

Micro-politics of a marginalized school: between inclusion and standardization

Micro-política de una escuela marginalizada: entre inclusión y estandarización

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Abstract

Considering the Law of Inclusion (20.845/2015), which promotes social mixture of Chilean students, this research studies a subsidized school in a context of poverty that has promoted this mixture since its creation in 1980, being free and without selection. We seek to understand how do the social inclusion/exclusion processes of children deploy in this marginalized scene. What means then “to include”? Which are the frontiers between inclusion and exclusion in this school? We realized an interpretative school ethnography for 7 months, with a focus on a 4th grade. The first results in the field are centered on the micro-politics of the school (Ball, 1987). We identify three principal dispositives: an identity dispositive that lies on the historical ethos of the school and its social inclusion project; a traditional dispositive, which reflects the cultural trajectories of the subjects and the representations presents in society; a technocratic dispositive that is gradually installed from the educative system looking for the standardization of the educative process. During the research process, we observe the evolution of the equilibrium between the three dispositives in the school, where the ethical finalities of inclusion are overcome by the technocratic objectives of standardization. We present cooperative pedagogical practices existing in the school that disappear to the benefit of classification technologies and competitive strategies.

Keywords

Social exclusion, standardization, basic education, poverty, cooperation, competition.

Suggested form of citing: Armijo Cabrera, Muriel (2019). Micro-politics of a marginalized school: between inclusion and standardization. *Universitas*, 20, pp. 187-204.

Resumen

En el marco de la Ley de Inclusión (20.845/2015) que promueve la mixtura social de los estudiantes chilenos, se indaga una escuela subvencionada en contexto de pobreza que ha promovido esta mixtura desde su creación en 1980, al ser gratuita y sin selección. Se busca entender cómo se despliegan los procesos de inclusión/exclusión social de las niñas y los niños en este escenario de marginalidad. ¿Qué significa entonces “incluir”? ¿Cuáles son las fronteras entre inclusión y exclusión social en la escuela? Se realiza una etnografía escolar interpretativa durante siete meses, con un foco en un curso de 4° básico. Los primeros hallazgos de campo se centran en la micro-política de la escuela (Ball, 1987). Se identifican tres dispositivos principales: un dispositivo identitario, que descansa en el *ethos* histórico de la escuela y su proyecto de inclusión social; un dispositivo tradicional, que recoge las trayectorias culturales de los sujetos y las representaciones presentes en la sociedad; un dispositivo tecnocrático, que se instala progresivamente desde el sistema educativo en pos de una estandarización del proceso educativo. Durante el proceso investigativo, se observa la evolución del equilibrio entre los tres dispositivos en la escuela, dónde las finalidades éticas de inclusión están superadas por los objetivos tecnocráticos de estandarización. Se evidencian prácticas pedagógicas cooperativas existentes en la escuela que van desapareciendo en beneficio de tecnologías de clasificación y estrategias competitivas.

Palabras clave

Exclusión social, estandarización, educación básica, pobreza, cooperación, competencia.

Introduction

In Chile, the Inclusion Law (20,845/2015) has been promulgated, which seeks to promote the social mix of students, by prohibiting profit, sharing funding with families, and the selection of students in subsidized schools. These represent 92% of compulsory education establishments, distributed among municipal (37%) and subsidized private (55%). During the civil-military dictatorship, the Chilean school system is privatized (Decree with Force of Law N° 1-3063/0; Decree Law 3,476/80) and regulated by the educational demand or voucher, public subsidy delivered to private and municipal establishments. After the dictatorship, the shared financing law of 1993 allows multiplying the educational resources by requesting the participation of families (Valenzuela, Bellei & De los Ríos, 2014), which leads to a progressive segmentation of the system, according to the level of payment demanded. The responsibility for the education of Chilean

children is delegated to their families, whose “freedom of education” is configured as a pillar of the 1980 Constitution. The law of supply and demand thus stimulated allows the deployment of the educational quasi-market (Slachevsky, 2015). In this scenario, the Law of Inclusion aims to reduce barriers in access to schools, by prohibiting socio-economic and cultural selection practices.

