, so, at least in my opinion, despite the fact that the teacher always arrived with a smile and came to make an effort with our class so that we would pay attention, I feel
	that he was bad, he wasn't one hundred percent well, because he wasn't having an effect and they didn't catch him in class directly. So I don't know if the school never realised, if the teacher never said it, but it was surprising that it was not only in my class, it was in all the classes that he had classes and it was very difficult for him to control the class, there were some classes where there was silence while he was explaining and they could all be doing different things, but we were in silence and others where they were shouting, where the teacher would ask them to listen and nothing (Student 16, PS, Faith).

From parents and guardians

Teachers are rebuked by parents who hold them responsible for measures implemented by the school's governing body.

Table 15Non-care practices identified by teachers and students interviewed

Subcategory	Quote
By Proxies	Towards Teachers [A parent] once said to me 'that gives you colour' and he snapped at me like that, and I was like 'pa' dentro' with them answering you like that () that they don't respect you as much as they used to respect you, maybe. So there are schools that don't respect you as a teacher and there are others that do. For example, in a private school where I worked, a cuico school, sometimes they treat you worse because T'm paying you', they tell you (Teacher 16, PS, Fe).

From MINEDUC

With regard to public education policies, teachers report feeling neither cared for nor recognised or valued. They mention the lack of contextualisation and adaptation of the curriculum to the different social realities and the context of the pandemic, for example, with very general and late guidelines and out-of-date booklets, with constant pressure from administrative overload and a high sense of uncertainty due to changes and indecision in national educational measures, with a notorious inequality of resources.

Table 16
Non-care practices identified by teachers and students interviewed

Subcategory	Quote
From MINEDUC	Towards Teachers I think that () well, a () thinking by the Ministry of Education. It has been a very bad Minister of Education, very bad management. Because our president of the Colegio de Profesores has repeatedly insisted that there should be meetings of different groups from all the schools. Of some, let's say, that represent parents, students, teachers, administrative staff. And see how this () because he already says "yes, first of March, all students go back to school". But he has never held an open meeting where everyone can say "yes, this way it can be" () his leadership is bad, I find that he is the one who has done very bad leadership (Teacher 18, Mu, Fe).

Conclusions

The analysis of the interviews made it possible to reconstruct the narratives about the main experiences lived in the educational establishments in the context of the pandemic, both with regard to the ethics of care and the concept of care and the related categories of care and non-care practices, framed in the category of context, from the social to the personal.

The inductive analysis shows that the emerging categories reveal three major distinctions in the results. Firstly, there is a distinction between schools with more and fewer resources for dealing with the pandemic situation, which depends on whether they are municipal, subsidised or private schools, as well as on the commune to which they belong. Secondly, there is a distinction in care roles between teachers and students, with teachers appearing as primary caregivers and students as primary recipients of care. Lastly, the category of practices understood as non-care emerged as an unexpected category.

The following concludes by establishing relationships between some categories and, at the same time, linking them to central issues raised in the theoretical background and with references to relevant empirical studies.

Regarding the concept of care, central to an ethic of care, teachers and students share a broad enunciation focused on the educational context, a finding consistent with the results of a previous study (Winkler et al, 2020) in which a content analysis of a subset of public policies was carried out, in which the concept of care is mentioned only in general terms and without an application to concrete situations. Thus, the concept of care is subsumed under others, which appear as educational objectives, such as socioemotional well-being and school coexistence.

Somewhat more specific is the reference to attention to people's needs, as well as the relevance of a holistic care concept and self-care. This only partially corresponds to the relational element in the concept of care of Klaver, Van Els & Baart (2014) and Noddings (2009) as there seems to be no clarity regarding the relational forms to be expected within the educational communities in this new context.

On the other hand, the concept of care does appear to be closely dependent on the context, mainly as a manifestation of the structural inequality of the Chilean education system (Quiroz, 2020), which emerges as a transversal axis that affects the different experiences, the availability of resources of the schools to face the pandemic. Thus, schools located in municipalities with different average incomes have different resources available to address the contingency.

While one school has a golf course for students, in others they must share a mobile phone with the rest of the family and connect at unconventional times with teachers or classmates.

Regarding the political dimension, associated with institutional aspects, even when MINEDUC tried to contribute with guidelines and suggestions so that the virtualisation of education would not significantly affect the members of the school community (Educomlab, 2020), our results show that for teachers this has been an unequal context, in that they report more frequent difficulties connecting to the internet than students, in a highly complex context. The role of psychologists appears blurred and of little relevance in the context of the pandemic, except as those responsible for relaxation workshops or conducting interviews with students and teachers, professional actions considered to be specific and with unclear and unspecified objectives.

Regarding the fourth element of care proposed by the aforementioned authors, when we refer to the praxis associated with an ethic of care, i.e., which practices are conceived as care, unlike what common sense would suggest, they are not clearly distinguishable, i.e., for some a practice is care and for others it is not care. Thus, for example, the delivery of social baskets by the teaching staff to vulnerable students' families is seen by some as a caring practice and by others as an overload beyond the traditional teaching role, which adds tasks and demands. When the management of practices that the recipients categorise as care are not supported so that they can be carried out, they translate into practices that make it impossible to care for others. In order to care for someone, something is left undone, the teacher is relegated to his or her own care or that of those close to him or her, and this is also in line with the concept of reconstructed care, which focuses on the satisfaction of basic needs and minimum conditions for its exercise. Such differences in the attributions of meanings are consistent with the results of Ascorra et al. (2018) on the concept of school coexistence, closely related to care practices, which shows how the interpretations of the constructs may vary according to contexts and subjects.

