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## Chilean Teachers Responses to and Understanding of Student Interaction with Diverse Peers in the Classroom

Javier Martín Campos-Martínez  
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2019

# Chilean Teachers Responses to and Understanding of Student Interaction with Diverse Peers in the Classroom

Javier Martín Campos-Martínez

Chilean Teachers Responses to and Understanding of Student Interaction with  
Diverse Peers in the Classroom

A Dissertation Presented

by

JAVIER M. CAMPOS-MARTÍNEZ

Submitted to the Graduate School of the  
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
May 2019

College of Education

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Chilean Teachers' Responses to and Understanding of Student Interaction with  
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A Dissertation Presented

By

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## **DEDICATION**

To Nelson Campos and Beatriz Martinez

and

Isabelle Beaudry

This would not have been possible without your caring support

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

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## **ABSTRACT**

CHILEAN TEACHERS' RESPONSES TO AND UNDERSTANDING OF STUDENT

INTERACTION WITH DIVERSE PEERS IN THE CLASSROOM

MAY 2019

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Chile's educational inequality has sparked intense debates in recent years (Cabalin & Bellei, 2013; Stromquist & Sanyal, 2013). While there is a wide consensus concerning the crucial role that teachers play in fostering inclusion in the classroom, research suggests that Chilean teachers, often without intent or awareness, reinforce exclusionary student interactions marked by social class and gender hierarchies (Carrasco, Zamora, & Castillo, 2015; SERNAM, 2009; Tijoux, 2013). Although teachers' motivation and concern for questions related to exclusion and inclusion in education are spreading, navigating exclusionary dynamics can be particularly challenging especially since teachers' initial and continuing professional education seldom addresses these issues (Sleeter, Montecinos, & Jiménez, 2016).

Informed by literature on social justice education, the legislative framework that regulates exclusion and non-discrimination policies and practices, and empirical research on social class and gender dynamics in Chilean schools, this exploratory study uses qualitative methods (Creswell, 2009) to gain a nuanced understanding of teachers' understanding of and responses to discriminatory

behavior in the classrooms. Two 1-hour interviews were conducted with eight Chilean urban middle school teachers from different gender and social class background. The first interview asked about their understanding of and responses to vignettes portraying social class or gender-based discrimination dynamics in a classroom; the second interview inquired about some of the professional, personal, and contextual factors that may be shaping their understandings and responses.

Three significant findings emerged from the qualitative analysis of the data. First, teachers' "big ideas" of exclusion and inclusion in education appear to be aligned with public policies focusing on non-discrimination, yet this alignment does not necessarily translate into more inclusive practices in their classrooms. Second, most of the teachers interviewed appear to respond to students' discriminatory behavior based on prior personal experiences, or by the use of a trial-and-error approach, which suggests a lack of professional development opportunities focusing on how to proactively respond to these dynamics in the classroom. Third, teachers' biographies, personal experiences, and knowledge of educational psychology inform their understanding of and responses to discriminatory behavior in the classrooms. These findings build on relevant literature discussing social class and gender dynamics in Chilean schools, suggesting the value of promoting professional development opportunities to help teachers bridge their understanding of exclusionary dynamics at the macro level with their responses at the micro level.

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## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY**

The study seeks to investigate teachers' responses to and understanding of discriminatory behaviors in classrooms and to explore how different factors may inform their perspectives and practices. It is my hope that this study will contribute to empirical and practical knowledge regarding how teachers can potentially prevent and/or transform exclusionary practices that target students from historically marginalized groups; and, in turn, contribute to advancing the struggle for the right to education, particularly in Chile. Hence, I explore teachers' responses to discriminatory behaviors and describe some of the challenges and resources that teachers identify in addressing dynamics of discrimination and exclusion in classrooms, and in schools.

In the next section, I start by describing the social context of the proposed research, introduce the rationale and the purpose of the study, and discuss its significance. Next, I provide a brief glossary of terms to clarify the usage of key constructs guiding the study. Then, I briefly introduce the conceptual framework used to frame the guiding research questions and research design.

#### **Context of the Study**

This study is situated in Chile, a socio-political context in which reformers experimented heavily with the application of neoliberal ideas, impacting economic and educational policies and practices (De la Barra, 2012; Harvey, 2005; Lomnitz & Melnick, 1991). The neoliberal project in Chile not only magnified socioeconomic

class-based segregation but also heightened educational inequities affecting specific groups, such as indigenous people, women, and gender and sexuality non-normative groups (Becerra, Mansilla, Merino, & Rivera, 2015; Berger, 2015; Campos-Martinez, 2010; SERNAM, 2009; Suárez-Cabrera 2015a, 2015b). In the following section, I introduce key aspects of the Chilean education system in help situate the study, such as the highly socially segregated character of public education, and provide a brief description of the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion, particularly as they relate to discriminatory practices in schools.

### **The Socially Segregated Character of the Chilean Education System**

In Chile, until the year 2016, private and publicly funded private schools were able to choose their students using admission processes that tended to exclude students deemed as difficult to be taught (Contreras, Sepúlveda, & Bustos, 2010; Godoy, Salazar, & Treviño, 2014). Up to the year 2016, legally sanctioned screening systems allowed schools to pick students based on their ability, family income, parents' suitability, and/or religion (Contreras et al., 2010; Godoy et al., 2014). As a result of these "reverse" school choice practices and other market-driven initiatives (Cornejo, Gonzalez, Sanchez, Sobarzo, & The OPECH Collective, 2012; Verger, Bonal, & Zancajo, 2016), the Chilean education system achieved such social class segregation that the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD, 2004) described it as "seeming to be consciously structured by social class" (p. 278). Overwhelmingly, Chilean students attended schools that matched the income level of their families. Students with wealthy family backgrounds attend

private schools. Middle-class families' students attended publicly funded, but private schools (private subsidized schools). Finally, students from low-income families went to the underfunded public municipal system (Bellei, 2013; Contreras et al., 2010; García-Huidobro, 2007). Addressing this manifestation of inequality was one of the main claims raised in the continuous wave of social protests led by higher and secondary education students from 2006 to 2015 (Bellei & Cabalin, 2013; Cornejo et al., 2012; Stromquist, & Sanyal, 2013).

In order to address the social segregation of the education system and to respond to the claims raised by the student movements, the President and the Chilean congress enacted in 2016 the "School Inclusion Law" (Law No. 20.845) (MINEDUC, 2015). This law tried to address the discriminatory character of the Chilean education system by dismantling the mechanism that allowed publicly funded institutions to rely on specific requirements for the admission of students. The school inclusion law states that publicly funded schools cannot provide a student preferential enrollment because of their academic performance, the legal status of their parents (i.e., being married), or the socioeconomic background of the family. Moreover, schools are not allowed to implement processes that imply "arbitrary discrimination" of currently enrolled students (MINEDUC, p. 3). The school inclusion law addresses the socio-economic segregation of the education system by allowing equal access to publicly funded institutions. However, the socioeconomic segregation is only one of the many manifestations of inequality affecting the students. Other manifestations reproduce former mechanisms of

systemic exclusion in access to education, now in the form of institutional, cultural, and interpersonal dynamics at the school and classroom levels.

Allowing access to schools without addressing exclusion and discrimination dynamics reproduced within the school could lead to what Aguerredondo (1993) and latter Gentili (2011) describes as an “exclusionary inclusion dynamic” (p. 78). Exclusionary inclusion reproduces marginalization, isolation, and denegation of rights to members of specific social groups. It disproportionately affects students who are women, indigenous people, immigrants, Afro-descendent, as well as people with disabilities, religious minorities, students from gender and sexual non-normative groups, and young and elderly people. This study strives to contribute to the struggle for a socially just public education by proactively searching for strategies to address exclusion processes at the individual and interpersonal level.

### **Exclusion and Discrimination Dynamics in Chilean Schools**

The Chilean Superintendence of Education reported approximately 1,456 formal complaints concerning discriminatory practices in schools for the period 2013-14 (Superintendencia de Educación Escolar, 2015). These complaints were filed by students and the caregivers of students who have been the target of discrimination due to attention deficit disorders (51%), mental and physical disabilities (18%), physical and personal appearance (10%), health issues (8%), pregnancy (6%), sexual orientation and gender identity (3%), race and national origin (2%) and religious beliefs (2%) (Superintendencia de Educación Escolar, 2015). These findings reveal the range of discriminatory remarks and practices

targeting students according to their perceived sex, gender, ability status, social class, and ethnicity/race. The trend behind the official numbers seems to be confirmed by quantitative and qualitative research on Chilean schools.

Chilean researchers have documented a wide range of manifestations of discriminatory and hostile behaviors in the form of micro-aggressions that students and teachers face in schools on an everyday basis (López, Morales, & Ayala, 2009; Morales et al., 2014; Villalobos-Parada et al., 2015). Microaggressions “are the everyday verbal, nonverbal, and environmental slights, snubs, or insults, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative messages to target persons based solely upon their marginalized group membership” (Sue, 2010, p. 3). Microaggressions often target students because of their physical appearance, cultural background, gender and gender expression, and sexual orientation (Sue).

A recent survey conducted in Chile among 886 secondary education students from the city of Santiago reported that 13.5% of students did not feel sufficiently safe at school (Berger, 2015). The top reasons reported for not feeling safe were students’ physical appearance and size (30.4%), sexual orientation (8.3%), gender expression (8.3%), race, ethnicity, and national origin (6.1%), religion (5.8%), and gender (5.5%). In the same survey, almost 30% of the students reported hearing their classmates making homophobic or sexist remarks, such as calling a classmate “maricón” (i.e., fairy) or suggesting that girls have fewer abilities than boys in math or sciences. In addition, 10% of the students have heard their teachers making similar sexist remarks. According to UNESCO (2012), in Chile, rates of homophobic

bullying are among the highest in Latin America, reaching 68%. Other Latin American studies also show that transgender students have higher dropout rates, and only a minimum percentage of students are able to graduate from college (UNESCO, 2012).

These patterns of findings can be complemented by qualitative case studies that describe with more detail some of the ways in which women, immigrants, Afro-descendent students, and indigenous students face racism, sexism, ethnic discrimination, homophobic bullying, and other types of social violence and exclusion in their schools. Research has documented some of the institutional barriers, subtle forms of discrimination, and micro-aggressions that Mapuche (indigenous Chilean people) face in school settings (Becerra, Mansilla et al., 2015; Becerra, Merino, & Mellor, 2015; Pino & Merino, 2010; Webb & Radcliffe, 2015a, 2015b). These researchers describe the use of nicknames that deride ethnical traits of indigenous people (e.g., the use of “Black,” “Indian,” and “curiche”). These studies also describe the use of historically constructed racist stereotypes linking Mapuche culture and physical traits to alcoholism and laziness (Becerra, Mansilla et al.). A similar trend accompanies the phenomenon of the regional immigration to the country. Immigrant students, particularly women and dark-skinned immigrants’ children, are discriminated against inside schools based on the way they speak, their color, their indigenous look, and stereotypes in relation to their families and nationalities (Cornejo, & Rosales, 2015; Pavez, 2012; Suárez-Cabrera 2010, 2015a; Tijoux, 2013; Tijoux-Merino, 2013).



Policymakers often locate teachers as the heart of the Chilean educational reform (Avalos, 2000; Beca, Montt, Sotomayor, García-Huidobro & Walker, 2006). There is increasing consensus among policymakers, teachers, and scholars that teachers need to proactively address dynamics of inclusion and exclusion (or exclusionary practices) in classrooms (Rojas, Fallabella, & Alarcon, 2016). However, embodying inclusive, culturally responsive, and equitable classroom practices has proven to be challenging for many teachers. Several recent studies suggest that teachers often reproduce sexist gender stereotypes (Montecinos & Anguita, 2015; Suarez-Cabrera, 2010, 2015a; Webb & Radcliffe, 2015a) and socioeconomic class and ethnic biases in their classrooms (Becerra, Merino et al., 2015; Carrasco, Zamora, & Castillo, 2015). Researchers who have investigated the dynamics of discrimination in Chilean schools suggest that even though teachers are often interested and aware of the importance of avoiding discriminatory behaviors and practices, they are seldom consistent in the actions they take to address them. Moreover, in many instances, teachers unconsciously reproduce some of the behaviors deemed as discriminatory or exclusionary (SERNAM, 2009).

The tension between teachers' values and ability to positively intervene in the classroom can be partially explained as a function of the limited teacher preparation in this particular area. Recently, Venegas (2013) found in an examination of the curriculum used to train future teachers that the socioeconomic and cultural characteristics of the communities in which these teachers plan to teach were not addressed in their program of study. Only 5 of 56 of the teacher education programs investigated in Venegas' study included one or two courses

addressing some of these issues. Similarly, in a recent review of the literature of teachers' preparation in Chile, Sleeter, Montecinos, and Jimenez (2016) concluded that Chilean teacher education programs tend to mirror the social segregation of the country and do not include strategies to help teachers navigate issues of difference, discrimination, and social justice in schools as part of their curriculum. As a result, teachers are often unaware of their own beliefs, behaviors, emotions, biases, and assumptions about students and their families. Teacher education programs do not seem to be helping teachers develop strategies to address issues of exclusion in the classroom.

The present study seeks to develop a more nuanced understanding of the opportunities and challenges teacher confront when faced with exclusionary dynamics in the classroom, and to contribute to teacher education and teacher professional development efforts. While there is significant research regarding the personal, contextual, and professional factors that interact with teacher practice, there is less research that explores how teachers' social class and gender background interact and shape the student/teacher relations, the pedagogical choices teachers make, and content knowledge taught. This research can help expand the knowledge about teachers' responses to situations of social class- and gender-based discriminatory behaviors in classrooms. Gaining a better understanding of how teachers respond to different forms of discrimination and how they make meaning of those situations may help identify possible pathways for improving teacher preparation as well as their continuing professional education.

### **Problem Statement**

Issues of inclusion and exclusion are pervasive in Chilean public funded schools. Yet, teacher education and professional development programs seldom prepare teachers to understand, navigate or challenge discriminatory situations in their classrooms. Furthermore, research in this area is sparse. We know very little about how Chilean teachers make meaning of and respond to classroom-based discriminatory behaviors related to social class or gender. This study explores how eight middle school teachers understand and address gender- and class-based student interactions in the classroom, and examines some of the individual, professional, and contextual factors that may influence their ideas about possible responses to these situations.

### **Purpose Statement**

The purpose of this exploratory qualitative study is twofold: a) to explore Chilean middle school teachers' responses to and understanding of social class- and gender-based discriminatory behaviors in classrooms and b) to explore some of the personal, professional, and contextual factors that may influence this group of Chilean teachers' responses and understandings of exclusionary classroom dynamics. Among these factors, I am primarily interested in the role that teachers' gender and social class social group membership may play in their response to and understanding of discriminatory behaviors in classrooms.

### Glossary of Key Terms

**Classism:** A set of practices, beliefs, and biases, expressed at the institutional, cultural and individual levels that hierarchizes and assigns value to individuals in relation to their social class membership (Adams, Hopkins, & Shlasko, 2016)

**Discrimination:** Behaviors, institutionalized practices, and/or actions implemented by individuals or groups that provide differential treatment to individuals or group members based on specific social markers, their social status, or social location that causes harm, threatens their safety, or leads to their exclusion of social life (Pincus, 2000).

**Gender:** A socially constructed and normative social categorization that prescribes specific behaviors, values, and social roles to people based on their biological or assigned sex (Catalano & Griffin, 2016; Johnson, 2006).

**Sexism:** A social system that places barriers for women and privileges men (Glick & Rudman, 2013). Sexism manifests through the presence of stereotypes, micro-aggressions, and discrimination against women, and also as the denigration or subordination of “women-identified values and practices [that] enforce male dominance and control, and reinforce forms of masculinity that are dehumanizing and damaging to men” (Botkin, Jones, & Kachwaha, 2007, p. 174).

**Social class:** Socially constructed social categorization, which uses socioeconomic, cultural, and social relations markers to rank individuals and assign them a degree of prestige. Social class relates to the perceived social status of a specific class position given by people and institutions with social power (Adams, Hopkins, & Shlasko, 2016).

### **Study Significance**

Educational practices can certainly reproduce hegemonic values, beliefs, and knowledge from one generation to another (Bowles & Gintis, 2011; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Carnoy, 1981). As it happens in Chile, these values and knowledge do not always respond to the interest of the broad population but may reinforce relations of domination and oppression toward marginalized or disenfranchised social groups (Adams, Bell, & Griffin, 2007; Anyon, 1980, 1981; Apple, 2001; Grant & Sleeter, 1986; López, Assael, & Newman, 1984; Young, 1990). However, educational practices can also challenge the conventions of the dominant beliefs and ideologies that might be experienced as oppressive to themselves or others. As such, they can provide a space of resistance that may lead to groundbreaking approaches to address structural and interpersonal dynamics of discrimination and exclusion (Adams, 2007, 2016; Giroux, 1983, 2001; McGrew, 2011; Willis, 1981; Zúñiga, Nagda, & Sevig, 2002).

Teacher preparation that focuses on supporting teachers to learn to actively recognize and address a range of manifestations of exclusion and discrimination in the classroom is critical in a country that is striving to center equity and inclusion in public education. Indeed, a social justice-oriented teacher preparation could instill people's transformative agency to challenge the conventions of the dominant beliefs and ideologies that might be oppressive to themselves or others. Inclusive and anti-discriminatory practices require educators to actively situate themselves, the pedagogical choices they make, and content knowledge they teach in relation to their students (Adams & Love, 2009; Marchesani & Adams, 1992). As Bell, Love,

Washington, and Weinstein (2007) explain, while in traditional classrooms the identities of teachers usually remain in the background. In the social justice classroom—where social identity is part of the content—“the significance of who we are usually takes center stage” (Bell, Love, Washington, & Weinstein, p. 382). To address biases and discrimination in the classroom, teachers need to be willing to examine their assumptions, values, and emotional reactions. Indeed, while teachers come into the classroom as professionals, they do not leave their personal stories and social identities at the door (Weinstein & Obear, 1992). Teachers must deal with the nuances of their own socialization to be able to provide inclusive and cultural responsive classrooms in which their students can see their identities reflected in the curriculum (Montecinos, 1995).

While there is significant research regarding the personal, contextual, and professional factors that interact with teacher practice, research that explores how teachers’ social class and gender social identities interact and shape the student/teacher relations, the pedagogical choices teachers make, and content knowledge taught is sparse. Research on teachers tends to mostly highlight one dimension of their practice: the dimension concerned with teachers’ actions in classrooms. Other important antecedents for teacher practice, such as social identity of teachers, are seldom addressed, or when addressed, they are not central to the discussion. Subsequently, many teachers are unaware of the effect of systems of oppression, such as racism, sexism, classism, ableism, and heterosexism in their own socialization. For example, while in teacher education classes, white teachers often have to be taught the way in which racism affects People of Color so they learn the

importance of not perpetuating it. Commonly, Teachers of Color do not need to learn about the impact of racism in the life of their Students of Color because they have experienced racism themselves on a daily basis (Kohli, 2009).

I am personally and professionally invested in this study largely because my own experiences in Chile as an educational researcher and in the United States as a doctoral student in a social justice education program. One of my goals for this study is to contribute to the efforts of teachers and teacher educators in Chile who are concerned with the development of more inclusive and socially just teaching practices, particularly in public education. I also hope this research can help underscore the self-awareness in teacher preparation, particularly in the form social identity based awareness, as a core competency in teacher education programs seeking to proactively address issues of diversity, equity, and inclusion in K-12 schools.

### **Conceptual Framework**

This research is concerned about teachers' practices to address discrimination in the classroom and the factors informing their choices. To explore this concern and to support the development of the research's guiding questions and the data collection process, I follow a social justice education perspective (Adams, 2007; Adams et al., 2007; North, 2008). This perspective is predicated on the assumption that people can challenge oppressive systems and promote inclusive values, practices, and commitments through education. Social justice education believes that people can act as change agents by engaging in critical consciousness,

agency, and resistance at personal, cultural, and institutional levels (Bell, 2016; Hardiman, Jackson, & Griffin, 2007; Zúñiga, Lopez, & Ford, 2014).

Oppressive systems are described by Bell (2016) as "interlocking forces that create and sustain injustice" (p. 5). These systems are historically constructed and translate in cumulative experiences of marginalization, exclusion, and violence targeting people due to their social group memberships. In this study, I focus on oppression manifested through sexism, classism, and racism (i.e., the cultural beliefs, institutional practices, and individual actions that reinforce the dominance of one's sex, social class, and race over others). Discriminatory behaviors enacted by members of a group who enjoy social power reinforce oppression dynamics, providing a differential treatment to others due to their social status or social location (Pincus, 2000).

Social justice educators need to identify, conceptualize, and dismantle manifestations of oppression at every level of social life, but especially when they manifest in their education practices and relations. To achieve this, educators need to "develop the critical analytical tools necessary to understand oppression and their own socialization within oppressive systems" (Bell, 2007, p. 2), and concurrently, "develop a sense of agency and capacity to interrupt and change oppressive patterns and behaviors in themselves and in the institutions and communities of with they are part" (p. 2). A key aspect of this endeavor is the development of social identity self-awareness, which requires gaining consciousness about three features: the educator's multiple and intersecting social identities, the status that all these social identities grant in the structures of



societies, and its impact on the personal development, growing opportunities, and in the personal practice (Adams & Love, 2005, 2009).

Knowledge about manifestations of oppression is necessary but is not sufficient for a social justice-oriented practice. Educators could commit to social justice goals and still maintain oppressive beliefs and behaviors. Even people who have experienced oppression due to their particular social memberships may reproduce actions and ideas that sustain the privilege of dominant groups. Freire (2008) explains that the unintended reproduction of oppressive behaviors may occur because “the very structure of their thought has been conditioned by the contradictions of the concrete, existential situation by which they were shaped” (p. 45). Self-awareness, gaining consciousness about the source of their “knowledge, fears and realms of ignorance” (Mitchell, 2015, p. 2) is a central feature in the training of social justice educators. Because being immersed in the reality of oppression may have affected their ability to perceive themselves and the world from a perspective different than the dominant (Freire). When educators learn about their identities, they also are better positioned to understand their location within multiple systems of inequality. Learning about their various locations could help teachers gain a more sophisticated, intersectional, and nuanced understanding of injustice. Moreover, exploring their own social locations, educators could learn about the privileges conferred by some of their social group memberships (Johnson, 2006). These privileges are rooted in oppression dynamics; however, they manifest as social advantages, dominance, and entitlement. Johnson (2006) explains that usually these privileges are not evident for people who enjoy them. Thus, they form

part of socially normalized dynamics that, for example, distribute or deny social goods like social recognition and legitimacy based solely in the social group membership of people, “rather than because of anything they've done or failed to do” (Johnson, p. 21). For example, as the author describes “men can usually assume that national heroes, success models, and other figures held up for general admiration will be men” (Johnson, p. 28). In a recent study that reviews research that analyzed how school texts portrayed women in Chile, Palestro (2016) found that most of its content used male pronouns, and women characters were disproportionately represented in history and language books.

When educators increase their awareness about their place, or privileges and disadvantages, within multiple systems of social inequality, they also start noticing how oppressive patterns manifest in their interaction with others, for example, in their prejudices and stereotypes about others (Adams & Love, 2009). After educators become aware of these patterns, they also bring to their consciousness the times in which they may have reproduced oppression or occasions in which they suffered from oppression because others targeted them. Dealing with different manifestations of oppression in the classroom is not a neutral activity (Weinstein & Obear, 1992) and may raise emotional responses, such as anger, fear, or guilt, trigger traumatic memories, or raise important cognitive challenges. For example, some teachers may feel guilt, shame, or embarrassment when acknowledging the unearned privileges or disadvantages they hold within systems of social hierarchy. They may also feel concern about the effect that social prejudices may have in the way the students perceive their action (Bell, Love, Washington, & Weinstein, 2007).

Social justice educators acknowledge the challenges posed by a process that increases self-awareness. They explain that such a process “is indeed a formidable task. It is also a lifelong task, whereby our goal is not to be ‘experts’ but seen by ourselves and by our students as ‘works in progress’” (Adams & Love, 2009, p. 12). The “work in progress” label helps release some of the pressure that many educators feel to address issues of oppression. It also highlights the fact that through self-exploration, social justice educators may also notice how they have learned these patterns throughout a process of socialization and reinforcement (Harro, 2000). Hence, these patterns also can be unlearned, and new ways of behaving and being with others could be explored, developed, and enacted.

The transformation in the understanding of social inequality could be described as a developmental process mediated by all the different social locations of the learner (Adams, 2007). People “may incorporate, resist, or redefine specific manifestations of social oppression (classism and sexism, for example) in the context of his or her (social class or gendered) identity development” (Adams, 2016, p. 17). Understanding their identity and their position in different systems of socially constructed hierarchies could help educators enact practices to interrupt discriminatory behaviors and challenge exclusion in the curriculum, in the classroom, and in the school institution. Some authors define this as, “pedagogy of positionality” (Kumashiro, 2000, p. 295), a practice that allows teachers and students to learn about and from their unique locations in multiple social structures.

To identify, conceptualize, and dismantle manifestations of oppression at every level of social life, a social justice education practice should promote the full

participation of people in determining their actions, the full exercise of their capacities, the full expression of their experience, a sense of social safety, and liberation from oppression (Bell, 2007; North, 2008; Young, 1990). Although learning about the impact of the current social location of the educator or about her or his socialization process within systems of oppression is an important dimension of the social justice education practice, to dismantle manifestations of oppression at every level of social life, educators also have to pay attention to other dimensions inherent to their task. Among them, several social justice education scholars mention the characteristics of the students, the qualities of the content of curricula, the characteristics of the process whereby they teach, and the features of the context (Adams & Love, 2009; Bell, Goodman, & Oulett, 2016; Marchesani & Adams, 1992).

From a social justice perspective, considering what students bring to the classroom is a critical dimension of the educator work. The student's identities, learning styles, and socio-historical backgrounds need to be placed at the center of the social justice education labor. Teachers should be encouraged to find out how their students' experiences differ, and the impact of these differences in classroom and learning dynamics (Marchesani & Adams, 1992). Social justice educators should learn about and be aware of the various stereotypes and biases constructed about their students and the ways in which they may experience these biases in their schools. Educators should pay attention to the interactions among the students and the ways in which these interactions reproduce or challenge oppressive dynamics (Adams & Love, 2009).

Educators should think about the curriculum and the content of what is being taught. This dimension includes the course content, the course materials, and the sources from which knowledge is acquired (Marchesani & Adams, 1992). Using a critical pedagogy lens, Giroux (1988) proposes to consider concurrently the “official” and the “hidden” dimensions of the curriculum when preparing to teach. The official curriculum includes “the explicit cognitive and affective goals of formal instruction” (p. 23). From a social justice perspective, this means to explicitly include content that, within the realms of the subject, addresses issues of diversity and inclusion, for example, to use a history class to teach about the historical construction of racial difference and racism. The hidden curriculum includes “the unstated norms, values, and beliefs that are transmitted to students” (Giroux, p. 23). For example, Bell et al., (2016) encourage educators to think about the “perspectives, and voices to include in the course” (p. 60). Hence, in the same history class, the teacher should consider which voices are included in the lesson and the groups that these voices represent. Thus, paying attention to the hidden curriculum also implies careful consideration of the different choices made during the construction of the plan for the class and to think of the messages that these choices deliver to the students. In this case, teachers need to consider whose knowledge is valued and whose knowledge is not appreciated.

Similarly, the processes and the pedagogy by which social justice aims are achieved matter. This dimension focuses on the skills educators have available to address issues of inclusion in their interpersonal relations with students. The pedagogical practice includes the range of strategies available to reach out (and

engage) students from diverse cultural backgrounds in meaningful learning processes. According to Bell (2016), this process should be “respectful of human diversity and group differences, and inclusive and affirming of human agency and capacity for working collaboratively with others to create change” (p. 3). Educators who employ a wider repertoire of strategies could reach out and engage a more diverse student population and develop a more inclusive practice (Bell et al., 2016; Marchesani & Adams, 1992). Along with the different cultural background of the students, educators should be able to include students in various developmental stages, with different learning styles, and with multiple life trajectories.

Finally, social justice educators need to consider the oppression dynamics that permeate the school institution. These institutionalized dynamics affect the culture and the climate and shape the students’, teachers’, and administrators’ experiences. Culture refers to the “embedded values, norms, and assumptions that are not easily changed and crystallize an organization's distinctive character” (Chun & Evans, 2016, p. 62). Schools display their culture through subtle practices, norms, and traditions that could unintentionally discriminate against an individual because of her or his social memberships. For example, the gendered division of labor could assign women teachers and students to clerical work, while male teachers and students enjoy leadership roles. The climate is a more flexible phenomenon and relates to the perception that “community members attach to policies and practices, included behaviors that are rewarded and supported” (Chun & Evans, p. 62). Different community members could perceive a school’s climate as hostile, safe, or chilling; however, from a social justice perspective, it is necessary to grasp the

extent to which members of non-dominant groups perceive their treatment within the institution and pay attention to the overall support, attitudes, expectations, and behaviors that all community members have regarding issues of diversity and inclusion (Chun & Evans). Social justice educators need to account for the institutional culture and climate in their curricular planning, as their action will face resistance or support in relation to it, and their practice could be needed to improve the education experience of non-dominant groups members.

Figure 1 introduces a graphic representation of the five interlocked dimensions of the social justice education practice discussed in this section. The heuristic presented in Figure 1 intends to simplify in one image a complex dynamic that, in education contexts, happens simultaneously (Adams & Love, 2009). This complex dynamic involves simultaneously: the educator self (Who are we?), the characteristics of the students (Whom do we teach?), the content and curriculum (What do we teach?), the pedagogy and process (How do we teach?), and the features of the climate and cultural context (Where do we teach?).

As stated earlier, the main purpose of this study is to gain a more a nuanced understanding of teachers' perceptions and responses to exclusionary dynamics as they manifest in interpersonal interaction between students in the classrooms. To help contextualize teachers' perceptions and responses to students' interactions, this study also explores personal, professional and contextual factors that may inform teachers' beliefs, perceptions and responses to student interactions. In the next section, I present the study questions and put them in conversation with four dimensions guiding social justice education practice discussed earlier.

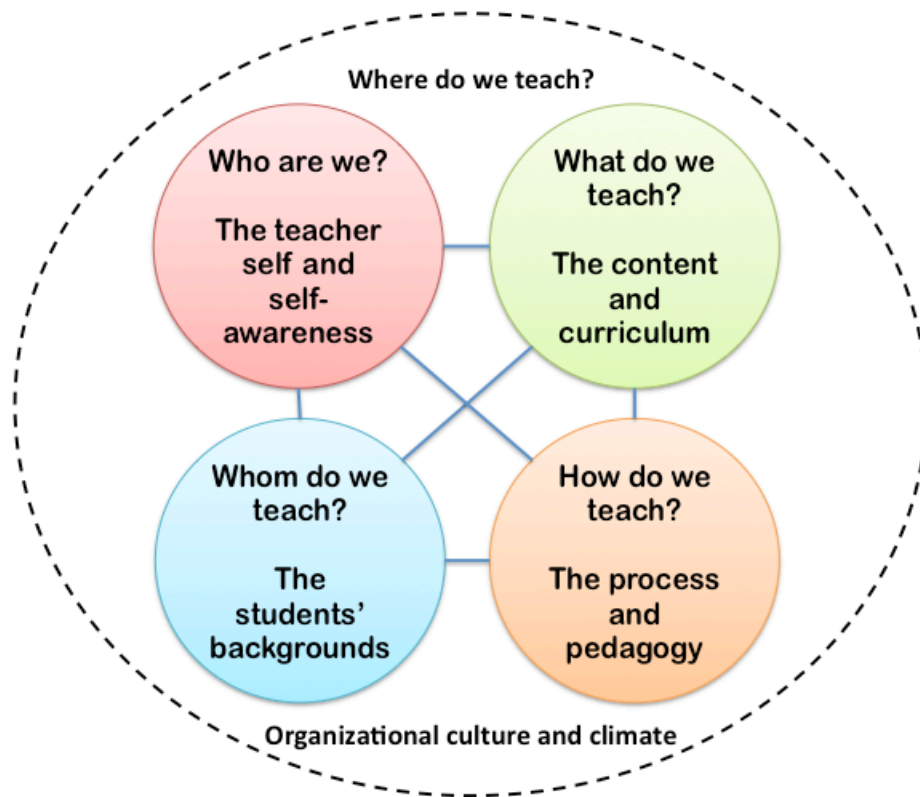


Figure 1: Interlocked dimensions of the social justice education practice

### **Research Questions**

As stated earlier, the purpose of this exploratory qualitative study is twofold:

a) to explore Chilean middle school teachers' responses to and understanding of social class and gender-based discriminatory behaviors in classrooms and b) to explore some of the personal, professional, and contextual factors that may influence teachers' responses and understandings of exclusionary classroom dynamics

To lend more specificity to the purpose of the study, I generated three research questions (and sub-questions) to guide the research along the four



dimensions of the social justice education practice discussed in the conceptual framework of this study. These research questions are the following:

- I. How do Chilean middle school teachers understand issues of inclusion and exclusion in education?
- II. How do Chilean middle school teachers make meaning of and respond to social class- or gender-based discriminatory behaviors in classrooms?
- III. How do individual, professional, and contextual factors influence middle school teachers' responses to and understanding of social class- or gender-based discriminatory behaviors in classrooms?
  - A. How do teachers' individual biographies inform their responses to and understanding of social class- and gender-based discriminatory behaviors in classrooms?
    - i. How do teachers' awareness of their own social group memberships inform their response to and understanding of social class- or gender-based discriminatory behaviors in classrooms?
  - B. How do teachers' professional trajectories influence their responses to and understanding of social class- or gender-based discriminatory behaviors in classrooms?
  - C. How do teachers' professional contexts impact their responses to and understanding of social class- or gender-based discriminatory behaviors in classrooms?

The research questions guiding this study invite teachers to share their perspectives about issues of inclusion and exclusion in public education, as well as to reflect on how they would handle specific student interactions related to gender- or class-based exclusionary dynamics in the classrooms. Teachers' responses to these questions will likely emphasize different dimensions of the social justice education practice—that is, the content and the curriculum, the students' background, the teacher self, and the process and pedagogy. For example, some teachers may recognize gender- or class-based interactions because they know their students or are aware of their students' backgrounds and how these backgrounds may impact how they experience the classroom. Similarly, teachers' responses to discrimination and exclusion may shed light on the assumptions guiding their pedagogical practice. They may also suggest possible connections between a teachers' social identity self-awareness when addressing class or gender based interaction in a particular situation. Similarly, questions related to teachers' perception about the school climate might provide insight into the ways in which the perceived institutional culture and climate may shape a teacher's ability to respond to discriminatory situations in their classrooms.

### **Chapter Summary**

In this introductory chapter, I presented the main antecedents informing the research project that I propose as my dissertation work. I started by situating this project as contributing to the struggle for the right to education. I introduced the context of the study, Chile, a South American country with a history of social

divisions, which is currently implementing reforms to address systemic barriers for inclusion at the structural level. At the same time, teachers and students, in an unintentional and unaware way, tend to reproduce dynamics of “exclusionary inclusion” (Gentili, 2011, p. 78). These dynamics place barriers for inclusion of members of specific population at the micro-level (e.g., classroom, interpersonal relations). The social justice education perspective that informs the conceptual framework of this study helps me to identify dimensions of the practice that impact the teachers’ responses to exclusion in classrooms. Among these dimensions, teachers’ self-awareness is one of the least explored in the education field and one of the main foci of my inquiry.

### **Overview of Chapters**

In the second chapter, I introduce the Chilean socio-political context and the shape the legislation on non-discrimination and inclusion acquires in this context. I analyze laws and policy tools intended to promote inclusive and safe environments for everyone. I describe the gains and limitations of the current policy framework regulating the life in schools. Chapter three presents an empirical review of the literature addressing social class and gender dynamics in Chilean schools. In Chapter four I describe the qualitative research methods and procedures used, and elaborate on the rationale behind the use of vignettes as a way to learn about the reasons behind participants’ action. I also introduce the sample and the main procedures used to collect and analyze data. Chapter five presents the findings related to the first research question that inquired for teachers’ understanding

about issues of inclusion and exclusion in education. Similarly, Chapter six, presents the results of the second and third research questions, describing teachers' understandings and responses to social class- or gender-based discrimination dynamics performed by students in the classroom. Also, this chapter describes some of the professional, educational and biographical factors informing the teachers' understandings and responses. Finally, Chapter seven discusses the main findings of this study and its implications for future research, the education of teachers, and the educational policy.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **SOCIO-POLITICAL AND LEGISLATIVE CONTEXT OF CHILEAN PUBLIC EDUCATION**

#### **Introduction and Organization of the Chapter**

Chapter one introduced this study's significance, context, conceptual frameworks, and twofold purpose: a) to explore Chilean middle school teachers' responses and understandings of social class- and gender-based discrimination in classrooms, and b) to explore some of the personal, professional, and contextual factors that may influence these responses and understandings. In addition, the chapter highlighted the importance of teachers' social identity awareness in shaping their responses to micro-aggressions and discrimination dynamics, especially when they relate to issues of sexism and classism.

This chapter describes the research context—a country shaped by neoliberalism. It begins by describing the context in which teachers develop their practice, including the recent history of Chile, characterized by the implementation of a neoliberal socio-economic order, and relevant legislation and policies that regulate teachers' work inside schools. The chapter then traces parallels between some of the principles that orient neoliberal governance and legislation and policies that currently regulate the life of teachers and school systems. Next, it delves into policies pertaining to discrimination and inclusion to understand the tensions and strengths acquired by the implementation of these policies in the context of a neoliberal regime.

Finally, as the chapter concludes with a discussion of some of the potentialities, tensions, and limitations existing in the country that provides the context for this study, it also raises some points to be explored in future chapters regarding the impact of this context on the way that teachers process and understand discrimination dynamics in their classrooms, as well as the way this context helps shape their responses to the matter.

### **Chile: A Neoliberal Experiment**

Recent Chilean history is marked by the expansion and consolidation of the neoliberal doctrine. Chile is regarded as the blueprint (or the laboratory) in which those interested in reform first applied the neoliberal doctrine in its purest form (Klein, 2007; Peck, 2004). After the 1973 military coup, backed by economists out of Chicago University, the dictatorship turned Chile into a playing field for the experimentation of the neoliberal doctrine (Clark, 2017; Pinkney, 2007; Verger, Fontdevila, & Zancajo, 2016). The neoliberal reforms implemented experimentally in Chile became the socio-economic model that most American countries continue to follow today (Clark, 2017; Dezalay & Garth, 2002; Peck, 2004).

Neoliberalism exacerbates the role that markets, competition, individual choices, and economic growth play in society's development. While critics describe this doctrine as a "political project to re-establish the conditions for capital accumulation and to restore the power of economic elites" (Harvey, 2005, p. 19), neoliberal advocates consider trickle-down distribution processes the way to achieve social well-being (Aghion & Bolton, 1997). Following the doctrine developed

by Milton Friedman and during the dictatorship, the military—supported by the economic elites—dismantled the State's progressive social security system and privatized public services, such as education, health, pensions, water supply, and electricity production and supply (De la Barra, 2012; Harvey, 2005; Lomnitz & Melnick, 1991). The State also promoted segregated housing policies (Morales & Rojas, 1986) and fostered mistrust and fear among the citizens, destroying the social fabric of democracy and the bonds of solidarity that grew during previous governments (Lechner, 2002).