The Chilean educational system constitutes a stratification machine that fragments society according to its socio-economic resources (Bellei, 2013). Education is conceived as a private consumption good, which can be acquired with individual effort, which conditions the choice of school (Rojas, Falabella & Leyton, 2016). Families then deploy strategies to choose their school and maximize the opportunities of their children, distinguishing themselves based on their income and thus contributing to segment the educational system in socio-economic strata. The Law of Inclusion introduces a questioning of socio-economic segmentation, by privileging a perspective on inclusion focused on the social mix of students (Rojas & Armijo, 2016). It is driven by the student social movement that emerged in 2006 with the so-called “Penguin Revolution” and the discussions on quality and equity of education that have been deployed since then. A new admission system is designed, which begins to be implemented in 2016. This randomly distributes the students, after the families have applied, to prevent the use of arbitrary discriminations that may limit the access of the students to the establishments.

In this context, this research has focused on a school that has never applied or shared funding or selection of students, from its inception, under the policies of privatization of education policies. It arises in a context of extreme marginalization, in a peripheral zone of Santiago that was then in a process of urbanization controlled by the policies of “social homogenization” of the dictatorship (Morales & Rojas, 1986). These policies displace and install poor families from other sectors of the metropolitan region, forming marginalized territories in still rural sectors. The conditions of habitation and hygiene are precarious, the new inhabitants lack means of transport, educational, health and commercial facilities (Ducci, 1997, Gurovich, 1999). It is studied a basic school that is born with a political and pedagogical project, orienting itself to social inclusion. It focuses its attention on the most marginalized students of the educational system, excluded from other establishments for different reasons: results, behavior,

discrimination or ethnic socio-cultural. Nowadays, the sector where it is located is still marginalized, in the socioeconomic, geographic and cultural plans. According to the “School Vulnerability Index” developed in Chile, it has a 90% vulnerability. What does “include” mean in this context? What are the boundaries between inclusion and exclusion in a marginalized school?

Theoretical framework

This research is framed in the post-structuralist perspective, assuming the “ontological approach” that questions the binary distinctions between subject and object, mind and body, nature and culture, among many others (Adams St. Pierre, 2014; Adams St. Pierre, Jackson & Mazzei, 2016). Social inclusion/exclusion is conceived as a dynamic process that permanently produces the social field (Armijo-Cabrera, 2018). Social inclusion/exclusion is generated in the interrelations between the subjects, producing differences and identities, by identifying their significant “others”. From this perspective, inclusion implies the determination of a group limited by borders, which arise according to variable and situated socio-historical criteria (Lindblad & Popkewitz, 2001; Graham & Slee, 2008). From the reading of Michel Foucault, it is assumed that the modes of constitution of the subject are closely linked with power relations and knowledge productions (Ball, 2012). Thus, social inclusion/exclusion consists of a permanent process of defining the “normal” center, a place of power that excludes those it intends to include (Matus & Infante, 2011). This is constituted through knowledge and rules that are applied to bodies. It is considered that the social inclusion/exclusion process is expressed in the subjectifications of the actors, in the moment in which they elaborate identities and differences, which are inscribed in their corporeality. These processes are involved in power systems that produce unequal subjectivities based on different markers reinforced by the school system: class, race, gender, among others (Apablaza, 2015, Walsh, 2012, Dussel, 2004, de la Rosa, 2015).

As consequence, the school is conformed as a social space of smaller scale, inserted in a specific social and cultural environment. In that sense, the processes of social inclusion/exclusion are given in the same way in their interior, with their own rules and regulations. In addition, in the framework of a school organization, where work is divided and hierarchized, control and

conflict relationships are deployed (Ball, 1987). Power is applied locally through dispositives, which contains discursive and extra-discursive dimensions. The dispositives come from the environment, are appropriate and stressed at their points of resistance within the school (Foucault, 1982). School subjects then develop in a limited organization but permeable to their environments, both political and socio-culturally. Depending on their values and their place in the organization, the different school subjects interpret the world and give it meaning, through discourse and practices. The game of interests and subjectivities forms daily what Stephen Ball has called the “micro-politics” of the school (Ball, 1987). This appears in the disputes between different perspectives and ways of acting within the school, which stress the subjects.

The general objective of this research is to understand how the processes of social inclusion/exclusion of children unfold in a school located in a context of high marginality. This article presents the results of the first specific objective: Identify the dynamics and school dispositives that affect the processes of social inclusion/exclusion of children in school. In that sense, these partial findings focus on the experience and play of adults, which shape the micro-politics of the school.