However, with regard to the care practices established by the schools for the teachers, most of them are evaluated as deficient, due to the fact that they are one-off experiences, as previously mentioned. For example, a relaxation workshop, under the assumption that such an activity will be effective - almost magically - and without proper follow-up. It is generalised as a solution, without taking into account individual differences, leaving the responsibility on the teachers themselves. This carries over into some forms of care for students, where it is assumed that a particular activity will be equally effective for all, denying contextual and personal differences. However, there is evidence that the management of prolonged stress requires systematic interventions appropriate to different realities and that isolated interventions are not sufficient (Lehrer et al., 2008).

Thus, a gap is identified when thinking about the care of teachers, as if they are incorporated into a care chain mainly as caregivers and, at the same time, excluded from the care they need. Thus, the perspectives reconstructed in this study are not explicit in considering the relational and interdependent dimensions that would be at the basis of societies and communities, according to the perspective of the ethics of care, as developed by Durán (2015).

In contrast to this absence of consideration for the care of the teaching staff, one of the central narratives refers to the fact that the students have received constant monitoring from teachers about the general conditions of their emotional state, under a concept of comprehensive care, which they value positively. Therefore, one of the positive consequences of the pandemic could be that this concern for the students is maintained, beyond their performance in the teaching-learning process.

These findings strain approaches to the ethics of care that emphasise sustaining a good life, recognising that we are both recipients of care and caregivers by acknowledging our mutual interdependence (Tronto, 2020).

Care and its exercise, when defined contextually, questions, for example, what is guaranteed so that it can be carried out, such as the minimum conditions of existence. Could it be that the narratives of students and teachers show how a health crisis that harbours other crises -social, economic and political-, in a segregative and unequal neoliberal model -which also exploded in crisis-, focuses care precisely on maintaining and ensuring the satisfaction of basic needs to maintain productivity, rather than allowing questions about the life that is to be managed?

The relevant finding that refers to the narratives regarding the practices of non-care experienced by teachers and students seems a counter-intuitive result, questioning the approaches of public policies and their emphasis on promoting the well-being of the entire school community (Winkler et al, 2020), since schools, instead of being social spaces of care and protection, are also spaces of mistreatment in different types and levels. Reported experiences include all members of the school community and even MINEDUC as sources of discomfort. Non-care practices between teachers and students appear bidirectionally, and parents and guardians are also mentioned as relevant actors for teachers, as perpetrators of situations of mistreatment towards them. Both teachers and students refer to practices of non-care on the part of what they call "the school": actions of the authorities of the educational establishment, in a complaint towards the school, which appears as an external entity, without an appropriation of the concept of educational community. In addition, both students and teachers widely describe that the institution does not respond to various delicate circumstances that require formal support, with teachers being the ones who must take more direct and daily responsibility for the management of complex care.

Teachers are left in a solitary place in the exercise of care work towards students, as one of the few sources capable of recognising the requirements of care in extreme life circumstances due to the pandemic, especially in contexts of greater scarcity of socio-economic resources. Han (2012) postulates that the management of care in precarious socio-economic contexts in Chile implies that family relationships are overburdened as almost exclusive care networks. On the basis of a state that relegates life support and care to families and individuals, we wonder whether these postulates are comparable to the critical situation faced by teachers in the exercise of student care in the current context.

From the perspective of the ethics of care, it is possible to understand the implications of the practices described above, which include deepening isolation rather than facilitating social coping that promotes the generation of community and human development (López, 2009). As Ticktin (2011) mentions, policies that focus on care work become anti-political if they preserve the social order rather than fostering a radical critical politics.

Finally, although it has been possible to reconstruct elements of an ethic of care in some of the definitions provided in the narratives, as well as in the practices of care, mainly by teachers towards students, there is no understanding of care in all its complexity, as a three-dimensional process that includes concern, affection and action to meet people's needs (Cancian & Oliker, 2000). For example, laws 20.370 (General Education Law) and 20.536 (School Violence Law) include norms that refer to goals related to the concept of care, such as the right to physical, psychological and moral integrity and the harmonious coexistence of the members of the educational community. However, this appears in general terms and does not provide guidance on forms and modalities that favour its achievement (Winkler et al, 2020).

In closing, it should be noted that, although qualitative research allows for the construction of local and contextualised knowledge, and is considered highly relevant for educational research (Rojas, 2019), it does not seek to generalise its results. In addition to this, there are limitations associated with the context of the pandemic and the respective closure of the schools, as a broader research approach was initially envisaged. However, in order to give continuity to the research, it was necessary to telematise and reduce the scope of the study, leaving a survey of information with other actors and other tools, such as principals, parents and guardians, focus groups, non-participant observations of recess, eliminated at the beginning of the pandemic, and the implementation of quarantines.

Likewise, the change from face-to-face to digital interviews necessarily meant that narratives became central to the analysis, significantly reducing access to other important information, such as the non-verbal language of the interviewees. The question arises - as well as possible projections - whether research that effectively contemplates observations in schools and the narratives of all members of the educational community would lead to the same or different results.

Similarly, questions arise about the concrete effects that the new guidelines on the ethics of care will have on the national policy on school coexistence: will they be taken up - and how - in the daily practice of educational communities? Will additional professional resources be provided for an adequate implementation of such policies? Will we see reflected in the coming decades a structural change that effectively corresponds to a paradigm shift in the Chilean educational system?.

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Date of receipt: April 2021 Acceptance date: October 2022