In 1988, a national plebiscite organized by a coalition of left and center political parties paved the way for democracy's return. To secure a smooth transition from dictatorship to democracy, the political elites made compromises. The biggest of these was to preserve the neoliberal canon as the main framework organizing the social, cultural, and economic life of the country (Donoso-Díaz, Castro-Paredes, & Davis-Toledo, 2012). Social policies that were developed and pursued during the post-dictatorship period reflect this compromise and mainly aim to correct some of the most extreme consequences of neoliberalism without necessarily challenging its ideological assumptions (Garretón, 2012; Riesco, 2012). Over the last 40 years, the central premises that characterize neoliberalism (i.e. free market, competition, individualism, trickle-down economics, freedom of entrepreneurship and choice) have consolidated their presence in the context of Chile and have translated into policies and regulations that continue to shape the country's institutions and the citizens' subjectivities.

## **Social Policies in the Post-dictatorship Era**

In the post-dictatorship period, the ruling elites continued embracing government frameworks that minimized the State's role to a subsidiary one. A subsidiary State shortens its reach by privatizing formerly public services when, for example, private entrepreneurs show interest in opening such services to market competition (Cristi, 2017). At the same time, a subsidiary State facilitates the conditions for private entrepreneurs to thrive by subsidizing their investment and guaranteeing a minimum "demand" for the service they acquired. Regulations are created to force the public to choose from among a limited pool of similar providers, or by guaranteeing a monopoly on the provision of the service for a period that secures profits for the investment (Cristi, 2017).

Consistent with a subsidiary vision of the State, post-dictatorship governments have "postulated social action as part of the country's economic development strategy and considered social spending as an investment in people" (Martin, 1998, p. 318). In order to be considered by the State, citizens need to become "market citizens" (Schild, 2000, p. 278), or "empowered clients, who as individuals are viewed as capable of enhancing their lives through judicious, responsible choices as consumers of services and goods" (Schild, p. 278). State-funded social policies are only desirable when they focus their reach on issues, populations, or groups outside the scope of the market (e.g., indigenous people; low-income women; minorities). Even in these cases, the subsidiary State hands the implementation of social policies to external providers and private entrepreneurs. When the subsidiary State invests in itself, its expenses are directed to maintain the



stability of the model—for example, by creating and funding external quality assurance agencies, to protect citizens from foul practices, whose governing boards include public officials and private actors. In many cases, these agencies operate at a Supra-State level and do not face the same level of accountability as elected officials (Robertson, Mundy, Verger, & Menashy, 2012).

### **Neoliberal Policies Applied to the Field of Education**

In the Chilean educational field, implementation of the principles of the neoliberal doctrine is characterized by the following, among other features:

- a) The aggressive transference of public funding to the private sector;
- b) The exaltation of individualism, competition, school choice, and freedom of education as core values organizing the system; and
- c) The development and enforcement of a standardized and productivity-centered curriculum.

Below, I delve into these trends and provide examples of their presence within educational policies. To do this, I briefly define these features and describe some of their articulations within some of the central education policies currently organizing the school system in Chile.

#### **The Aggressive Transference of Public Funding to the Private Sector**

Transference of public funds to private pockets is a key feature of the neoliberal agenda, which seeks to restore power to ruling elites through a process of accumulation by dispossession (Harvey, 2005). In Chile, one of the primary mechanisms to attain this goal has been the portable student-voucher policy, which

is an amount of money assigned to public and subsidized private schools based on their students' monthly attendance (Contreras et al., 2010). The student voucher system, in theory, creates an educational market where private and public institutions compete for students' enrollment. However, this competition does not happen on a level playing field. Public and private providers have historically responded to different sets of labor and enrollment regulations, which have placed private providers in an advantageous position (Contreras et al.). One of the main outputs of the voucher system—and one of the most evident manifestations of the process of transference of public funding to private pockets— is that over the last 17 years, subsidized private education providers have steadily grown, while publicly owned schools have decreased in both enrollment rates and numbers (Figure 2).

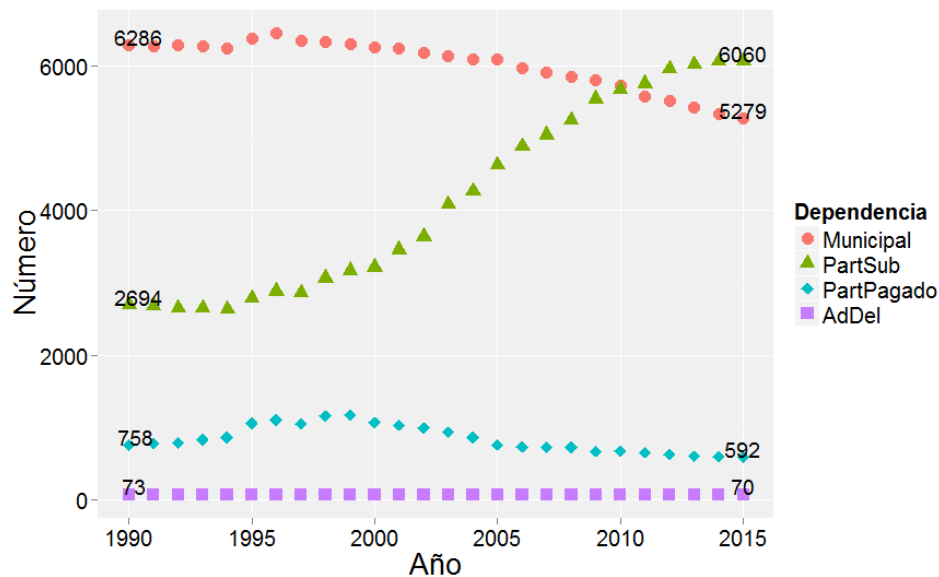


Figure 2: Evolution of enrollment in Chilean Schools by type of school owner 1990 to 2015

This increase in subsidized private schools also allows the possibility of tracking the consolidation of the elite hegemony. The private sector has strengthened its position in education through the creation of school owners' associations that share ideological beliefs and agendas, and whose boards are composed of members of some of the biggest retail, construction, and finance companies in the country (Parra & González, 2015). From this platform the private sector creates, funds, and supports think-tanks and agencies that strengthen the private interest's position as well as influence public policy as hidden decision makers, with no further public accountability, even when formal policy production seems to be in the hands of the State (Moreira, 2016; Moreira & Rut, 2018). The State's allyship with the private sector, also described as public-private-partnerships (Robertson et al., 2012; Verger, Bonal, & Zancajo, 2016; Verger, Fontdevila, et al., 2016), has led to an increased transference of public funding into private hands, debilitating the government's institutional structure and neglecting to protect the needs of groups whose issues are not constituted as marketable (Schild, 2000).

### **The Exaltation of Individualism, Competition, School Choice and Freedom of Education as Core Values Organizing the System**

Another key feature of neoliberalism is the creation of a cultural canon that centers values like individualism, competition, freedom of teaching, and school choice as its main ethos. This ethos encourages beliefs such as the best pathway to improve the quality of life is individual effort, market competition, and freedom of choice, which are directly translated into the education system. An educational

system organized as a market requires winners and losers. For example, under these premises, competition among schools will lead to their improvement, because the best schools will set the benchmark and bring pressure to their competitors to improve or disappear. Similarly, when a school fails, the failure is attributed to internal factors such as lack of effort, lack of innovation, or poor management (Montecinos, Ahumada, Galdames, Campos, & Leiva, 2015). Likewise, as Connell (2013) explains, for families to invest in their children's education, they should be afraid to stand on the losers' side. In the neoliberal cultural ethos, for "successful" individuals to be able to sleep at night, they need to think that the failure of others relates to those others' bad choices or inabilities, rather than to systemic injustice. Concerning the market educational system, winners are the ones who chose well and made an effort to enroll their children in a quality school. Losers are the ones who did not choose well, or who, because of their bad decisions, cannot access the best option available in the market.

Within the neoliberal education system, several structures reinforce and normalize this individualistic and competitive common sense (i.e. the idea of good and bad choices). In Chile, one of them is the Sistema de Medición de la Calidad de la Educación (or SIMCE, Quality in Education Measuring System), which is a high-stakes testing system created during the dictatorship and expanded by the post-dictatorship governments (Campos-Martínez, Corbalán, & Inzunza, 2015; Gysling, 2016). The SIMCE is one of the only policies in education that transitioned from dictatorship to democracy with no further criticism or intervention. It is administered to all students in the country in certain grades (4<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup>, and 10<sup>th</sup>) and

measures the curriculum coverage in mathematics, language, and social sciences or biological sciences. The average test score of all of the students in a class creates a number. This number publicly represents the score of the school and is used to categorize the quality of the school and to rank students amongst their peers.

According to Flórez (2013), the SIMCE has almost 17 different uses, but just two are the most publicized: first, it provides feedback to the schools regarding the learning progress of the students, and second, it informs the families about the quality of their school, so that they can theoretically choose the best school or pressure their current school to improve. Rather than being an incentive for schools to improve, the SIMCE operates to create anxiety in families seeking social mobility and forces them to compete amongst each other to place their children in schools that will add value to their lives. Furthermore, families who can afford subsidized private schools, or can be selected into them, tend to self-segregate and seek spaces where their children are separated from lower income children. Among the reasons they give for this decision is to avoid the risk of their children being in contact with drug dealers' children, and also to avoid the risk of their children being labeled and stigmatized because of the school in which they study (Contreras et al., 2010; Godoy et al., 2014; Rojas, Falabella, & Leyton, 2016). Families who cannot match or afford the economic or religious requirements of private or subsidized private schools do not have much choice but to send their children to the public system.

The test scores also influence the teachers' income and job security. For example, teachers are rewarded when their students' test scores rank among the country's upper 35%. On the other hand, schools with low scores are placed on a

pathway that may lead to the loss of their official recognition and eventually to their closing. The SIMCE is a potent tool to reinforce the common-sense claims that inform families about the quality of their school. However, the rankings oversimplify the impact that schools have on students and present achievement gaps as failures of teachers. Teachers, principals, and school communities are held accountable for their failures, while the structural constraints, the lack of funding, and the deficit in the labor conditions of the education workers are rendered invisible (Montecinos et al., 2015). Individualism, competition, and freedom of choice consolidate as the main values organizing the education system and the society.

### **Standardized and Productivity-Oriented Curriculum**

Finally, a third feature that characterizes the education system in Chile is a school curriculum that privileges the development of skills and competencies required by the neoliberal economy. This curriculum aligns with the notion of human capital, which is an ideological construct that suggests that the purpose of education is to increase individuals' productivity and, consequently, their future incomes. Therefore, under the human capital logic, education is considered an investment (Tan, 2014), and knowledge a commodity (Connell, 2013).

As the neoliberal economy requires a stratified workforce, the skills and capabilities available for students are also stratified. On one hand, the curriculum planned and delivered in lower income (private and public) schools seeks to train the future service and blue-collar labor force. On the other hand, the curriculum delivered to the children of the neoliberal elite, composed of senior managers,

politicians, millionaires, and wealthy professionals, seeks to train the leaders of the future (Lipman, 2004, 2011).

The productivity-oriented curriculum set the minimum disciplinary content to be covered by each school subject and the minimum performance that students need to achieve in each one. This curriculum is mandatory for all State-funded schools. However, schools can adapt or modify parts of this curriculum in alignment with their educative projects. Schools are free to adjust the curriculum as long as they perform well in standardized evaluations (i.e., the SIMCE) measuring mathematics and language knowledge. Thus, public schools that educate the children of the labor force—and commonly struggle with achieving high scores on these tests—instead of adjusting the curriculum for more variety, need to narrow what they teach and mostly focus on what the SIMCE measures (Au, 2007; Campos-Martínez & Morales, 2016). “Teaching to the test” becomes a survival strategy for schools competing in an unfair terrain. One of the implications of this approach is that, in many cases, lower-income children become trained to answer repetitive questions, to understand instructions, and to respond to multiple-choice questions (Au, 2007; Campos-Martínez & Morales, 2016; Lipman, 2004), which ensures their functional membership in the consumer society.

### **Impact of Neoliberal Policies on the Education Field**

The three features I presented earlier are interconnected; they have changed the shape of neoliberal policies, and have complexified as organizations and social movements have confronted the neoliberal hegemony. These features are also

present in other territories where neoliberalism organizes the political and economic systems. An example is Chicago, the city where Friedman and others trained the economists who introduced the neoliberal system into Chile (Clark, 2017; Dezalay & Garth, 2002). In Chicago, the transference of public funding to private hands has taken a similar form with charter school reform. The use of testing and a standardized curriculum, plus accountability policies without resources, have “set up for failure” (Lipman, 2011 p. 53) the public education system. Also, in Chicago, the burden of these policies disproportionately affects African American and Latino communities (Stovall, 2012). Similarly, in Chile, neoliberal education policies have disproportionately affected lower-middle class and working-class families. A significant part of family income is paid to education, and education-associated debt has expanded over the years.

In 2006, a generation of secondary-school students rose up to protest the conditions of the education system. This movement, known as the “rise of the Penguins” (“Penguins” is the nickname for secondary-school students in Chile because of the colors of the school uniforms), galvanized a series of grievances for a more socially just society (Bellei & Cabalin, 2013; Cornejo et al., 2012; Guzman-Concha, 2012; Stromquist & Sanyal, 2013; Williams, 2015). While the center of the struggle was the right to education, and more specifically the funding of public education, around this center other demands started to gain traction. Many of these demands were related to different systems of oppression such as sexism, homophobia, racism, classism, ableism, and others. Thus, in education, along with addressing the formal demands of the student movement, a series of legislative



projects started to gain momentum. In addition to the emblematic reforms addressing funding and administration of educational institutions, a series of legislation addressing the characteristics of inclusion in schools and universities, as well as the desired socially just character of the daily processes inside the same institutions, has been enacted over the last 12 years.

These reforms are significant steps in the right direction. However, the neoliberal premises that continue to organize the system hinder these steps. The regulations addressing issues of classism, racism, sexism, ableism, and homophobia mostly focus on addressing some of the manifestations of these systems, and not their roots. In the following section, I analyze legislation, policy documents, and reports that have developed over the last five years, to address different manifestations of oppression as they appear in the education field.

### **Current Policies and Regulations Addressing Inclusion in Education**

This section describes laws and policy documents created with the purpose of fostering inclusive practices and overcoming the exclusion of people and groups from participation in society and schools. These documents directly refer to the roles, rights, and mandates of teachers and schools in fighting exclusion and discrimination and making the classrooms and schools safe spaces for students and all members of the school community to thrive.

This section also explores regulatory frameworks that address inclusion and exclusion in education. At the time of this research, documents that explicitly referenced exclusion and inclusion in education were scarce, so I sought terms

alluding to violence, discrimination, school climate, or students' well-being as proxies. During the process, a term with no direct translation to English emerged: "*convivencia escolar*". The government defines *Convivencia Escolar* as "actions that help us learn to live together and build agreements about living in community" (MINEDUC, 2016, p. 13). *Convivencia* seems to group actions, guidelines, and mandates that aim to coordinate interpersonal relations within the school. In many cases, interpersonal relations act as an important protective factor against drop out and deeply influence the experiences of students.

The first group of documents I analyze is composed of laws that provide boundaries to attend to the principles of inclusion agreed on by the country. This group of documents establishes language and procedural frameworks to eliminate barriers and foster equal access to members of commonly disenfranchised groups. In addition, I analyze three of the most recent laws approved to address exclusion. The "School Violence Law", Number 20.536, enacted in September 2011 (MINEDUC, 2011), the "Law Against Discrimination", Number 20.609, enacted in July 2012 (SEGEFOB, 2012), and the "Inclusion Law", Number 28.845, enacted in May 2015 (MINEDUC, 2015). Alongside the main legal features of these laws, I describe the context that informed their discussion, which helps facilitate the interpretation of the Law's content.

The second group of documents contains policy tools such as handbooks and guidelines developed by the government to help schools, and school personnel, to comply with the regulations stated in the law. A shared characteristic of these tools is that they use standards and assessments associated with sanctions or rewards as

means to enforce the law. Here, I analyze the guidelines used by the Quality Agency to measure the climate of *convivencia* and gender equity in schools (MINEDUC, 2014a), the *convivencia* dimension of the Indicative Performance Standards for Educational Organizations and its Holders (MINEDUC, 2014c), and the framework for good teaching (CPEIP, 2008), used to assess teacher performance. All of these documents regulate school life through standards and accountability systems that, while explicitly declaring their concern for teachers and school autonomy, also promote a vision of responsibility as an individual duty.

## **Legislations**

### **The School Violence Law**

The School Violence Law (or “*Convivencia* Law”) was proclaimed in 2011, less than a year after its presentation. The bill was introduced by a bipartisan group of legislators with the purpose of regulating the role and responsibility of schools in providing a safe environment for their students. The School Violence Law confers a legal status to three ideas previously present in policy documents and tools. First, it defines what constitutes a positive school climate. Second, it defines what constitutes school harassment. Third, it provides guidelines for school communities and administrators to prevent violence and harassment and to promote a positive school climate.

The School Violence Law (No. 20.536) defines harassment as “any action or omission constituting repeated aggression or harassment, carried out outside or within the educational institution by students who, individually or collectively,

make threats against another student, using a situation of superiority or the helplessness of the affected student” (MINEDUC, 2011a, Art 16, letter B). Also, this law mandates schools to create bylaws and written procedures to promote coexistence and sanction behaviors that constitute a lack of healthy coexistence, graduated by severity. Similarly, the law asks educational institutions to “establish the disciplinary measures corresponding to such conduct, which includes a wide range of pedagogical measures, that add up to the cancellation of enrollment” (MINEDUC, 2011a, Art. 46, E). Finally, the law mandates the creation of a group in each school in charge of the promotion of *convivencia* and the enforcement of school bylaws.

In the analysis of this legislation, two competing approximations surface for the management of school violence. On the one hand, the law promotes well-being and healthy coexistence within schools. On the other hand, the law allows for the creation of a process to sanction specific behaviors that disrupt healthy coexistence, even when this process may unfairly target students from oppressed groups. Magendzo, Toledo and Gutiérrez (2012) analyze this law and explain that despite the presence of language addressing a “democratic coexistence vision” (p. 381), most of the regulations and the bulk of the practical mandates direct schools towards a “control and sanction” (p. 381) vision. Magendzo et al., anticipate that this law will influence schools, and school staff, to privilege punitive actions rather than engaged deliberation, or other types of measures such as restorative practices directed to repair the damage caused to others. Research in the U.S. context stresses the fact that, because of racism, punitive actions tend to disproportionately target

people of color (Lipman, 2011). In Chile, there are almost no studies measuring the punitive actions taken by schools or their relation with gender, ethnicity, or social class. However, qualitative studies, which I will present later in this chapter, point towards Chile following this trend: in front of the same behavior, students are treated with different severity if they are perceived as middle class versus working class, men versus women, afro-descendent or indigenous versus mestizo.

### **The Law Against Discrimination**

The “Law Against Discrimination” (or Zamudio law) was enacted in 2012, seven years after it was first introduced as a way to comply with human rights treaties and principles related to reducing discrimination. The final part of its discussion was fueled by the social outrage that emerged after the hate crime that ended the life of Daniel Zamudio, a young man who was attacked because of his sexual orientation by a neo-Nazi gang at a central park in Santiago (Abarca, Romero, & Caceres, 2013). The anti-discrimination law defines what legally constitutes discrimination and the State’s role in terminating it. It also defines the kinds of compensation and other forms of reparation that individuals can access when arbitrary discrimination against them is proved.

The Zamudio Law defines arbitrary discrimination as its main focus, which is described as: “any distinction, exclusion or restriction that lacks reasonable justification, made by agents of the State or individuals and that causes deprivation, disturbance or threat in the legitimate exercise of fundamental rights” (SEGEJOB, 2012, Article 2). Also, it defines categories affected by discrimination as “race or

ethnicity, nationality, socio-economic status, language, ideology or political opinion, religion or belief, unionization or participation in trade union organizations or lack thereof, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, marital status, age, filiation, personal appearance and illness or disability” (SEGEGOB, Article 2). The anti-discrimination law is one of the first legislative bodies that names and defines specific social groups as more vulnerable to discrimination. Also, when arbitrary discrimination is demonstrated, this legislation forces the State and private actors to develop actions to interrupt it.

The Zamudio law is a first step towards rendering visible formerly naturalized social and interpersonal dynamics that place specific groups at a disadvantage when they see themselves excluded and their rights restricted. The anti-discrimination law is an invitation to society to place specific attention on those disproportionately affected by marginalization, violence, or mistreatment. Despite the lack of mechanisms to advocate, prevent, or organize collective action against discrimination, the legislation is a step forward that allows groups that are more vulnerable in our current society to render their situation visible. Although the State is not mandated by this legislation to take a proactive approach to prevent discrimination, it does force it to react to individual cases where direct harm or rights violations are proven. The burden of proof is placed on the disadvantaged, but it also could force the State to take action to interrupt arbitrary discrimination. This law seems to have been created to promote an advocacy group strategy where the State is pressured by individuals to promote massive institutional changes to stop some forms of discrimination. This rationale is consistent with the subsidiary State

logic, as the State is forced to address a situation after it is proven that the situation places barriers on groups to fully participate in the market.

### **The School Inclusion Law**

The School Inclusion Law regulates the admission of students, eliminates student fees in publicly funded schools and prohibits profit in educational institutions that receive contributions from the State, is another good example of the subsidiary State logic in operation, and is one of the most recent pieces of legislation promulgated to address social inclusion in schools. It was presented by the president in May 2014 and promulgated by Congress in 2015. This legislation emerged as a response to the wave of social mobilizations, led by high school students in 2006 and continued by higher education students in 2011, which demanded a fair and less socioeconomically segregated education system (Cornejo et al., 2012; Guzman-Concha, 2012; Williams, 2015). Among other features, the School Inclusion Law regulates admission and enrollment practices and encourages schools to foster inclusion and diversity. It also gives greater attributions and power to school councils, which contribute to more democratic schools. Finally, the law regulates students' suspension and expulsion practices, introducing the notion of a due process to prevent arbitrary discrimination against students with learning disabilities and cognitive challenges.

The law mandates the State to “eliminate all forms of arbitrary discrimination that impede students' learning and participation” (MINEDUC, 2015, Article 1, letter k). At the same time, it outlines the procedures to avoid

discrimination in enrollment. For example, in cases where the number of applicants is bigger than the number of spots available in a publicly funded school, it establishes a randomized system based on a combination of choice and chance as the main mechanism to decide who can enroll.

The law states the need to adapt the school bylaws to align them with a conception of inclusive education as a social right. This alignment, among other measures, contemplates the prohibition of any form of arbitrary discrimination that places barriers over students' learning and their full participation in school life. For example, the law requires adapting the school bylaws to establish the prohibition of any arbitrary discrimination. Likewise, the law forbids expulsion, enrollment cancellation, or placement of students on leave for academic, political, or ideological reasons, or due to their socio-economic situation, academic performance, or the existence of permanent or transitory special needs. Also, this law forbids direct or indirect pressure on students with learning difficulties, like suggesting the student's parents or guardians seek another school that better suits the student's needs.

The law also describes the form that expulsion procedures should take. For example, it states that before starting the procedure to expel a student from the school, the principal needs to communicate with the parents, or legal guardian, regarding the inconvenience of the student's behaviors. The principal also needs to warn the parents or guardians about the different measures and sanctions that the student is risking, and the pedagogical and psychosocial support available for the student in the school bylaws. Also, unless the student behaves in a way that directly threatens the physical or psychological integrity of a fellow school community



member, a student cannot be expelled at a time in the school year that renders their enrollment in another school impossible.

This law is an important step forward because it seeks to interrupt school dynamics that disproportionately affect students from lower income backgrounds. The law shows an understanding of current dynamics that are used to exclude students with learning disabilities and cognitive challenges. From this perspective, it creates processes that seek to interrupt discrimination, but that also could contribute to rationalizing the removal of students. By requiring schools to provide students with a set of warnings and resources, the main responsibility for student failure seems to be placed at the level of students and their caregivers. The law does not require schools to be proactive in seeking more diversity or retaining the diversity they have. It also does not create a mechanism to promote a more inclusive school, or challenge schools to be better. The law does not require resources to support schools and school communities towards their implementation of programs to foster inclusion among the community.

### **Section Summary**

In this section, I briefly introduced three bodies of legislation that currently shape educational decision-making in Chile. In these bodies, it is possible to distinguish some premises and tensions that could impact teachers' work, the boundaries of the teaching profession, and the decision-making processes within the school and the classroom. First, the School Violence Law defines what constitutes a positive school climate, what constitutes harassment, and the

procedures schools should develop and implement to deal with them. Second, the Zamudio Law defines what constitutes discrimination, who is protected against discrimination, and how to react against blatant discrimination. Third, the School Inclusion Law regulates the enrollment practices of publicly funded school institutions and tries to increase the diversity within publicly funded schools.

Congruent with the neoliberal framework in which they are situated, these laws present school violence as an individual issue between a perpetrator and a target. Similarly, most of the pathways promoted by these laws regarding conflict resolution are situated at the individual or interpersonal level. Also, most of these laws need to deal with the tension that emerges when they need to coordinate the two constitutional rights established by the General Education Law (MINEDUC, 2009), that is, the freedom of choice and the need for schools to include students and protect their right to education. To achieve this, the schools are allowed to create and enforce their bylaws and hold students accountable to them, which on some occasions may lead to procedures that could allow the expulsion of the student.

The School Inclusion Law maintains this trend, whereas it seeks to interrupt dynamics of discrimination that occur when students seek enrolment, or when students present problems that may justify their expulsion from the school. This law also reinforces the individual responsibility perspective; hence it tends to place on the students' shoulders the burden of the effort to stay in the school. Perpetuating the winners and losers framework.

Consistent with this logic, these legislative bodies are made operational through policy documents and guidelines, which are used to make schools accountable for their practices. In the following section, I will describe three of these documents. First, I will present the Framework for Good Teaching (CPEIP, 2008), which is used to evaluate teachers and impacts their income and professional development. Second, I will present the national policy for school “*convivencia*”, which, among other features, outlines the desired content of school rules, policies, and guidelines to address discriminatory behaviors in classrooms.

### **Policy Documents and Guidelines**

Previous sections of this chapter explore some of the historical, socio-economic, and legislative background shaping the Chilean education system. Additionally, I described some of the main legislative bodies that define how teachers and schools should approach exclusion, violence, and discrimination in classrooms and educational institutions. These legislative bodies are promoted and enforced by the Ministry of Education using several mechanisms. For example, the Ministry of Education has designed guidelines to help schools deal with the inclusion of migrant students, indigenous students, with gender discrimination and sexism in the classroom, and with fighting homophobia and transphobia targeting LGBTQ students. However, these efforts are insufficient, as most of these documents rely on teacher voluntarism for their application and are not widely socialized among teachers.

This section describes and analyzes three policy tools developed by governmental agencies to measure and guide teachers' professional development as well as a school's improvement. The section starts by presenting the guidelines used by the Quality Agency to measure school climate of *convivencia* and gender equity. The chapter continues by introducing the *convivencia* dimension of the Indicative Performance Standards for Educational Organizations and its Holders (MINEDUC, 2014c), also developed by the Agency for Quality in Education to support the schools in their improvement process. Finally, to shed some light on the teacher level, the final part of this section introduces the Framework for Good Teaching (CPEIP, 2008), used for the assessment of teacher performance. All of these policies aim to impact school practices at the individual and institutional levels and two of them do this by linking their outcomes with rewards and sanctions. Only the Indicative Performance Standards does not have direct consequences for schools, but instead requires them to agree to follow their advice "voluntarily".

### **Other Indicators for Quality Measurement**

Between the years 2011 and 2013, after a process of national and international consultation, the Quality Assurance Agency developed the "Other Indicators of Educational Quality" or OIC (MINEDUC, 2014b) to measure the quality of schools beyond standardized test scores. In part, this was because of the pressure of civil society organizations that raised alarm about the consequences of high-stakes testing in education processes, or narrowing the curriculum and introducing practices that transform education into "teaching to the test" (Campos-Martínez &

Morales, 2016). In addition, it was because of indications stated in two legislative bodies that required the creation of a National System of Education Quality Assurance, which contemplated a “set of policies, measurements, support and audit mechanisms, information systems and standards to achieve the continuous improvement of student learning and promote the capacities of educational institutions in the country” (MINEDUC, 2014b, p. 5), i.e., “The General Education Law” (MINEDUC, 2009) and the law that establishes “The national system of quality assurance for initial, primary and secondary education and its overseeing” (MINEDUC, 2011b).

The OIC supports the National System of Education Quality Assurance by widening the concept of school quality beyond the domain of academic achievement. Hence, the OIC seeks to consider and measure aspects of school experience that are not measured by the SIMCE, such as students’ academic self-esteem and school motivation, the climate of school *convivencia*, the level of participation and civic education, healthy lifestyle habits, school attendance and retention, the gender equity level, and, for vocational schools, the attainment rate. The data for these indicators are gathered with the use of tools (census surveys directed to students, parents, and teachers) and indirect measures (information requested from schools and school administrators). In this chapter, I will analyze the indicators specifically addressing the climate for school *convivencia* and gender equity because these are the most closely related to the aims of this research.

The climate for school *convivencia* is a multidimensional concept that condenses ideas about school climate, understood as the perception of school

community members about interpersonal relations in the school context and the overall functioning of the school (MINEDUC, 2014a). Despite the fact that the document analyzed acknowledges the multidimensionality of the school climate, it only focuses on three dimensions of this concept. These dimensions are defined operatively as perceptions and attitudes of students, parents or guardians, and teachers, in relation to the presence of a respectful, organized, and safe environment in the school. In Table 1, the content of each dimension is further outlined. These dimensions are measured using surveys that accompany the application of the SIMCE and are reported to the school, aggregated as a score range, that fits into one of three possible categories (positive, average, and negative).

Table 1: Dimensions and descriptors of school climate used in the OIC  
(MINEDUC, 2014a, p. 26)

Environment of respect	Organized environment	Safe environment
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Respectful treatment among the members of the educational community.</li> <li>• The appreciation of diversity and the absence of discrimination.</li> <li>• Caring about the school building and respect for the surroundings on the part of the students.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The existence of clear rules known, demanded, and respected by all.</li> <li>• The predominance of constructive mechanisms of conflict resolution.</li> <li>• The students' attitudes regarding the norms of coexistence and their transgression.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The degree of security and physical and psychological violence within the establishment.</li> <li>• The existence of mechanisms of prevention and action against school violence.</li> <li>• The students' attitudes regarding bullying and the factors that affect their physical or psychological integrity.</li> </ul>

These descriptors for school climate pick up on some of the voids left in previous legislation, specifically in what concerns the inclusion of a more proactive approach centered on the prevention of violence and discrimination. For example,

the OIC characterizes a safe environment as one in which there are mechanisms in place not only to confront violence but also to prevent it. At the same time, these mechanisms tend to reproduce some of the neoliberal cultural frameworks as most of them sustain a predominantly individualistic approach to *school convivencia*. For example, most of the descriptors are situated at the individual level and overall the measurement of the indicator is done with a survey applied to school community members as individuals. Also, the concern for establishing standards related to respect and common rules resonates with a more punitive approach to *convivencia*. Respect among different members of the school community and the appreciation of diversity are also included in this indicator. These are fairly general descriptors and do not consider the struggles that specific groups face at the cultural level or other types of interpersonal dynamics that may arise characterized by social differences, like social class and gender. Appreciating diversity does not necessarily mean employing action to interrupt the inequalities that these differences create in the day-to-day life of the people who belong to historically disadvantaged groups. Similarly, the Gender Equity indicator is narrow; it only considers the performance gap in SIMCE language and mathematics between male and female students in co-ed institutions. There are no further dimensions associated with this indicator, nor are there other ideas to gather data that could speak to a more situated approach to understanding gender equity and equality. This indicator, for example, does not address the representation of different genders in the curriculum, or how gender dynamics are perpetuated in the interpersonal relations of schools or in

institutional documents such as the school bylaws, which in many cases differentiate between men and women.

All these indicators constitute 6.6% (3.3% climate of school *convivencia*, 3.3% gender equity) of the final score by which schools are labeled (70% of the weight is carried by the SIMCE test score). These scores have economic consequences for teachers and also contribute to labeling schools into one of three categories: autonomous, in recovery, or insufficient. These categories dictate the level of autonomy that schools have to manage the extra resources given by laws targeting their most vulnerable students. Additionally, these categories dictate the viability of a specific school; if a school is categorized as insufficient for a number of years in a row it will be closed, and the community that integrates them dissolved.

### **Performance Indicative Standards for Educational Organizations and their Holders (Owners)**

The “Performance Indicative Standards for Educational Organizations and their Holders (owners)” (MINEDUC, 2014c) is also part of the National System of Education Quality Assurance. Different from the “Other Indicators of School Quality”, the Indicative Standards are not linked to direct negative consequences for schools. Moreover, the General Education Law explicitly states that non-compliance with these standards, or the recommendations made by governmental agencies in relation to these standards, cannot be linked to sanctions. Furthermore, the indicative standards need to be willingly adopted by schools, respecting their autonomy (MINEDUC, 2014c). The indicative standards are presented to the school after an assessment process conducted by professionals of the Quality Agency. The



visits are programmed in relation to the school performance level in high-stakes standardized evaluations (The SIMCE) – that is, low performing schools are visited every two years, lower middle performing schools are visited every four years, high-performance schools are visited not to be evaluated but to learn about their best practices (MINEDUC, 2014c). Although there are no direct consequences attached to these visits, the schools feel pressure to follow the recommendations given by the Agency. These recommendations are only based on the narrow standards given by the government, which do not always respond to the context of the schools, and moreover, are not based on evidence or empirical studies.

The indicative performance evaluation team creates a report that presents recommendations in four areas: leadership, pedagogical management, *convivencia* and development, and resource management and allocation. The area most closely linked to ideas of inclusion and exclusion in education is *convivencia* and development. This area is divided into three dimensions: development, *convivencia*, and participation and citizenship. All of these dimensions also have standards, which are used to evaluate schools. The standards for the *convivencia* dimension are presented below in Table 2.

Table 2: Standards for the *convivencia* dimension of the *convivencia* and development area

STANDARD 8.1 The management team and the teachers promote and demand an atmosphere of respect and good treatment among all the members of the educational community.
STANDARD 8.2 The management team and teachers value and promote diversity as part of the wealth of human groups and prevent any kind of discrimination.
STANDARD 8.3 The school has a <i>Convivencia</i> Regulation that makes explicit the norms to organize common life, is disseminated to the educational community, and demands compliance.
STANDARD 8.4 The management team and teachers define routines and procedures to facilitate the development of pedagogical activities.
STANDARD 8.5 The school is responsible for ensuring the physical and psychological integrity of students during the school day.
STANDARD 8.6 The management team and teachers face and correct in a formative way the antisocial behaviors of the students, from minor situations to the most serious ones.
STANDARD 8.7 The establishment prevents and addresses bullying through systematic strategies.

Similar to the OIC, these standards pick up on some of the voids left in the redaction of the legislation, and do so from a more proactive perspective.

Prevention of discrimination and bullying are included in these standards and feedback is provided to schools regarding their compliance. The standards are evaluated using different sources. For example, for standard 8.1, the document suggests the use of the results of the OIC; classroom and recess observations; interviews or surveys of the school owner, the principal, and the management team; interview with the *convivencia* coordinator; interview, survey, or focus group with

teachers; interview, survey, or focus group with students; interview, survey, or focus group with parents and guardians. In addition, the documents present rubrics and criteria to assess the weak, incipient, satisfactory, or advanced development of a dimension within the school. For example, for standard 8.2, which looks at how the school management team and teachers value and promote diversity, the criteria are as follows.

Table 3: Assessment criteria and descriptors for standard 8.2

Weak	Incipient	Satisfactory	Advanced
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The management team and the teachers do not promote the wealth and value of diversity.</li> <li>• The management team and teachers engage in discriminatory practices towards specific groups. For example, some managers or teachers give preferential treatment to extroverted, charismatic or physically attractive children, or they are sarcastic, indifferent or prejudiced with some students.</li> <li>• The</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The management team and the teachers promote in a weak or unsystematic way the wealth and the value of diversity in human groups.</li> <li>• The management team and the teachers are not systematic in the promotion of equitable treatment, since they only correct it in some spaces, for example, in the classroom but not at recess; or they correct certain types of discrimination, but they are tolerant with others.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The management team and the teachers promote systematically the wealth and value of the diversity in human groups, through: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-The implementation of activities in which students with interests and various skills can contribute.</li> <li>-The organization of activities to show and recognize the wealth of different cultures, points of view, life experiences, interests, among others.</li> <li>-The selection and discussion of content curricula, readings, movies, news or other means, in order to</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The school applies sociograms or school climate surveys to probe anonymously if the students feel welcomed or discriminated against in the community and use the information obtained to implement measures that prevent discrimination.</li> <li>• The management team and the teachers allocate time to work with students that discriminate or disrespect others, so they become aware of their mistake, empathize with</li> </ul>

management team and the teachers do not promote fair treatment or correct the discriminatory attitudes and behaviors that occur in the school.		<p>achieve a better understanding of the other and of developing empathy and tolerance.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Reflection on the effect discrimination produces in individuals or groups, in order to develop empathy.</li> <li>-Modeling attitudes of respect and assessment of diversity.</li> <li>• The management team and the teachers promote equitable treatment towards different members of the community and correct any type of discrimination, either by socio-economic level, religion, nationality, indigenusness, disability, gender, sexual orientation, interests, physical or psychological characteristics, among other reasons</li> </ul>	neighbors and do not repeat those negative behaviors
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These descriptors provide a more detailed idea of what is expected when valuing and promoting diversity. The satisfactory and advanced dimensions complement each other and suggest concrete activities that schools could pursue in order to create a safe and welcome environment for diversity. They also outline the

different types of discrimination that could occur in the school and explain that this discrimination could happen inside the classroom and also during recess.

Professionals hired by the Agency assess the level of achievement of each standard during a three-day visit. The results of this visit are summarized in a document that is returned to the school along with recommendations for pathways to improve the level of achievement for each standard. The quality and impact of this process have not been evaluated by independent research; however, research on similar policy initiatives shows that top-down assessments rarely impact school culture and practices (MINEDUC, 2014b). Moreover, research on school improvement shows that participative school assessments tend to have more impact on practices and commitment to the school project (MINEDUC, 2014b).

### **Framework for Good Teaching**

Finally, the “Framework for Good Teaching” was developed by the Ministry of Education in a collaborative process that involved representatives from the Teachers Union and the association of municipalities (public school owners) (Avalos, 2004). The framework seeks to systematize the different responsibilities that teachers encounter in the course of their daily work (CPEIP, 2008). This tool holds a dual purpose; on the one hand, it seeks to contribute to the improvement of the teachers by instituting a common perspective about the teachers’ work standards, which should allow teachers to regulate their learning and professional development to fulfill these standards. On the other hand, the framework for good teaching is the base for the teachers’ performance assessment process, which has

consequences for teachers that impact their salary, their career, and even the possibility of continuing in the profession.