Methodology

A methodology of qualitative research of interpretive cut is favored, according to the post-structuralist theoretical framework, where the researcher is immersed in his object of study, that is, the school described above as a case of study. Objects and subjects are interrelated in the process of the investigation, which is present in the school every day. In this sense, the meanings produced by the subjects are incorporated through the experience of the researcher. The perceptions, sensations and emotions of the researcher allow access to the social production that takes place in the interactions of everyday experience (Adams St. Pierre, 1997, Blackman, 2007). The validity of this approach lies in fidelity to the experience, seeking to be “persuasive and credible” when it relates the stories of the participants, “represent their thoughts and experiences” in a reliable way (Gallant, 2008, p.247).

An interpretative (Guber, 2011) and visual (Pink, 2001) school ethnography has been done in the aforementioned school. It was deployed for seven months, with a focus that moves progressively from the adult

world to the experiences of girls and boys. Ethnographic research involves a fieldwork that consists of:

- The documentation of the object of study (prior, during and after the field).
- The participant observation in the school (focused on a 4th grade course).
- Ethnographic interviews with adults and children.
- And finally, a children's visual production (photographs and drawings), which was associated with group interviews of children.

The various data produced in the field journals have been daily recorded and the interviews carried out with the children have been integrally recorded and transcribed. The data has been analyzed continuously and repeatedly in the writing work itself and from conceptual matrices (Adams St. Pierre, 2017). These were elaborated according to the theoretical framework, and evolved during the research, with the academic exchanges and the dialogue with the authors that generate the conceptual work (Rockwell, 2009). The results were discussed in instances of varied academic reflection, seeking to achieve a "disciplined subjectivity" (Erickson, 1984, Serra, 2004). Beyond the "triangulation" developed in other approaches, by multiplying the points of view the data is "crystallized", as proposed by Laurel Richardson (2000, pp.13-14):

I propose the central imaginary for validity for postmodernist texts is not the triangle-a rigid, fixed, two-dimensional object. Rather, the central imaginary is the crystal, which combines symmetry and substance with an infinite variety of shapes, substances, transmutations, multidimensionalities, and angles of approach

Analysis and results

A marginalized school in mutation

The first research findings allow us to describe and analyze the micro-politics of the school (Ball, 1987), which is expressed in the disputes between different visions and ways of acting privileged by school subjects. The school "Estrella" was created in 1980, at the same time as the school system is opened to the market. It arises from an opportunity of entrepreneurship as a social

initiative, to respond to the educational needs of a marginalized community in a periphery of Santiago in full urbanization. The initial project of the school “Estrella” had the political purpose, through social action, to educate the poorest who had been marginalized. It is created in a commune in the south of Santiago, in the vicinity of a historic land grab, based on collaborative research with the inhabitants to identify their needs. He has never adhered to the shared financing nor has it selected its students, on the contrary, it “preferentially catered for children from poor households who are discriminated against for social, pedagogical, behavioral or racial reasons”. According to the Chilean School Vulnerability Index (IVE), developed by the JUNAEB (National Board of Educational Aid and Scholarships), the school “Estrella” has a 90% vulnerability. Among the establishments that do not apply co-payment or selection of students, it has the highest vulnerability rate in the sector. During the 1980s and 1990s, its enrollment increases and is associated with other educational and training initiatives. It stands out for being an establishment declared secular, in a context where private education was dominated by the religious world (Christian and parochial schools). This school is aimed at students of basic education and nursery, from pre-Kindergarten to 8th grade, and currently receives approximately 350 students.

The school “Estrella” considers the particularities of its urban fabric, which is why it is part of the network of collaborating institutions of SENAME (National Service for Minors), a government agency under the Chilean Ministry of Justice. Benefiting from a specific subsidy since 1991 with two dispositives oriented towards the most marginalized population: On the one hand, it receives students withdrawn from their families, residents of SENAME homes or in judicial processes; On the other hand, since 1990 it has been developing an Open Day Center (CAD), which in 2004 became the Community Center for Child and Youth Rights (CCIJ), a SENAME body that seeks to prevent the “violation of rights”, in a community manner, through “the implementation of group learning projects” (SENAME, 2004, cited by Silva & Gallardo, 2006, p.3). In addition, the school constitutes a School Integration Program (PIE) since 2004 aimed at serving students with permanent or transitory “special educational needs” (SEN). In 2015, 63 students are counted in the Program, which represents 19% of the students in the school. The school also adheres to the Preferential School Grant (SEP) since its launch in 2008, thus benefiting from an additional grant for all children considered vulnerable. In addition, it is a school with a multicultural

component important for the sector, since in 2015 there were 48 students belonging to the Mapuche ethnic group, that is, 12% of the students.

During the first decades, a professional group is constituted that remains until 2010, developing cooperative and participative pedagogical practices. With the disappearance of the founder, the team begins to break generating a reconfiguration of the internal dynamics of the school. Two waves of mass layoffs are mentioned, in 2013 and 2016, which lead to a major renovation of the teaching staff. The new members are not trained to exercise cooperative pedagogical techniques, weakening the innovative functioning of the school. In 2017, the school receives the visit of the Quality Agency and the audit of the Superintendence, new State agencies focused on the Quality Assurance of Education (SNAC Law, 2011). The “Estrella” school is committed to infrastructure investments, reviews its management and quality indicators, and is pressured to improve its results in standardized national tests (Measurement System for Educational Quality, hereinafter, SIMCE).

A school in tension between three dispositives

In this scenario, three main dispositives are identified that go through the school and tension it: an identity dispositive, which rests on the school’s historical ethos and its project of social inclusion; a traditional dispositive, which collects the cultural trajectories of the subjects and the representations present in society; a technocratic dispositive, which is installed progressively from the educational system in pursuit of a standardization of the educational process. These three dispositives result from the continuous analysis carried out in the field and from the dialogical analysis produced in the academic and bibliographic exchanges. Their denominations have been the subject of reflection and discussion.

Identity dispositive

It is related to the social project of the school, which arises in a context of resistance to the dictatorship. The founder was a normalist teacher who conceived education as a way of emancipation, in line with the Educational Reform of 1965 and influenced by thinkers like Paulo Freire and his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970). Exonerated by the dictatorship, the founder develops projects that allow him to pursue his educational and

transforming work. He focused on the territories with the greatest need, dedicating himself to the education of the poorest. From this pedagogical line, education in marginalized contexts must pass through pedagogical dispositives designed to mobilize the subjects, favoring their participation to arouse the sense of the school experience and the relevance of the learning contents. Activities are proposed in relation to the environment, in particular the production of an orchard and a school farm in this still rural sector; participatory instances for children and adults, with weekly assemblies and school councils that regulate discipline; cooperative and creative work, through different pedagogical tools (Freire, 1970).

This dispositive draws a specific discourse on social inclusion/exclusion, where the boundaries between identities and differences are determined by this vision of poverty that is the focus of attention. Children are the “others” of adults, they are the poor for whom they engage in social action. Age borders between adults and children are thus superimposed, with socio-cultural boundaries between poor and less poor. In effect, adults who work in schools do not define themselves as economically privileged, but reject the specific poverty of children, which is conceived in a broad sense. At present, the image of poverty is reinforced by the idea of “vulnerability”, coming from technocratic dispositives, which determine and calculate the “vulnerability indexes”. It is understood as a multidimensional poverty, which generates “risks” of falling into poverty for the subjects. This notion of vulnerability is observed in the experiences of the subjects, through the cases of family situations reported during the field study: violence, abandonment, addictions, detentions, sexual abuse (see scene 1).

Scene 1: Report of a case of abuse and family violence:

The teacher says that these children with all the problems they have at home are not available to “learn math”. She tells me more family stories of the children: the social worker was very affected the other day by the case of a child of 1, kidnapped and abused by his father for a week, then taken from the neighboring family that took care of him and that he had managed to extract the necessary information to be able to blame the father, to get him away. Then the boy was now in a home, alone, and there was nothing to do (Field Journal, 04/05/2017).

The conditions of vulnerability of the social environment, which determine the students, mobilize the affections of the adults in the school

that generate a commitment with “their” children. Teachers and assistants of education are confronted on a daily basis with situations of extreme violence, which feed this identity discourse on social inclusion/exclusion, where the “others” are children, the poor.

Traditional dispositive

It is configured as a basic base of the school culture, anchored in the social and cultural environment. It comes from the personal trajectories of the subjects, immersed in a society marked by inequalities and by religion. The adults who work in the school share the same socio-economic level as the children, low middle class, fresh university students of their family or heirs of families of teachers. Some even inhabit the same territory, neighbors and carry of the neighborhood identity. In addition, the working conditions of teachers and other school workers give them a precarious status. The traditional dispositive then consists in a repetition of the social norms observed in the environment and practiced in everyday experience. In particular, it is observed in the traditional pedagogical and authoritarian practices that are deployed in the school: order of the classroom in rows of benches and chairs aligned in front of the blackboard; teacher’s expository classes silently copied by the children and content application exercises or guides corrected by the teacher; rules of dress with differentiated uniform and formation of courses by gender (rows of “ladies and gentlemen”).