As a performance assessment tool, the Framework for Good Teaching describes the standards that teachers should comply with, and reflect upon, during their evaluation process. The evaluation consists of a portfolio, where teachers present a unit plan and reflect upon it, an interview with a peer, a video recording of a class, and the principal's evaluative perception of the teacher. After the evaluation, teachers are categorized within four performance categories (Insufficient, Basic, Competent, and Highlighted). Teachers who perform as insufficient or basic need to retake the evaluation after a year. To do this, they are offered the opportunity to enroll in a professional development course, whose curriculum follows the different dimensions of the Framework for Good Teaching.

Four domains comprise the framework itself. Each one of these domains refers to a different facet of teaching, which follows a continuum that goes from (A) planning and preparation of teaching, to (B) creating environments that are conducive to learning, to (C) the teaching process itself, to (D) reflection and evaluation about one's own teaching practice. Each one of these domains contains between four and six criteria (20 criteria in total). Only two of these criteria directly address the classroom climate and *convivencia* relations; both of them are included within dimension B, which asks for environments that are conducive to learning. In addition, each one of these criteria has descriptors, which I outline in the table below.

Table 4: Criteria and descriptors for the creation of an environment that is conducive to learning (CPEIP, 2008, p. 13)

<b>Domain B: Creation of an environment that is conducive to learning</b>
<b>Criteria B1. Establishes a climate of relationships of acceptance, equity, trust, solidarity, and respect</b>
<p>Descriptor B1.1. Establishes a climate of respectful and empathetic interpersonal relationships with students</p> <p>Descriptor B1.2. Provides all students with opportunities to participate</p> <p>Descriptor B1.3. Promotes attitudes of commitment and solidarity among students</p> <p>Descriptor B1.4. Creates a climate of respect for gender, cultural, ethnic, and socio-economic differences</p>
<b>Criteria B3. Establishes and maintains consistent rules of <i>convivencia</i> in the classroom</b>
<p>Descriptor B3.1. Establishes norms of behavior that are known and understandable to students</p> <p>Descriptor B3.2. The norms of behavior are congruent with the needs of education and with a harmonious <i>convivencia</i></p> <p>Descriptor B3.3. Uses strategies to monitor and educationally address students' compliance with rules of coexistence</p> <p>Descriptor B3.4. Generates assertive and effective responses to the breaking of the rules of <i>convivencia</i></p>

The creation of an environment that is conducive to learning is a proxy for the strategies that the teacher uses to create a positive climate and good *convivencia* in the classroom. Most of the descriptors for the standard address the ability of the teacher to set limits and regulate the students' behaviors in the classroom. Only one of them addresses the need for a climate of respect for gender, cultural, ethnic, and socio-economic differences. For the State, this climate of respect requires that students respect the individual differences of their peers, and that teachers are able to solve conflicts and motivate students to accept "opinions, questions, [and] diverse interests, and consider these differences have a valuable and enriching element" (CPEIP, 2008, p. 24). Further explanation or guidelines on how to address these

differences in the curriculum, or how to talk about interrupting the manifestations of these differences in the school are not described. Teachers are left with few tools to implement strategies or pedagogical guidelines to address socially charged conflicts when they manifest in their schools.

### **Section Summary**

This section reviewed some of the legislation and policy guidelines that should inspire the understandings and actions of Chilean teachers when dealing with exclusion dynamics in education. The laws introduced in this section are recent; the oldest one is eight years old. All of these laws were important steps forward for the safety and visibility of members of social groups that commonly suffer from exclusion, discrimination, and marginalization. The School Violence Law sanctions aggressive behavior and harassment in schools, requiring schools to develop bylaws that define and graduate, according to severity, behaviors that attempt to violate school coexistence. In the control and sanction vision (Magendzo et al., 2012) underlying this legislation, schools can develop sanctions against disruptive behaviors performed by students, escalating the severity of the sanctions if the student does not shift their course of action and comply with the school norms. The guidelines enacting this principle required the presence and use of the school bylaws, but also considered a wider set of actions to promote a culture of mutual respect that includes a constructive mechanism of conflict resolution and prevention against school violence and bullying. The notion of justice behind this policy enactment relies on control and sanction and not on other paradigms of



justice like democratic coexistence or restorative justice—both notions of justice that require dialogue and deliberation as part of the process of administering justice or, as occurs with restorative justice approaches, returning the equilibrium to the community.

The Zamudio Law recognizes race or ethnicity, nationality, socio-economic status, language, ideology or political opinion, religion or belief, unionization or participation in labor organizations or lack thereof, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, marital status, age, filiation, personal appearance and illness or disability, as social categories affected by discrimination. However, the broad perspective on the type of social categories affected by discrimination does not translate to other documents or policy guidelines. In the OIC, the school is asked to celebrate diversity and promote respect among students by enforcing the school bylaws and there is no mention of social groups who are especially vulnerable to suffer from discrimination due to historic relations of domination and dispossession. The law and the policy allow diverse people to exist while sustaining historical disadvantages that reproduce social differences between groups.

The School Inclusion Law focuses on regulating the education market, requiring subsidized private schools and public schools with selection practices to not discriminate against students for their background or cognitive ability. Moreover, the law forbids expelling, canceling enrollment, or placing students on leave due to academic, political, or ideological reasons, or due to their socio-economic situation, academic performance, or the existence of permanent or transitory special needs. Also, the law standardizes the minimum procedures that

schools should follow before placing on leave or expelling students. It also places attention on other school dynamics that target members of specific groups, such as economic background or the existence of permanent or transitory needs. This law does not have a clear link with any school accountability mechanism, but it allowed the creation of policy guidelines that place increasingly more attention on students' experiences in school, and the relation between these experiences and specific social characteristics of the students affected by them.

Finally, one of the main teacher accountability mechanisms existent in the country (i.e., the teacher evaluation) was created prior to the existence of any of the previous documents. This guideline, among other descriptors, set the standard for teachers to create a climate of respect for gender, cultural, ethnic, and socio-economic differences (see Descriptor B1.4., in Table 4), and to monitor and educationally address student compliance with rules of coexistence (see Descriptor B3.3., in Table 4). Learning about the teacher evaluation framework demonstrates how education policy has extended its reach over recent years, including more issues under its realm. But, at the same time, it has maintained a punitive logic, relying upon punishment and rewards as a way to ensure mutual respect between, and compliance with, the school norms. All of this is consistent with some of the premises of a neoliberal socioeconomic system, securing a labor force that can learn and follow the rules rather than one that pushes the limits and draws creative energy into the teaching and learning process.

## **Chapter Summary and Discussion**

This study strives to gain a better comprehension of teachers' understandings of and response to discriminatory behaviors in classrooms. Additionally, this study attempts to explore some of the professional, contextual, historical, and personal factors that inform these responses and understandings. The study seeks to nurture a research agenda situated within a social justice perspective to expand current understandings about the prevention of such exclusionary practices and the promotion of respect, inclusion, and justice in the field of education within the context of Chile. To support this aim, this chapter explored the socio-political and normative context of Chile, a country that is characterized by the orthodox implementation of the neoliberal doctrine. Consistently, the first part of this chapter looks at neoliberalism as a doctrine that organizes the socioeconomic landscape of the country, but more importantly, the chapter described some of the underlying cultural traits that shape people's subjectivity and contribute to the reproduction and perpetuation of this system. After describing the main characteristics of the political-economic system that shapes the context of Chile, the chapter continued exploring some of the key legislation and policy guidelines created with the purpose of addressing exclusion dynamics in the country and in the educational system.

After this review, it is possible to state that the relationship between these pieces of legislation and policy guidelines and the neoliberal doctrine is not explicit. However, the connections between them are easy to catch when the discourse in these documents is analyzed by looking for ways in which the underlying

frameworks that these documents enact connect to the principles that guide the neoliberal doctrine. For example, one of these principles—the exaltation of individualism, competition, and choice as core values—can be related to several pieces of legislation and policy guidelines. One of them is the School Violence Law that proposes schools create written procedures and criteria to sanction students’ disruptive behavior before expelling them from the school.

It is worth it to wonder if the main goal of this type of legislation is to protect students from arbitrary treatment or to protect schools—and teachers—from responsibility when they fail to retain a student who struggles with behavioral or academic issues. What is possible to infer is that under this logic the main responsibility for the failure falls on the students and their families, since students were not able to comply with the school bylaws and thus lost their right to continue their education in the school establishment. Also, in this process, the State and the marginalization and inequality that the system creates are rendered unaccountable. As the failure rests on the individual, the history of dispossession that may lead the individual to the conundrum that will end with their disenfranchisement from the school institution is hidden. A social justice perspective is not neutral to this phenomenon as it is concerned with understanding and interrupting the factors rooted in inequality that reproduce a social system that grants privileges and perpetuates disadvantages for different members of society.

After reviewing the legislative and policy context of this research, the next step is to search the empirical material to see how this context translates to the day-to-day life of schools and educational institutions. The next chapter further

describes classroom dynamics between teachers and students that researchers have encountered in their educational fieldwork. Among other topics, the section presents empirical work that describes how teachers behave when they confront students from diverse socioeconomic and gender backgrounds, how the curriculum represents these students, and how these students see themselves and perceive their participation in the school and the education system.

# **CHAPTER 3**

## **EMPIRICAL REVIEW OF SOCIAL CLASS AND GENDER DYNAMICS IN CHILEAN SCHOOLS**

### **Introduction and Organization of the Chapter**

In this chapter, I review relevant literature and continue building on some of the ideas previously introduced in Chapters one and two. In Chapter two, I examined the social and political context in which this study took place, paying particular attention to the neoliberal experiment shaping the Chilean education landscape. I also explored the parallels between some of the guiding principles of neoliberal systems of governance and the policies enacted to address exclusion in Chile. Further, I highlighted some of the tensions and strengths that are elicited in the implementation of these policies in the context of a neoliberal regime. Moving forward, in Chapter three I describe and analyze empirical research reports that address social class and gender dynamics in classrooms and schools in Chile. In so doing, I aim to provide empirical grounding for the study. The empirical reports presented contribute to providing an empirical and contextual foundation for the study, as they shed light on how teachers relate to and/or understand gender and social class inequalities in schools.

The research I present in this chapter represents the knowledge created in academic spaces in Chile about the manifestation of gender and social class inequalities in education. In their papers and reports, researchers explore these questions of equity and inclusion from different standpoints and perspectives,

evidencing the diversity in approaches to studying these subjects within the Chilean academy. Despite this diversity in approaches, there is an overall dearth of studies, leaving several gaps in the understanding of gender and class dynamics in Chilean schools. Furthermore, an aspect of the literature that makes the topic more complex is that exclusion dynamics in classrooms can be studied from multiple perspectives. These perspectives include student and teacher behaviors and experiences, curricular choices, and pedagogical strategies. Furthermore, each of these areas may vary depending on whether the exclusion dynamic is due to social class, gender, or a combination of these two.

Considering the characteristics of Chilean research, I decided to group the papers in this literature review using the interlocked dimensions of social justice education practice presented previously (see Figure 1). These interlocked dimensions are a heuristic used by social justice educators to organize the information that describes the different axes that should be considered when approaching a system of oppression from a pedagogical standpoint. The interlocked dimensions of social justice education practice are the rationale used to organize and present the literature reviewed in this chapter (Adams & Love, 2009; Bell, Goodman, & Ouellett, 2016). Five dimensions compose this heuristic: the context (where is the teaching occurring?); the students' backgrounds (who is being taught?); the content and curriculum (what is being taught?); the process and pedagogy (how is it being taught?); and the teacher's self and awareness (who is teaching?). This chapter uses four of these five dimensions to organize empirical research about gender and social class dynamics in Chilean schools. The dimension

not considered in this chapter concerns the context of the research, which is more thoroughly discussed in Chapter two.

Herein, I introduce the review of empirical work focused on social class and gender dynamics in schools and organize each work under the dimension of social justice practice that the empirical work predominantly discusses. For example, an article about students' experiences in relation to their social class is placed under the section describing students' experiences, while a study about the teachers' beliefs about low-income students is placed under the teachers' experiences section. While the first paper addresses the students' backgrounds, the second one addresses the teachers' self and awareness. In the chapter's conclusion, I summarize the main trends of the literature produced in Chile addressing social class and gender dynamics of exclusion in schools. Finally, I focus on some of the gaps and tensions present in the Chilean literature addressing discrimination and inclusion in K-12 schools and state how these tensions and gaps justify the need for a research agenda such as the one I pursue in this study.

### **Socioeconomic Class- and Gender-based Dynamics in Schools**

Below I introduce the empirical literature on social-class and gender dynamics in Chilean schools. This literature not only provides a context for the study but also reveals some of the gaps and tensions present in education. To obtain the research reports included in this section, I used different search strategies and sources. For example, I explored different databases in English (e.g. EBSCO, JSTOR, WOS, ERIC, Google Scholar) and Spanish (e.g. Scielo, Latin Index) to gather relevant



empirical work. In all databases, I used key terms in English and Spanish that referred to inclusion, exclusion, gender, social class, education, and Chile. To supplement this search, I consulted with Chilean experts in the field of gender and education; they led me to alternative sources such as books and book chapters published in Latin America that report the results of empirical research. In addition, I performed an ancestral search using the reference list of every report, gathering the original papers that seemed relevant to my search. I created alerts in academic search engines, such as Google Scholar, to inform me about new developments in the field.

I gathered a total of 37 articles and reports. Of these, 13 focus on socio-economic class and 19 address gender dynamics (including sexism) in schools. In some cases, articles and reports addressed both categories (gender and social class). In selecting the articles to review, I used three criteria. First, the article or report needed to be empirically based using qualitative, quantitative, or mixed methods; hence, I discarded theoretical pieces or essays. Second, the articles or reports needed to reference one or more of the four dimensions of the teaching and learning process outlined in the conceptual framework presented in Chapter one (Adams & Love, 2009; Bell, Goodman, & Oulett, 2016; Marchesani & Adams, 1992). The four dimensions are:

a) **The students (Who are the students?)**

- a. Includes empirical research reports that address what students bring to the classroom, their learning styles, and socio-historical background;

b) **The curriculum (What is being taught?)**

- a. Includes empirical research reports that address the course content, the course materials, and the sources from which knowledge is acquired;

c) **The process and pedagogy (How is the curriculum being taught?)**

- a. Includes empirical research reports that address instructional methods and strategies, didactics, resources, and skills that educators have available to foster participation and equity in classroom dynamics;

d) **The teachers (Who is the teacher/instructor?)**

- a. Includes empirical research reports that address the teacher's self, social group memberships, identities and identity group awareness, skills to address diverse students, group biases, and knowledge about the students they serve.

It is important to clarify that the papers do not always represent a perfect fit along these dimensions. For example, it often happens that discrimination dynamics targeting students encompass more than one of the dimensions. Papers could refer to the students experiencing peer discrimination, and at the same time describe the type of curriculum that they learn in their schools. In the same way, some research portrays more intersectional approaches; for example, describing the experiences of students around the lines of social class and gender. In all these instances, I present the different research results where they are most relevant. In some cases, I

separate different research results across the sections where their content informs, brings nuance, and/or further develops the content for each section.

Third, the papers selected for this research needed to reference school life in Chile, even when this topic is not the center of inquiry. For example, papers addressing teacher education were included when they described pre-service teachers' experiences as students in schools or pre-service teachers' future practices. Table 5 below summarizes the number of reports and papers that fell under each dimension.

Table 5: Papers and reports included under each dimension of social justice pedagogical practice

		Social Class	Gender & Sexism	Total
<b>A</b>	The students	3	4	<b>7</b>
<b>B</b>	The curriculum	1	2	<b>3</b>
<b>C</b>	The process and pedagogy	1	3	<b>4</b>
<b>D</b>	The teachers	2	3	<b>5</b>
Total		<b>7</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>20</b>

To guide the analysis of the different papers, I used the following four questions to guide my review of empirical reports and articles:

1. Who/What is under study? (i.e., What is the population or dynamic targeted by the study?);
2. Where is the study conducted? (i.e., What is the territory and the type of institution where the study is pursued?);

3. How is the study conducted? (i.e., What were the methods and data techniques for data production?); and,
4. What are its main findings? (i.e., What were the main conclusions, recommendations, and findings reported in the literature?)

In the next section, I synthesize and present the empirical literature concerning socioeconomic class and gender dynamics in the Chilean context. I start by introducing students' behaviors and experiences of inclusion and exclusion that mark them in relation to their social class and gender. Then I follow the same logic to describe the curriculum being taught in schools, the pedagogical practices, and the teachers' behaviors and experiences.

### **Social Class or Socioeconomic Dynamics in Schools**

Social class is one of the most widely used categories of difference in Chile. Before the 1973 coup, Chile was one of the first countries that developed a democratic pathway to socialism (Pinkney, 2007). During this period, class identity became one of the main cleavages dividing society. Building solidarity between working class people was part of an emancipatory project of the political elite, which required the development of critical awareness and shared group identity. For thinkers like Marx and Freire, working-class identity awareness or "class consciousness" was a precondition to the creation of solidarity of the working class (Freire, 2008; Lukács, 1971). Authors such as Reyes-Jedlicki and Cornejo (2008), describe how a shared social class identity helped teachers to build coalitions and develop teachers' organizations during the dictatorship that associated with other

workers organizations, such as miners unions, to protest and confront the dictatorship.

Studies that use social class as an analytic category are infrequent, especially during the dictatorship (1973 to 1990) when the idea of a working-class identity was proscribed and its advocates persecuted, exiled, or murdered. Despite this context, some researchers used social class as part of their inquiry. For example, Calvo (1979) uses ethnographic data to compare teachers' experiences in private schools working with wealthy students, with their experiences in public schools teaching working-class students. Calvo (1979) explains that the social location of the teacher, as well as the social location of the students, seemed to influence the classroom interactions. For example, he described differences in the way in which the students approached the teachers. Upper-class students were more direct and demanding of their teachers while working-class students were more respectful and less demanding. The social class of the teacher also played a role in these interactions, as teachers reported feeling more comfortable with students from similar social class backgrounds.

Currently, social class continues being one of the most widespread group identities present in the country and is used as one of the main analytical lenses to examine social inequality. In a neoliberal paradigm, class differences are translated as differentiated access to opportunities for consumption and safety. The social status and wealth of an individual combine to assign them into a social hierarchy that assigns a higher value in society to characteristics owned by the economic elite. Social class inequality and segregation were some of the main targets of students'

social mobilizations in the years 2006 and 2011. Students claimed that an educational system organized by social class would hardly allow social mobility, equality, and justice (Bellei & Cabalin, 2013; Bellei, Cabalin, & Orellana, 2014; Guzman-Concha, 2012; Williams, 2015). This demand resonated in the general public and in the academic community that produced several reports describing this phenomenon. Paradoxically, empirical work portraying social class dynamics in schools is sparse.

Below, I present the empirical work portraying social class dynamics in schools. There are seven publications; six publications use qualitative methods and one uses quantitative methods. Most of the publications explore teachers' and students' social class biases and perceptions. Pedagogical strategies, or classroom dynamics, that reproduce or challenge social class divisions are presented less frequently than the others. The first finding of this section is that despite the social interest in class division and the ways it impacts education, there are few researchers looking empirically into this phenomenon and developing knowledge to interrupt this social system of oppression when it manifests in educative spaces.

### **Students' Experiences and Perceptions**

Three publications focus on students' social class experiences in their schools (Peña, 2017; Peña & Toledo, 2017a, 2017b). All these publications drew their analysis from a bigger study conducted by Peña in vulnerable schools in the city of Santiago. In her study, Peña used qualitative techniques such as active observation and interviews to explore 8th-grade students' perceptions of their social class

membership, inter-class dynamics, and the relation they perceived between social class and school achievement. To spark the conversation Peña used the work of Boltanski and Thévenot (1983) to develop a card game. Every card in the deck contained a name and a set of social characteristics, or social class markers. For the central part of the game, researchers asked students to organize the cards into groups using a criterion with which they felt comfortable. Then the researcher directed students to reflect on the process they used to classify and characterize each group of cards. The conversations ignited by this process helped students talk about their identity, their perceived place in society, and their perception of others who are different or similar to them.

In the first report from this study, the authors describe a series of findings that reveal a better understanding of vulnerable students' perceptions about their social class and other social classes. First, the participants consistently identified three differentiated social classes and used as differentiation criteria the information provided in the cards about educational level, occupation, and the school attended by the characters (Peña, 2017). The middle class seemed to be the most difficult to identify as the students did not provide clear images to represent it (Peña, 2017). Also, students struggled to situate themselves unequivocally into a social class, varying their perception between self-identifying as middle and working class (Peña & Toledo, 2017a).

Despite their difficulties locating themselves within a specific social class category, students identified common trends within the specific social positions they were situated. For example, students seemed to look down on their own

context, their territories, and the people in these territories. When asked to name the category that groups people with low socio-economic background characteristics, some students used words that were closer and more relatable to them, such as "the *shiwá*", "the bobos" (goofiest), or "the Shreks" (Peña, 2017, p.10). According to the authors, the students chose these words to name lower socioeconomic classes because they felt both the word and the social class are close to them. However, the character of the words chosen seems pejorative; it seems as if these words reflected the prejudices held by students against their social class background. For example, the word *shiwá* is commonly used as a slang word that identifies low education youth. Students also described negative ideas about their neighborhood and territory, as they associate it with "mafias" (the mob) and some of them explained that they would leave it if they could rely on and have the means to do it (Peña & Toledo, 2017a).

Students also expressed their discomfort with the upper class from a moral and meritocratic standpoint. First, students gave examples of their family members being mistreated while doing service work at wealthy households; the students contrasted these examples to the good treatment that their own families gave to service workers in similar situations (Peña & Toledo, 2017a). Second, students expressed that in many cases structural conditions, such as socioeconomic background, were more important than merit to secure social positions and access to resources and money (Peña & Toledo, 2017a). Furthermore, they critiqued the school system, explaining that wealthy people tend to have better grades in schools, in part, because the knowledge taught to people from lower socio-economic



backgrounds in schools does not have relevance to them as working class students. Instead, students obtain most of their relevant learning from what they get on the streets (Peña & Toledo, 2017a). A group of students, characterized by the researchers as “critical pessimist” (p. 510), defended the idea that social context is a determinant factor in their future social location (Peña & Toledo, 2017b). At the same time, the second group of students characterized as “the American Dream” (p.510), highlighted individual effort and not the context as a necessary characteristic to thrive in life (Peña & Toledo, 2017b). In all the explanations, collective action was absent, and societal structural inequalities were perceived as a stable life fact (Peña & Toledo, 2017b).

### **Curriculum Content**

The literature analyzing the curriculum that includes content associated with social class differences is sparse. Among the papers I reviewed for this study, only one study indirectly described the hidden social class curriculum (Giroux, 1988), i.e. “the unstated norms, values, and beliefs” (p. 23), taught to vulnerable students in disenfranchised territories. Carrasco, Zamora, and Castillo (2015) drew this conclusion about the hidden curriculum from a study that originally aimed to describe the manifestations of violence in urban contexts in the city of Valparaiso, Chile. As they explain, while searching for manifestations of violence in schools, the neighborhood acquired a unique force in the narrative of the participants, hence becoming a central element in the analysis of schooling experience in this territorial context. In their study, the researchers included three schools that serve vulnerable

children within the Playa Ancha territory, a stigmatized sector of the city of Valparaiso. Inside these schools, they performed in depth-interviews with administrative staff, teachers, and parents, as well as focus groups and group interviews with parents and students.

Among their findings, Carrasco et al., (2015) describe an idea shared among different participants of the symbolic distance between the school and the territory in which it is situated. Despite being situated in the same geographical space, there is a shared discourse that assigns moral and epistemological superiority to school knowledge over knowledge of the territory in which the school is situated. This common sense of school supremacy translates into practices and discourses that teachers reproduce, and students and parents internalize. For example, teachers take pride in living outside the boundaries of the school neighborhood and see this as a mechanism of distinction from other school workers from a lower socioeconomic background (who commonly live around the school). Similarly, the school transmits a meritocratic discourse to students, where escalating in social status implies rejecting their neighborhood and culture. The deficit perspective undergirds the hidden school curriculum; this perspective is traceable when it is reproduced by students and parents who construct the school as superior to its territories, their neighbors, and peers. Hence, the findings of Carrasco, Zamora, and Castillo connect to the findings of Peña and Toledo (2017) who pointed out the disengaged feelings of vulnerable students regarding their neighbors and territories.

## **Pedagogical Methods and Strategies**

Similar to what was found when reviewing research about the curriculum, research that focuses on pedagogical strategies dealing with, or teaching about, social class relations and differences is sparse. In the one study that explicitly referred to this topic, Rojas, Falabella, and Alarcon (2016) explored the meanings and practices associated with school inclusion in Chilean schools. The researchers used qualitative techniques such as documentary research, focus groups, in-depth interviews with administrators, teachers, and parents, as well as classroom observations to gather their data. In this process, they collected information about social-class and ethnic inclusion, although their emphasis was placed on the implementation of legislation that aimed for the social integration of schools.

In general terms, Rojas et al., (2016) explain that teachers and other members of the school administration perceive social inclusion as a moral imperative. However, it is difficult for them to provide examples of behaviors or pedagogical practices embodying these ideas. Moreover, participants commonly state incongruences between inclusion policies and educational assessment and accountability policies. While inclusion policies advocate for the integration of all students into meaningful learning processes, assessment policies privilege academic achievement. This conflict between policy frames replicates at the micro-level, pushing teachers to prioritize students' achievement on test scores over creating more inclusive classrooms.

Rojas et al., (2016) outline three ideas that participants tend to assign to inclusion: first, inclusion as bringing into the classroom students with permanent or

temporary disabilities; second, inclusion as creating classrooms that are socioeconomically diverse as a way to overcome social segregation; and third, inclusion as adding culturally or ethnically different students in the different realms of the school. The authors explain that most of the examples of inclusive practices they gathered relate to accommodations for students with a physical or mental disability. In these examples, the central figures were special educators and school psychologists working for the Program for School Integration (PIE), whose work consisted mostly of tutoring students in classrooms or supporting teachers with the implementation of curricular adaptations (Rojas, Falabella, & Alarcon).

When explicitly describing social class inclusion practices, Rojas Falabella, and Alarcon (2016) point out that participants equate them with having more concern about the children from poverty backgrounds but this concern does not translate into transformative pedagogical practices. For example, in some schools, the researchers observed as a practice for inclusion what they described as a therapeutic concern for the students, which translated into house visits and conversations with parents or caregivers so that students could get better support at home to finish their homework. Also, as part of this therapeutic concern, teachers demonstrated a more profound knowledge about their students' life circumstances and context, which they described as a way to explain their behavior. On other occasions, the researchers found that, for teachers, this concern could also translate into an emphasis on including cooperative practices and highlighting the value of solidarity in classroom routines.

In addition, Rojas et al., (2016) explain that in many instances participants described a homogenizing tendency disguised as a practice for inclusion in schools. According to the authors, several members of the school community described practices related to behavioral control and cultural assimilation as inclusive. From these participants' perspectives, an indicator of the achievement of inclusion occurs when students comply with the school norms and culture. Under this logic, school practices have a homogenizing tendency by molding students' behaviors to what is valued by the school. Moreover, for some of the schools that participated in the research, the effectiveness of their inclusion was measured by students' compliance with school norms. Also, most schools included in their bylaws sentences regulating the appearance, body, behavior, and attitude of students. In all cases, this regulation emphasized the authority of adults over children, and reified gender differences between children. For example, the regulation describes the differences in the school uniform that males and females should wear; males are mandated to wear pants and shirts and females to wear dresses and skirts.

### **Teachers' Experiences and perceptions**

There is no research in Chile that describes teachers' points of view on their social class identity and its relation to their teaching practice, or its impact on their experience as teachers. Few studies describe teachers' perceptions and attitudes towards their students' social class. In this section, I present two studies that are specifically focused on teachers' perceptions and attitudes towards their students' social class background.

First, I introduce a study conducted by del Río and Balladares (2010) who adapted to the Chilean context a study conducted in the United States by Auwarter and Aruguete (2008). In their study, del Río and Balladares (2010) presented a vignette to future teachers portraying the history of a student with apparent academic and behavioral problems. Then, the researchers asked participants to complete a survey that evaluated the personal characteristics of the students, their need for additional academic support, the future teachers' expectations for the student's future, and the credibility of the story. The researchers manipulated the gender and socioeconomic level of the student and presented it to the different future teachers randomly.

Among their findings, del Río and Balladares (2010) explain that pre-service teachers present more biases towards the socioeconomic status of the students than to their gender. For example, they assign to lower socioeconomic status students a bigger chance of having negative personal characteristics, a higher chance of needing special support, and less promising futures. When controlled by gender these differences did not manifest equally between female and male students. It is important to consider that the sample for this study was composed mostly of female participants and that the researchers did not control for the gender of the pre-service teachers answering.

Julio-Maturana et al. (2016) describe a study that examined perceptions about their students and the educational practices of teachers working in vulnerable contexts in the region of Valparaíso. Among their findings, the authors maintain that participants hold some questionable practices and sets of beliefs about their

vulnerable students. These questionable practices and beliefs impact the way in which the teachers relate to and perceive their students. For example, participants described their students from a deficit perspective that included economic, cognitive, academic, and emotional shortfalls. Teachers believed that, economically, the lack of material goods impacted the fulfillment of basic student needs and did not allow them to comply with the school's requirements. Also, this perception led participants to express their belief that students' main motivation to attend the school was the assistance that they were getting there. The cognitive deficit was related to individual characteristics of students that place them in a disadvantageous position. Among these, teachers mentioned students' attention span, lack of engagement with teachers' pedagogical strategies, and their ignorance of cultural codes that impact their ability to learn. Finally, emotional deficits were connected to the impact of the lack of family support for the children, which expose the student to more risks.

Related to the teachers' deficit conception of their students, Julio-Maturana et al. (2016) describe some barriers related to the teachers' low expectations for their students and their families. For example, although teachers expect their students to finish their formal education, they think that only a few of them have a real chance to continue their studies in higher education. Also, teachers externalize their professional responsibility into the students' family, complaining that their inability to work with these children is due to the conditions in which they have been raised. Also, a barrier that relates to teachers' abilities emerges when, according to the

authors, they complain of not knowing strategies to manage conflict in the classroom and identify this with more psychological competencies.

### **Social Class Dynamics in Chilean Schools**

Research that explores the impact of social class in school dynamics in Chile is sparse. In the literature reviewed for this section, there exist several patterns that also account for a homogeneous perspective. One of the trends is the use of qualitative methods and a phenomenological perspective in understanding the experience of specific school actors in relation to poverty. Many of the studies examined the labels and stereotypes assigned to poverty from students' and teachers' perspectives. As a result, these studies portrayed the presence of a deficit perspective (Grant & Sleeter, 1986), which places the bulk of the responsibility for students' failure on their context and backgrounds.

Studies like the one conducted by Peña and Toledo (2017a,b) show how students struggle to navigate social class dynamics and their social class identity, as they have associated their own neighborhoods with negative stereotypes. Similarly, Carrasco, Zamora, and Castillo (2015), as well as Julio-Maturana et al. (2016), describe a school staff that is separated from students' neighborhoods and that perceive themselves on a higher moral level than their surroundings. The trend also presents in future teachers, who assign to lower socio-economic status students a greater chance of having negative personal characteristics and needing special support, as well as less promising futures (del Río & Balladares, 2010). Peña and Toledo (2017a) also show that students note the structural injustices that affect



them, and that some of them question the morality of the upper class and ideas such as meritocracy, which states that success is due to individual effort.

In the literature reviewed there are no studies that examined the teachers' social class identity or social identity awareness. Most of the studies primarily try to characterize the level of knowledge and the inclusion practices of teachers in their classrooms. The findings of this literature are also consistent, despite teachers' good intentions; several personal, interpersonal, institutional, and systemic factors contribute to sustaining teachers' deficit perspective over their economically disadvantaged students. Rojas, Falabella, & Alarcon (2016) describe the impact that accountability policies have on teachers' desire to create classes that are more inclusive. While inclusion policies advocate for student engagement and meaningful learning, assessment and accountability policies focus on academic achievement and cognitive advantages. Although both sets of policies are important, teachers tend to privilege a focus on assessment policies since these are directly linked to their salaries, rewards, and sanctions.

In addition, Rojas, Falabella, and Alarcon (2016) and Julio-Maturana et al. (2016) describe the different conceptual and practical needs of teachers working with economically disadvantaged students. For example, when Rojas, Falabella, and Alarcon asked their participants to describe how social class inclusion practices may look in the classroom, teachers described themselves as paying more attention to the disadvantaged students as a way to show more concern. Julio-Maturana et al. found that teachers assign their economically disadvantaged students fewer chances of attaining a higher education degree or even finishing school. Finally, and

consistent with the punitive perspective described in Chapter two, teachers also reported students' respect for the *convivencia* norms and school bylaws as a sign of socioeconomic inclusion in the school (Rojas, Falabella, & Alarcon). School is portrayed as a place where students go to assimilate.

### **Gender Dynamics in Schools**

Research on gender and sexism has been present in Chile's education landscape for several years. In many cases, these findings were reported as part the focus of empirical publications on broad school dynamics or theoretical constructs such as identity. For example, in the early 1990s in Chile, Jackeline Gysling (1992), as part of a study that explored the teacher's professional identity, described specific challenges that female teachers faced in order to work as teachers. In her report, Gysling explains how married teachers only could afford to work part time since they were the main person responsible for the house maintenance and the childcare while their husbands worked full time. Also, she describes the association between emotional work and female teachers, which was described as an intrinsic difference between male and female teachers. She also explains how women teachers at primary schools feel compelled to build an affectionate maternal relationship with their students, and feel gratification when they get affection back from their students. Something similar happens with women teachers at the secondary level, who also find gratification in the affectionate interaction with their students. Gysling explains that affection is one of the main reasons that women teachers recall for keeping them engaged in the teaching career. The affectionate

nature of the teaching profession helps them overcome some of the difficulties they face as teachers (e.g., low wages, poor working conditions, and others). In her study, Gysling asked the teachers “why they continue in this? how (...) this could become a passionate love, that mistreats you, but is liked?” (p. 73). The author explains that the initial answer to this question is widely shared by teachers: the students.

Some authors deal not only with the characteristic of the representation of teachers as members of particular groups, but they also highlight some of the unintended consequences of this representation. For example, Núñez (2007) explains that historically, women teachers have outnumbered male teachers in schools. However, women usually are not represented proportionally in management positions in schools and districts. Several authors describe certain phenomena present in school settings that could be related to this trend. These are commonly linked to the cultural expectations assigned to women and men, expectations that affect the type of relations they build with their colleagues and some of the personal and career paths they are able to access and follow. Teaching is commonly linked to feminine characteristics, such as those of mothers, and the depiction of women teachers is commonly aligned with gender stereotypes, which reinforce the traditional patriarchal division of labor. Women teachers tend to be portrayed as caregivers, mothers, and nurturers. These images influence the types of tasks they are assigned and the expectations they build around their work.

Gender and sexism remain the oldest categories of difference used to hierarchize people. Sexism involves placing barriers for women and privileging men (Glick & Rudman, 2013). Sexism manifests through the presence of stereotypes,

micro-aggressions, and discrimination against women, and also as the denigration or subordination of “women-identified values and practices [that] enforce male dominance and control, and reinforce forms of masculinity that are dehumanizing and damaging to men” (Botkin, Jones, & Kachwaha, 2007, p. 174). Sexism is pervasive in social institutions, and the school is one of the main institutions of gender socialization in western society, as “sexism is the systematic inequitable treatment of girls and women by men and by the society as a whole” (Bearman, Korobov, & Thorne, 2009, p. 11). Sexism also manifests through the distribution of labor, where women are commonly assigned to fulfill traditional social roles as housewives, mothers, and emotional caregivers (Young, 1990). Sexism manifests through the persistent inequality between men and women in our current society and during its history.

Because of the important work of feminist and human rights groups, gender equality has been an explicit aim of directing education policy since the late 1990s. In Chile, the creation of the Ministry for Women has been a milestone in the process to achieve formal equality. Despite these efforts, policies promoting equal treatment of boys and girls in school continuously clash with a patriarchal and sexist dominant order that organizes the curriculum and pedagogy of the school. Schools are one of the main social institutions enforcing binary gender categories and reproducing sexism and misogyny in institutional norms, and in interpersonal interactions between different members of the school community. Along with the rise in women’s activism and feminism, the interest in understanding how sexism

manifests in school curricula and organization has grown exponentially over the recent years.

In the following sections I introduce empirical research discussing gender dynamics in schools. The following summarized literature will discuss: students' experiences and perspectives related to their gender and their understanding of gender differences in their schools; the schools' explicit and hidden curriculum that contributes to the reinforcement and questioning of gender stereotypes and roles; consideration of pedagogical and institutional practices that create, reproduce, or challenge stereotypical patterns in gender relations between teachers and students; and literature that describes teachers' perspectives and experiences concerning their gender and the gender of their students.

The body of literature included in this section is composed primarily of papers and empirical reports that explicitly incorporate gender differences and dynamics as part of their central research focus. However, this section also includes publications that are firstly focused on social class or ethnic-racial dynamics, where the differential treatment of women and men emerged as an incidental finding. One thread that seems to inspire the research on gender inequalities emerges from the interest of integrating more women into STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics) disciplines. This interest in increasing the number of women working in STEM disciplines is a phenomenon that connects to current world trends, and there is a vast body of scholarship trying to tackle this issue from different perspectives. In other discourses, the concern for increasing the number of

students in STEM disciplines also factors in indigenous people, working class people, or racial and ethnic minorities.

### **Students' Experiences and Perceptions**

Two studies, one qualitative and the other quantitative, described the students' perspective about gender differences in their schools. Both of them start from a similar interest, which is to integrate more women into STEM disciplines. The first study, from Montecinos and Anguita (2015), examines the experience of women who have chosen a career in physics. The second study, from Huepe, Salas, and Manzi (2016), aims to learn about the association (positive or negative) of men and women to both math and language.

As stated, Montecinos and Anguita (2015) interviewed women who had chosen the field of physics as a career. Their goal was to learn about the women's experiences while studying both primary school (K-8th) and higher education levels. In their interviews, the participants described parts of their experience that spoke to girls' socialization in schools. The participants described how they confronted gender stereotypes received from their teachers. They quoted, "it was frequent to hear things as they (male professors) expect less from female students in math (...) for them, it is normal that a female student struggles with a physics course, but from a male student that's not expected" (Montecinos & Anguita, p. 980). Overall, participants describe that on many occasions, their female classmates ended up thinking that they were not good enough for mathematics due to the treatment they experienced from their teachers. Additionally, the participants

described how they and their peers might have internalized some stereotypes due to their unwilling exposure to gender discrimination. This internalization may have impacted their life choices compared to their peers and, furthermore, affected their self-study during higher educational studies.