The traditional dispositive then draws up a discourse on social inclusion/exclusion that reproduces the inequalities that cross that shared society. As Lindblad and Popkewitz put it (2001, p.4): “the relation of governance to social inclusion and exclusion embodies a configuration of cultural, economy and social struggles”. Age differences are marked through authoritarian manners, religiosity is incorporated into everyday interactions, gender stereotypes are performed. In particular, classism and the reproduction of socio-economic categories are observed, when an adult answer a child “do not talk to me like that, I’m not your nanny”. There is also the repetition of nationalism and patriotism promoted by the political and social environment, when for example the national anthem “as good Chileans” is sung. There is a women’s soccer team, but it is marginalized in sporting events organized at school, denoting sexism and gender discrimination. Finally, the issue of homosexuality is eluded in school when it arises from children, generates discomfort and remains “in the hands of God.”

Technocratic dispositive

It is installed with the turn of the years 2000 and 2010, to the eaves of the educational policies resulting from the “Penguin Revolution”. If the liberalization and commercialization of education are established in dictatorship, the evaluation and control dispositives that tie the system are elaborated almost three decades later (Falabella, 2015). In particular, it is deployed based on four regulations: the SEP Law (2008) that establishes accountability; Decree 170 (2009) that determines the procedures for diagnosing “special educational needs”; the General Education Law (LGE, 2009) that establishes the responsibilities of the evaluating State; and the Law on the National System for Quality Assurance (SNAC, 2011) that defines the powers of each newly created body, including the Quality Agency and the Superintendence. The technocratic dispositive comes to strongly tension the identity dispositive of the school, emerged in another historical and political context. It is observed particularly during the field in relations with the Quality Agency that visits and evaluates the school. School subjects resist their criticisms, but at the same time they incorporate the evaluation criteria imposed on them from above.

The technocratic dispositive draws a discourse on social inclusion/exclusion that categorizes subjects between normal and abnormal, based on criteria considered “objective”. These are deployed through evaluation and measurement systems, through behavioral and standardized pedagogical tools (Casassus, 2010). These criteria rest on the diagnosis and classification of subjects according to rigid and static categories such as “special educational needs”, which are validated by psychometric tests and applied by specific professionals (Peña, 2013). They externally define a notion of “normality”, through regulations and evaluations, which determine an objective and objectifiable “standard” (Matus & Infante, 2011). From this discourse, students must compete to individually meet the standards, those who do not comply, considered “abnormal”, are excluded at school and social margins. In the “Estrella” school, for example, teachers work hand in hand with psychosocial professionals, who deploy psychometric and behavioral assessment strategies, determining pedagogical decisions (see scene 2).

Scene 2: The exclusion of children from a behavioral reading of learning:

Finally, the psychologist talks about the course, that there are still many authorizations for the next exit on the 22nd, and then she thinks that there is

no need to take them away, because if not, is to “encourage behavior” (Field Journal, 06/12/2017).

A cooperative school that becomes competitive

Each of these dispositives goes through the school and tensions it. Converging in some respects, they also oppose, as shown by the tension between the historical identity of the school and the evolutions of the educational system reflected in the technocratic dispositive. The three dispositives appear in the discourses and practices of the different subjects without belonging to them. There are generational differences among adults, with more social or more competitive discourses, but they are not enough to attribute them to an age group. In the same way, the discourses deployed by health professionals, and their work tools, perform the technocratic dispositive, but do not prevent them from sharing other discourses. These three dispositives offer a possibility of interpretation of the world and a decision framework for action. The subjects appropriate, use and translate them, but also resist, discuss and escape them (Ball, 1987).

During the field process, the evolution of the balance between the three dispositives is observed, where the ethical purposes of inclusion are overcome by the technocratic objectives of standardization. At the beginning of the year, a teacher in charge of 4th grade accepts to receive the research, despite the SIMCE test applied at the end of that year, considering that it is “one more evaluation”. A directive clarifies to the children that the most important thing for them this year is “to be happy”, not the SIMCE. It is evident, in these first moments of the school year, the pre-eminence of the identity dispositive, centered on the personal development of the children. However, advancing the year, the SIMCE becomes increasingly important in the discourses and practices. It arises in the meetings as a pressure that falls on the head teacher; the results of the previous year are discussed; SIMCE simulations multiply. To maximize efforts, SIMCE simulations are monitored and corrected by the management team. All the energy of the school converges and is progressively oriented towards their realization (see scene 3).

Scene 3: The tension generated by the standardized tests in a cycle meeting:

Says she has many difficulties, that they put pressure on her with SIMCE, that there is a problem with the level of the children. They tell her that she does not have to be anxious, but Elvira replies that she is obviously anxious, because she has the pressure for SIMCE, which feels that she is working against time. She says that she was told that she did not work for the SIMCE, and now she does. The others say that there should be a specific reflection on the SIMCE, the UTP says that it must be done before the end of the semester (Field Journal, 06/12/2017).

During this process, there is evidence of cooperative pedagogical practices that are disappearing for the benefit of classification technologies and competitive dispositives. For example, a free writing workshop, coming from the identity dispositive, which favored children's creativity and then their cooperative publication. It allowed to work the skills of reading and writing, imagination and grammar, oral attention and concentration. With the SIMCE horizon, the pedagogical option is oriented towards behavioral techniques formalized in a "reading plan" proposed by the Technical Education Advisory (ATE), an external private organization hired under the SEP. The regular assessment of the children is established, and a "reading panel" decorated with colors, like an ascent to the stars, is installed in the classroom. Astronaut labels are made with the photo of each child, and they are classified according to their results in the last test. This panel ends up occupying the central space in the wall, visually symbolizing the competition among children and stigmatizing those who remain at the lower levels. The teachers themselves realize how the technocratic dispositive is transforming their practices towards placing children in competition, generating profound ethical and pedagogical contradictions. But the requirement of classification by the Quality Agency is so prevalent that they cannot afford to resist it, as they express it during the presentation of the present findings.

Discussion and conclusions

An ethnography has been carried out that has made it possible to demonstrate its own dynamics to Chilean subsidized schools located in marginalized contexts, constrained by the new accountability policies. Understanding the school institution as an organization inserted in a political and socio-cultural context, a micro-politics of the school has been revealed,

traversed by three dispositives: identity, traditional and technocratic. Inside the school, these dispositives configure local applications of power, which are resisted or appropriated by school subjects. In this study, a tension has been observed between, on the one hand, a shared ethical purpose among adults involved in school, often from an affective and emancipatory perspective; and on the other hand, the imperatives linked to the school system and its management by results, which imply a focus on the standardization of the educational process and a loss of its relevance for children. In the same way, the study by Assael *et al.*, (2014) has highlighted the effects of accountability policies and transformations in school culture, based on ethnographic work in team meetings. Rojas and Leyton (2014), from their interviews, have brought to light the changes in educational practices and the construction of new teaching subjectivities with the change of paradigm that accountability implies. The same has revealed the ethnographic study and the interviews of Falabella (2014), in what he analyzes as “performative schools”. These produce tensioned subjects between their own values and the demands of the education system, which are incorporated by teachers.

On another level, Luna (2015) has investigated in an ethnographic way the experiences of children in precarious municipal schools and stressed by the demand for quality, as well as subsidized schools. Evidence everyday experiences that contribute to exclude subjects who do not conform to the school framework. The present study confirms the findings of these SEP post-Law investigations (2008) and integrates the new regulatory and discursive framework that establishes a goal of social inclusion for the school (2015). How to reconcile then standardization and inclusion, double normative requirement? In this school’s micro-politics, the dispositives in dispute are configured as ways of saying and acting available to school subjects, who make pedagogical decisions central to the children’s school experience. The conflict between logics of inclusion and logics of competence has been evidenced, where the technocratic dynamics are finally superimposed on the dynamics properly educational.

Returning to the Law of Inclusion (2015), which seeks to promote the social mix of students, one can question how the school can reverse the policies of urban segregation. Will the composition of the students in the “Estrella” school change with the implementation of the new admission system? Thinking about the new demographic configurations generated by the arrival of migrants in marginalized sectors, other research tracks can be

proposed. How is the culture of the school transformed or renewed? How are the knowledge of migrant children who come with their own experiences incorporated? How is the nationalist discourse redesigned? and How does the reception of migrants relate to the Mapuche component of the student body? These lines of research could prolong the work done, always unfinished, considering the permanent transformations that societies go through.

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Date of receipt: 2018/11/29; Date of acceptance: 2019/01/18;

Publication date: 2018/03/01