Huepe, Salas, and Manzi (2016) aimed to identify students' attitudes towards mathematics and language, to learn if they resembled socially constructed stereotypes about men and women, such as the idea that boys are more attracted to mathematics and girls to language. To differentiate from previous research and to avoid possible social desirability biases, the researchers chose two different methods. The first used a Likert-type survey that measured explicit attitudes towards math and language subjects. The second utilized an implicit association task (IAT) questionnaire that measured the response time between positive or negative words and a specific subject, and also measured the response time for the association between gendered images and words associated with mathematics and language. Findings from this study showed no meaningful differences between girls and boys regarding explicit attitudinal measures; moreover, according to the authors, girls manifested a favorable bias towards their gender and mathematics in the survey. However, implicit measurements followed a different trend; children (boys and girls) tended to associate language content with girls' faces and mathematical content with boys' faces. Similarly, although all children tend to associate mathematics with negative concepts, for girls this association is even more pronounced. Implicitly, girls show a more negative association with mathematics.

The topic of gender emerged in studies where researchers explore issues of race and ethnicity in the school experiences of immigrants and Mapuches. For example, Suárez-Cabrera (2010) describes in her ethnographic work how gender marks the organization of the schoolyard, where boys commonly take up more significant space and play games that require more physical activity and aggressive expression. Similarly, Webb and Radcliffe (2015b) describe how Mapuche girls in boarding schools are confined to interior spaces and sedentary activities, while boys are allowed to play outside and engage in physical exercise. Both authors describe girls being unhappy with these arrangements. Suarez-Cabrera (2010) also observes in her study that boys and girls assume different roles when peer-to-peer conflicts in the schoolyard arise. While boys encourage their peers to fight, girls assume a mediation role, trying to dissipate the conflict. Finally, the sexualization of students of color is also an issue present in different research reports (Suarez-Cabrera). This increases in the case of Afro-descendent women, whose bodies are even more policed and regulated in the school space.

### **Curriculum Content**

There are two studies that directly analyze the explicit and hidden curriculum that perpetuates and reproduces gender stereotypes in Chilean classrooms. The leading authors on this topic in Chile are women, who both define themselves as feminists and use feminist theory as the theoretical standpoint for their research. Both authors focus on the analysis of school textbooks and the way in which these reproduce or interrupt gender biases and stereotypes. It is also



noteworthy that both studies correspond to book chapters printed in specialized editions about women and feminism in education, both founded by international cooperation grants. Finally, this section includes some conclusions on a study by Guerrero, Provoste, and Valdés (2006), developed as part of a more comprehensive search for gender equality in schools. In these studies, Guerrero, Provoste, and Valdés analyzed official school documents, such as the school improvement project or the school code of conduct, to uncover gender roles and stereotypes embedded within the school culture and institutional regulations.

In 1993, Binimelis published one of the first empirical studies analyzing the manifestations of sexism in Chilean school textbooks. In her study, Binimelis included sixteen of the most used textbooks in both public and private schools. She counted how many times they referred to men or women, the context in which the reference happened, and the message it conveyed. In her research, she uncovered an overwhelming disparity in the representation between men and women in these textbooks. From 9,133 passages or images that presented men or women, 70% (6,396) of them were male figures, and only 30% (2,737) were female (p. 53). Also, the range of activities offered to men in these textbooks was far more extensive and related to higher professional societal status.

Binimelis (1993) also looked at the adjectives used to describe men and women in these texts and found crucial differences. The textbooks commonly portrayed men as brave, scared, happy, or sad, and women as happy, beautiful, sad, or astonished. In a few cases, when Binimelis found a similar number of male and female representations, a qualitative analysis quickly sorted the differences

underlying them. For example, the numbers of men and women involved in domestic tasks were similar (46.8% male and 53.2% women), but there were differences in how the text portrayed them. While female images showed them preparing clothes or food or taking care of the family, male images showed them resting or playing.

Twenty-three years later, Palestro (2016) published a similar study. She analyzed sexism in school textbooks and followed a similar approach to Binimelis (1993). In her study, Palestro reviewed 28 public school textbooks distributed by the Ministry of Education in the year 2012. These textbooks covered history, geography, social sciences subjects (at all school levels), and biology (at the high school level). To build her analysis, she observed the frequency that women appeared in the text, the types of female participation, the roles attributed to women, and the use of language. Palestro's findings are concerningly similar to those of Binimelis. Women still are less represented than men in school textbooks, and the qualitative differences among their representations continue to reinforce gender stereotypes or to place women in secondary social roles. For example, while there is an explicit interest in highlighting the contributions of women to the different fields of knowledge, these contributions are presented in a way that differs from their male peers. Women are commonly excluded from the main thread of text (i.e., the central argument) and most of their contributions are placed in boxes next to the main text or as additional or anecdotal information.

In her findings, Palestro (2016) describes how textbooks present male and female roles that reinforce traditional gender stereotypes. These books show

women as mothers, homemakers, and caregivers for sick people, children, their husbands, and their family. The male roles portray men in relation to economic production, the production of public opinion, physical strength, travel and adventures, recreation, sports, and leadership. Palestro also investigates each subject (i.e., language, history, geography and social sciences, biology) and finds slight differences in the way they include women. For example, in language, women appear in traditional roles, secondary activities and passive roles, or in a disadvantaged position. On the other hand, men come across as producers of cultural elements such as tales, theatre plays, poems, movies, and paintings. For history, social sciences, and biology, the findings are similar. For example, in biology, there is almost no reference to female contributions to the field, and even when the textbook features contributions by women, they are minimized by accompanying them with one or two male perspectives, or by highlighting only the men. A final finding of Palestro regarded the use of language. Although she acknowledges the intention of using a more inclusive language, she also found that the textbooks did not achieve inclusivity because most of the language used was masculine.

Like Binimelis (1993) and Palestro (2016), other researchers have encountered gender disparities while they analyze curricular materials as part of more comprehensive studies. Most of these findings are consistent with the discoveries previously presented. For example, Guerrero, Provoste, and Valdes (2006) analyzed school textbooks in a study that reviewed educational policy's ability to integrate gender equity and equality criteria into educational processes. Like Palestro, they acknowledge the intention of transforming the language the

textbooks use; however, they explained that this effort is not enough, as the content of the book does not address social disparities and stereotypes. Similarly, in 2008, Romero, as part of a study that looked at schools' appropriation of the gender equality perspective, reviewed the institutional improvement plans of schools in the south of Chile. They found that none of them included the gender perspective on this management tool, which is central to the school developmental pathway.

### **Pedagogical Methods and Strategies**

This section describes three studies that analyzed the extent and degree to which current educational practices mirror traditional gender roles and stereotypes in Chilean classrooms (Guerrero, Provoste, & Valdes, 2006; SERNAM, 2009; Espinoza & Taut, 2016). The National Service for Women (SERNAM) and Espinoza and Taut, using qualitative and quantitative techniques, analyzed the content of lessons in taped classroom sessions run by Chilean instructors. Guerrero, Provoste, and Valdes followed a more traditional approach using classroom observations and interviews. Despite these differences, the results of all the studies were consistent, and showed that educators of all genders could reproduce gender stereotypes in their classroom practices. The following section describes in more detail the findings of these studies.

Guerrero, Provoste, and Valdes (2006) conducted a study analyzing how schools and teachers integrate a gender perspective into their institutional and personal practices. Among their findings, the authors describe a series of behaviors that reproduce gender roles and, on many occasions, act as detriment to female

students in classrooms. For example, teachers, especially male ones, continue to use generic masculine terms when referring to the class as a whole. They were also generally more concerned about the behavior of women than the behavior of men, essentially demanding better behavior of women than men. According to the authors, women are simultaneously less visible and more regulated than men in schools. Additionally, women tend to be in charge of classroom chores with more frequency than their male peers, and teachers do not pursue actions to equalize and balance the type of participation among students from different genders. Hence, the labor distribution between men and women also places women in positions related to taking care of others; thus, participation continues to be unequal. The authors end their study by calling for the gender perspective to infiltrate all teachers' educational curricula, and for better articulation between gender and pedagogy in different school subjects.

In 2009, the National Service for Women (SERNAM, 2009) published one of the first reports that analyzed the relationship between student gender and classroom dynamics in Chile. The study included a set of information gathered from the national teacher assessment system. This dataset was composed of the video recordings of classroom sequences obtained from teachers' portfolios developed as part of the national teacher assessment processes. As part of their national assessment, teachers are required to videotape a 45-minute instructional sequence. The researcher selected a sample of 8,676 videotapes from a repository of 24,976. These videotapes were from 2005 and 2006 and included teachers from the second cycle of primary grades (middle school) and teachers who signed an authorization

for their material to be used for research purposes. The researchers open coded the interactions in the first 200 videos and elaborated a coding matrix, which was used to produce four overarching categories: roles, verbalizations, didactic artifacts, and historical characters.

Among their findings, the SERNAM (2009) team reports that urban teachers present more marked differences in how they treat male and female students, favoring males over females. Paradoxically, the same trend is present between female teachers and male teachers, where women give more differentiated and preferential treatment to men. The most consistent differences in the interactions among teachers and students relates to the types of questions they ask, the type of feedback they give (simpler and in the form of repetition to females), and the positive evaluation they provide. Female teachers show more of these three interactions with their male students than with their female students in Language, Mathematics, and Understanding of the Society. Male teachers only show more interactions with males than with females in Mathematics and Understanding of the Society.

In addition, the study by SERNAM (2009) found that teachers tend to use examples and images in their classes that reproduce traditional gender roles. Women are presented in the private sphere, doing chores, being mothers, or in service roles, while men are presented building or actively participating in the public sphere. The researchers also reported patterns of teacher behavior towards their students. For example, they found teachers were significantly more likely to explicitly disqualify their female students in comparison to the males. Furthermore,

male teachers in math and science disqualified females most often, including through condescending remarks implying that the student needed help to carry out her tasks in the area in question, even if she had not requested it. Also, consistent with gender stereotypes, male students tend to be disqualified more often in subjects related to language or soft sciences.

Espinoza and Taut (2016) used an approach similar to SERNAM (2009) to explore the role that gender plays in pedagogical interactions in Chilean mathematics classrooms. They then tried to gain a better understanding of the way in which the teachers' beliefs about gender informs their practice. The authors used a convenience sample of twenty-two teachers, chosen by the researchers after meeting some criteria, such as having a high score on their teacher assessment, teaching seventh-grade mathematics during the year 2013, and possessing a balanced proportion of male and female teachers. To participate, they allowed the research team to film two of their classes using cameras, pointing towards the teachers and students. The videos were coded using a worksheet specially designed to pay attention to differences in the teaching and learning process concerning the students' gender. Their findings were consistent with the previous research in that mathematics teachers asked male students more, and more complex, questions. Also, teachers tended to give more feedback to their male students, who also asked more spontaneous questions. Regarding the teachers' beliefs, the findings were also similar to other studies, where teachers tended to assign math scores to male students based on their ability and to female students based on their effort. Additionally, teachers who reported more gender bias towards their male students

in mathematics performance also asked a higher number of more complex questions to their male students. Similarly, in these classrooms, women tended to ask fewer questions than their male counterparts.

### **Teachers' Experiences and Perspectives**

This section introduces research that focuses on the teachers' perspectives, biases, beliefs, and understandings regarding gender roles and gender performance in their classrooms and as teachers. The one empirical study that specifically addresses this topic is by Mizala, Martínez, and Martínez (2015), who conducted it from a STEM standpoint, trying to understand how their students' genders may influence teachers' expectations. Likewise, in all the other categories, research about teachers tends to appear embedded within more comprehensive studies that center on features of pedagogical practice. For example, Guerrero, Provoste, and Valdes (2006) describe how educators did not address gender as a topic and claimed the need for the inclusion of a gender perspective in the curriculum of future teachers.

Romero (2008) talked with teachers about the importance of having a gender perspective included in their practice, and teachers mostly agreed with this. However, their expectations clashed with the pressures of their day-to-day experience. Teachers explained to Romero that the demands behind educational reforms, which require them to use most of their time focusing on student assessments and evaluations, leave them with little or no time to develop activities for their classrooms that are different than the prescribed ones. Also, some of them



recognize that they have not been trained to include these types of activities in the curriculum they develop.

Reyes et al. (2014) conducted a study in which teacher educators described their ideas about the knowledge and the subjectivity of teachers in the school system. In this study, the authors, who are teacher educators, investigate themselves using in-depth interviews, coordinated among them but also adapted to fit the main topics in their scholarly work. Among the results of this study, Reyes et al. describe men and women teachers' different experiences as they relate to school authorities. According to the authors, in high school settings, male teachers enjoy a number of privileges. For example, although they participate in fewer teacher councils than women teachers, male teachers are more listened to in these spaces. In addition, Reyes et al. describe how male teachers commonly relate with male principals as "buddies" (p. 190), and they do not put in extra effort to gain the principal's attention, while women teachers have to flirt and be extremely polite to achieve a similar result. Reyes et al. also note that on some occasions women teachers face unintended consequences in their relationships with their male partners when they achieve more educative credentials than their husbands. These unintended consequences are related to the fact that the achievement of women can become a source of insecurity for the men and a source of conflict for the family.

Mizala, Martínez, and Martínez (2015) pursued a study that focused on the expectations of pre-service teachers regarding students' achievements and whether their beliefs about their students' need for academic support is influenced by their mathematics anxiety, or by their prospective students' gender and socioeconomic

status. They used quantitative techniques to survey a sample of 208 pre-service teachers from different universities; the sample included 176 (84.6%) women and 32 (15.4%) men. The survey used a five-point Likert scale to measure the future teachers' expectations of mathematics and general academic achievement and their need for academic support and special education, with hypothetical students presented in a vignette with markers of gender social class, and a student performance description. The researchers used the abbreviated mathematics anxiety rating scale (A-MARS, see Alexander & Martray, 1989) to measure the mathematics anxiety of future teachers. Mizala, Martínez, and Martínez found that expectations of future mathematics achievement differ significantly as a function of student gender. For pre-service teachers, boys could have better mathematical performance than girls, and even when the mathematical performance of male students is lower, the teachers' expectations for overall achievement were higher for male students.

### **Gender Dynamics in Chilean Schools**

Scholarship about gender in Chile shows how sexism is pervasive across the educational system. The sparse but diverse scholarship on this topic clearly presents sexist behaviors from teachers and students, internalized sexism by men and women, and institutionalized sexism in the textbooks and school bylaws. Researchers that investigate this topic are mostly women, and the methods used to identify sexism are heterogeneous, from traditional semi-structured interviews with biographical components to psychological tests such as the Implicit Association

Task, which, according to Huepe, Salas, and Manzi (2016), has the potential to unravel the unconscious biases that shape our automatic responses to ideas about men and women. Discourse analysis of written material and documents revealed the institutionalized ways in which sexism is reproduced in texts. Similarly, classroom observations that mixed quantitative and qualitative techniques allow the researchers to better understand the processes by which sexism is reproduced or challenged by everyday interactions.

Research on experiences of students and teachers in schools illuminate the individual effects of sexist stereotypes reproduced within schools (Huepe, Salas, & Manzi, 2016; Montesinos & Anguita, 2015; SERNAM, 2009; Suarez-Cabrera, 2010; Webb & Radcliffe, 2015). Girls listen the different expectations their male professors hold about their performance in STEM classrooms (Montesinos & Anguita). Also, gender marks the organization of the schoolyard and the activities that are allowed for boys and girls: while boys are allowed to use the space, expand, and exercise, girls are secluded to smaller spaces and quiet activities (Suarez-Cabrera; Webb & Radcliffe). In addition, sexism mediates student and teacher interactions, as girls tend to be more in charge of the class chores (Guerrero, Provoste, & Valdes, 2006), and they are asked fewer—and simpler—questions than their male counterparts (SERNAM; Espinoza & Taut, 2016). Consequently, students are more prone to identify themselves with specific occupations based on their gender and the socially assigned gender of the occupation and field of study (Montesinos & Anguita; Huepe, Salas, & Manzi).

Gender dynamics in education research also analyzed books and curricular materials. Three studies address this phenomenon, making it one of the most popular topics of study in gender and education. All the studies consistently show how despite the issues with gender representation that have been raised for decades, the change has been slow and in many cases cosmetic (Binimelis, 1993; Palestro, 2016; Guerrero, Provoste, & Valdes, 2006). Palestro, for example, described how women have been included in current textbooks, which could be a step forward from the absence described by Binimelis in 1993; however, the inclusion of women in the texts is not organic. Most of the women are included next to the primary text in frames or boxes, which sends a clear message to the reader regarding the peripheral contribution of women to the disciplines.

Finally, the interest in leading more women into STEM disciplines also connects several of the studies on gender inequality and women. Most of this research included students from private and higher education institutions in the central region of the country as participants. Human capital theory (Grant & Sleeter, 1996) inspires this research as it aims to help women learn the skills that will allow them to be included in the labor force—inclusion that also will allow them to secure better life conditions and reach economic independence. Women go into the labor force so they can participate in the market and consumer society.

### **Chapter Summary and Discussion**

In this chapter, I reviewed the empirical research that studied how gender and social class dynamics manifest in Chilean schools. I did this to inform the

twofold purpose of this study: a) to explore Chilean middle school teachers' responses to and understandings of social class- and gender-based discrimination in classrooms, and b) to explore some of the personal, professional, and contextual factors that may influence these responses and understandings. The research reviewed in this chapter corresponds to literature that describes different manifestations of sexism and classism in students' school socialization, interpersonal practices, and institutionalized traditions and objects. Gaining consciousness of the way a complex social phenomenon like sexism or classism reproduces in the thoughts and actions of community members is an essential step towards unpacking and interrupting these systems and part of the work of social justice educators.

As systems of oppression form part of the culture and common sense from a specific historical period, in many cases, they are naturalized and form part of the day-to-day dynamics that privilege advantaged groups and oppress subordinate groups. On many occasions individuals, unwillingly or unconsciously, reproduce systems of oppression in their practices, behaviors, or attitudes. Self-awareness would allow educators to identify "places where the normalization of systems of privilege and disadvantage should be questioned, resisted, and changed" (Adams & Zúñiga, 2016, p. 113). Similarly, social identity awareness could help educators identify their personal social group memberships and the status these memberships enjoy in society, "and the impact of those identities and statuses on various dimensions of one's classroom practice" (Adams & Love, 2009, p. 11). The literature reviewed in this chapter explicitly aimed to gain a better comprehension of

inclusion and exclusion dynamics related to social class or gender markers and their proxies in Chilean classrooms. In gathering this literature, I included reports that allude to different dimensions of the teachers' practices, which include student behaviors and experiences, curricular choices, pedagogical strategies, and teacher behaviors and experiences. The literature reviewed provided important ideas regarding the reproduction of social class and gender inequalities as they manifest across the different dimensions of teachers' practices.

Social class is a salient social marker in Chile, but since the use of the concept is attached to the recent history it is a conflictive one as well. Ending social class school segregation is one of the main demands of recent student movements and one of the most important sources of inspiration for legislation aimed to foster inclusion. Today social class segregation is one of the main sources of conflict in the educational field. Socioeconomically vulnerable students struggle to identify themselves as members of the working class, in part due to the devaluation of their background as they experience it in schools, from their teachers, and in the explicit—and hidden—curriculum they are taught. This curriculum frequently represents, in better conditions, members of dominant groups, primarily middle class, educated, men. The hidden curriculum also contributes to the reproduction of social class stereotypes as it assigns a higher value to cultural practices of upper-class individuals, while framing the working-class context from a deficit perspective.

When discussing social integration, teachers agree with the importance of a transformative practice promoting socioeconomic inclusion in the classroom. At the same time, teachers list the barriers in the context that make it difficult for them to

develop transformative practices. One of these is the pressure of standardized assessment. The other is the lack of support from the school to implement innovations. Students from socioeconomically disadvantaged contexts are perceived with deficit lenses, and teachers focus their inclusive practice on building a therapeutic relationship with their students and helping students to assimilate to the dominant culture. Teacher experiences and perspectives are represented in the research, but similar to the previously reported dimensions, teachers tend to reproduce socially constructed differences and hierarchies along social class and gender lines.

Gender inequality and sexism, has come to the forefront in recent history, exposing how the unequal treatment of women has affected women negatively. Feminist research has grown over recent years as human rights and gender equality agendas have gained traction, and feminist social movements have emerged as a massive political force. Despite these gains, research shows how students have internalized gender stereotypes, which are reinforced by their teachers' expectations, the curriculum, and the culture of the school. Inspired by these culturally normalized stereotypes, students guide their academic trajectory and career choice. Research on pedagogical strategies also shows how teachers treat girls differently than boys. Women are consistently more invisibilized, patronized, and silenced than their male peers and this trend is accentuated within STEM disciplines as well as with Indigenous or Afro-descendent women. The research also shows how female teachers continue to reproduce as well as suffer from the unequal treatment of women in society.

The knowledge about student experiences and school dynamics with respect to gender and social class is robust but incomplete. Studies of student experiences of their social class tend to focus on urban students from peripheral metropolitan areas. There is neither research including middle- or upper-class students, nor research including students from rural areas or regions other than the capital. Similarly, research about gender represents mostly upper- and middle-class students, and primarily focuses on their ability to access STEM fields and disciplines. Learning about the curriculum is critical and contributes to uncovering the normalization of social class and gender inequalities in textbooks and schooling practices. Some of the limitations of this research are the narrow range of groups that are represented in the curriculum and the failure to include more intersections of different identities in empirical analyses. Similarly, it is essential to start an inquiry into a curriculum that centers on lower class and female experiences in its content, or a curriculum aimed at social transformation and not just social reproduction.

Regarding the pedagogical strategies, it is critical to search for transformative practices and disseminate knowledge about them. It is also vital to systematize the practices that teachers are currently employing. Moreover, it is important to develop research that pays attention to the interactions between teachers and students and the content of these interactions, since social hierarchies reproduce themselves in these interactions and in research approaches to them as a unidirectional process; hence, more information about teachers' social memberships and how this membership awareness impacts their practice is



necessary. Similarly, while there is research that explores teachers' understandings, biases, and knowledge, there is little research that describes teachers' experiences within specific groups. For example, there are no empirical publications that help understand the experiences of female or male teachers, or the experiences of middle or working-class ones. It is essential to learn about these experiences to understand how they inform teacher knowledge, attitudes, and practices.

Finally, the literature reviewed also allows us to make connections with the topics and issues discussed in previous chapters. One of these ideas is the impact of assessment policies on the life of teachers and their practices. Despite teachers acknowledging the importance of developing inclusive practices in their classrooms, they also signal that using these types of practices is a challenge as cognitive achievement has a concrete impact on their salaries and the autonomy of the school community. This tension shows how neoliberal logics of competition and individualism can trump the practice of inclusion, creating a school community that focuses only on a small dimension of the student experience. Also, research shows how the research agenda prompted by inclusion policies could be consistent with neoliberal policies. Studies on inclusion of more women in STEM disciplines also contribute to an idea of inclusion in the market and, in this sense, equality is understood as equality of access and opportunities.

So far, learning about the Chilean context has been useful to visualize some of the gaps and issues presented in the literature that help us gain a better understanding of the factors that may inform teachers' actions to address discrimination and exclusion in their classrooms. In the next chapter, I introduce a

research strategy and methods to empirically explore teachers' experiences, conceptions, understandings, and responses to exclusion and discrimination dynamics in their classrooms.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **METHODS AND PROCEDURES**

#### **Introduction**

This chapter presents the research methodology and procedures used by qualitative exploratory study. Before outlining these in detail, I revisit the purpose of the study and the guiding research questions. Next, I situate the study and methodology within an interpretative perspective and describe my role and social location as a researcher. Then I describe the site of the study and the rationale and methods for selecting participants and the various data collection strategies I used to address the research questions. Last, I outline the procedures I followed to ensure the trustworthiness in the research process and conclude with a brief discussion of the limitations of the study.

The main purpose of this exploratory qualitative study is twofold: a) to explore Chilean middle school teachers' responses to and understanding of social class- and gender-based discriminatory behaviors in classrooms and b) to explore some of the personal, professional, and contextual factors that may influence Chilean teachers' responses and understandings. Among these factors, I am primarily interested in the role that teachers' gender, social class, and ethnic/race social group membership may play in their response to and understanding of discriminatory behaviors in classrooms.

To lend more specificity to these purposes, I generated three research questions to develop and scaffold various data gathering methods and devices.

These questions are:

- I. How do Chilean middle school teachers understand issues of inclusion and exclusion in education?
- II. How do Chilean middle school teachers make meaning of and respond to social class- or gender-based discriminatory behaviors in classrooms?
- III. How do individual, professional, and contextual factors influence middle school teachers' responses to and understanding of social class- or gender-based discriminatory behaviors in classrooms?
  - A. How do teachers' individual biographies inform their responses to and understanding of social class- and gender-based discriminatory behaviors in classrooms?
    - i. How do teachers' awareness of their own social group memberships inform their response to and understanding of social class- or gender-based discriminatory behaviors in classrooms?
  - B. How do teachers' professional trajectories influence their responses to and understanding of social class- or gender-based discriminatory behaviors in classrooms?
  - C. How do teachers' professional contexts impact their responses to and understanding of social class- or gender-based discriminatory behaviors in classrooms?

### **Rationale for Qualitative Design**

A qualitative perspective informs the methods and design procedures used in this exploratory study. This point of view strives for a multi-layered and complex understanding of a social phenomenon. This approach enables a thorough exploration of the data and the use of interpretative practices to gain a nuanced understanding of people's experiences (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). A qualitative perspective is pertinent for a study seeking to understand the different ways in which a relatively unexplored phenomenon for the Chilean context manifests.

I followed what Merriam (2009) describes as a generic, basic or interpretative approach, which is one of the most commonly used by education researchers "to understand how people make sense of their lives and their experiences" (p. 23). In this study, I asked participants to talk about their responses to and understanding of social class- or gender-based discriminatory behaviors. I will also explore some of the personal, professional, and contextual factors that may have influenced their responses to and understanding of discriminatory behaviors in the classroom. I was particularly interested in gauging how teachers' social group memberships may impact their response to and understanding of these situations.

Basic qualitative research uses multiple sources of data (e.g., interviews, document analysis, and observations) and strives to identify recurrent patterns or emerging themes (Merriam, 2009). A basic qualitative study relies on a conceptual framework to identify its observation unit, the methods used to gather the data, the questions used to collect the data, and which data are relevant for the study. As I stated earlier, the conceptual framework informing my study highlights five

dimensions that could be used to understand the teacher's work from a social justice education perspective. This perspective emphasizes the importance of a practice that promotes inclusive learning environments, in which the content being taught and the pedagogical process followed to teach the content are consistently aligned with the goals of social justice (Adams, 2016; Bell, 2016). This framework builds on a five-quadrant analysis of teaching and learning: a) who are our students; b) who are we as instructors; c) the curriculum, resources, and course content; d) the pedagogical processes through which the course content is delivered; and e) the institutional climate and cultural context (Adams & Love, 2005, 2009; Bell et al., 2016; Marchesani & Adams, 1992). I relied on this framework in designing the study, the study questions, as well as in structuring the content of the data gathering methods. For instance, I included several questions to help gauge the personal, professional, and contextual factors influencing teachers' responses to discriminatory behaviors. Similarly, I asked questions to help me understand their ideas about their students' identities and how these ideas may inform both teaching and learning dynamics and responses to discriminatory behaviors.

To understand how Chilean middle school teachers navigate and make sense of students' discriminatory behaviors in their classrooms, I used different data gathering strategies, including: 1) a demographic questionnaire to learn about the participants' context and professional biography; 2) the use of vignettes to help me understand the ways in which teachers anticipate intervening in hypothetical situations involving discriminatory behaviors in classrooms (Aguinis, & Bradley, 2014; Finch, 1987; Spalding & Phillips, 2007); 3) the use of a follow-up, semi-

structured interview to engage participants in a reflective conversation regarding the way in which their personal experiences and their social group memberships may inform the way in which they address social class- and gender-based discrimination in classrooms; and 4) the use of a reflective journal (Ortlipp, 2008) to track and record my own perspective and positionality throughout this study.

In the next sections, I describe these four data gathering methods in more detail. However, before describing these methods I would like to briefly describe my own social location as a researcher and explain how this particular location impacts the way in which I approach this research study.

### **Role and Social Location of the Researcher**

The interpretative character of the qualitative perspective acknowledges the researcher history, ideas, and biases that almost inevitably influence the research procedures and outcomes (Denzin 2001; Ortlipp, 2008). Even though the qualitative perspective recognizes the importance of placing the participants' voices at the center, it also acknowledges the challenges and limitations that researchers face in trying to honor the centrality of this perspective. Some of these challenges may be related to the researcher's social location in systems of privilege and oppression. Others may be related to the historical context in which the research is produced and the political lens and ethical standards by which the information is produced and interpreted (Clarke, 2005).

Regarding my social locations as researcher, it is important for me to constantly examine and reflect about the multiple biases and personal assumptions

harvested by some of these memberships. I am a Latin American male, cisgender, heterosexual, and mestizo with an invisible learning disability and lower-middle-class background. While in the United States, race, language, and ethnicity are the social group memberships most salient for me. In Chile, my social class location and gender identity are perhaps most salient.

Because of the multiple groups and social locations to which I identify, I need to pay attention to their influence in my approach to the research topic, and the way in which I navigate and interpret participants' responses. For example, I could be more aware about ways in which immigrants could experience exclusion in the United States, while I could be unaware of specific exclusion dynamics affecting immigrants in the Chilean context. I also reflected on the influence that my different social memberships could have had in the ways in which I engage in interpersonal relations with research participants. Seidman (1998) describes some of the dynamics that interviewing relationships may bring about between people from different social group memberships, especially when there is historically constructed differential power between these memberships. For example, across the gender lines, Seidman argues, "all the problems that one can associate with sexist gender relationships can be played out in an interview" (p. 85). A "male interviewing female participants can be overbearing," or a male can "easily [be] dismissive of female interviews" (p. 85). Furthermore, when participants are interviewed by a researcher of the same gender, this relation could be "plagued by the assumption of shared perspectives or a sense of competition never stated" (Seidman, p. 86). Similarly, gender and social class dynamics could have impacted



the interview process, and therefore it is important for me to engage in a critical reflection about the role that my own experiences and historically constructed values could have played to reproduce or transform these dynamics.

To challenge the asymmetrical relations that might have been constructed between the participants and me, I will place the question of power in research as a constant element for reflection on my own practice and in the relations I build with others. I believe it is critical in my role as a researcher to proactively pursue intimacy and personal connections with the participants and to be honest about my ideas, history, and beliefs. More importantly, I need to be honest about the representations I make about the participants' perspectives and how they may be mediated by my history and beliefs.

In my research, I also have to deal with the tensions that many Latin American researchers experience regarding the subordinate status of Latin American knowledge within the U.S. academy. Martin-Baró (1996) articulates that Latin American researchers on many occasions fall into uncritical acceptance of external theories and frameworks because this allows them to gain recognition and status in their respective communities. In some cases, this uncritical acceptance translates into an ahistorical importation of "ideological thinking, [which] excuse[s] some social circumstances and foreclose[s] inquiry into certain concrete questions" (Martin-Baró, p. 21). Hence, it is important for me to critically analyze my research process to avoid the ahistorical and uncritical importation of North American ideas and theories that may happen due to the influence of my North American education in the design of the study.

To navigate the tensions that arise by the status of Latin American knowledge, I position my work within the liberatory project of Latin American thinkers. For this, I purposefully made an effort to focus not only on the gaps or deficits that appeared to be present in lived experiences of the people I interviewed but also on assets could contribute to foster social transformation. Liberation requires seeing beyond the present oppression of Latin American people “but rather in the tomorrow of their liberty. The truth of the popular majority is not to be found, but made” (Martin-Baró, 1996, p. 27). I pay attention to the liberatory potential emerging from the participants’ responses and the context during my research, and as a researcher I commit to a praxis that contributes to the social justice education field by highlighting the rich potential of the teachers’ knowledge in the Chilean context.

### **Site and Participant Selection**

To select the participants I followed a snowball sampling strategy. I chose this strategy because it allows reaching members of groups who are not easy to find due to the specificity of their character. In its more canonical application, the snowball sampling starts when the researcher contacts key informants or acquaintances who share or have access to people who have the characteristics under study (Morgan, 2008; Polkinghorne, 2005). The researcher continues the sampling process by asking the participants about other possible participants until a critical mass, consistent with the study purposes, is reached.

The purpose of this study is to explore Chilean middle school teachers' responses to and understanding of social class- and gender-based discriminatory behaviors in their classrooms. I also inquired into some of the personal, professional, and contextual factors that may influence teachers' responses and understandings. I am primarily interested in the role that teachers' gender and social class group membership may play in their response to and understanding of discriminatory behaviors in classrooms. Consistent with this aim, I selected a purposeful sample that considers some of the following demographic characteristics (Palys, 2008): participants' gender, social class, type of school, subject of specialization, years of teaching, and grade/course they currently teach. This method of selection is premised on "the assumption that the investigators wants to discover, understand, and gain insight and therefore must select a sample from which most can be learned" (Merriam, 2009, p. 61). Hence, I strove for balanced group composition, 7th and 8th grade middle school teachers from different gender groups and socioeconomic classes, who teach 2-3 different subjects, and who have been working as teachers for at least three years. I recruited participants who teach subjects such as language, communication, and social sciences, as these subjects provide important opportunities to address social and interpersonal discrimination (Bigelow & Peterson, 1998; Hobbel & Chapman, 2010; Jones-Walker, 2015).

My final criterion considered the socioeconomic background of the students that teachers serve. In Chile, urban areas are segregated by social class. For example, the people who live in only three districts in the city of Santiago own most of the country's wealth; peripheral districts have greater concentrations of families

struggling with economic marginalization (Campos-Martinez, 2010; Morales & Rojas, 1986). Something similar happens in schools: the wealthy attend private schools, middle-class students and those emerging from poverty attend private voucher schools (privately administered and public-privately funded), and the most marginalized populations attend publicly funded and administered schools (Bellei, 2013; Contreras, Sepúlveda, & Bustos, 2010; Cordoba, Rojas, & Azocar, 2016; García-Huidobro & Corvalán, 2009). I recruited teachers working in public schools and private voucher schools in districts that have concentrations of historically marginalized populations. I am interested in schools in which teachers deal with issues of exclusion and marginalization on a daily basis. Finally, to ease the way, I sought teachers working in urban schools in two Chilean regions that have greater proportions of the country's population.

### **Gaining Entry and Informed Consent**

For this study, I started the sampling process by reaching acquaintances working in teacher preparation programs and publicly funded schools. I complemented this initial outreach with suggestions from academic and system administrators at the regional and national level. I asked them to help me reach out to teachers who might be interested in participating in the study, who were currently teaching at 7th or 8th grade middle school level, had worked as teachers for at least three years, and taught subjects such as language, communication, and social sciences. To do this, I emailed potential informants a letter asking for their collaboration (See Appendix A). Attached to this email, I included an invitation letter

in Spanish. I asked them to share this letter with other potential participants. In both letters, to informants and participants, I explained the scope of the study and the characteristics of the teachers' participation (this invitation letter can be found in Appendix B). In addition to this invitation, I included a link to an online demographic questionnaire and placement form (See Appendix D). This form asked potential participants questions about their demographics, about some milestones in their professional career, and about the characteristics of the students they serve. This formulary supported the participant selection process and allowed me to achieve a more balanced composition in the participant pool. In the email I included a copy of the Informed Consent Letter (Appendix C). After the potential participants agreed to participate in the research process, I scheduled the interviews using email and phone.

Prior to the start of the interview, I read with the participants the informed consent letter (See Appendix C) and discussed the risks and benefits that the research presents. With the authorization of the participants, I digitally recorded the interviews. After finishing the interviews, I transcribed verbatim all the content recorded. I verified the complete transcription with the digital record of the interview to prevent any mistakes in the text; this transcription became one of the main sources for data analysis.

### **Demographic Questionnaire and Placement Form**

This questionnaire helped with the purposeful sampling process in the selection of the participants. It allowed me to achieve a balanced group composition

in the participant pool. The form was divided into four sections, which asked participants to provide contact information, information about their professional trajectory, information about the student body composition at their schools, and demographic information about themselves (See Appendix D). Asking about participants' professional lives allowed me to learn about their education history, the number of years they have worked as a teacher, and about the different subjects and course levels taught. Asking about the student body demographic composition at their schools allowed me to learn about the context in which the participants work and some of the challenges they may face in relation to the social class, gender, and race/ethnic backgrounds of the students they serve.

The demographic information obtained from this form helped me learn about the participants' social memberships prior to the interviews, which increased my attentiveness about trends linked to their specific social identities. This information and the information regarding the school composition directly informed the vignette assignment process. Hence, I used the information of these categories to be intentional and to provide a rationale in the pairing of participants and vignettes. Possible rationales in the pairing of participants and vignettes are explored in the section in which I describe the structure of the interview protocol. In the following section, I describe with more detail, the opportunities that the vignette technique provides, and I briefly describe the strategy I pursued for its development in this study.

## Study Participants

Following the procedures outlined above, I contacted eight teachers, three from Valparaíso and five from Santiago. Participants vary in terms of gender and social class location, five participants are women and three men; four participants identified as coming from a working-class background, and four identified with the lower and upper middle class. Also, the teachers vary in the subjects they taught; four taught language and four history and social sciences. All the participants selected a pseudonym to maintain the anonymity of the data. Below, in Table 6, I introduce the eight different participants using their pseudonyms.

Table 6: Study Participants

Pseudonym	Age range	Gender	Social Class	Undergraduate studies	Current School	Years working as teacher
<b>Amalia</b>	20-25	Woman	Currently middle class, but poor when growing up	Public university. Elementary education degree with language mention.	Public school in Santiago, with 2,000 students and high vulnerability index	3
<b>Catalina</b>	20-25	Woman	Currently lower middle class and Proletarian. Poor while growing up	Private university. Middle school teacher of history and geography	Public school in Valparaíso, with 345 vulnerable students	5
<b>Carlos</b>	26-30	Man	Upper middle class	Private university. License in history and pedagogical studies in geography, social sciences and history	Private subsidized school in Santiago, with 2,000 students, 76% of them vulnerable	5
<b>Juana</b>	31-35	Woman	Middle	Public university.	Private	6

			class	Castilian language and communication teaching degree.	subsidized school in Santiago, with 45 students from lower middle class	
<b>Sandy</b>	41-45	Woman	Middle class	Public and private universities. Master in education and elementary teacher license with mention in English and language.	Public school in Valparaíso, with 150 students, most of them vulnerable	13
<b>Javier</b>	26-30	Man	Middle class. Upper middle class while growing	Public university. License in history and a teaching degree in history and geography	Private subsidized school in Santiago, 1,000 students, 50 to 60% of them vulnerable	4
<b>Ivan</b>	36-40	Man	Lower middle class. Poor while growing up.	Started his studies in a Public university but dropped out and finished in a private university. Elementary education degree with a mention in history and geography.	Public School in Valparaíso, 200 students with high index of social deprivation	11
<b>Tamara</b>	26-30	Woman	Lower middle class	Private university. Teacher license in Castilian language and communication.	Private subsidized school in Santiago, 700 middle class students	4



## **Vignettes and Structured Interview Protocol**

### **Vignettes**

The vignette is a technique commonly used to surface the subagent motives informing decision-making processes (Arbeau, & Coplan, 2007; Darvin, 2011; Green, Shriberg, & Farber, 2008; Jeffries & Maeder, 2004). Qualitative and quantitative researchers use vignettes when looking to access information about people's lives, values, beliefs, and knowledge (Hughes & Huby, 2002). According to Finch (1987), vignettes "are short stories about hypothetical characters in specified circumstances, to whose situation the interviewee is invited to respond" (p. 105). Commonly, vignettes are presented in a written format; however, it is also common to present vignettes in the form of a video, an image, or a picture (Yoon, Sulkowski, & Bauman, 2016). While using vignettes in research allows a range of possibilities in their development, many authors have stated some premises, or rationales, to pursue their construction. Among these premises, three seem particularly relevant for this study.

First, the vignette has to be relevant to the context of the participants by portraying a credible, possible, and relatable scenario (Anast & Ambrosio, 2002; Hughes & Huby, 2002). These authors highlight the fact that vignettes should resemble real life events and provide "sufficient idiosyncratic details (grade, subject area, socioeconomic information, ethnicity, student performance, needs, etc.) regarding the classroom, students, and teacher" (Anast & Ambrosio, p. 12). Second, vignettes should allow for diverse perspectives and "multiple solutions/answers" (Jeffries & Maeder, 2004, p. 20). According to these authors, vignettes should be

open-ended and promote the development of unique and situated responses, and “encourage independent thinking and unique responses” (Jeffries & Maeder, p. 20). Third, vignettes should present tensions and/or address topics that are sensitive, difficult to explore, or critical (Hughes & Huby). Vignettes could also describe a situation that needs to be attended to because of its implications and urgency (Anast & Ambrosio). According to these scholars, vignettes should motivate teachers to answer them by presenting a situation that requires them to use their professional knowledge and deliberation to solve.

To build the vignettes (See appendix F), I drew from different theoretical and empirical sources. First, I considered the purpose of the study, which led to the first guideline for the construction of the vignettes: that the vignettes describe social class and gender discrimination incidents in schools. Next, to inform the content of the different vignettes, I relied on different sources of information. One of them was my own experience working in schools. A second important source was the information regarding prevalence and incidents of discrimination collected by different authors in Chilean schools (e.g., Berger, 2015; Hevia, Hirmas, Treviño, & Marambio, 2005; Lopez et al., 2009; Merino, Quilaqueo, & Saiz, 2008; Ortiz, 2009; Super Intendencia de Educación Escolar, 2015; Webb & Radcliffe, 2015a, 2015b). A third source was specialized literature that offers examples of vignettes. These examples were used and/or collected and/or developed by authors who explored issues of diversity (Goodwin, 1997), the challenges of multicultural education (Anast & Ambrosio, 2002; Epstein, 2010), the challenges of inclusion (Cutter, Palincsar, & Magnusson, 2002), the expression of gender and social class biases in teachers

(Auwarter & Aruguete, 2008; del Río & Balladares, 2010; Green et al., 2008), prejudices and microaggressions (Boysen, 2012), the responses of teachers to incidents of bullying and violence (Kahn, Jones, & Wieland, 2012; Yoon et al., 2016), and applications of vignettes to promote learning and reflection regarding social justice issues (Barnatt, Shakman, Enterline, Cochran-Smith, & Ludlow, 2007; Burrell, 2008, 2014; Darwin, 2011; Lopez, Gurin, & Nagda, 1998).

To secure relevancy of the vignettes for the Chilean context, I reached out to six Chilean education experts and asked them to provide an assessment of the vignettes. I used three broad criteria to define the experts I could contact at this stage. To be contacted, they needed to fulfill at least one of these criteria: enjoy a wealth of experience working with schools, possess practical expertise in schools as teachers or administrators, or have experience working as teacher educators. I shared the six vignettes I created with each education expert using an electronic format, and asked them to provide their personal assessment regarding the relevance and credibility of the stories for their Chilean education context. I specifically asked them to describe if the content of the vignette was something that might happen in a Chilean school. I also asked them if the substance of the stories and the expressions I used in the vignettes seemed authentic, that is, if other people might use similar words to describe a similar story. I also asked them for feedback as well as for suggestions to fine-tune and/or improve the content of the vignettes. Using all these sources, I constructed two vignettes that I present in Appendix F. Each of these vignettes describes situations that involve interactions that suggest

social class, gender, or race/ethnicity-based discriminatory behaviors among middle school students.

Finally, I piloted these vignettes with middle school Chilean teachers to check for the same characteristics (the relevance and credibility of the stories). This final pilot experience tested the overall flow of the interview protocols accompanying the vignettes, and the extent to which the questions allowed for the emergence of rich information about the teachers' responses to and understanding of discriminatory behaviors among peers in the classroom.

### **Interview One: Structured Interview Protocol**

The structured interview protocol pursues three objectives: to explore participant perception and understanding regarding the characteristics of the interaction portrayed in the vignette, to explore some of the actions that the participant may implement to address the situation in the story while exploring some beliefs and experiences that the participant relates to their actions, and to explore one social identity of teachers and the possible ways in which their identity may inform some of the actions described by the teachers. To attain these objectives, I created an interview protocol divided into four sections plus an opening and closing sections.

The opening section seeks to start a relation-building process with the participants, and explored some of the participant's ideas in connection to exclusion in education. In this introduction, I planned to learn the rough ideas and broad understanding about issues of inclusion and exclusion in teachers, in order to not

impose my own language and concepts latter in the other sections of the interview. In addition, the questions in the opening section of the interview helped in addressing the first research question. Questions in this section are presented in Table 7 below.

Table 7: Warming-up Questions

- |   |
|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Tell me about your work as a teacher. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. How long have you been teaching?</li> <li>ii. What are the characteristics of the students you work with?</li> </ol> </li> <li>2. When you hear discussions about issues of exclusion in education, how do you perceive them? What thoughts come to you? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. What do you understand by exclusion?</li> <li>ii. What are some of the causes of exclusion?</li> <li>iii. As a teacher, what can you do to avoid exclusion?</li> </ol> </li> </ol> |
|---|

Following this introduction, I present a vignette or short history that describes an interaction between students with a discriminatory remark about one of them in regards to the social class, gender, or ethnicity. To allow for an in-depth exploration of participants' perspective, which requires the active exploration of beliefs, personal experiences, and practical knowledge, and considering the time constraints of the participants, I decided to work with only one vignette with each teacher. Hence, I defined before the interview the small story I introduced to each participant and which story I could use as a backup in case the participant did not relate to the first choice. To determine the rationale to pair participants to a particular vignette, I used the following criteria:

1. Balanced composition in the participant pool in terms of social class and gender.

2. Balanced representation of social group members within each identity category. For example, I assigned teachers who self-identified as male and female to the vignette depicting gender discriminatory behaviors in student interactions in the classroom. Similarly, I assigned teachers who self-identified as working-class and middle-class to the vignette that portrays social class-based discriminatory behavior.
3. I also strove for richness in the data and the possibility of teachers having previous experiences as teachers navigating situations that resemble the ones portrayed in the vignettes. For example, I have not paired a story about gender discrimination with a teacher who has only taught in an male-only school.

Once the participant and I read the vignette together, the first part of the interview protocol was followed. The second part of the protocol aimed to explore participants perception and understanding of the situation presented in the vignette; in addition, this section also helped to provide an initial understanding about of the types of words and concepts that the different participants use to make meaning of the situation portrayed on the vignette. Finally, I also explored the commonalities between the participant's day-to-day classroom experience and the situation in the vignette. Questions in this section were mostly exploratory and asked for the use of descriptive language, personal definitions, and examples. Questions in this section are presented in Table 8 below. This section privileges information linked to the second and third study questions.

Table 8: Questions About the Perception of the Story

3. According to your perception, what is happening in this story?
  - a. Is there something that is particularly problematic for you as a teacher? For example? Could you give me more details?
  - b. Would you intervene in this situation?
4. Could something similar happen in one of your classes, or in one of your colleagues' classes?
  - a. Has something similar happened in one of your classes?
    - i. When did it happen? How long ago?
  - b. Have you heard/seen this happening to some colleague?

The second section explores the actions and strategies that participants imagined could help them achieve their desired resolution of the issue presented in the vignette. If the participant reported to have navigated a similar experience during her or his tenure as a teacher, questions in this segment would support the nuanced exploration of this experience. Questions in this section encouraged the participant to imagine different ways of collaborating, engaging, supporting or being supported, by their peers and colleagues to address the story. These questions can be found in Table 9 below.

Table 9: Questions About Teachers' Responses to Address the Vignette

- 5a. (If the answer to item 3-ii is positive) What did you do when this happened?
  - a. What would you do differently in this case?
  - b. What actions would you add?
  - c. What would you maintain in this case?
- 5b. (If the answer to item 3-ii is negative and the teacher decides not to intervene in the situation) What made you decide not to intervene in this situation?
  - a. Why would you not intervene in this situation?
    - i. When would you intervene or do something?

- 
- b. What would have to happen for you to decide to intervene?
- 5c. (If answer to item 3-ii is negative and the teacher decides to intervene in the situation) If you decide to intervene in this situation, what would you do? What action would you implement with the students?
- a. How would you address this situation beyond the classroom?
    - i. With your colleagues?
    - ii. What type of support would you ask from your colleagues?
    - iii. With the *convivencia* team?
    - iv. What type of support would you ask from the *convivencia* team?
- 

In the third section, I asked participants to prioritize and elaborate on the specific actions they developed to address the situation. This segment explored the decision-making process underlying some of the activities proposed by teachers in response to the story or real experience, discussed in the previous section. Making explicit the implicit knowledge behind the practice is one of the primary applications of the vignette technique (Barnatt et al., 2007; Burrell, 2008, 2014; Darwin, 2016; Goodwin, 1997; Lopez et al., 1998). Also a goal of this technique is to explore the emotions, underlying beliefs, values, and/or previous experiences that people associate to their practical choices. Questions in this section allowed for in-depth exploration of a particular action or more than one. In this section, in Table 10, the protocol also integrated inquiries about skills and contextual factors that may have facilitated the flow of specific actions.



Table 10: Questions to Deepen the Knowledge About the Actions  
Prioritized by the Teachers

6. You mentioned the following actions as possible responses to the situation portrayed in the story (provide a summary of actions previously enounced):
  - a. Which one of these actions would you try first or would you prioritize?
  - b. Could you tell a little more about what makes you prioritize these actions? Why did you order them like this?
7. You said that one of your actions would be [paraphrase action]:  
Have you done or said something similar in similar situations in the past?  
*Proving questions:*
  - a. How was it or would it be for you to do this?
    - i. What was/would be easier? What did/would make it easier?
    - ii. What was/would be more difficult? What did/would make it harder?
8. Tell me about the experiences that led you to consider this action? Why did you decide to do this?
  - a. Is there a professional experience informing your decision?
    - i. What kind of experience? (e.g., I learned in college, professional training, meeting with the coexistence team)
    - ii. How has this experience helped you?
  - b. Is there some personal experience informing your decision?
    - i. What kind of experience?
    - ii. How this experience helped you?
9. Could you help me identify what types of skills are required to perform this action?
  - a. What skills have you developed to deal with situations like this?
  - b. Where have you acquired these skills?
10. What factors beyond the classroom would facilitate to carry out such actions? (For example, support the director, colleagues, coexistence team, parents, students, principal, UTP, school psychologist, vice principal)
  - a. What factors would make it more difficult?
11. Now I would like to talk a little about the possible consequences of intervening in the situation using this action?
  - a. What might be some of the positive consequences of intervening in the situation?
    - i. For the students?
    - ii. For learning dynamics?
    - iii. For you as a teacher?
  - b. What might be some of the risks involved in the situation?
    - i. In the relationship with colleagues, school managers and/or administrators?

Part four of the protocol changed the focus of inquiry to explore one of the participants' social group memberships. This section invited participants to describe one of their social group memberships (e.g., social class or gender) and, concurrently, to elaborate on the influence that their membership may have had in their responses to situations similar to the one presented in the vignette. This section interrupted the flow of the previous segments of the protocol to introduce a different perspective to the conversation. Even though in the following interview I placed more focus on the participant's social identity dimension, the information gathered by this segment allowed the participant to access a different body of knowledge and experience. From my perspective, part four is the first block on the bridge between teacher education literature and social justice education (see Table 11 for a description of the questions in this part of the protocol). The closing questions aimed to help assess the participants' mood after the interview and to explore some possible learning driven by the participation in the interview.

Table 11: Questions About Teacher's Group Memberships

- |  |
|--|
| 12. How do you describe your social class (or ethnicity/race) background?  |
| 13. In your own experience, how central is your social class? If you had to rate its importance, how central would it be according to this scale?<br>(Hand index card with Likert scale)   |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Between 1 to 10, where 10 represents the highest importance, how central or important is your social class for you?</li> <li>b. Please tell me more about your self-rating. How did you arrive at it?</li> </ul> |
| 14. What experiences related to your own social class background (gender, or ethnicity/race) may influence your actions and why?   |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Could you provide an example?</li> </ul>   |

b. How could this experience have impacted your response?

**Closing questions**

15. How was having this conversation for you?

a. Do you want to add something?

b. Did you learn/reaffirm something about yourself?

16. Do you have a question for me?

To secure the pertinence of the questions of this protocol for the Chilean context, I contacted Chilean middle school teachers and administrators to try these questions as a pilot experience. I shared one of the vignettes and all of the follow-up questions with them, and I considered the accessibility of the questions for them as well as the time they would use to answer each one of them. With this information, I fine-tuned the questions in the protocol, considering that the final purpose of the protocol is to help me learn about the teachers' responses to the vignettes. I also asked them for feedback and suggestions to fine-tune and/or improve the vignettes.

Finally, while the vignettes responses were important for me as researcher, vignettes have the potential of becoming a learning opportunity for participants. Hence, the conversation sparked from the vignettes became an opportunity for the participants to increase their awareness regarding their own decision-making process and the factors informing it. Moreover, several authors report the use of vignettes as a device to engage teachers, teacher candidates, and/or students in activities that assess their own knowledge and beliefs in relation to the issues presented by the vignettes (Barnatt et al., 2007; Burrell, 2008, 2014; Darwin, 2011; Goodwin, 1997; Lopez et al., 1998). My study might have benefitted participants by allowing them to assess their own personal and professional development needs. This interview could also have been an opportunity for participants to learn about

themselves and what is important for them when planning to address a situation related with discrimination.

### **Interview Two: Follow-up Semi-structured Interview**

In this follow-up interview, which took place within a week or so after the first interview, I hoped to explore with more depth participants' knowledge and awareness about their own social group memberships and some of the experiences that may have impacted how they see themselves or may be seen by others (self-claimed vs. ascribed). In this second interview, I gained a better understanding about the ways in which participants feel their social group membership impacts the way in which they relate to their students, colleagues, and their approach to pedagogy. To achieve this goal, I assembled a semi-structured interview protocol (Appendix G), which combines structured and less structured questions, allowing certain flexibility in the exploration of the topics while providing consistency in the exploration of topics across the different participants (Merriam, 2009).

The semi-structured interview protocol included warming up and closing questions and is divided into three parts. The warming-up question emulated the previous interview and asks participants to share openly afterthoughts or reactions after the first interview.

Table 12: Warming-up Questions

- 2- My first question is, if there is anything that stuck with you after we reviewed the story last week?
  - a. Any thoughts?
    - i. Any emotions?
  - b. Anything that surprised you?
    - i. Why do you think this happened?

After warming up, in the first part of the interview, I explored some of the biographic milestones of the participant's life, placing focus on those remarks related to their social class, gender, race or ethnic socialization. In this part, I am interested in learning about the history of the participant, which includes their professional development opportunities, informal conversations, reflections, or self-learning efforts. Similar to the previous section, Table 13 presents the different questions in the section and also their relation with the research questions.

Table 13: Teacher Personal and Social Experience

3. Looking back to your own early school years, in what ways, if any, did your social class (or gender) impact your experiences as a student inside and outside the classroom?
  - a. Which of these issues was more important or meaningful to you at that time?
  - b. Why did this happen?
  - c. Could you describe one of these experiences?
  - d. Which one of these themes was less present for you at this time?
4. During your teacher preparation: How did your social class (or gender), if at all, impact your experiences as a future teacher/ student?
  - a. How were topics related to social class (or gender) addressed during your teacher preparation?
  - b. In which ways, if any, did your teacher preparation program help you learn about the influence that your own social class, gender, and race/ethnicity could have in your teaching practices?

5. During your professional life, in which ways, if there are any, has your own social class (gender or race/ethnicity) tinted your experience as a teacher?

I explored participants' knowledge regarding their social class and gender social group memberships with a focus on some of the experiences that could have contributed to building this knowledge. This section is more closely informed by the literature in the conceptual framework that highlights the importance of teachers' self-awareness in their pedagogical practice (Adams & Love, 2005, 2009; Marchesani & Adams, 1992). Questions in this section asked about participants' knowledge regarding some of the ways in which their social group membership could impact their relationship with others.

Table 14: Teacher Social Group Membership Awareness

6a. How do you think your own social class (or gender) may have influenced, or may actually influence your perception (the ideas that you have) about yourself as a teacher?

a. Do you have any examples in which this influence has manifested?

6b. If your own social class or gender has not influenced the perception you have about yourself as an educator, why do you think you have not been influenced by your social class or gender?

7. How do you think other members of the school community perceive your social class or gender?

a. Why might they have this perception?

i. In what ways may your own social class (or gender) background influence your students' perception about you as an educator?

ii. In what ways may your own social class social class (or gender) background influence your colleagues' perception about you as an educator?

iii. In what ways may your own social class social class (or gender) background influence parents' perception about you as an educator?

In part three of this semi-structured interview, I explored the participants' perception of their practice, placing a focus on the possible relations between their knowledge about different social groups and their perceived educative practice. In this section I asked participants, for example, how they consider their students' social class, gender, and ethnicity/race memberships when planning the content and process of a pedagogical activity. Before wrapping up the interview, I explored some of the teachers' professional development needs, setting focus on the two-fold relation between knowledge and practice. Examples of questions are available in Table 15. Finally, I included in the protocol closing questions that sought to help participants' transition out of the interview, acknowledging the emotions and ideas that the questions may have raised. In this final part, I also gave participants the opportunity to ask a question of me, which I hoped would balance the relationship we have built over the research.

Table 15: Teachers Pedagogical Practice

8. In what ways do you consider your students' social class (or gender) background when you develop a lesson plan or a pedagogical activity?
  - a. Could you describe a(n) strategy/example?
  - b. What are/were some of the challenges of planning and implementing this?
  - c. What are/were some of the resources available to you to make this happen?

#### **Closing Questions**

9. Thinking about your experiences as a student and as a teacher
  - a. Would you have liked/wished to have more information about, or to learn more about, any of the issues we have addressed in any of the interviews?
  - b. Is there something related to what we have discussed that you would like to continue learning or thinking about?

---

10. As we close this interview, I am wondering if there is something you would like to express before we end?

a. How was it for you to talk about your own social class/gender background in this interview?

b. Any surprises?

11. Do you want to ask me a question?

---

Similar to the previous interview protocol, I piloted the questions in this interview with Chilean teachers to assess the flow of the instrument as well as the characteristics of the information produced in the conversation. I gave special focus to the participants' reactions and comfort level resulting from each question. For example, during the interviews, I paid attention to their body position changes and/or facial expressions and their pauses in speech. Many of the topics that emerged in this interview are closely related to the personal sphere of the participants and may have triggered reactions in them or me. In the next section, I describe the instrument I used to systematize my reflections as a researcher and as a doctoral student as I built relationships with teachers to talk about topics that are not always easy to navigate.

### **Reflective Journal**

The final strategy to support the collection of data I used in this research study is the reflective journal (Ortlipp, 2008). The reflective journal compiles the researcher reflections regarding his/her own thinking and reactions during the research. It also includes descriptions of events or locations that may inform some the discussion of the results, and it also helps me as researcher to be more transparent about my own positionality and the way it impacts my interpretation of



the responses to the different interviews (Creswell, 2009; Ortlipp, 2008). The research journal also supports the analysis of the researcher's choices, assumptions, and ideas and the critical reflection about the research practices.

Earlier in this chapter, I described some of the challenges I anticipated facing in my research due to my particular socio-historical location. One of these challenges was to increase my self-awareness regarding the different ways in which my social group memberships, such as my lower-middle-class background and cisgender male status, interacted with participants social group memberships. A second challenge was to interrogate the asymmetrical relationships that may arise between the researcher and participants, and to actively avoid the ahistorical and uncritical use of imported North American ideas and theories into the Chilean context (see Martin-Baró, 1996).

As Ortlipp (2008) explains, the reflective journal is "a way of making my history, values, and assumptions open to scrutiny, not as an attempt to control bias, but to make it visible to the reader" (p. 698). In my case, this meant being explicit regarding the different reactions that my involvement in the research generated, to examine the ways in which I reproduced socially constructed power hierarchies during the interviews, and when I analyzed the data. Moreover, during the analysis of data and the discussion, I continued the use of the reflexive journal to help me navigate questions related to my own socio-historical location, particularly as it related to the themes I chose to develop as part of my dissertation work.

### **Data Analysis and Management**

I recorded and transcribed verbatim each interview. Once I transcribed each interview, I compared each transcription against the digital recording of the interview for accuracy and completion. In conducting the thematic analysis of the interview transcripts, I used inductive and deductive techniques to generate codes and constructs (Creswell, 2009; Miles & Huberman, 1984). To organize the data analysis, I combed the data closely to search for similarities and differences in meaning. This process helped me to identify emerging patterns, themes, and categories organically. I relied on the method of constant comparison to refine constructs and thematic clusters, drawing from different sections of the first and second interviews. Constant comparison is typically done in the course of multiple stages, which resembles some of the steps proposed by Rossman and Rallis (2012) and Bowen (2006) for the analysis of interviews. I explain with more detail this process below.

In making meaning of the data, I read each interview very closely and made line-by-line “in-vivo” coding notes to help highlight words or phrases that had descriptive potential (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Zúñiga-Urrutia, 1992). I used different colors to underline concepts or experiences that spoke to each of the guiding research questions (Bowen, 2006). I used deductive and inductive methods to generate clusters of codes or categories, and relied on axial coding methods to account for relationships between codes or categories and generate thematic clusters (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). I searched for commonalities and differences in meaning, and used the method of constant comparison to identify

similar and distinct emerging patterns in the data. I then compared these patterns with other sources of information, like interviews, field notes, or relevant literature (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996; Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Zúñiga-Urrutia, 1992). For the next part of the process, when I identified a theme I read the transcripts again to see if this theme manifested across the data. I looked for similarities, differences, and general patterns in the data to identify evidence supporting the theme as well as evidence supporting alternative visions or even showing flaws in the analysis of the data (Miles & Huberman, 1984). I organized the main ideas associated with a theme, and clustered similar ideas along sub-themes to create a thematic cluster. For example, when examining participants “big ideas” related to exclusion and inclusion, I generated three sub-thematic clusters drawing on the line-by-line coding. To help organize the thematic analysis of emerging patterns, I used a mind-mapping tool (SimpleMind Pro. V 1.22). Figure 3 depicts the thematic organization of teachers’ ideas about inclusion and exclusion that I present in Chapter five.

To make meaning of the emerging patterns, I wrote descriptive and analytical memos. Descriptive memos described observed patterns and variations and included comments, questions, and personal reactions to emerging themes. Analytical memos included my perspective regarding the relationship between the observed patterns and variations in the data, as well as theoretical constructs or conceptual frameworks in relevant literature (Groenewald, 2008). All these steps were followed in consultation with the chair and a member of my dissertation committee, who also acted a critical reader of my research.

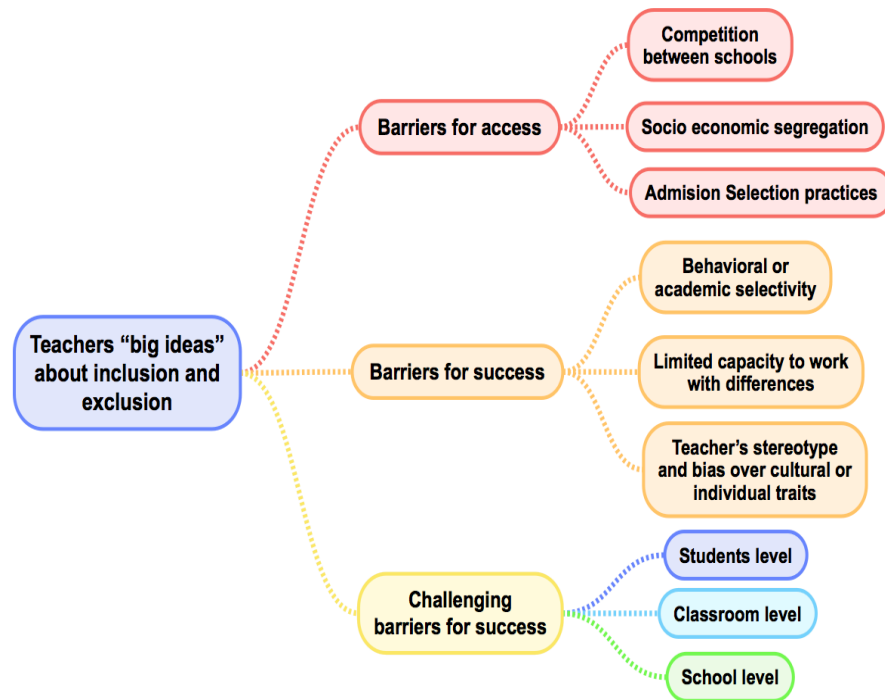


Figure 3: Teachers’ big ideas about inclusion and exclusion in education

### **Steps to Ensure Trustworthiness**

In traditional qualitative research, trustworthiness relates to the study’s ability to provide a reliable account of the phenomenon under analysis. I situated this study within the critical tradition, which acknowledges the socially constructed character of reality and recognizes the role that systems of power have in shaping it. In this tradition, trustworthiness considers the active role of researcher subjectivity in shaping the direction of the study.

To make more transparent the active role that my subjectivity played in the research process, I used a reflective journal and critical readers. The reflective journal helped increase my awareness of the multiple ideas informing the decisions

I made at different points in the research process. It also helped me describe the assumptions, biases, worldviews, and theoretical orientations influencing the investigation (Creswell, 2009; Merriam, 2009; Ortlipp, 2008). The review and examination of my work by critical readers provided feedback addressing the interpretative character of the analytic practice (Creswell; Merriam). Critical readers inquired about my ideas, the process I followed to arrive at these ideas and conclusions, and the centrality of the participant voices in foregrounding each one of my claims (Merriam). They also provided feedback regarding my account of the data from an outsider perspective (Creswell).

During the early and advanced stages of the analysis of the data, I used triangulation techniques and thick descriptions to confirm and support emerging ideas or findings. Triangulation uses different sources of evidence to support the emerging themes and ideas (Creswell, 2009; Merriam, 2009). I used the interview transcripts, my reflexive journal, the research memos, and other sources of information to support the emerging findings (Merriam). I followed two triangulation strategies, one of them is to triangulate within the data, hence comparing and contrasting the content of the themes across the interviews from each participant. Another triangulation strategy compared and contrasted the interviews, the analytical memos, and the reflexive journal information. Using thick description involved providing enough information about the context in which the research took place, hence contextualizing the study so readers could form an image of the setting and increase their ability to relate with the results (Merriam). Creswell explains that providing multiple perspectives in relation to a theme, as part of a

thick description, could help enhance the validity of the results because they become richer and more realistic. Finally, in advanced stages of the research, I checked for the presentation of negative or discrepant information.

### **Limitations of the Study**

This study has several limitations. Some of these limitations are related to the context of the research and the exploratory character of this study. A second group of limitations relate to the instruments and methods I chose to gather and analyze the data. In this section I discuss these limitations and explain different ways in which I tried to address them in the process of the research or while communicating the research results.

The context of the research is Chile and the participants are Chilean teachers working in urban middle schools. This context is incredibly rich and the participants comprising the sample provided nuanced insight into the range of challenges teachers continue to face. Because the working conditions of teachers in Chilean schools are very demanding, and they almost do not allow for planning time, free time, nor leisure time, in some instances the teachers did not have the time to complete the online survey. As a way to address this limitation, I had to be flexible and proactive when reaching out to possible participants and adapted to their different work schedule limitations.

Because of the teachers' time constraints and extended workloads, it is possible to assume that most of the teachers who chose to participate in both interviews were highly motivated to do it. Hence, this could create a bias in the

selection of participants, which has to be considered as a variable in future research reports and published articles generated from this research. In addition, the participants' responses to the questions during the interview process could be influenced by some "social desirability factor" (Zúñiga, Mildred, Varghese, DeJong, K. & Keehn, M., 2012, p. 86), which could be intensified by the nature of the issue under research, that is, the manifestation of discrimination in school contexts. Both limitations (the biases in the selection of participants and the social desirability of the possible responses) were possible in the different phases of this study. These limitations of the study were acknowledged and considered throughout the research process, informing the participant selection, the interview process, and the analysis of the data.

The methods selected to collect data may also present limitations. Regarding the vignettes, some authors argue that vignettes are more effective when they are created by peers and drawn from real life situations. In constructing the vignettes for this study, I opted to consult with teachers and experts and drew the vignettes from stories and accounts present in empirical literature. However, the vignettes are not a representation of a real life situation but a fictional depiction of a hypothetical situation intended to spark a conversation to address the questions raised by the research. Similarly, another limitation of this study is that it relied on interviews accounting for behavioral intentions within hypothetical situations. Because there was no observation of teachers' practice, most of the data were generated by individual accounts and not from my own observation of what participants say or do in given situation. One limitation of relying mostly on self-reported data is that there may be

a difference between what people think they may do in a hypothetical situation and what they would do when faced with a similar concrete situation. While this limitation is important, it is also true that the responses to the hypothetical scenario still gave valuable information about the teachers' current knowledge and ability to imagine possible response pathways. Since this work is positioned as a starting point in a broad exploratory effort, the information collected in this study should be acknowledged as the building block of a bigger scholarly work, which will complement the findings of this study, drawing a more complex understanding of the issue under study. Finally, the limitations I describe should be acknowledged, filed, and used by the reader to ponder the conclusions of this work as well as considered in future research aiming to work around similar issues.

### **Chapter Summary**

This study used a qualitative perspective to inform its overall design and methods and was assisted by quantitative techniques to inform the selection of the sample and the findings. The data collection process included three stages, starting by the completion of an online demographic characterization survey, a first structured interview centered in gathering the understandings and responses of teachers to a discrimination incident in the classroom, and a second structured interview that inquired about the participants' biography and professional career. While there are important limitations in this study, several strategies were employed to increase its trustworthiness as the research advanced. The next two chapters present in detail the findings of this study. Chapter five describes the



teachers' big ideas about inclusion and exclusion in education; it is organized by themes and subthemes that flow from the teachers' understandings about exclusion to the different actions they proposed to overcome or interrupt this dynamics. In Chapter six, teachers' understandings and responses to social class- and gender-based discrimination in the classroom are presented using the context of each participant's life and professional trajectory as background.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **CHILEAN TEACHERS' "BIG IDEAS" ABOUT EXCLUSION AND INCLUSION IN EDUCATION**

#### **Introduction**

This chapter addresses the first research question of this study: How do Chilean middle school teachers understand issues of inclusion and exclusion in education? In this chapter I present and examine the “big ideas” articulated by this group of middle school teachers concerning issues inclusion and exclusion in education as well as their proposals to challenge exclusion in schools.

I explored this question because I wanted to understand how the eight teachers made meaning of exclusion/inclusion dynamics, the language used to describe these dynamics, and the ideas they considered important before asking them to examine vignettes depicting concrete situations that mirrored peer-to-peer discriminatory interactions in real time the classrooms.

The thematic analysis presented in this chapter draws from the early part of the first interview protocol, which asked teachers to reflect on their ideas about the cause of exclusion and possible pathways for addressing these dynamics in schools. The chapter begins by foregrounding participants' main ideas concerning questions of inclusion and exclusion in education.

#### **Exclusion in Education: What are its Roots? How can it be Interrupted?**

At the beginning of the first interview, I asked teachers to describe their understanding concerning issues of exclusion in education. Then, I asked them to

describe their ideas to avoid or interrupt exclusion in education. As I read the interviews and analyzed the main ideas and subthemes, I noticed how the study participants described exclusion as a social process associated with a range of barriers that impede students' access to or success in education. Participants described access barriers as obstacles interfering with a student's ability to enroll in educational institutions. This type of barrier typically results from invisible selection processes that determine who can be accepted to a particular educational institution. On the other hand, barriers to success prevent a student's ability to fully harness her or his school experience. This type of barrier accumulates during the students' educational trajectory until they drop out or are expelled from school. Barriers to success manifest after students enroll in an educational institution. In Table 16, I present the main themes and sub-themes that emerged when exploring participants' views concerning exclusion in education.

Table 16: Participants' Perspectives on Exclusion in Education

Thematic Clusters	Sub-themes
<b>Barriers to educational access</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Visible and invisible selection practices</li> <li>• Competition over prestige and resources</li> <li>• Socioeconomic segregation</li> </ul>
<b>Barriers to educational success</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Behavioral and academic selectivity</li> <li>• Limited knowledge-capacity from teachers and schools to work with the differences in the classroom</li> <li>• Teacher's stereotype and bias over cultural or individual traits</li> </ul>

When I asked participants to describe how they could interrupt exclusion in education, they offered a range of actions. I grouped similar actions, creating six different sub-themes and organized these sub-themes according to the level of

social experience in which they are situated. Overwhelmingly, participants proposed actions at the individual, classroom, and community level, that is: 1) actions that focus on individual students, 2) actions that addressed the complete classroom, and 3) actions that focus on the school as an organization or on the school community as a whole. Table 17 presents the main themes and sub-themes that emerged when exploring participants' observations regarding how to best avoid or interrupt exclusion in education.

Table 17: Participants Perspectives on Interrupting or Avoiding Exclusion in Education

Levels	Sub-themes
<b>Student level</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Address students' motivation</li> <li>• Identify strategies to effectively deal with learning differences</li> </ul>
<b>Classroom level</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Use classroom management methods</li> <li>• Model desired behaviors</li> </ul>
<b>Community level</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Involve other colleagues</li> <li>• Offer professional development activities</li> </ul>

In the next two sections, I present my analysis for the thematic clusters "Barriers to educational access" and "Barriers to educational success." To provide more nuance and detail, I use illustrative quotes from participants' interviews, translated into English, to help describe and represent emerging themes; I try to remain close to their words. In the subsequent section, I present my thematic analysis for the thematic clusters focusing on "Participants' perspectives on interrupting or avoiding inclusion in education," and use a similar approach to represent the findings.

## **Barriers to Educational Access**

Access to educational institutions has been a salient political issue in Chile for quite some time. Several social movements have challenged the exacerbated segregated character of Chilean society and the role and impact of the educational system on it. Exclusionary practices are not only pervasive throughout the system but also exist before a student's enrollment. For instance, fewer than half of the participants in the interviews described this kind of barrier as a source of exclusion. Below, teachers identified how visible and invisible selection practices, social competition over prestige and resources, and socio-economic segregation come together at the school entry level to exclude students from enrolling.

### **Visible and Invisible Selection Practices**

In the interviews, three teachers referenced selectivity as one of the causes of exclusion at the structural level. This was not surprising, until the year 2015, selection practices were legitimate in public and private schools, as they could explicitly deny admission to a student based, for example, on family religious belief, parents' marital status, and economic and academic reasons (Cornejo et al., 2012; Verger, Bonal, & Zancajo, 2016). These selection practices were eliminated in publicly funded schools after the enactment of the "inclusion law" in 2016. However, despite the enactment of this legislation, participants declared that some of some exclusionary practices are still present in their institutions. For instance, Tamara alluded to these barriers when referring to the practice of asking for proof of the student's past grades as part of the application process to school. In her own words,

academic exclusion refers to the “the selection that uses students’ grades” (Tamara, Interview 1). In this instance, students with low grades cannot access schools that require demonstrating the capacity of academic achievement before they are allowed to enroll in the institution.

Invisible selection practices are more difficult to unveil or to prove; yet, using their knowledge and experience within the school system, participants of this study described how they operate. One of these invisible selection practices manifests when schools create barriers for the enrollment of students with parents who are perceived as not involved or responsible.

Ivan explained how this invisible selection practice is so pervasive that it could trump the spirit of the new inclusion law. The inclusion law proposed a somewhat randomized selection process to avoid some of the barriers school placed on students’ enrollment. The mechanism to prevent discrimination in enrollment looked like a raffle or a *tombola*, which gives all students an equal chance to be able to get a seat at the school they choose. In Ivan’s view, this *tombola* system would not end this type of selection practice because “parents who are going to stand in line for the *tombola* are the parents who worry” (Ivan, Interview 1). Ivan seems to indicate that invisible selection mechanisms tend to benefit families that have a better understanding of a school enrollment procedure that would enable them to be better positioned in selecting the most prestigious school for their children. In the interview, Ivan also implies that the family’s social class background plays a vital role in the ability to achieve this understanding. Parents with more cultural capital are more likely to actively engage in securing a place for their children in the most

competitive schools and as a result are more prone to enroll their kids in schools that privilege parents' involvement. Even though the perceived responsibility of parents is difficult to measure, it is often used as a proxy to describe parents from a more socially advantaged economic status.

Many of the invisible selection practices described by the participants seem to be related to some structural pressures that schools face. However, there are other ways in which invisible barriers could affect students' abilities to fully participate in school life. For example, Javier described one practice that impacts children with different levels of mobility. He explained, "many schools, have three floors and do not have an elevator" (Javier, Interview 1). Although Javier was the only participant who referenced this barrier, issues of access to buildings constitute a real barrier for most students with limited mobility and can certainly exclude them from attending a school; yet, they are seldom considered.

### **Competition over Prestige and Resources**

Two participants referenced competition between schools as one of the main causes of exclusion. From their standpoint, the fact that the Chilean educational system is organized as a free market is deeply related to this competition. In Chile, schools are set to compete against each other for prestige and resources in order to gain the attention of families and students and increase their enrollment and income. In this section, I describe participants' ideas about how competition over prestige and resources promotes the emergence of exclusion dynamics in education.

Ivan exposes the role that competition between schools plays in heightening exclusionary practices. He argues that factors, such as school choice policies, market de-regulation, and high-stakes testing, work against inclusion because schools select students based on their academic potential in the hope of securing a reputation of “excellence.” In his view, high-stakes testing becomes an important mechanism to encourage competition among schools, reinforcing, in turn, exclusion dynamics. For instance, The Ministry of Education gives schools that obtain higher than average scores in the SIMCE (the country’s high-stakes test) an “excellence” label. The excellence label comes with a monetary prize (salary increase) for the teachers and administrator as well as a social recognition for families and students. This reputation is given when schools with higher tests scores are categorized as “schools of excellence” and become even more desired by parents and families. However, the excellence label does not always translate into better teaching conditions, more equipment, or better classes. Instead, Ivan suggests that competition among schools to achieve the “excellence label” promotes the selection of students with a parent who is perceived as more responsible or who can provide their children with more support for learning. In the following quote, Ivan describes the experience of one his acquaintances in a “school of excellence”:

I have friends who have enrolled their children [in schools of excellence]... they tell me the school is disappointing. They have no computer or anything; it is a super basic school. They simply select children who have responsible parents. That is all. (Ivan, Interview 1)

Ivan’s observation captures the barriers faced by students seeking to enroll in a school trying to achieve an “excellence” label when they come from groups that are commonly associated with low achievement rates. Similarly, Tamara explained



how competition enabled by the pervasive use of standardized high-stakes testing creates exclusion dynamics. Under this competitive logic, schools must compete with each other to demonstrate higher scores, that is, to gain prestige and be more marketable. Exclusion “has to do with competition between families, competition between the same students, schools compete against each other for standardized tests scores” (Tamara, Interview 1). According to Ivan and Tamara, competition operates as an exclusion mechanism because schools tend to favor the admission of students who are more likely to get higher test scores in order to allow the school to obtain social recognition, prestige, resources, and be better positioned to attract “interested” parents.

### **Socioeconomic Segregation**

Socioeconomic exclusion has a dual character in the eyes of these teachers. First, low-income students are not able to access certain types of schools, that is, schools with more resources. Second, since schools are economically segregated, children study and socialize with people similar to themselves, which contributes to the continuation of social class divisions. The following quote from Catalina, a social sciences teacher, describes her understanding of the relationship between socioeconomic segregation and exclusion:

The current system, the educational system is exclusionary. In that sense, our socioeconomic level divided us. Then, those who do not have, or have little, are enrolled in public schools. Those who have a little more are enrolled in particular subsidized schools, and those who have more possibilities are enrolled in private schools. So that is exclusion because there is no encounter between all these different social actors. We all are members of society, of a country, and we need each other, but socioeconomic classes divide us. (Catalina, Interview 1)

Catalina raised concerns related to both the socially segregated character of the education system and its consequences. According to Catalina, the school system segregation exacerbates social divisions along social class lines. The problem with this division is that socially disadvantaged students cannot access appropriate, needed educational resources, which, in turn, contributes to perpetuating the disenfranchisement of members of commonly marginalized groups.

### **Summary**

Participants “big ideas” about inclusion and exclusion described two interrelated mechanisms whereby barriers for access materialize. According to the teachers interviewed for this study, these mechanisms are present even before the student sets foot in the school. These mechanisms are twofold: Visible and invisible selection practices systematically benefiting students with attributes valued by the schools, and a system that favors competition between schools, which, taken together, translate into practices oriented to gain social prestige and economic resources over other schools.

These mechanisms operate at the institutional, or systemic level, where exclusion practices materialize as internal policy orientations, common sense, or institutional practices that perpetuate the exclusion of specific groups from the “best” schools. This understanding aligns with analysis of neoliberalism as a system that foment individualism, individual accountability, creating a reality of winners and losers. Once students overcome the barriers to access and enroll in schools, they

encounter a different set of barriers. In the following section, I present central issues challenging inclusion after students enroll in schools.

### **Barriers to Educational Success**

Students who overcome the barriers to access schools then could face barriers to stay and succeed within the institution. The next thematic cluster groups teachers “big ideas” describing these barriers, which are often embedded—and normalized—in both teachers’ and school practices. Barriers to educational success could be defined as obstacles that students face to develop their full potential. These obstacles could occur at different points of the students’ school trajectory and accumulate in their life trajectory. In the interviews, participants described three salient and interconnected barriers to success. Five participants referred to academic and behavioral selectivity as one of them, this barrier is embedded in institutional dynamics that privilege students who perform well on tests or whose behavior does not disrupt the pace of the class. Also, five of them highlighted as a barrier the teachers’ limited knowledge or ability to work with diverse students. Finally, three participants characterized teachers’ stereotypes and biases over cultural or individual traits as a possible barrier to success that students’ face. In the following section, I expand on the participants’ ideas about the barriers that stand in the way of students’ success after they enroll in the school.

#### **Behavioral and Academic Selectivity**

Behavioral and academic selectivity barriers to success occur when students are targeted and excluded from school due to their cognitive or emotional

characteristics. Four participants described behavioral or academic selectivity as one factor that shapes the development opportunities of students in schools and could act as a barrier to their success. Behavioral selectivity targets students who are considered “disruptive,” interrupt the normal functioning of the class, and/or do not comply with teachers’ commands. Academic selectivity impacts students who, for other reasons, do not perform academically according to the standards set by the school policies or the national policies. Tamara described the following: “After being accepted to the school, discrimination is made through the grades of the students. There is segregation among those who are good academically and those who perform slightly low” (Tamara, Interview 1). Academic selectivity targets students based on their learning potential and disproportionately affects students with special needs or students from underserved populations.

Exclusion is linked to processes of discrimination when teachers segregate students according to their performance and also when teachers identify students as “disruptive,” label them, and this label follows the students through their school experience, impacting their developmental opportunities. This process, as argued by Tamara becomes an exclusion practice linked to behavioral factors, “Among teachers, students who are more disruptive within the classroom are stigmatized” (Tamara, Interview 1).

Academic and behavioral selectivity in schools becomes a barrier to success when students see themselves being reduced to a few of their characteristics. Commonly, these processes are embedded in the school culture and normalized as common sense practices. Carlos explained that in his experience teachers do not

know how to deal with students' differences and instead of further investigating how to manage these differences they assign the student a stereotype categorizing the student as not adequate for the school.

Often, the student who has a disorder, or an educational need... [Teachers] do not investigate further, but they immediately assign a stereotype and that stereotype leads us to think that he [the student] is not suitable for this educational project, therefore, [we] call the parents, try to convince them to take him to a smaller school where there are fewer students, and he will get more attention. I do not think this is a solution; it [inclusion] does not go in that direction. (Carlos, Interview 1)

In many cases, selectivity disguises the fault of the school's, as an individual student issue. Getting rid of students who do not fit the school academic and behavioral standards is another mechanism that could be linked with competition and a conception of education as a commodity. The following theme addresses in more detail the teachers' description of the weakness and limitations they perceive in themselves, their colleagues, and the school in dealing with students who do not fit with the traditional students with whom they have been trained to deal.

### **Limited Knowledge-Capacity from Teachers and Schools to Work with Difference in the Classroom**

Several participants agreed with Carlos that the difficulties teachers and school communities face addressing specific students' needs are connected to exclusion dynamics. This barrier for success manifest when teachers and schools do not have the resources, the skills, or the knowledge to work with students who present special needs or other characteristics that differentiate them from the "normal" student.

Juana reinforced the idea that academic selectivity practices relate to the teachers' and school difficulties in managing, or organizing themselves to respond to the students' needs. To explain this, Juana described her own experience working with students who present different levels of performance at different subjects (i.e., Math and Language), but whom the school failed to be responsive to this because of the rigid character of its organization.

It may be [the case] that a student is doing very bad in math, with red [fail] averages [grades], and [the student] may be in seventh grade [level] in math, but in the language and communication class is at a level of third year of high school [high school junior], then [exclusion relates to] the fact that students cannot go at different [learning] rhythms because of the way the school is organized. (Juana, Interview 1)

Barriers to educational success are complex, layered, and multiple. They operate at the individual level (students' characteristics and teachers' capacities), interpersonal level (teacher/student interactions), and institutional level (school processes and policies). In some cases, these barriers are disguised as well-intentioned actions; in others, as institutional norms. In all these cases, the school communities' limited capacity to deal with diversity disproportionately impacts students who are already struggling due to individual, family, or contextual factors. These patterns situate at the interpersonal level, where relations between teachers and students are impacted by systems of inequality, such as classism and ableism. Another way in which these systems of inequality impact the interpersonal relations between teachers and students is through the unconscious reproduction of stereotype and biases over students who come from traditionally excluded groups.

### **Teachers' Stereotypes and Biases about Cultural or Individual Traits**

A final barrier for success are the biases and stereotypes held in the larger culture and reproduced by some teachers who target specific characteristics of students, such as their skin color or other individual characteristics. For example, earlier, when I described how behavioral selectivity operates, I presented Tamara's perspective on the relationship between teachers' stereotypes about students with behavioral issues and exclusion. Tamara explained how teachers categorize students according to their behavior, how this category becomes a stigma, and how this stigma contributes to the student expulsion/exclusion from the educational institution. Similarly, Carlos described how teachers also stereotype students with special needs and how this stereotyping leads to students' expulsion from schools.

Another face of this process was described by Amalia and occurs when teachers reproduce cultural messages that stereotype groups of students in front of other students. For example, Amalia described how stereotypes about students of color are reproduced by some of her colleagues in front of their students.

I think it is also a cultural phenomenon, I think that the people who attend these schools... we have a television that promotes a little that, the teachers also promote it, up to the extent that if we are watching a football game and a Black [person] appears, the teacher can make a joke [about] the Black, or when they also refer to Black as the "little-Black," for me it is also an issue. I do not do it, but I have listened to it, and I observe it as a constant practice in school. And I think children are left with that kind of idea (Amalia, Interview 1).

Amalia identified her colleagues' practice as part of a broad social discourse, reproduced and reinforced by the media, which uses racial stereotypes to label people. In Amalia's perspective, the media and the teachers thoughtlessly reproduce these messages in front of their students. By doing so, this they reinforce a racist

perception of students of color, which could impact the way in which their peers treat them. Amalia is the only participant who partially acknowledged racist biases as a barrier for success and a source of exclusion in schools.

### **Summary**

I talked with teachers about their understanding of exclusion in education and about some factors they thought could inform exclusion. Analyzing the teachers' responses, I identified two "big ideas," which I presented in the previous section as barriers to access and barriers to success. According to several participants, while barriers to access placed obstacles for students' enrollment in schools, barriers for success influenced the students' ability to prosper in the school after their enrollment.

Teachers described "barriers for access" as open, or subtle, selection practices that reproduced socioeconomic and academic segregation. Teachers described market-based competition between schools as another barrier to access. Barriers could interact and mutually reinforce socioeconomic segregation and the exclusion of students with special educational needs. Schools competing for prestige and resources can privilege students with a supportive family. Teachers echoed the ideas of academics and social movements that highlighted the role that market competition played in perpetuating social inequalities and the exclusion of people living in economic poverty (Cornejo et al., 2012; Verger, Bonal, & Zancajo, 2016). The school inclusion law, described in Chapter two, seems a response to these types



of concerns about inclusion, since it attempts to equalize the conditions for access by eliminating institutional barriers that existed in school choice processes.

Teachers described "barrier for success" as individual, interpersonal, and institutional processes that negatively affect students' school trajectory. Participants drew examples of practices of selection that used behavioral and ability characteristic of students as criteria, and in some cases ended with the subtle expulsion of students with behavioral and academic problems from the school. Teachers related these practices of academic and behavioral selection to school management process, as well as to their individual inability to manage challenging students. In some cases, due to a lack of school resources or individual knowledge, teachers could not deal with specific students' difficulties. In some cases, participants described asking for institutional support, which they described as a series of formal steps in the school bylaws that escalated in severity until a student needed to find a school that better suited his or her special needs. Teachers did not agree with these processes; however, some of them explained that they understand them for the most difficult cases. Also, in many cases these formal school procedures allowed teachers to justify their actions as following the rule, hence placing the weight of the exclusion on the individual student.

Only one participant proposed as a barrier to success a process that did not directly address social class differences. Amalia described the reproduction of stereotypes based on people's color as a "barrier for success." She also connected this barrier for success with cultural messages that perpetuate the privilege of people perceived as more White. Some teachers without awareness could reproduce

structural racism and further affect the experience of Afro-descendent students in their classrooms. There was no mention among the participants to barriers to success linked explicitly to the students' gender or other social group membership, such as their ethnic background, national status, religion, or sexual orientation.

### **Challenging or Interrupting Exclusion**

After learning about participants' understanding of exclusion, I asked them about the actions they might implement to interrupt it. Teachers gave different answers; I grouped the participants' responses into different sub-themes, which I outline in Table 2. I codified line by line each participant's response addressing this question and then organized these answers in sub-themes that grouped similar responses. To organize the sub-themes, I used an ecological approach. I grouped at the "student level" sub-themes that emphasized individual students as their primary focus. When the sub-theme aimed to impact all the students in the class as a group, I included them in the category "classroom level." Finally, I grouped at the "community level" actions that extended their reach beyond the classroom, for example, inviting the involvement of other members of the school community. In this section, I present the three levels in which teachers located their actions to address exclusion. For each of these levels, I describe and provide examples for the sub-themes of practices to interrupt or address exclusion described by the participants.

### **Interrupting Exclusion at the Student Level**

When I asked participants about the actions they as teachers could enact to stop exclusion dynamics in school, several of them described practices directed to support students individually. Most of these practices tried to influence students' internal characteristics, for example, their behavioral and cognitive disposition toward school. Participants often identified two types of strategies: a) motivating students, so they change their behavior and become more attached to the school and learning and b) addressing students' individual differences, particularly concerning their learning abilities so students do not have to leave the school for academic reasons.

According to different participants, motivation strategies at the student level were intended for students to gain control of their learning process. Participants proposed different pathways to motivate students. Some of them tried to motivate the students to go beyond their current situation and to overcome the barriers placed by their socio-economic backgrounds. Catalina described this as "shifting their minds because they do not trust in their own capabilities. Their self-esteem is low" (Catalina, Interview 1). A second type of pathway was to help students gain control of their learning process by creating meaningful and entertaining learning experiences to catch their attention. Tamara exemplified this procedure and described it as one of the outcomes of improvement in the students' behavior, since the class was allowed to continue and its flow was not interrupted.

So you have to make them like your subject. That is the teacher's challenge, try to get students to anticipate your class, or at least, have high expectations for your class. If you teach a good class, you earn ground, for example, you

will avoid students constantly getting up from their seats, bothering their classmates, or interrupting the class. (Tamara, Interview 1)

To address student's specific learning characteristics, participants offered a second set of strategies. A first group of strategies addressed the cognitive dimension of students, recognizing and daring to work with the differences that are present in the classroom. To achieve this, teachers may need to learn how to prepare their classes to accommodate students with varying learning styles, abilities, and histories. In some cases, this effort implies the design of a long-term strategy to work with each student. In the quote below, Carlos exemplified how he used his knowledge about the students' developmental stage to anticipate the challenges the students may be facing or the interest they may hold.

... a teacher, independent of the cycle in which he teaches, I believe that the discipline of psychology is the pillar, to begin with, in the sense that understanding the processes that a child of certain years is living in a specific grade. When you understand that, you allow yourself to understand some patterns and knowing how to predict how the children may behave. Having that information allows you to design strategies because I believe that there is no magic recipe. I mean, with my courses, I practically have a different personality with each of them because each course is a world, and within that world, one designs its strategy. That is why I find it very important to know how to detect in which stage of adolescence or childhood the group course is (Carlos, Interview 1)

Carlos seeks to anticipate how individual students will place themselves in relation to the content or the methods, and he seeks to address this with anticipation by modifying his teaching strategies to mirror the students' abilities.

A second group of strategies addressed the teachers' expectations about their students. When teachers have realistic expectations about their students' abilities, they could consider their specific learning characteristics, or rhythm, and set their

standards accordingly. Juana described, “For example, I generally do not ask for the same results from students who have slower learning rhythm” (Juana, Interview 1). Even though these strategies do not directly address the specific students, they are set to directly target their experience as an individual within the school. Students could access a more customized and nuanced type of accommodations because of their teachers’ awareness about students’ differences.

### **Interrupting Exclusion at the Classroom Level**

In addition to the actions at the individual level, participants referenced a set of actions directed to all the students in the classroom, as a group. The “classroom level” clusters these actions to confront exclusion in education. For example, teachers standing in front of the class, aiming to send a clear message about the boundaries and allowed behaviors, and what the teacher expects from the students. There are two differentiated groups of strategies reported by the teachers in the interview: First, actions that teachers pursue to manage the group process within the class. Second, the teachers’ modeling the desired behavior in front of everyone, hoping that students would imitate them.

First, classroom management is a strategy to avoid the emergence of conflict or to keep the conflict inside the classroom. Sandy described classroom management as the sum of the following characteristics: “Having group domain, feeling safe and always showing them that you are the authority, and setting clear rules of coexistence and discipline from the beginning, from when they meet you.” (Sandy, Interview 1). Classroom management is achieved when teachers are able to

show authority and control a group and when they are able to communicate clear boundaries and expectations to the students.

Second, modeling the expected behavior is a strategy that encourages students to imitate their teachers' example. It pursues similar aims to the previous classroom management strategy; it sets the expectations for the students' behavior and also showcases the expected behavior. Amalia explained that in modeling to the class, "It is extremely important to incorporate it into everything in your discourse. If you speak from a position on the matter, students assume that there is a way of looking at this type of situation" (Amalia, Interview 1). Modeling is a strategy that teachers also seems to apply to contexts of ethnic exclusion; for example, Amalia's practice seems to directly address her previous explanation for exclusion in education, which related to the unconscious reproduction of cultural patterns of discrimination by teachers. Classroom-level strategies seek to attract students' commitment to specific ideas of respect, with the purpose of making the class a safe space for all. For some participants at the classroom level, inclusion seems not only in the content but is connected to the classroom process.

### **Interrupting Exclusion at the Community Level**

Finally, participants described actions that aimed for the support of different stakeholders in the school community. The "community level" of action groups strategies that extend beyond the classroom or involve actors who are external to the classroom routine. A first set of actions requires the assistance of families and

parents. A second set of actions involves the assistance of other colleagues or school staff.

The first type of actions are the family-oriented actions. These actions require parents to work hand-in-hand with the teacher in shifting the student's behavior. Teachers meet with the parents and directly ask them to intervene. Although teachers value the importance of parents' involvement, they recognize that not all parents have a desire to be involved. Also, unintended outcomes could emerge from using this strategy, for example when parents use violence to punish their children for their behavior. In some cases, the involvement of the parents is a step prescribed by the school bylaws that teachers need to follow if the student does not comply in the class.

The second type of action seeks the involvement and support of other colleagues and school staff. Participants showed different orientations when describing the characteristics of this involvement. One set of orientations consists of aligning the content and the characteristics of teachers' responses to specific behaviors.

Once a teacher works with that, it is like motivating them and changing their mentality, because they do not trust their abilities, they have very low self-esteem. So that makes them say, like, "I'm never going to get to the University; I'm going to leave four and half ready; No, I'm just going to work in a bakery because my father is a baker" (Catalina, Interview 1).

Catalina illustrates this theme when she describes how she and her colleagues have agreed to constantly motivate their students to go beyond their socioeconomic background constraints. Hence, proposing a concerted effort including all the colleagues to help build students' self-concept and self-esteem. In

Catalina's example, the students' social class is an important factor to consider in planning the content of the action. The language used by the teachers needs to connect with the student's context.

Similarly, a second set of orientations consists of increasing the colleagues' awareness for the students' social class background. This new awareness will help teachers become more responsive to this background and plan more engaging and meaningful activities. This type of action may require the existence of a designated time slot and a space for the teachers' professional development. Ivan, for example, described the difficulties he has identified between his colleagues to relate to the students' poverty background. He proposed to overcome exclusion in education by helping his colleagues to understand the specificity of their students' background, which will allow them to "adapt to the students of this context" (Ivan, Interview 1).

### **Chapter Summary**

Participants "big ideas" about exclusion and inclusion in education identified barriers to students' educational access and barriers for their success. Barriers to access related to the country's socioeconomic segregation and operated through visible and invisible selection practices. Barriers to success intertwine within the school processes disproportionately and negatively, impacting members of groups commonly excluded. To overcome exclusion in education, they proposed several strategies, some of these directed to individual students, others directed to all the students in the classroom, and others that required the involvement of the school community. In many cases, these strategies to overcome exclusion overlap with



some of its causes; however, there are noticeable gaps between the causes and the actions, which are also important to highlight before proceeding with the next section of this analysis.

Some overlapping occurs between the “thematic node” barriers for success and the actions teachers proposed. In many cases, these actions proposed for teachers to gain a better understanding about their students’ backgrounds and to develop the necessary skills to deal with the challenges of diverse classrooms in poverty contexts. The barriers placed by the teachers’ biases and low set of capacities to deal with differences could be addressed with actions of professional development or collective organization at the community level. At the student level, actions directed to increase students’ motivation or to adapt the teaching to the specific learning needs of the students could be linked to barriers for success, like academic and behavioral selectivity. Both types of actions seem connected to teachers’ conceptions of broad social issues affecting the students’ inclusion, such as social class and ethnic discrimination.

There are multiple gaps between comprehension and action. For example, there were no actions addressing barriers for success created by the competition among students. Nor were there actions addressing the visible and invisible selection practices that unfairly target students from commonly excluded groups. Despite the teachers’ awareness of systemic causes grounding exclusion process, their actions pointed with more consistency to the student and classroom level. Some actions did not find a match among the barriers for access and success. For example, at the classroom level, actions that appealed to classroom management

and modeling the expected behavior are not easy to relate to the barriers for access and success. There seems to be a misalignment between what participants understand as the causes foregrounding the exclusion process in education and the strategies they envision to avoid it. While the teachers' understandings are entrenched at the systemic level, the actions are situated at the student level, many of them addressing the students' or other school community members' ways of being in the school.

A possible explanation of this misalignment between understanding and action could be related to the general character of the questions, which asked without providing further structures about a topic that is increasingly important for the country. This first factor could have explained the differences in the understanding of the issue and their envisioned practice. Teachers have more access to social discourses about inclusion and its pitfalls, while the same emphasis is not placed on the practical component, leaving teachers to work with their intuition and professional knowledge developed in a context that just recently started to address the importance of inclusion in society.

In the next Chapter, I present the teachers' responses to vignettes that portray situations of exclusion in the classroom. After asking them about what they find problematic in the vignette, I ask them what would be the course of action they would follow to address the situation. Working with a concrete situation allowed me to explore the understanding of teachers regarding some systems of social oppression, like classism and sexism to see if there are any similarities in the way they address these different situations.

**CHAPTER 6**  
**TEACHERS' UNDERSTANDING OF AND RESPONSE TO STUDENTS**  
**DISCRIMINATORY BEHAVIORS IN THE CLASSROOM**

**Introduction**

In the previous chapter, I presented teachers' "big ideas" about inclusion and exclusion in education. In this chapter, I present findings concerning participants' understanding of and response to specific social class- and gender-based discriminatory behaviors among students that manifest in the classroom, and establish connections between these dynamics and sexism and classism. I also introduce some of the personal, professional, and contextual factors that teachers described as influential to their understanding of these situations as well as their anticipated responses. To delve into these questions, I draw on both structured interviews introduced in Chapter four.

To learn about participants' meaning-making processes, I relied on vignettes portraying concrete situations mirroring peer-to-peer discriminatory interactions in the classrooms in the first interview. As I explained in Chapter four, I used two vignettes to elicit teachers' thinking and responding; each vignette depicted two different discriminatory situations with the goal of presenting only one of the vignettes to each subset of the sample. In doing so, I made an effort to match the content of the vignette (i.e., social class or gender) with participants social group membership (i.e., social class or gender identity). For example, for the vignette about gender-based discrimination, I interviewed the same number of men and

women. Similarly, I interviewed two participants who identified as middle class and two who identified as lower or working class while growing up. In the first interview, I asked participants to read the vignette as many times as they needed to and offered the opportunity for clarifying questions. All participants acknowledged that the vignette portrayed a plausible scenario. Then, I invited teachers to describe and explain in detail their understanding of the situation presented in the vignette as well as to describe specific actions they would take to address a particular situation and which ones they would prioritize. I also asked teachers to talk about the experiences and ideas informing their understandings and responses to shed light on the personal, professional, and contextual factors that may be impacting their meaning-making process of the situation or the strategies used to navigate peer-to-peer discriminatory interactions.

During the second interview, which occurred a week after the previous one, I delved into the personal biography of the participants trying to understand their experiences of inclusion/exclusion and their own socialization into the systems of oppression presented in the vignettes. I wanted to learn about their youth experiences, their educational experience, and their personal life to try to draw relationships between these experiences and current choices and understanding regarding the classist and sexist dynamics described in the vignettes.

The following chapter presents the main findings related to teachers' understandings, responses, and factors underlying both. First, I introduce the eight research participants by describing their context, their analysis, and their responses to the vignette scenario. Then, I group the participants' responses and describe the

main patterns emerging from these responses. Finally, I describe the factors that participants refer to as an influence that shaped their understandings of and responses to the situation presented in the vignette.

### **Teachers' Understandings of and Responses to the Vignettes**

In this section, I present a portrait of each participant that includes pieces of their story, their vignette analysis, and their responses to the vignette. To introduce each participant's story, I present how he or she described their current workplace, and fragments of their personal story, especially experiences regarding their social class and/or gender socialization when they relate to their responses. I continue by presenting the main features of the participant's analysis of the situation portrayed in the vignette. Finally, I present each participant's response to the vignette, first describing in broad terms the different actions they proposed and the action they will prioritize.

My purpose in this section is to characterize the teachers' responses to the vignettes and to understand how these responses may relate to the teacher's self. I organize this section by vignette and I introduce each vignette with a brief description of the contemporary status of the social debate about the specific issue portrayed in the vignette. I started with the vignettes addressing the social class status of its participants and continue with the ones addressing the participants' gender.

## **Social Class**

Social class is a salient topic in Chile's society; its relevance can be traced to past and current history of the country (De la Barra, 2011). The recent past of Chile is tainted by the dictatorship that resulted from a coup d'état backed by the economic elites (Harvey 2005; Lomnitz & Melnik, 1991). This coup occurred in the context of the Cold War and was perpetrated against a democratically elected socialist, a president who was massively backed by working class people. Currently, social class continues as one of the most important sources of social conflict (Dezalay & Garth, 2002, Guzmán-Concha, 2017). One of the legacies of the dictatorship is Chile's highly stratified and economically segregated society, which is one of the highest in the world (OECD, 2004, 2011; PNUD, 2017).

Socioeconomic segregation manifests in multiple ways, including the territorial distribution of people in the city, which creates differences in access to basic services such as education. People living in poverty tend to concentrate in the periphery of the city and attend schools with few economic resources and limited opportunities for providing the academic and social support to vulnerable students in need. Culturally, the media and middle- and upper-classes typically stereotype low-income parents and children (Correa, 2009; Webb, Canales, & Becerra, 2017) and young lower-income males crowd most of the Chilean jails (Campos-Martínez, 2010; Lechner, 2002).

I presented the vignette depicting a classroom-based interaction to four of the eight teachers. In this situation, while the class was talking about the need to increase the punishment of people who commit crimes, a student depicted as a

leader in the classroom called a classmate a son of a *flaite* as his father was currently unemployed. *Flaite* is a slang word used in Chile, commonly in urban areas, to refer to lower-income youth with vulgar (undesired) manners and criminal inclinations; this term may correspond to calling someone a *thug* in the United States. In the vignette, the aggression escalates without teacher intervention until the targeted student appears to be impacted by the event and stops participating in class. Amalia, Carlos, Catalina, and Juana were the four teachers who examined this vignette during the first interview. In the following section, I introduce each participant who responded to this vignette. I start by providing relevant information about their biography and context and then I describe their analysis and the projected responses to the vignettes they propose.

### **Amalia**

Amalia is a language teacher who is in her second year of teaching professionally. She currently works at a vocational high school in Santiago, the country's capital city. She explained that the students she serves come from lower socio-economic status families. However, Amalia also highlights that her students have access to material goods. "Most [students] have a cell phone. Most have enough money to buy the school supplies they needed. There are no difficulties in these terms" (Amalia, Interview 1). According to Amalia, parents chose this high school for their children because "besides being close to their houses, it offers them something [a technical degree] along finishing school" (Amalia, Interview 1). She described her current students as competitive and extremely aware of their academic tracks. For

example, Amalia explained that when she started working, the students in the class were "super organized in terms of who was the one [student] who was doing well, who was doing poorly, what children had difficulties learning, or which ones were never going to learn"(Amalia Interview 1). She did not have an explanation for this clustering. When I asked her what could be the reason for it, she explained that could be related to either the students' personality or the history of the cohort within the school.

Amalia's background influenced her decision to become a teacher because she perceived education as "a pathway to understanding the world" (Amalia, Interview 1). Moreover, she became a language teacher because she believes that reading is "a means to achieve other things" (Amalia, Interview 1). Amalia explained that she grew up poor, explaining to me that even though she enjoys a good economic situation now; attaining this situation "has also required a lot of effort" (Amalia, Interview 1). She attended an urban elementary school, in the south of the country, where "there were many children whose families were involved in criminal situations" (Amalia, Interview 2). Amalia's elementary school classmates lived in similar conditions to the ones of her current students. She even described the context of the students she currently serves as "less vulnerable than the one in which I studied" (Amalia, Interview 2). She explained that, because of her history, she feels close to that context, almost as an insider for whom "it is not [a] new [experience] to live in a very vulnerable context" (Amalia, Interview 2).

**Her analysis.** Amalia described three issues she finds problematic when asked about the vignette: the students' unaddressed judgments, the students' lack of



empathy, and the teacher's inaction during the aggression. Amalia described these issues as a series of interconnected pieces that led to an unwanted outcome. The first piece included the students' unaddressed ideas about crime. Amalia described this situation such that students "throw judgments on what crime does to people and what they expect should be done to criminals" (Amalia, Interview 1), and then she further explained that when a classmate manifests his opinion, it exacerbates the rest of the students' negative behavior, and they continue making judgments.

The second interconnected piece according to Amalia is the students' low empathy level, which Amalia infers from "the kind of judgments students make, which are not really careful about not offending others by throwing [out] what they think [without any filter]" (Amalia, Interview 1). Finally, the third piece is the teacher's lack of intervention to stop the situation. "The discussion is between the students, and there is no intervention of the teacher in this situation" (Amalia, Interview 1). All these pieces impacted an actual student who felt offended by his classmates' judgments. This feeling was made worse by the additional comments from his classmates in response to the student's intervention. This escalating situation eventually led to feelings of discomfort, which silenced the student. Amalia explained that she would intervene in a situation like this. Below I present a synthesis of the main responses.

**Her actions.** During the interview, Amalia proposed six actions to deal with the situation. Amalia's actions are distributed across the student, classroom, and community levels; however, they mostly focus on the classroom level. These actions are: a) address the targeted student individually, b) address the student perpetrator

individually, c) ask for an apology on the part of the student perpetrator, d) de-escalate the situation, e) invite reflection on the part of the class, f) and gather information about the parties involved. The strategy Amalia prioritized entails combining two actions and starting a conversation with the students involved in the situation, including both the perpetrator and the targeted student. In this conversation, she would help them reflect on the situation and better manage the emotions generated by the situation. After talking to each student, she hoped they would be better prepared to talk to each other and solve the situation among them.

Amalia felt confident about mediating the situation because she considers that “[at least] at the conceptual level, I manage some tools that help me mediate this type of situation” (Amalia, Interview 1). Hence, she would talk to the students involved in the situation to help them “do their reflective process” (Amalia, Interview 1). As a general objective, this reflective process would seek to “like make both students reflect individually so they would then be available to talk” (Amalia, Interview 1). In Amalia’s words, in order to create the conditions for both students to talk to each other, there would be some steps to follow with both of them. For example, the emotions that the situation may have triggered would need to be addressed prior to bringing the students together or seeking friendly solutions.

Amalia explained that the conversation with each student would have a different focus, depending on the role that the student played in the situation. With the targeted student, the conversation would focus on discrediting the opinion of the perpetrator student to help boost the targeted student’s self-confidence.

“Do you think your dad is *flaite*?” I always ask children if they believe what other people tell them about who they are, and children always tend to say

that they do not think they are [as the people portrayed them]. Then “Why do you feel sad if you do not believe them?” “Then, it is what you believe against what he believes about you?” So I try to generate a lot of self-confidence, which is always my intention. (Amalia, Interview 1)

With the perpetrator student, her focus would be to inquire about the motives to target a classmate, critically analyze them with the student, and hopefully motivate the student to apologize to his classmate.

I would tell her personally, I would talk to her so that at some point, she would ask Juan for forgiveness, and [explain] why she said those things about Juan's dad, I usually do not enforce the solution. It is like I ask questions to them so they could find their answers. (Amalia, Interview 1)

She explained that achieving a common agreement and reparations after a conflict is important to her because she experienced the rupture of two dear family members. This rupture changed her life because her family moved to a different neighborhood and the relationships with other members of her family became more distant. She strives to help her students not to repeat her family experience in which her father broke relationships with others members of the family due to, according to Amalia, the lack of tools to deal with conflict. The conflict forced Amalia to move to a different neighborhood in the city. Overall, Amalia cares about the self-confidence of the targeted student, and she cares about generating the necessary conditions to resolve the situation between the students. Amalia's actions do not seem directly connected to the social class content of the action, and they seem directed to address the people most involved in the event. In part, the focus on the students' relationships is essential for her, due to her direct family history of mismanaged conflict.

## **Carlos**

Carlos is a history teacher with five years of professional experience. All these years, he has taught at the same school where he arrived as an intern right after getting his degree. This is a big voucher school (more than 200 students) that Carlos portrays as being located in a vulnerable context. Carlos is one of the only teachers who do not use the term “vulnerable” to describe his students; rather, he uses a developmental psychology perspective to talk about them. Carlos described the students as teenagers with a growing interest in the opposite sex, who see themselves as grownups, but when faced with their first difficulty, reach for an adult for help. They do not assume their responsibilities. Carlos’ students are naturally curious and tend to question everything they are told. They are reluctant to listen to their parents’ advice, and they are more likely to listen to their peers. Overall, they do not like to be criticized, but they appreciate someone listening to them.

Carlos defined himself as being part of the socioeconomic middle class, though he clarified that he grew up in an upper-middle-class family. He does not perceive his social class as important in his work as a teacher. Moreover, he explained that he landed in pedagogy by chance. After he worked as a volunteer in a camp (slum village), he saw that pedagogy as professional work could make him happy. “I do not do the pedagogy by pity. I do not have the discourse that I will change the world and will be the Superman for them in any way” (Carlos, Interview 1). At the same time, Carlos perceived himself as a change factor for the school, “I could be a change factor, this is how I perceive it, this is how I design my tests, this is how I work” (Carlos, Interview 2). According to Carlos’ vision, a good teacher is one

who shows in his actions his interest for his students and builds trusting relationships with them. Finally, Carlos explained that he has experienced more comments about his social class membership from his colleagues and his university classmates than from his students. For example, he explained, “As I was studying [for] my B.A. in history, this was more obvious, I lived in Las Condes, and I noticed discrimination. They would often say the *petit bourgeois* arrived, the *facho* [fascist]” (Carlos, Interview 2). He explained that he did not pay attention to these types of comments. At the same time, he seems to be hurt by them as his remarks during the interview pointed in this direction.

**His analysis.** Carlos described two issues he found problematic when I asked him about the vignette. First, he saw an association between crime and unemployment that is not addressed by the teacher. Second, he saw a class leader who gave her opinion and negatively influenced the other classmates. Both ideas are causally connected for Carlos, whereas an early intervention from the teacher could have avoided the escalation of the events, “Because in this way, I manage to avoid for a leader to arrive later and start to give her opinion. Because Silvia is clearly a leader, her comment generates laughter and will influence all the classmates” (Carlos, Interview 1).

Carlos used his experience as a teacher to explain that when issues in relation to the law are being discussed in class with the students “especially in seventh and eighth grade, they immediately repeat what they have heard from their parents and what they have heard from others. And that starts to fuel generalizations in their minds” (Carlos, Interview 1). This generalizing is the reason

that Carlos sees as problematic the fact that the teacher does not interrupt Juan's intervention. "I think he's super brave for having given his opinion, but I think that the teacher should have moderated the space, thank Juan for his comment and refocus on the [class] topic" (Carlos, Interview 1). Finally, Carlos is concerned about the impact that the events may have on the targeted student's self-perception, specifically because it is one of the class leaders who is claiming that Juan's father is *flaite* and lazy. Carlos would have intervened in this situation.

**His actions.** Carlos proposed four actions to deal with the situation in the vignette. All of them focus on both the student and the classroom levels. Carlos' actions would be the following: a) address individually the student perpetrator, b) [He would not] ask for an apology on the part of the student perpetrator, c) de-escalate the situation, and d) invite reflection on the part of the class. When I asked him about his priorities, Carlos described an action at the classroom level, which is to interrupt and address the situation in its early stages, preventing it from escalating into further aggression. Carlos would address immediately the use of the word *flaite*. Then he would have a separate conversation with the student perpetrator. Both priorities seem chronologically connected.

First, Carlos stated that he would interrupt the class as soon as he heard the word *flaite*. He would prevent the students from making an association between unemployment and *flaite*s. Hence, he would ask questions to the class about the meaning of the word *flaite*. "If the word *flaite* starts coming up in a vulnerable school, I would immediately discuss what do they mean by *flaite*, so to allow me to avoid establishing a connection between *flaite*s and people who are unemployed"

(Carlos, Interview 1). Earlier in the interview, Carlos mentioned that he would try to remind the students of the class objective, so they would not divert toward “the branches” (Carlos, Interview 1). He believes in the importance of being as concrete as possible with his students and always reminds the students of the class’ objective. He believes that teachers should have the ability to promote students’ participation, and, at the same time, be able to avoid these types of behavior in the classroom.

Second, Carlos mentioned that he would use another strategy, which consists of talking with the student aggressor outside the classroom. He explained that this is how he reacted when a similar situation presented: first, he confronted the perpetrator student outside the class and asked him to present evidence of his claims. After the student could not provide evidence of the claims, he explained to him the severity of the behavior and the impact it could have on a classmate. The purpose was to generate a reflection, and hopefully, a sense of reparation. It is important to highlight that Carlos would not pressure the student for an apology; however, he would have appreciated if it had been one of the action’s outcomes. Describing his professional experience, Carlos explained that after discussing with the student the implications of his behavior, that is, calling the father of another student a drug dealer, he tried to make him reflect by asking him, “What do we do now?” (Carlos, Interview 1). If the student had proposed to apologize in front of the class, Carlos would have highlighted his or her bravery in pursuing public action to amend his wrongdoing. He mentions that “here I would have done something similar, I would have taken Silvia outside the classroom and started a conversation,

listen to what she had to propose, and then address along with Juan looking for a pathway to solve the issue in the short term” (Carlos, Interview 1).

Carlos is a middle-class teacher working in a vulnerable context. One of the main problems for Carlos in the vignette is the association that one student does in which he merges a personal disposition to commit a crime with the unemployment status. Carlos would challenge this connection as soon as it happens. He also explained that he would have anticipated the possibility of the association occurring because of the knowledge he has about his students’ behaviors. Similar to Amalia, Carlos cares for resolving the conflict between the students and would have a conversation with the student perpetrator, hoping that this conversation would motivate the student to change and find a way to repair the damage caused to the peer.

### **Catalina**

Catalina is a history teacher with five years of experience. She has worked four years at a medium-sized public school located in a small city outside of the metropolitan region. Catalina described the context of the school as vulnerable, with children coming from neighborhoods in which drugs, alcohol, and violence are common. In the initial part of the interview, Catalina described the parents of her students as vulnerable, absent, and uneducated. The fact that the children have been raised in this context often means they have “other values” (Catalina, Interview 1) and affective vulnerabilities, which impact her work as a teacher. Catalina got interested, learned about, is supportive, and pushes her students to think beyond



their current situation and to build a life project. According to Catalina, students perceive these efforts and reciprocate with gestures and friendly demonstrations of affection, such as giving a chocolate. “They arrive with anything of value to show you their affection and respect” (Catalina, Interview 1). Catalina sees her school as a space in which teachers could provide students with a different experience and where kids could feel safe and good about themselves.

Catalina defined her social class first by referring to the “national standards” as “emerging middle class, as they are calling it now” (Catalina, Interview 1) and second, by using a socio-historical perspective she describes herself as poor and a proletarian “because, at this moment, I do not have anything else than my labor-power” (Catalina, Interview 1). Catalina explained that her social class is important for both her career choice and her work as teacher. She chose to study history in part to understand her context and her social class’ history. When she started to work as a teacher in municipal schools, she realized the impact that her practices could have on the students. “You can screw up a teenager. You can kill him. You can crap on him, and also you can raise them up and help them move forward” (Catalina, Interview 1). Catalina explained that she grew up at the same income level as her students, since her father died when she was young but with a different set of values. The values her family taught her were fundamental and acted as pillars she was able to rely on when necessary.

I see my kids do not have them, they are not, they do not have it, [and therefore] sometimes they have dad and mom, but it is like, they do not have that kind of emotional support from them... So what I do, or what the teacher can become -or represent- is like the mattress or the pillar that can support the kid. (Catalina, Interview 1)

**Her analysis.** Catalina described two aspects of the vignette that she finds problematic: the students' use of stereotypes that led to discriminatory behaviors and using the family background and social status as a tool for one student's aggression toward another student. Catalina did not mention the role played by the teacher in this vignette. Catalina described the use of stereotypes and discriminatory actions as the reproduction of societal mental frameworks that relate *flaites* with poor people, unemployed people, and crime. Catalina explained, "like... being from a lower social status is to be a *flaite*" (Catalina, Interview 1). Catalina found problematic the use of the family background to attack another student. She explained that she has seen this happening in lower grade classes. For example, "She only works at the market... or, your dad is a smelly fisherman" (Catalina, Interview 1).

**Her actions.** Catalina proposed six actions spread across the student and classroom levels. These actions are as follows: a) address individually the target students, b) address individually the student perpetrator, c) [would not] ask for an apology on the part of the student perpetrator, d) de-escalate the situation, e) recognize feelings and encourage empathy for the targeted student, and f) use subject matter to problematize the behavior. When asked which one of these actions she would prioritize, Catalina described a series of interrelated strategies going from more generic and class-focused, to more specific and student-focused. First, she would stop the class and de-escalate the situation. This de-escalation could be followed by a conversation that could integrate the subject of the class, transforming it into an educative moment. Then she would bring the students involved in the

aggression outside the classroom. She would first talk to the targeted student to comfort him, and then she would talk with the student perpetrator.

Catalina explained that she would stop the class, and then use different strategies; one of them would be to turn the situation around. As Catalina explained it, turning the situation around may imply using the subject content to talk about inequality, social segregation, and territorial segregation. It may involve Catalina directly addressing the perpetrator student in front of the class while asking, “Well, your parents have never been unemployed? Or are you from Las Condes? Do you live in La Dehesa? [both wealthy neighborhoods in Santiago]” (Catalina, Interview 1). Another way of turning the situation around could be to use herself as an example of unemployment, to trouble the students’ perception of unemployment and to humanize the difficulties and emotions that unemployment causes to the unemployed.

You know what? I, kids, after I graduated from the University, I did not find a job. I was unemployed for a long time. And I felt very sad because I had studied so much, and I had so many dreams, and I had to, I do not know, to support my family and could not do it, and this is devastating. (Catalina, Interview 1)

After addressing the topic in front of the class she would have a conversation with both students outside the classroom. In the conversation with the targeted student, she would provide an alternative interpretation about the motivations of the classmate. In the conversation with the perpetrator student, she would discuss the implications of her behavior and would encourage the student to be more kind with people who struggle due to their economic situation. “You have to be more

careful with your comments... It can happen to any of us" (Catalina, Interview 1).

Catalina would not pressure the student for an apology in this conversation.

Catalina was aware of her social class position and defines herself as proletarian; she stated that while growing up, she lived in similar conditions to her students. However, she had a different set of values that made the difference for her to aspire to be a professional and become a teacher. Catalina described as problematic in the vignette the use of stereotypes. She is the only participant who used this social psychological language in the analysis of the situation. Catalina would transform the situation into an educative moment, shifting the course of the class and talking about the historical roots of class inequality and the importance of learning about their history as a class. Individually, she would confront the student perpetrator with ideas that highlight the similarities between the context of the targeted students and their own. One of the ideas behind Catalina's perspective seems to be that we must not make fun of a classmate who struggles because that is something that could happen to any of us.

### **Juana**

Juana has earned a bachelor's degree in Language with a specialization in teaching and has six years of teaching experience. In her career, Juana has taught in private, public, and private-subsidized schools. Currently, she teaches at a subsidized school that serves what she described as the lower middle-class students. In the previous year, she taught at a public high school, in which students, she describes, were immature, had little motivation to be in the classroom and felt

locked inside the classroom. The students in the current school have a more established structure, as Juana explained,

The teacher arrives and they [the students] immediately stand up, as if that respect is a given. They are not waiting for you to tell them to take out the pen, or the notebook, or to ask for the third time. (Juana, Interview 1)

While at her current school, Juana does not have issues starting her class, while in the previous one, she was constantly dealing with interruptions. “It was like at the border between playing game and violence” (Juana, Interview 1). Juana explained that working in public high school made her realize features about this type of school that were not obvious to her before. “For example, ... not all students then attended college and that they knew it, also that they were in a vulnerable condition with drugs” (Juana, Interview 1). She came to the realization that for many students the school did not make any sense, and her role as a teacher in this context was “being able to listen why it does not make sense to them” (Juana, Interview 1).

Juana defined herself as being part of the working class while growing up. She has experienced the transition from a public high school to a privately subsidized school. She described her experience at the public school as more violent and argumentative. It was a common practice among her classmates to tease each other with nicknames mocking the physical characteristics of a classmate. “You were on the side of those who bothered or those who were bothered, then obviously you quickly tried to go to the side of those who bothered, because otherwise, they bothered you” (Juana, Interview 2). It was difficult for her to adapt to the private school. “I arrived, and since I was from the previous school, I started bothering my classmates” (Juana, Interview 2). It was not easy for Juana to adapt to her new

environment, until she came to the realization that there were other, healthier, ways to relate to each other. Juana explained that this experience made her more aware of the codes she shares, or does not, with her students. For example, there are codes that she is not proficient when she teaches to student from a vulnerable context. Therefore, it becomes more complicated to teach meaningful classes. A way in which she has managed to deal with this distance was through the use of a more informal vocabulary to make the content more accessible to the students. When she worked at a private school, she realized that it was not necessary to make this effort. She, nonetheless, faced other types of challenges in this context, for example she criticizes that in private schools “students see their teachers as their employees” (Juana, Interview 1). Juana is aware that there is a social class factor that could make it easier or more difficult to connect with her students and to engage the class, “in both spaces it has been difficult for me to teach, and I think that a factor that impacts [the difficulty] is related to social classes” (Juana, Interview 1).

**Her analysis.** Juana described two issues she deems problematic in the vignette and both of them are related. First, at a more superficial level, Juana saw a student and his family being attacked in the classroom. Second, she envisioned the possibility that the problem has a second dimension, one that is not stated explicitly in the vignette. She thinks that something may be occurring between the lines. The situation shown in the vignette could be a sign that the students share an erroneous perception about the targeted classmate. Alternatively, it could just be a joke. Finally, she noted that it could be a sign of bullying toward a specific student.

Because one thing is that Juan is constantly under attack, and another is that these are the type of jokes to which they are accustomed as a group. I think

that these are different things. Because if they [the students] have a perverse sense of humor. It is a different code than it to be directed to a specific person. (Juana, Interview 18)

Juana explained that, independently of the motivations behind the action, what she sees is violent behavior. Regarding the possible hidden causes motivating the aggression of the classmate and his family, she explained that she would take them seriously. In her own experience as a teacher, she has had students whose parents are doing time in jail. It is a delicate topic for Juana and needs to be addressed as it happens.

**Her actions.** Juana proposed six actions to address the situation in the vignette. The actions are spread across the different levels (student, classroom, community). The actions proposed by Juana were the following: a) address individually the targeted student, b) address individually the student perpetrator, c) de-escalate the situation, d) recognize feelings and encourage empathy for the targeted student, and e) gather information about the parties involved.

When asked about her priorities, she described an action at the classroom level, helping the students recognize the importance of being empathic and acknowledge the impact their actions may have on others. Juana stated, “If you hit a classmate, it hurts him” (Juana, Interview 1). Juana recognized that she is not always successful in talking to her students about empathy and that she would like to know what other teachers do in these situations.

In order to talk about empathy, Juana first would try to de-escalate the situation, explaining that the joke is not pertinent for the context, trying to turn the focus back on the main topic being discussed. Then, she would reframe the class

behavior explaining that “the classmate is voicing a personal experience and all of you are making fun of this; hence, why would they want to continue participating in the class?” (Juana, Interview 1). After this question, Juana would reinforce the argument with more questions, some of them seeking to find a sort of common ground “because all of us, sometimes have faced economic difficulties, hence, what does the word *flaute* mean?” (Juana, Interview 1). Her objective would be for all the classmates to reflect about the impact of their actions, and hopefully, commit to more appropriate behaviors. Juana explained that achieving this goal has been difficult in the past. “Sometimes these actions do not achieve the results I would like them to achieve, and I would like to know what do other teachers do to bring them [the actions] into my practice” (Juana, Interview 1). Among other reasons, this lack of results relates to her students’ character, who are “accustomed to a more authoritarian regime” (Juana, Interview 1). According to Juana, this need for more authoritarian treatments relates to the specific age-range of the students “because abstract thinking, analyzing things, and reflections are harder for them” (Juana, Interview 1). She has recently come to terms with the idea that, at this age, it is more effective to be directive and to prohibit certain behaviors rather than asking students for dialogue and reflection.

Juana is a lower-middle-class teacher with experience teaching vulnerable and upper-middle-class students. In any of these spaces, she seems to be completely comfortable. Among other reasons, Juana believes that her specific social class location makes it difficult for her to connect with students who live different realities in their contexts. Juana perceived the events in the vignettes as a conflict,



but her interest is in discovering what may be the underlying circumstances surrounding the event beyond what seems evident. To address the vignette, she prioritized as a strategy to help students understand the impact of their actions and being more empathic with each other. In parallel, she recognized that it is easier for her to give orders to the students about what to do, rather than make them reflect about the importance of empathizing with others. She recognized the challenge of connecting what she believes should be done with what works for her. Juana is the only participant who showed her curiosity about what other teachers do to navigate this challenge.

### **Social Class Vignette: Summary**

In this section, I described Amalia's, Carlos', Catalina's and Juana's understanding of and responses to a vignette that presented a peer-to-peer social class-based discriminatory behavior. As noted early, social class discrimination (e.g. economic, symbolic) is pervasive in Chile. Most of the eight participants interviewed in this study referenced social class as perhaps the most important barrier for access and success in schools. However, the four participants who examined the social class-based vignette seldom mentioned social class as a marker or a catalyst for the aggression. Participants' analysis varied among the teachers. Amalia centered her attention on students' judgments about people who commit crimes and what should be done to them. For Amalia, these judgments are problematic because they offend others students. Amalia also highlights the teacher lack of intervention as problematic. Carlos focused on students' stereotypical

association between unemployment and crime. Catalina highlighted students' pervasive use of stereotypes to tease other classmates. Finally, Juana centered her analysis on the peer-to-peer aggressive behavior in the classroom, and pondered what may be underlying such a behavior.

While participants' backgrounds and understandings are diverse, their responses share a series of similarities. Each participant provided several strategies to address the situation. These strategies typically focused on the individual and classroom level. For example, all participants said they would have talked with the student perpetrator individually and everyone, with the exception of Carlos, would have met individually with the targeted student. Of note, all the participants proposed to de-escalate the situation at the classroom level, and most of them considered it important to invite students to reflect on the subject and/or impact of their actions on their targeted classmate. Finally, Amalia and Juana also stated that they would gather more information about the relation between the students engaged in the conflict to inform the emphasis of their response. Figure 4 presents a diagram that describes how these four teachers analyzed the vignette and responded; the most recurrent patterns of analysis and response are highlighted with a green flag.

Despite the four teachers' differences in social class location while growing up, with Amalia and Catalina identifying as low income or working class and Carlos and Juana as upper middle and middle class, their rough analyses presented some repetitive patterns as shown in Figure 4. Almost all participants seem to agree on the fact that because the classroom teacher does not address a biased perception on

the part of students between crime and unemployment, a student is personally affected by these misdirected judgments. Also, the most common pattern of response given by the teachers was to meet with both target and perpetrator students' involvement in the event.

Another typical response on the part of this group of teachers was to intervene to neutralize the situation and to resolve the conflict between the students or to use the conflict as a teachable moment to encourage reflections about the impact of their actions. Only one teacher—Catalina—would have invited students to reflect on their social class location and the historical roots of inequality associated with the class-based interaction.

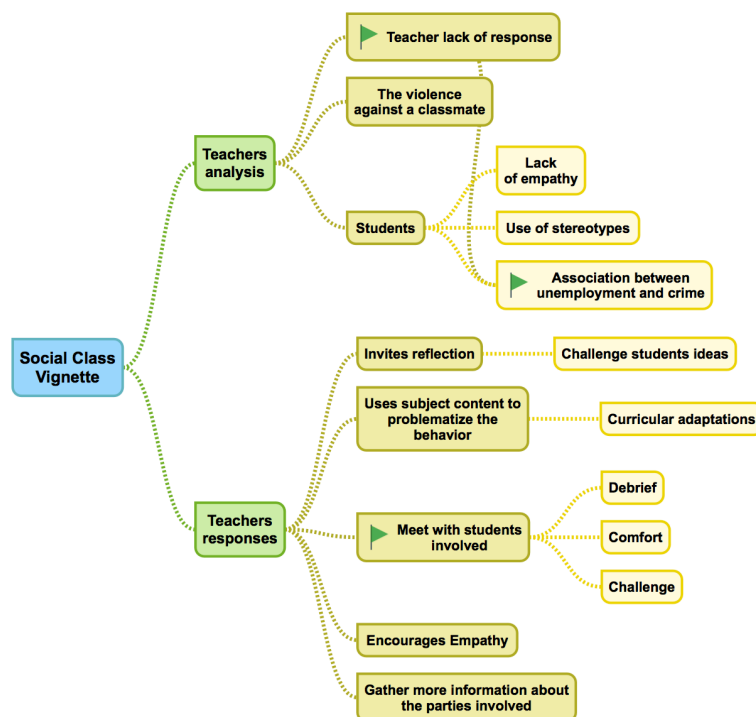


Figure 4. Participants' understandings of and responses to social class-based discriminatory interactions in the classroom

## Gender

Gender discrimination is a topic that has gained attention in Chile over the last five years. As it has been the trend in the world, feminist thought is increasingly becoming a widespread social demand that has permeated the education discourse. The emergence of social movements such as the #niunamenos (#nooneless) created to raise awareness about and fight against femicide and others forms of violence toward women has become a trend. Nonetheless, violence against women continues to be prevalent and in many cases normalized in society and schools. One way in which violence manifests is through the objectification and sexualization of women, a prevalent form of violence that women experience as normalized cultural practice. For example, recent surveys on street harassment show the prevalence of this behavior. In one survey, 85% of the women responded that they experienced some form of sexual harassment in the street in 2014, 36% of them over the previous week, and almost 10% deal with this situation on an everyday basis (OCAC Chile, 2015). Catcalling (verbal harassment) is one of the most prevalent manifestations of this phenomenon. According to the same survey, 5 of 10 women have experienced this type of harassment in the last year (OCAC Chile).

The gender issues vignette I presented to the teachers depicted a situation in which different students in a class were catcalling and harassing a new female classmate. At the same time, students were normalizing the situation and describing it as an act of love. Finally, in the vignette, Alejandra, the targeted student was visibly upset and ended silenced by their classmates' unwanted comments. Two of them women (Tamara, Sandy) and two of them men (Ivan, Javier) in this study

responded to this vignette. Below, I present these participants, as well as their analysis of the situation and their responses.

### **Ivan**

Ivan is an elementary education teacher, with 11 years of experience and a specialization in History and Geography. He currently teaches at a public school in a coastal city outside Santiago. He described the social context in which the school is situated as vulnerable. The students that the school serves have to deal with many issues in their personal life. Ivan explained that these issues could be situations, such as “the father being in jail, [or] the mother being a drug addict” (Ivan, Interview 1). Despite this social context, Ivan explained that in comparison to other students he has taught from a similar social context, among his students “there are few complicated kids, there are terrible cases, but nothing that cannot be controlled” (Ivan, Interview 1). Ivan explained that his current class is more difficult to handle. “This cohort, since they arrived to the school, they have been a problematic class” (Ivan, Interview 1). Despite the difficulties experienced by the students, according to Ivan, they feel well and safe at the school.

Ivan shared that he grew up in extreme poverty conditions, and his parents did not finish school. At the same time, his parents deeply valued education and required him to read and attend school. As a kid, Ivan worked informally cleaning bathrooms or selling bread. When Ivan was a child, he was aware of being poor; however, from his current perspective, Ivan realizes that he was poorer than what he believed he was. Ivan explained that many students do not have any awareness of

their own social class and what it means. “Many of them do not see it. They are not aware of the system. They are not aware that they are poor. Because they own objects, they believe they are not poor” (Ivan, Interview 2). This issue is one of the factors that help him explain why some of them may not be interested in the subject matter or why some get bored during the class.

During his higher education studies, Ivan did not believe in his own abilities, which he attributes to his poverty. Ivan, who claimed, “I did not feel like a student because I was poor” (Ivan, Interview 2), explained that these feelings were intense and made him doubt himself until he dropped out of his first higher education program. Ivan used his stories to build relations with his students and help them gain interest in the class and its content. While his social class background has helped him connect with his students, Ivan verbalized that he struggles more to connect with the girls. He explained that the topics that seem to interest the boys are not the same as the ones that seem to get the interest of the girls and that he has not managed yet to find a way to spark the girls’ interest in the class content.

**His analysis.** Ivan described two aspects of the vignette that he found to be problematic. First, there is a reiterated and disrespectful behavior against a student. Ivan is the only participant who included the reiteration piece as part of the problem. Second, the targeted student seems to be affected, which is shown by behaviors, such as anger and self-isolation.

Ivan started by describing the first problem he sees in the vignette as being the classmates catcalling a classmate for the third time. Ivan explained that because of the physical characteristics of the girl, it “seems as she attracts the males in the

class" (Ivan, Interview 1). He continued, "[I] could allow the catcalling during a class as a novelty, a girl arrives and is attractive to others, but by the third time, I would no longer allow it, in a context of respect, that should not happen" (Ivan, Interview 1). Ivan's answers tend to normalize the fact that catcalling a female classmate could be okay as long as it is not repeated too many times. Ivan's perspective represents a widespread belief sustained by several people in the country, which is an expression of the pervasive naturalization of sexist aggressions in the culture.

A second problem highlighted by Ivan is the impact that the action has on the student. Ivan noticed that the targeted student isolates herself, gets angry, and shuts down. He explained that he pays attention to this attitude because there may be some girls who like to be catcalled,

I would also pay attention to the attitude of the girl who, in this case, became upset and shut down. Because there is also the case of girls who love to be catcalled all the time, but this girl was hindered, she got upset, and she stayed silent. (Ivan, Interview 1)

Part of the problem for Ivan has to do with the impact that the actions cause in the targeted student. In a way, if the student had been okay with the catcalling, Ivan might not have found problematic the content of the action.

**His actions.** Ivan proposed the following six different actions spread through the three levels described earlier: a) address individually the targeted student, b) address individually the student perpetrator, c) de-escalate the situation, d) invite reflection on the part of the class, e) recognize feelings and encourage empathy for the targeted student, and f) consult and collaborate with the family, colleagues, and/or school authorities.

When I asked him about his priorities, Ivan described two strategies. First, he would address collectively the perpetrator students to discuss the inappropriate character of their behavior. Second, he would use his knowledge about the students to try to understand their actions and connect with them in an unthreatening way. Ivan is strongly committed to the idea of not behaving as many of his teachers who did not believe in him or nurtured his abilities, interest, and skills. Both strategies are connected for Ivan; he uses empathy when engaging the perpetrator students in agreeing to regulate their behavior and respect their classmates.

In his collective address to the perpetrator students, Ivan would explain to them that catcalling is not an appropriate behavior. He would not do this with a tone of exaltation, but neither would he scream at them. Depending on his degree of comfort with the students in the class, which is in part based on his knowledge about them, Ivan would use some de-escalation strategies, integrating humor and transforming his discourse into a gag. Humor is a strategy that Ivan uses to reach out to the students who are more alienated from the school routine. He explains that, on some occasions, going down to the level of the students help him connect more directly with them and not repeat the same mistakes he believes his school teachers committed while he was a student.

Similarly, the second strategy highlighted by Ivan uses his perception about the situations the children may be facing to try to understand them and reach out to them on their conditions. Ivan places himself in the students' position using empathy and understanding of how the content often does not make sense in the students' realities, and they end up being bored by it. Ivan's approach to the



challenge of catching the students' attention is to try to take it easy with the students, to act as if it were something really serious, or not to start preaching about how the students should behave.

Ivan's working-class background is a big part of his identity. Like Amalia, he feels that he grew up enduring worse economic conditions than his current students. Growing up poor placed important barriers for Ivan development, but now this background gives him an advantage. The advantage is that he can better connect and understand students from a vulnerable context. However, a gap emerges for Ivan when he thinks about his relationship with the female students in the class. He explained that he does not have the same success connecting with them as he does with the male students. When he problematized the vignette's content, Ivan identified the disrespectful behavior of the classmate, but at the same time, he explained that he would have waited to act until the behavior was repeated. Ivan related to the male students' perspective and focused his response on convincing them to respect their classmates. However, when he tried to relate to the female student, he did it disregarding her perspective, and instead, presenting an alternative perspective in which the female enjoyed being catcalled. Ivan's responses represent part of the historically constructed "common sense" that normalizes sexist microaggressions as responsive to women's need for male attention and validation.

## **Javier**

Javier is a history and social sciences teacher with five years of experience. He currently teaches in two private subsidized schools owned by a religious institution. According to Javier, both schools are ones in which many of the students are vulnerable (60%), but at the same time, the schools are fairly different. One of the schools is small, close to the center of the city, has only one section by grade level and 30% to 40% migrant students. The other is located far from the center of the city, and the students come from rural areas. “They are a more like *huasos* [peasants] in their way of being” (Javier, Interview 1). As opposed to the first school, which is significantly more multicultural, the students from the second school are mostly Chilean and do not have much experience going outside their neighborhood. Javier explained that the first months he worked with his current class close to the center of the city their behavior was disorderly. “There were classes where I had to calm them down for 45 minutes” (Javier, Interview 1), but with time and a routine, they got to a better place. Javier also works as a private tutor for wealthy students, which has made him more aware of social class differences between students.

Javier grew up in Santiago, the Chilean capital. During his childhood, he moved from a neighborhood on the outskirts of the city, to a more central and wealthy one. This shift in his living conditions impacted his education and life opportunities. This was a result of his father’s job career, which he described as an example of “social emergence” (Javier, Interview 2). Javier explained that even though his family did not have a lot of money, because of his life circumstances, he always had access to a rich cultural capital. For example, he explained that because

of his father's employment at an international NGO, the concern about social integration has always been part of the family conversation.

According to Javier, students in vulnerable schools face a violent reality. The standards of success depicted by the media and the culture are not achievable for them because they lack the economic resources to achieve them. As a teacher, Javier tries to do what is possible to provide the students with the tools they need to perform in the best way possible in society. However, he acknowledges that there exist systemic limitations in the society that make it difficult. For example, the images of success that are reproduced in the media present to the students "a super sexist vision, super snob vision, a terrible vision" (Javier, Interview 2). Hence, among other teaching goals, Javier tries to sell, "overall to the girls in my class, the vision that they are more than what the system expects from them" (Javier, Interview 2).

**His analysis.** Javier described four issues he found to be problematic in the vignette. The first issue is the "machismo." The second issue is the harassment, which in itself is reprehensive, but in this case, is aggravated by the fact that the targeted student seems upset with the situation. The third issue is the normalized violence against women, that is, an action of harming a female student, which is not deemed important by the teacher nor the students. The fourth issue relates to the teacher's inaction and to the students' (classmates') response. The teacher does not stop the aggression and the students explain that the situation will pass on its own.

Javier starts by describing the content of the vignette as "machismo," which is a term used in Latin American countries to describe male and patriarchal violence. Similar to Ivan, he identifies the impact of the action on the targeted

student as an aggravating factor. He stated that "harassment is something reprehensible in itself, but is especially so considering that the story shows that Alejandra is upset with the situation" (Javier, Interview 1). However, Javier explained that he would not condone this behavior. "As a teacher, I would be compelled to do something, and not after the student is upset, but from the initial moment in which such behavior occurs" (Javier, Interview 1). Javier, understanding the situation as violence, may have influenced the time he thinks it is appropriate to respond to the situation.

Javier went further, explaining that the student is being subjected to mistreatment grounded in the "normalization of this type of violence" (Javier, Interview 1) against women. He explained that the normalization of this violence happens when actions harming a student are not viewed as important or are not addressed because the teacher and the peers consider them common. In the vignette, he describes this problem at two levels: "first, by the teacher who just asks, and does nothing, and second, the students who respond—it is going to pass" (Javier, Interview 1). Javier has a different take on the situation. For him, the issue goes beyond the specific impact of the behavior on the student and includes the underlying action, that is, the normalized—machista—violence.

**His actions.** Javier proposes five actions to deal with the situation. The strategies are spread across the different levels of action, one at the student level, two at the classroom level, and two at the community level. The actions proposed by Javier are: a) address individually the targeted student, b) de-escalate the situation, c) invite reflection on the part of the class, d) consult and collaborate with the

family, colleagues, and/or school authorities, and e) gather information about the parties involved.

Javier prioritized reflection as his main strategy because he is interested in the educative potential of students in understanding the value of respecting each other. According to Javier, for students to follow their teacher into this quest, the teacher must show consistency of behaviors and ideas. The teacher's perceived consistency is also a mediator in the learning experience of students.

When characterizing the process leading to this reflection, Javier described the use of two steps. First, he would interrupt the behavior, or as Javier explained, "The first thing I need to do is not letting the situation occur" (Javier, Interview 1). Second, "help students understand what is happening" (Javier, Interview 1). Javier clarified that his perception of the students' developmental stage (their level of maturity) will weigh the intensity of his response. For example, with older students, he would be "more vigorous, yes, because they are students, they are adolescents, so consequently, one can treat them in a more adult way" (Javier, Interview 1). With younger students, he would explore the source of the comments before because "the discourse that may come from the students is a discourse that is not necessarily ... they may be repeating something they heard elsewhere" (Javier, Interview 1). Despite these differences, Javier explained that his interest is for his students to understand why respect is important and not only understand the specific behavior they should not reproduce.

The idea is basically to take the necessary steps so that the boys can reach the conclusion that what they did or the reason why they did it is a violation of their classmate's privacy or her rights.... It is something that has to be

understood in the end because you cannot tell them that this is wrong because it is wrong, because in the long run, the students do not work like that. They do not work [just] because of the rules. (Javier, Interview 1)

When I asked him to be more specific explaining the mechanics of his idea, he talked about presenting the students with a rational set of arguments to persuade them or convince them about the importance of respecting each other. “Basically, is to show that everyone in the room has rights and duties, everyone, even me” (Javier, Interview 1). Part of the idea of respecting each other relates to their right of not being mistreated by hearing verbal aggressions from others. According to Javier, “All these rights are important, and even the fact that these rights are not violated by listening to something they do not have to listen to. Like catcalling inside the classroom. It is inappropriate” (Javier, Interview 1). Moreover, Javier explained that his own performance and the consistency between his discourse and his actions are important because “the children notice when one is consistent with what you say, and they are the first ones to point it out when one is not being consistent” (Javier, Interview 1).

### **Sandy**

Sandy is a general education teacher with specialization in language and obtained a masters in English education and has accumulated 13 years of working experience. She works at a municipal school in a port city of the country and described the students she serves as more serene than students in the capital because they are “children who grow seeing the ocean, not the city” (Sandy, Interview 1). Her students also face economic issues and in many cases the parents have troubles with the law. “If I am specific, I currently have children whose

mothers are in jail for dealing drugs, children whose parents are in jail for robbery, and children who are being raised by their grandparents because of this situation” (Sandy, Interview 1). According to Sandy, the precariousness of the context in which these students live is aggravated, in part, for lack of maternal affection. Hence, an important part of the teacher’s role is to be “really affectionate with the children, you need to be protective, and you have to be maternal” (Sandy, Interview 1). Being maternal implies being equally as kind or kinder to the students than to your own family, with the purpose of making them feel protected and safe.

Sandy grew up in a middle-class family; she completed her primary education in a middle school close to her home, and then continued her high school studies in a highly selective all-girls public school close to the center of the city. Sandy explained that because of this change of context, she became more aware of socioeconomic differences. In this school, she had to deal with classmates who were wealthier than her, and she explained that, occasionally, she was able to feel this difference. She described several situations in which she became aware of the differences among male and female teachers: women teachers tend to try to resolve problems, while male teachers are more pragmatic and do not go deep into trying to solve issues. She related this with the fact that

Women are more maternal and used to solving our children’s problems. On the other hand, men are like the providers. They focus on money and escape from issues that potentially involve emotional work with the students. [In their classrooms], they only register the incident in the class record, maximum, they call for a conversation with the parents, but they do not want to get involved beyond. (Sandy, Interview 2)

Similarly, Sandy explained that her preference is to teach children in primary levels because, in the classroom, she prefers to be seen as a mother rather than

being seen as a woman. Reinforcing this point, she described past experiences of harassment she had when working with youth and adults.

When I started working as a teacher with young people and adults, once again, I felt harassed because of my body and my physical attributes. And they bothered me in a different way... and I felt how they trespassed the barriers of the student-teacher relation, and they saw me as a woman, which bothered me. The fact that I had to accept these sexual jokes always bothered me and continues to bother me... So what affected me, as a gender issue, was to see how my students valued more the physical part of me as a woman than what I was teaching them (Sandy, Interview 2,)

**Her analysis.** There are two issues in the vignette that Sandy found to be problematic. First, there is a girl being harassed by some of her classmates; they are not respecting her space. Second, there is no adult enforcing the classroom's rules for this situation not to happen. She indicated that a week is a significant amount of time without taking action, and therefore, the lack of the teacher's response shows his careless attitude.

Sandy also described as a problem the fact that a student is not being respected. She explained, "I see a problem when they are annoying a girl. They are not respecting her" (Sandy, Interview 1). According to Sandy, the classmates are harassing the student, "and they are not respecting her space, right? her independence, and they do not allow her to make her contribution [to the class]" (Sandy, Interview 1). Sandy highlights as a consequence to the students' actions, the fact that the student cannot make her contribution to the class. No other participant highlighted this point.

What seems to be even more problematic to Sandy is the inaction of the teacher, who does not immediately intervene and waits an entire week before



taking action. She sees this as negligence and explains that this happened because the teacher did not establish boundaries with the students.

Because you're telling me that this happened throughout the complete week. It is supposed that this should happen in one hour of classes, in a moment, and don't happen anymore if the teacher notices it, and sets limits regarding the students' behavior. That's why a week seemed like a lot to me. If it is a week, there's neglect (Sandy, Interview 1)

**Her actions.** Sandy proposed five actions to deal with the issue in the vignette; all of them are spread across the different levels (individual, classroom, and community). Most strategies concentrate on the classroom level. The actions described by Sandy are as follows: a) address individually the targeted student, b) de-escalate the situation, c) invite reflection on the part of the class, d) recognize feelings and encourage empathy for the targeted student, and e) consult and collaborate with the family, colleagues, and/or school authorities.

When asked about the strategies she would prioritize, Sandy suggested de-escalating the situation and generating a reflection with the students. To generate this reflection she suggested using psychological techniques and the students' emotions to humanize each other and to respect the boundaries proposed by Sandy.

Sandy would start by addressing the class and having a conversation with the students. She explained that in this conversation, she would try to reach the students' human side and remind them the class rules. Sandy's conversation with the students would seek to regain control of the class by explaining the students the consequences of their actions and even threatening them with sanctions as stipulated in the school bylaws. She also explains that in this conversation she will use "psychological manipulation" (Sandy, Interview 1) techniques, which she

describe as standing in front of the class and communicating that she is the authority figure, doing this while speaking to them as their friend.

To be perceived as the students friend, Sandy will share her experience as a student herself at “their level: this happened with one of my classmates, this happened with a classmate, so... I believe and I can give you this advice, and I think this.” (Sandy, Interview 1). She uses her life stories to illustrate the impact that the behavior may have in another because she believes that the most meaningful learning occurs when examples are provided to people. Sandy explains that this is easy for her because many of the things that happen in current classroom also happened when she was a student. For the case in the vignette, she explained how she would engage the students in the conversation, illustrating this method with a personal story involving a fight between classmates.

They beat her, they annoyed her, and they threatened her with swear words. And I told them, when I was in sixth grade, I had two girlfriends, and there were girls from another class who bothered us, and they beat me, with punches, and I did not know how to defend myself ... I wanted to make them understand, how it felt, not knowing how to defend myself, that when I was in sixth grade I was very shy, and I felt very helpless ... They [the students] immediately reacted and told me that they could have defended me, that they would have beaten up the other girl... then [she said], if you had defended me, why don't you think of your classmate as if it had been me? Then, instead of hurting each other, let's be friends, let's protect each other because after the sixth grade, the seventh grade, after you leave school, everything that happened here will still be painful. I gave them an example from my life, what can happen, trying to give them a solution to encourage their friendship (Sandy, Interview 1)

Sandy appeals to the students' emotional attachment to her, to help them understand the impact of their actions. In this process she also provides the solution, which is to encourage building friendly relations. The psychological

manipulation process as understood by Sandy, also resembles family dynamics and parenting strategies.

### **Tamara**

Tamara is a language and communication teacher with four years of experience. She has worked in three schools, two of them municipal schools and located in vulnerable neighborhoods in the outskirts of Santiago. In these schools, students, despite living in vulnerable conditions, showed respect and were receptive to the content she taught. She never faced violent situations, and the most problematic situation she described were issues with drugs in the classroom. Currently, she works in a private subsidized school, where parents pay to enroll their children. One of the differences Tamara notices between the public and the private schools is that at her current school students enjoy a form of cultural capital that is more valued by society.

Tamara grew up in a working-class family context. She has always lived in popular (working-class) neighborhoods or “barrios” (Tamara, Interview 1), which differed from other neighborhoods due to the community involvement and use of public space. Consequently, Tamara grew up participating in community organizations in the neighborhood where she lived and participating in her community’s social life. Subsequently, she enrolled in a downtown high school in which she met classmates with various backgrounds. In these encounters, she was able to identify differences and commonalities among the social classes represented by her classmates. Describing these differences, Tamara explained, “At the

beginning, I noticed a difference in the vocabulary, realized that my vocabulary was more limited than the vocabulary of my classmates, and I attributed this to my teachers' expectations for their students" (Tamara, Interview 2). The teachers' expectations have a concrete impact on the life of the students. She experienced this as a student and seems to be invested in not repeating it.

Epistemologically, Tamara identifies herself with a feminine perspective of reality, which she described as a series of characteristics many of them associated with the women's role in society. She highlighted these characteristics as positive:

My whole way of thinking corresponds to a feminine perspective of seeing things. Understanding that femininity is more sensitive, contemplative, observant also, the fact of being more empathic. All my discourse, I think, is organized in relation to that (Tamara, Interview 1).

Finally, Tamara explained that in her practice as a teacher, the way she organizes the curriculum and facilitates classroom dynamics considers gender equality. For example, she explained that at the beginning of the year, she created a list with all the book titles the students will read during the year and ensures male and female authors are equally represented.

**Her analysis.** Tamara highlighted three issues she found to be problematic in the vignette. First, she pointed out that there is a misunderstanding about the meaning of love. Being in love does not make it acceptable to disrespect others. Second, she mentioned that the integrity of a woman is being disrespected. Third, she stated that the fact that Alejandra ends up upset and does not want to participate in the class anymore are signals that she is not being integrated into the group, hence she is being excluded.

Tamara explained that she finds the way in which students describe their understanding of love problematic. “What I see is that there is an understanding that being in love implies to disrespect the classmate” (Tamara, Interview 1). The misunderstanding in the meaning of love is, for Tamara, what enables the problematic behavior performed by the students, whereas ‘the integrity of the woman is not being respected’ (Tamara, Interview 1). Tamara depicts some of the consequences portrayed in the vignette as being troubling; for example, a new classmate is not being integrated into the group because of the perpetrator’s actions. This exclusion practice, according to Tamara, is reinforced by the reaction of the targeted student who “turns very upset, and she also sits and stays quiet, she does not continue to participate” (Tamara, Interview 1). Tamara ended her analysis of the vignette explaining how, because of all her classmates’ actions, the student could end up being excluded from the class.

**Her actions.** Tamara proposed three actions when asked about the situation in the vignette. All of them are situated at the classroom level. These actions are: a) invite reflection on the part of the class, b) recognize feelings and encourage empathy for the targeted student, and c) ask classmates to support the targeted student. Among these actions, Tamara would prioritize the reflection about respect, about love, and she would stress the need to be intentional in including all classmates. Tamara explained with detail the content of the reflection and the way in which she would help her students understand the problematic character of the situation.

She would address the class and use three ideas in her speech. First, she would stress the need to respect each other and mention that catcalling is a manifestation of violence, which they should neither use in school nor outside the school. "We have to respect people regardless of how they are, we do not have to annoy them" (Tamara, Interview 1). Then she would emphasize the need to make an effort to integrate the classmate into the group. This idea surfaced due to the fact that Tamara believes it is important to show empathy to Alejandra since she is arriving at a place where she does not know anyone.

It has to do with protecting Alejandra, that she feels that someone is putting herself in her place, being empathic toward Alejandra who is coming to a new place and does not feel enough confidence to defend herself (Tamara, Interview 1)

She would discuss the use of love as a way to excuse and normalize disrespectful behaviors from one of the classmates. According to Tamara, she needs to de-naturalize some behaviors that students have normalized in their life. For example, catcalling women is not justified by the fact that everybody does it, nor by being in love with a classmate.

### **Gender Vignette: Summary**

In the previous section, I described the participants' understanding of and responses to a vignette that presented peer-to-peer gender-oriented discriminatory behavior. Awareness of gender inequalities and gender violence is becoming more common, and different organizations are publicly advocating for a non-sexist education. Participants varied in their level of awareness, although all of them identified the harassment in the vignette as a problem. However, the ways of

addressing this event were different. Ivan proposed to start a good conversation with all the students who teased their classmate and discuss the inappropriate character of their behavior. Javier and Tamara transformed the event into an educative moment and used rational arguments to convince the students to be gentle with and respect each other. Sandy aimed to help her students reflect, but she used a different strategy, which she calls “psychological manipulation,” and involved using her story to demonstrate how the perpetrators’ actions may impact others. Only two participants (Javier and Sandy) declared to have a conversation with Alejandra at the student level and actions at the community level. Overwhelmingly, most of the strategies proposed by the teachers in this vignette localized at the classroom level.

All teachers agreed on the importance of reflection and de-escalating the situation. Participants vary in the speed and the tone they would use to address the behavior. Ivan, for example, explained that he would intervene if the behavior repeated for the third time. Javier, Sandy, and Tamara, on the other hand, would interrupt it the first time they perceive the behavior. Ivan was the participant who seemed less connected with the issue of sexism and how it manifests in education, and he expressed his difficulties connecting with the girls in his classes. He was one of the two teachers who would address neither the individual nor the community level with their actions. Figure 5 presents a diagram that describes participants’ main understandings of and responses to the vignette portraying gender-based peer-to-peer discriminatory behaviors in the classroom. The participants’ most recurrent patterns of analysis and response are highlighted with a green flag.

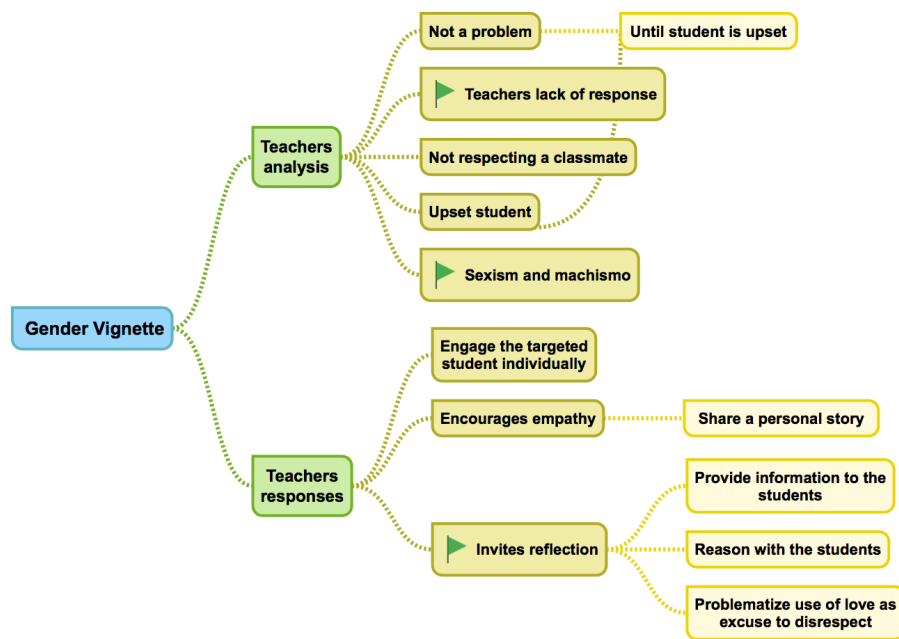


Figure 5: Participants' understandings and responses to gender-based discriminatory interactions in the classroom

Similar to the social class vignette, almost all participants agreed in identifying as problematic the inaction of the teacher, as the teacher did not intervene when a girl was being harassed by her classmates. In some cases, the emphasis and velocity of this analysis were influenced by participants' history and gender identity. For example, Sandy and Tamara have experienced this violence first hand and in the case of Sandy, it seems to influence her identity as a teacher and how she wants to be perceived by her students; both female participants quickly named the sexist character of the aggression. In the case of the male participant, the analysis varied. For Ivan, the reiteration of the action and its impact on the student seemed more problematic than the action itself. Ivan appears to be less aware of the impact of gender and sexism in general, and in the classroom in particular, even



though he seems very tuned in to socioeconomic class dynamics perhaps as a result of his experiences growing up. Participants' responses tended to follow a similar pattern. Most participants agreed in addressing the complete class by trying to reason with all students' about the importance of respecting each other.

### **Teacher's Perceptions of and Responses to Peer-To-Peer Discriminatory Interactions**

Teachers' understandings varied between and within the different vignettes. Teachers who analyzed the social class vignette focused on students' judgmental attitude towards a classmate, the use of stereotypes, and the inappropriate association between unemployment and crime as the main issues underlying the discrimination dynamic. Teachers who examined the gender vignette saw the interaction as a form of harassment toward a classmate and assessed the impact as problematic. Yet one participant analyzing this vignette observed that love was used as an excuse by some students to justify a sexist behavior. In both vignettes, the lack of action on the part of the teacher was recognized as problematic, and in some cases, as negligent. Notably, in every instance, participants stated their desire to intervene in the situation.

While the participants' understandings varied in content and shape across the two vignettes, their responses were somewhat similar. In most instances, participants offered a range of possible actions they would take with students individually (particularly with the perpetrator and targeted student), the classroom as a whole, and/or at the school-community level. Most of the teachers referenced actions they would take at all levels (student, classroom, and school community).

Several teachers described similar types of actions, for example, many of them expressed interest in having a conversation with one or two of the students directly involved in the interaction. Similarly, several teachers signaled how important it was for all the students to understand the importance of respecting each other. Table 18 summarizes my thematic analysis of the range of projected actions described by the eight teachers to address the issues portrayed on the vignettes. This table presents the actions proposed by participants using an ecological lens to account for the level of social life in which the action takes place. Actions taking place at the student level seem more directed to individual students whereas actions taking place at the classroom level seem often directed to a group of students or performed in front of the class, and finally actions involving members of the school community—colleagues, parents and/or school staff—appear to go beyond the realms of the classroom.

Table 18: Action categories described as a way to deal with the situation described in the vignette

<b>Student Level Actions</b>		
1	<b>Addresses the targeted student individually</b>	The teacher meets with the targeted student to check in, to provide comfort, or to validate their feelings. The conversation may happen in front of the class or in a private space outside the classroom.
2	<b>Addresses the student perpetrator individually</b>	The teacher has a conversation with the student perpetrator to explain the inappropriateness of the behavior, to ask for the rationale behind such behavior, or to understand what triggered the behavior. The teacher may use this opportunity to invite the student to change their attitude or behavior and, in some cases, repair the damage they may have inflicted. The conversation may happen in front of the class or in a private space outside the classroom.
3	<b>Asks for an apology on the part of the student perpetrator</b>	The teacher asks the student perpetrator to offer an apology in person or in front of the class. The main purpose in this instance is to repair the relationship between the students involved in the situation and bring closure. The apology could be done in front of the class or in a private space outside the classroom.

Classroom Level Actions		
4	<b>De-escalates the situation</b>	The teacher intervenes and interrupts the behavior of the student perpetrator. The main intention here is to regain control of the classroom and/or restore the normal pace of the class. The action happens in front of the class.
5	<b>Invites reflection on the part of the class</b>	The teacher ask questions or gives information to help the students who witnessed, participated, or were targeted by the aggression to problematize the dynamic of mistreatment. The main purpose of this strategy to help students internalize the importance of respecting others in the classroom. The action happens in front of the class.
6	<b>Recognizes feelings and encourages empathy for the targeted student</b>	The teacher encourages empathic responses by either asking students to put themselves in the position of the targeted student or by using a personal story that relates to the incident. The main intention is to foster an empathic connection with the targeted student and communicate support to the student. This action may happen in front of the class or in a private space outside the classroom.
7	<b>Uses subject matter to problematize the behavior</b>	The teacher uses content of his or her subject matter to present a perspective on the social issue that relates to the incident. This strategy seeks to provide students with relevant information with the hope of encouraging more inclusive (pluralistic) perspective. The conversation happens in front of the class.
8	<b>Asks classmates to support the targeted student</b>	The teacher asks the students to collaborate in the process of integrating/including the targeted student in the classroom community. Teachers may do this before, in anticipation, or after the mistreatment takes place. The teacher may do this discursively by speaking to the entire class or by talking with positive leaders individually. The aim of this strategy is to help the targeted student to bond with some of his or her classmates. The action may happen in front of the class or in a private space outside the classroom.
Community Level Actions		
9	<b>Consults and collaborates with the family, colleagues, and/or school authorities</b>	The teacher seeks information and guidance from parents, colleagues, and/or school personnel. The main intention is to obtain support to better respond to students' behaviors identified as problematic. In many instances, teachers who engage in this strategy follow procedures closely outlined by the school <i>convivencia</i> community agreements. This strategy aims to coordinate a more shared approach to address students' behaviors across multiple stakeholders.
10	<b>Gathers information about the parties involved</b>	The teacher asks for information about the background of the students involved in the incident from colleagues, counselors, or other school staff. The main purpose of this strategy is to learn about the frequency of the behavior (e.g., how often and for how long), and to learn if there are specific issues affecting the students involved. In so doing, the teacher hopes to gather more data to help them better grasp what may be under the radar of the behavior presented so they can either adapt their response and/or plan possible actions to address the situation in the classroom more effectively.

All participants proposed more than one action, and, on many occasions, they proposed a sequence of actions that aimed to secure certain outcomes. A strategy consists of a sequence of interconnected actions with a purpose. For example, some teachers described talking with both students, perpetrator and targeted, in different spaces and with different aims in order to restore the relation among peers. Both actions are executed consecutively in order to restore the relation between the students and solve the conflict between them.

Actions proposed by participants also could be organized ecologically in relation to the level of social life they primarily address. Actions at the student level were directed toward students individually; actions at the classroom level toward a group of students or performed in front of the class; and finally actions at the community level involved other colleagues, parents and school staff, going beyond the realms of the classroom. Organizing the actions among the levels in which they are situated allows for a more complex understanding of the tendencies of teachers' responses when addressing the different vignettes and where their actions are concentrated. Table 19 presents the different actions that each participant described and the level in which the actions are situated.

Table 19: Participants' actions order by level of intervention and type of vignette

		Social Class Vignette				Gender Vignette			
		Amalia	Carlos	Catalina	Juana	Ivan	Javier	Sandy	Tamara
Student Level	Addresses the targeted student individually								
	Addresses the student perpetrator individually								
	Asks for an apology on the part of the student perpetrator		- - - -	- - - -					
Classroom Level	De-escalates the situation								
	Invites reflection on the part of the class								
	Recognizes feelings and encourage empathy for the targeted student								
	Uses subject matter to problematize the behavior								
	Asks classmates to support the targeted student								
Community Level	Consults and collaborates with the school community					- - - -			
	Gathers information about the parties involved								

---- Means that participants explicitly explained they will not pursue that course of action

This representation of participants' projected actions in response to each of the two vignettes helps visualize some distinct patterns. For example, the number of actions proposed by the eight teachers ranged between three and six, with an average of four by each participant. Participants proposed more actions in response to the social class vignette and fewer actions in relation to the gender vignette. It is worth exploring this research finding as participants seem to have a broader repertory of responses when addressing incidents like the one presented in the social class vignette. Also, participants seemed to concentrate their projected actions into the classroom level, even though they also proposed several actions at the student level in relation to the social class vignette. This trend also is important to highlight as it indicates how participants sought to involve the whole class in addressing interpersonal incidents. In order to further explore these tendencies and understand the factors that may inform the teachers' analysis and responses, in the next section I describe the factors that participants recalled as foregrounding their actions to interrupt or address the dynamic in the vignette.

### **Factors That Influence Teachers' Responses**

After learning about participants' understanding and responses to three vignettes portraying peer-to-peer discriminatory interactions, I continued the interview to learn about and understand the factors influencing the participants' response to the specific social class- and gender-based discrimination dynamics. By asking this question, I wanted to understand the participants' perspective about some of the milestones that influenced their projected response to the interaction.

To gather information about this inquiry first, I asked participants to describe how they learned to perform the specific action they described as a response to the vignette. Because I was interested in the role that the teachers' social group membership experiences could play in their responses, I also ask teachers how they think their social group membership could impact them. Finally, in the second interview, I explored participants' life events that related to their social group socialization, and I use some of these responses to bring more substance to the possible relation between the teachers' responses and their social identities.

To build this section, I labeled all the responses that referred to factors that teachers described as directly informing their responses. I also labeled teachers' stories when they provided relevant information that could build upon the analysis. Later, by grouping concepts that were similar, I built sub-categories that described participants' learning experiences or action referents. To organize these sub-categories, I pursued two criteria: one that followed a temporal logic that ranged from childhood to adulthood, and one to describe the professional stage in which the experience took place (higher education, professional life). I introduce the different sub-categories (factors) organized by professional stage and temporal logic in Table 20 below.

Table 20: Factors informing teachers' response to the vignette

Personal life		Professional life	
Childhood and Youth	Adulthood	Teacher preparation years	Professional education years
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Family experiences</li> <li>• Teachers' positive example</li> <li>• Teachers' negative example</li> <li>• Being part of a religious community</li> <li>• Growing up in a poverty context</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Family experiences</li> <li>• Being a women</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Courses</li> <li>• Books</li> <li>• Internships</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Confront a type of student who does not fit their previous experiences.</li> <li>• Use intuition, guess and/or follow a trial and error approach</li> <li>• Resort to the disciplinary content</li> <li>• Self-directed professional development</li> </ul>

Table 20 organizes the factors, sub-themes, and themes emerging from the teachers' interviews. Factors in professional and personal life tend to relate to the characteristics of the context in which they emerged. For example, they situate within specific challenges, relations, or backgrounds that are specifically linked to life milestones and moments connected with the participants' life trajectory. Also, they inform different aspects of the actions or strategy orientations described by teachers. For example, factors in personal life appeal to the way in which teachers build their values and ideals, while factors in the professional life appeal more to the know-how or the development of a more technical stance in relation with the issue. In the following section, I delve into more detail about these factors, their characteristics, and possible connections emerging from their interaction.



## **Factors Related to the Participants' Personal Life**

The “personal life” theme group factors that participants described connected to their intimate moments and spaces. Within the personal life theme, in some cases, the positionality of the participants changed from being part of a family as a child, to being part of a family as a parent. Factors described under this theme seem to point with some consistency to the moral dimension of the teacher’s practice as ideal images to guide the resolution of difficult classroom situations. I divide this theme into two sub-themes (childhood and adulthood) wherein the life stage that gives the historical context in which participants situated every factor.

### **Childhood and Youth**

#### **Family Experiences**

Some (3) participants described experiences in their nuclear or their extended family that currently shape them as teachers and impact how they respond to the vignette. Some of these experiences inform the participants’ early development of skills that help them deal with conflict.

First, some participants describe their families as holding moral values that help them achieve social mobility and to thrive in school. Catalina remembered the critical role that the values taught by her mother played in facilitating her school experience. Catalina hopes to play a similar role in the life of her students.

My kids do not have it. Sometimes they have a father and a mother, but it is like they do not have that containment... So what I do — or what the teacher could represent — is that cushion, or that column, where the student can hold. (Catalina, Interview 1)

This image of teachers' role also impacts Catalina's practice, helping her orient her responses to situations that involve her students.

Teachers described the importance of values and abilities learned in their nuclear families to guide their practice. Sandy, for example, explained that she learned skills to navigate conflict situations, among other sources, from her father. "[He was] very wise and always solved our problems by talking, and there were never hits because he always taught me that intelligent people could understand with words" (Sandy, Interview 1). Sandy observed her father advocating for a more dialogic approach to resolve differences, which inspired her to propose something similar. The opposite experience also is real. Amalia explained that due to their social class background, most of her extended family was not always able to navigate conflicts. Amalia remembered that as the result of a fight, her father and her uncles broke relations, which impacted Amalia's life negatively. Amalia remembered this experience to explain her interest in students apologizing to each other and talking about things that made them feel bad.

### **Teachers' Positive Example**

Some participants (3) mentioned the influence of their schoolteachers, who individually or as a collective, became positive role models they try to mirror in their practice. Amalia recalled being inspired by her middle school teachers, who, despite not being strong in the didactics of their subjects, showed concerns and make an effort to reach students who were excluded by other teachers.

The teachers were not so strong [academically]... but they do try to include those children that many of the [other] teachers threw out of their

classrooms (...). I believe that my teachers were like that, and I think that I learned so much from them. (Amalia, Interview 1)

Sandy and Carlos described how they were inspired by individual teachers to behave in specific ways. Sandy, for example, explained that one of her teachers tended to talk with students individually and work on a one-on-one basis. Similarly, Carlos explained how he unconsciously replicates the way in which one of his head teachers solved conflict between students. “I had a school teacher who did that, I believe that I repeat it unconsciously. My head teacher, whenever instances [of conflict] occurred, he stopped the class and talked to you outside” (Carlos, Interview 1). Carlos imitated this strategy when asked to describe his response to the situation in the vignette.

### **Teachers’ Negative Example**

Participants also mentioned how teachers, individually or as a collective, behaved in a way that negatively impacted their school experience. They explained that in their practice as teachers, they intentionally try to avoid these types of behaviors. Carlos described how some of his teachers used a vocabulary that created a barrier and further distance between both of them, and thus he tries to be aware of the way in which he communicates his ideas to the students, so he does not miss them. Ivan described how he internalized the low expectations that his teachers had for him and his classmates. Ivan perceived this lack of expectations manifested, for example, in classes that were not challenging for them and also boring. Hence, an important focus for Ivan in his response was to maintain his students’ interest and engagement. Ivan explained that he is “always thinking

about the aspect of do not bore, (...) for me, the school was very tedious, I had no one to inspire me as an elementary teacher nothing, I found everything boring” (Ivan, Interview 1). Ivan tries to do something different from what he experienced in school. He is one of the participants who told jokes in his response and tried to maintain the attention of his students when addressing the situation in the vignette.

### **Being Part of a Religious Community**

Similar to what happened with the families, two participants described their religious membership as an important factor that informed the values inspiring their responses. Javier, for example, explained that his membership in the Christian faith has encouraged him to be more empathic. “All who are Christians speak about loving our neighbor and that means putting yourself in the place of the other” (Javier, Interview 1). Similarly, Amalia described how her participation in a Catholic life group “missionary childhood” helps her be in contact with excluded children.

In this organization, I worked with children who felt excluded from the neighborhood, children who were in the street, and I invited them to play... and I think that because of this I felt the need to include people (Amalia, Interview 1).

### **Growing up in a Poverty Context**

Several participants (3) described their social class context while growing up as a factor that impacted the way in which they approach their practice. Catalina explained that she identified with students who struggle economically since she struggled economically after her father died when she was young. She explained her belief that as she was able to move upward and study a professional career in a

higher education institution, her students, with the right values, could also do it. When Catalina perceives that the students do not have these values, she takes time to teach them about these values. Moreover, when Catalina prioritizes the relationships among classmates, she does it because she hopes they will value and learn to treat each other as equals, as partners, and in this way, they can fully participate in society.

## **Adulthood**

### **Family Experiences**

During adulthood, participants change the role they play in their families, and this impacts the experiences they factor into their responses. In a parental role, the perception and the ability to act in response to aggressions vary; participants feel more motivated and are proactive in learning how to stop and undo these dynamics.

### **Being Women**

Several female teachers described a connection between their gender membership and their responses to the vignette and general practice. Teachers gave two types of answers. First, teachers who connected their role as teacher with stereotypical female characteristics, such as work as caregivers, being emotional, or connect with their role as mothers. Second, teachers who have experienced harassment—or who are aware of sexism in society—would like to protect and help

their female students navigate this injustice. Some participants combined both types of answers.

Tamara took a different approach; she described having experienced situations of harassment similar to the student in the vignette. Tamara can situate herself as Alejandra. “Place me in her situation, as a woman and as a girl, a girl who has fewer tools to defend herself because society has not shown to her how to do it. These [referring to the vignette] are things that have happened to me” (Tamara, Interview 1). Tamara acknowledged that as a children Alejandra might have fewer tools to deal with the situation. Tamara feels like protecting Alejandra and waiting for the context to shift and become safer.

Sandy combined both types of answers; on the one hand, she explained that women are more emotive, more connected to her emotions, and this helps her relate better to her students’ feelings their affections. This connection helps her to grasp the kids’ psychology. On the other hand, Sandy explained that she could relate to Alejandra’s experience because she has faced similar experiences. She feels this could make her a better advocate for Alejandra than her male colleagues. Sandy explained that a male teacher might think that students were flattering their classmate, but she as a woman can understand how these behaviors are impacting the student and her self-concept.

### **Factors Related to the Participants’ Professional Life**

The “professional life” group factors are those that participants described as part of their role as teachers. Similar to the “personal life factors” category, within

the professional life category, there was a clear division between events and experiences that occurred while the participants were enrolled in a teacher education program and events and experiences that took place as the participants worked as school teachers. Within this category, actions did not always connect to experiences or stories. In some cases, they connected to a specific set of resources or techniques acquired as part of professional development-oriented actions. I present the different factors that teachers described as influencing their responses. I organize these factors by the gross professional development stage in which they occur, that is, teacher preparation or professional practice.

### **Teacher Preparation**

#### **Courses**

Teachers described a series of milestones during their teacher preparation programs that influenced their stances and choices to face conflicts between students. Teachers mentioned specific courses or structured learning experiences, like internships, as the inspiration for some of their strategies, knowledge, and skills they could use to deal with conflicts in their classroom. They mentioned specific resources they acquired in this process, such as books or mediation strategies.

The teachers described two types of courses as inspiring their practice and the approach to the issue portrayed on the vignette. The first were courses that focused on different areas of psychology, like developmental psychology, learning psychology, and child psychology. “The tools that the university gave me were the subjects of psychology, child psychology, educational psychology, and psychology of

learning” (Sandy, Interview 1). Another participant described a second type of course, which focused on the development of specific “soft” skills that helped them manage conflicts among students.

I had a course at the university that was like, I do not remember the name, but it had to do with the development of social skills, and they taught me a lot about assertive behaviors and aggressive behaviors, and how to mediate in such situations. (Amalia, Interview 1)

Amalia explained that this class, along with her own experience doing popular education, has helped her gain confidence and skills to intervene in conflict situations.

## **Books**

Participants also described being inspired by books in their approach to action. Carlos, for example, named authors and topics, like “Coleman, (...) who describes the adolescence by stages, Hanson and Heller who talks about the students motivation, and the third, from Anita Wolff, who also speaks about how we can motivate students using neuroscience” (Carlos, Interview 1). Carlos explained that as he read these books, he imagined many strategies were he could use. Later, a second step is to adapt these strategies to the context of his class and the moment they are living with the class. Similarly, Sandy described books that supported her teaching practice. These books related to increasing students’ motivation, leadership, and group management. These books are also a source of navigating the issues she faces in her classroom.



## **Internships**

A third type of structured learning experience highlighted by participants was their participation in an internship. In these instances, they reported learning from teachers who were exemplary for them.

In a professional practice, the second I did, I had a teacher who never blamed the students, saying that they were lazy and that's why they did poorly in the test, but this teacher, what she did was to make the students ask for things, and she was also aware that she had to give them that [what they asked for]. (Tamara, Interview 1)

Tamara explained that the teacher reviewed her class strategies with the purpose of adapt them to the characteristics of the students she had. This teacher honored the commitments she made with her students. Tamara learned from this experience not to blame the students for their behaviors but to review her own practice and understand what may be causing, enabling, or allowing the problem. "I have to review the didactics that I am using to understand why they are behaving badly, why the student felt the need to step up from his seat" (Tamara, Interview 1).

Another way in which teachers reported having learned from internship experiences is through the direct feedback of more experienced teachers or supervisors. Ivan explained that because of the feedback he received from a practice supervisor, he became aware of some interaction patterns he had with his students that affect their learning experience. Specifically, the way in which he joked during his classes impacted the way in which his students perceived the seriousness of what he was saying. Since receiving this feedback, Ivan actively tries to make fewer jokes in his classes.

## **Professional Practice**

### **Confront a Type of Student who Does Not Fit Their Previous Experiences**

Several teachers described some cultural differences among the students they taught, which they noticed after trying to teach them and failing. This failure motivated them to both learn more about the specific characteristics of the students they serve and search for didactic strategies more relevant to them. Even though teachers did not directly relate their responses to the vignettes, many participants punctuated working with a different type of student as the milestone in their professional development.

Juana explained how she did not have a clear understanding of education until she taught an 8th grade class composed mostly of vulnerable students. As part of her interaction with the students, she faced, for the first time, students who would not go to the university and were aware of this fact, as well as students who were “vulnerable on the issue of drugs” (Juana, Interview 1). As part of this interaction, Juana understood “that school does not make sense for many students” (Juana, Interview 1). This experience influenced her teaching practice, for example, in raising questions about the role that teachers could play in that specific context. “So what are my options as a teacher? To listen why it [the school] does not make sense for them” (Juana, Interview 1).

Commonly, when participants described being surprised by students who were different, they pointed toward social class differences. Fewer teachers referred to ethnic differences between them and their students. In these cases, their challenges seemed to be bigger, and they reported have less success in addressing

these differences. For example, Carlos commented on his difficulties dealing with the bullying that Peruvian students were experiencing in the school where he works as a teacher.

### **Use Intuition, Guess and/or Follow a Trial and Error Approach**

One of the factors that most teachers mentioned as a factor informing their responses was the use of their intuition and learning by trial and error. This trial and error could occur by teachers' actions and mistakes, but it also can occur by observing their colleagues' mistakes or achievements.

Participants described learning how to address conflict situations between students as a process in which, in many cases, they reacted intuitively, guided by their criteria (i.e., their values and ideal images on how to perform a good response). Sometimes this intuitive response worked, and they continued doing it and perfecting it; in other situations, their responses were flawed or weak, and they needed to eliminate it, and try a new one. Sandy stated, "I keep doing the things that have results, and the ones who do not give results, I eliminate them" (Sandy, Interview 1). The conscious or unconscious feedback they obtain from their students helps them understand what they may be doing inappropriately, and they can shift their course of action to something that better suits their students. On other occasions, teachers reported thinking about the response they gave to a situation because they do not feel comfortable with the outcome of their action. Similarly, teachers explained that they learned from seeing their colleagues' failure. Seeing how their colleagues made mistakes has inspired some participants to seek

alternative strategies and to pay more attention to the students' characteristics while developing their teaching strategies.

### **Resort to the Disciplinary Content**

Some teachers described as a factor informing their responses their knowledge about the subject they teach, which allowed them to use the disciplinary content to create a strategy that can both work on the emerging issue and reinforce specific class objectives. Some social sciences teachers explained they would use the content of their subject (history) to introduce the historical background that informs the social inequality they were reproducing. Some social science teachers would use social sciences' content to promote the importance and the value of particular group membership from an historical perspective.

Some language teachers highlighted the importance for their students to acknowledge that people could experience the world from multiple perspectives.

In literature, there is a quest that is a condition, which is to understand that a text has many interpretations depending on the reader. I transferred this literary theory to life. We have to understand that there are multiple points of view. Then we have to understand that the person is talking about their world, and we have to understand that the students will assimilate [the information] in different ways. You have to put yourself in the place of the student, of the parent, and then you have to put together those discourses and draw strategies. (Tamara, Interview 1)

Tamara also pulls from her experience her reasons to connect the content of her subject with her responses to incidents that involve conflict among students and the development of empathy. Tamara described her use of the language subject content to train students to be empathetic and to understand that there could be more than

one understanding about the issue; this understanding relates to the different experiences and identities that shape specific subjectivities.

### **Self-directed Professional Development**

In this category, I grouped factors described by participants that relate to actions they have taken in the past to learn to deal with situations that go beyond their current knowledge or abilities. These actions involve reaching out to people with relevant experience or different material resources. Later, these people and resources become a source informing the teachers' response to similar situations.

Juana recalled how asking for advice from colleagues about working out a specific situation by which she felt overwhelmed was a factor that influences her responses to students. A student was mocking her a health situation because she was limping due to a knee injury. Juana described not having a response to this situation and going to the teachers' room for advice. Her colleagues advised: "Call the student out of the classroom and talk to him about another topic, and then touch on the issue and tell him that this [behavior] is not allowed in the classroom, and I would not tolerate it" (Juana, Interview 1).

Catalina recalled using the Framework for Good Teaching, a public policy tool and a guideline framework developed by the national government and the teachers' union. She used this document to gather ideas or strategic orientations to respond to conflicts in her classroom. Catalina explained that for her "these are like the criteria, let's say, the actions you need to develop to be a good professional" (Catalina, Interview 1).

## Summary

Factors that weighted on participants' responses were connected to the challenges and opportunities that different stages of their life trajectory present. Participants describe factors during their childhood that related to their family life and educational experience. These factors influence the values and ideal images (model for teaching) that participants describe as informing the direction or their responses to students. Also, in some cases, these factors help teachers relate to the experience of their own students who grow up in a similar context and with similar socioeconomic conditions. Participants reflected on how later, in their adulthood, their roles in the family structure have shifted, which has changed their perspectives. For example, motherhood became a central factor that influences how several teachers relate to the students.

During adulthood, participants' personal lives overlap with their professional education and career. Similarly than during their school years, teachers highlighted the influence that other teachers, now colleagues or mentors, have had on them. Internship experiences during their teacher education years seems to be important for some of them as they factor into the ways they react to conflicts in their classrooms. Also, teachers describe different aspects of their coursework and books as sources they rely on while dealing with difficult situations in their classroom. These courses and books tended to focus on skill development, developmental psychology, educational psychology, and motivation, all of which seems to be the more relevant from their current perspective.

## **Chapter Summary**

In this chapter, I present the research findings that respond to the central questions of this study. How do Chilean middle school teachers make meaning and respond to social class- or gender-based discriminatory behaviors in the classroom? And how do individual, professional, and contextual factors influence their understandings and responses to these interactions? To answer these questions, I prepared two structured interviews, the first one presented participants with a vignette that portrayed a discriminatory interaction between peers in the classroom based on social class or gender. In the interview, I ask participants about their analysis and their responses to the situation portrayed in the vignette. The second interview explored participant stories of socialization within social class and gender social memberships.

The first part of this chapter presented participants' understandings of and responses to the vignettes. I created a portrait for each participant that included personal details of their lives, their analysis of the vignettes, and the rationale for their response. In their responses and analysis, participants show similarities and differences. Among the similarities between participants responses to the vignettes, most of their answers focused on the students' behaviors and not on the underlying system influencing these behaviors. For example, participants who analyzed the vignette that portrayed an incident involving the social class of the students did not explicitly describe classism as an issue.

Conversely, almost all participants who answered the gender vignette identified the sexist character of the aggression, but they failed to connect this event to broader systems of gender inequity and inequality. Among the differences, while most participants expressed their intention to engage students individually, the teachers responding to the social class vignette indicated they would talk with perpetrators and targeted students. Yet, when responding to the vignette about gender, the teachers' said they would only speak with the targeted student.

The second part of this chapter delves into the participants' responses to the vignettes and analyzes the patterns, regularities, and differences that emerge when these responses are organized and contrasted with each other. In this section, it was possible to visualize how participants varied in the emphasis of their responses according to the social class or gender content of the vignette. For example, while participants' responses to the social class vignette mostly concentrated at the student level, responses to gender vignette focused at the classroom level. The influence of multiple factors could explain the differences in the participants' responses and their emphasis. The third section of this chapter delved into these factors, asking participants to describe what ideas or experiences informed their analysis and responses to the vignette.

In sum, participants tend to rely on intuitive knowledge and a “trial and error” approach to respond to the situation portrayed in the vignette. These cross-cutting patterns of response present in both scenarios tend to rely upon the combination of two types of factors: teachers' life experiences and psychological



knowledge. Among the life experiences, teachers highlighted the example of former school teachers and, for teachers from low-income contexts, the influence of the limitations of their context while they grow up. Female teachers also identified the importance of their gender socialization in their response to the gender vignette, first because they had lived similar experiences of harassment because of their gender, and second, because they connected with their experiences as mothers (when this applied). In the next and final chapter, I further discuss these findings along with the findings of the previous chapter. I also discuss the implications of these findings for the preparation of teachers and the development of policy directed to promote inclusion in education. I end by proposing some further implications for future research.

## **CHAPTER 7**

### **SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS**

#### **Introduction**

In this study, I primarily attempted to learn about how eight Chilean teachers understood and responded to social class- and gender-based discrimination dynamics between students in middle school classrooms. To learn about possible factors that may inform these teachers' understanding of and responses to social class- and gender-based discrimination, I inquired into some biographical and contextual factors to help situate teachers' perspectives and choices. To inform the study, I reviewed two bodies of literature: a) policy frameworks regulating Chilean teachers' role and work, and b) empirical research describing and analyzing social class and gender dynamics in Chilean classrooms. Research reviewed involved the Chilean students' experiences, the curriculum being taught, teachers' classroom practices, as well as teachers' experiences, perceptions, and ideas about social class- and gender-based dynamics in schools.

The first body of literature helped me gain a better understanding of the possibilities, limitations, and boundaries regulating teachers' lives. That is, I gained a more solid understanding of the socio-political context shaping Chilean teachers' views and experiences. Within this context, ideas about inclusion in education are rapidly shifting, becoming increasingly more layered, complex, and requiring responses for which many teachers do not have appropriate training or preparation. The second body of literature helped me gain a better understanding of the

students' learning conditions and the teachers' working conditions as they interacted with social systems that reproduce social class and gender hierarchies. That is, I gained a more solid understanding of the different manifestations of classism and sexism in Chilean schools at the institutional, interpersonal, and individual levels, and the ways in which these systems reproduce in the school curriculum, the teachers' and students' interactions, and in the ideas, stereotypes, and beliefs held by teachers and students regarding their challenges and potentialities.

This chapter is organized into three parts: a) A summary of key finding related to participants' main ideas and understandings of issues related to exclusion and inclusion in education, and the pathways they would consider to address them; b) A discussion of the main themes emerging from the qualitative analysis that seems relevant for teacher preparation for equity inclusion and inclusion policy and practice; and c) A discussion of implications of the study for teacher education policy and practice, and for further research.

### **Summary of Findings**

Chapter five presents participants' perspectives about some of ways exclusion and inclusion manifest and operate within publicly funded Chilean schools. The findings in this chapter respond to the first research question that asked, "How do Chilean middle school teachers understand issues of inclusion and exclusion in education?" Before inviting the eight teachers who participated in this study to reflect on the two vignettes, I wanted to learn about their general

understanding of how exclusion and inclusion manifest and operate in Chilean education. Most of the teachers focused on access and success barriers as the main mechanism in place to reproduce exclusion in education. In their views, students' socioeconomic class and perceived cognitive ability were the primary barriers to educational access. Teachers described the existence of invisible selection practices that function as an access barrier. An example of an invisible admission practice that school use when selecting students is the consideration of factors such as parents' educational background as a potential predictor of student success. Another of these invisible selection practices was to require the involvement of parents in the school application and enrollment process. Students with parents who were perceived as not involved were less likely to be accepted in schools because school administrators assumed that these parents may not support their children.

Additionally, participants described success barriers that students encounter once they have enrolled in schools. These barriers negatively affect the students' experiences and may lead to both explicit and hidden processes of expulsion from the institution. Participants acknowledged the responsibility of teachers in reifying these barriers; for example, they described teachers' practices of labeling and stereotyping, which negatively affects students with behavioral or learning challenges. Participants also explained how the policies that regulate and evaluate teachers and schools pressure teachers to deliver academic results, which are based on students' scores on high-stakes tests. If teachers and schools do not deliver these results, teachers may lose their jobs and the school could lose its license to operate. Under the pressure raised by these assessment policies, teachers—and schools—

find loopholes in the laws that allow them to waive their professional responsibility when they do not have the resources, knowledge, or skills to deal with difficult students. This practice, according to the participants, disproportionately affects students from disenfranchised groups.

After teachers presented their ideas on exclusion, I asked them how they would challenge or interrupt their ideas in their practice. Participants' responses to this question addressed different levels that inform the life of the school: the students, the classroom, and/or the community. For example, at the student level, participants suggested strategies to influence students' dispositions towards school. One of the strategies was to motivate students to go beyond their current condition, to overcome the barriers placed on them by their contexts, and to trust in their own capabilities. Another strategy was to create meaningful learning experiences to motivate and engage students. At the classroom level, participants proposed strategies to address the students as a group such as setting clear rules for coexistence or encouraging students to imitate the behavior modeled by the teacher.

Chapter six presents findings from the second and third research questions. The second research question asked, "How do Chilean middle school teachers make meaning and respond to social class- or gender-based discriminatory behaviors in classrooms?" I prepared two vignettes portraying social class- and gender-based exclusion dynamics manifested as discrimination between students in the classroom and presented them to the teachers to spark a conversation about the issues portrayed in the vignettes. The participants found the vignettes credible and in

several instances, participants related the content of these vignettes to their own experiences as teachers.

All of the participants who analyzed the social class vignette identified the situation as problematic; however, they varied in their understanding of what specifically was problematic. For example, two participants found the teachers' lack of response and preparation to address the situation problematic. Another problem identified by some participants was the verbal attack of a classmate, and only one participant explicitly referred to the social class content of the aggression. The third type of problem was situated at the student level; participants described the lack of empathy, the use of stereotypes, and the students' assumption of the equivalence of poverty and crime as the key issue underlying the dynamic portrayed in the vignette.

Something similar happened when participants analyzed the vignette portraying a female student being cat-called by her classmates. Here, teachers' understanding also ranged from not finding the situation problematic, to identifying sexism and *machismo* on the part of the male students as a central issue to interrupt and modify. Similar to what happened in the social class vignette, two participants denounced the teacher's lack of response. Also, participants noted the sexual character of the aggression. For example, some of the participants described it as not respecting a classmate, while others identified it as *machismo* and sexism. Only one participant found the situation problematic because it was repeated and impacted the mood of the targeted student; for this participant, it was acceptable that students cat-call a classmate if she enjoyed it.

In the second part of the question about how they would respond to the vignette, answers were again diverse and distributed across the different levels of school life. At the student level, teachers proposed meeting with the students involved in the incident for different purposes. For example, they suggested meeting with the targeted student to debrief, bring comfort, or process the feelings sparked by the incident in the vignette. Teachers also proposed using the incident as a teachable moment by inviting all students in the class to reflect on the impact of their actions or asking them to do the right thing and support their classmate. One teacher proposed adapting their curriculum in their content area to discuss the issues as part of their regular curriculum

Teachers who analyzed the social class vignette provided ideas for action mostly at the individual and classroom level. For example, Amalia would mediate the relationship between perpetrator and targeted students. She would start by addressing the emotions that may be triggered and helping students prepare to talk to each other. At the classroom level, participants would help students reflect by sharing their personal experiences of economic struggle, to humanize the experience of the targeted student and help students realize that everyone could face economic difficulties at some point in their lives. Catalina would go a step further and confront the perpetrator in front of the class, challenging their ideas about social class differences.

Teachers who analyzed the gender vignette also provided ideas for action that distributed across the individual, classroom, and community levels, with the classroom-level prioritized by all participants. For example, Sandy would use

psychology to address all the students in the class, appealing to her students' empathy by telling a story about herself as a student being harassed by a classmate. Teachers would also provide rational arguments to spark the reflection of the students in the class. For example, Tamara would provide information to the students explaining how catcalling is a manifestation of violence. Along with this argument, she would stress the need for everyone to respect each other, and finally, she would talk about the idea of love not being an excuse for disrespectful behaviors.

The third research question asked, "How do individual, professional, and contextual factors influence middle school teachers' responses to and understandings of social class- or gender-based discriminatory behaviors in classrooms?" Participants described the relation between milestones in their personal and professional history, and the orientations and values informing their projected responses to the vignette. However, many of these relations are unique for each participant, making it more difficult to find patterns in the participants' accounts.

A range of childhood, school, and family experiences informed teachers' responses. For example, Amalia's idea of mediating the relationship between the students involved in the incident was inspired by her family history and their social class membership. According to Amalia, the lack of education and tools to deal with conflict among adults in her family led to a family break that she remembers with regret. Teachers' influence, negatively or positively, is also mentioned by participants. Ivan described having teachers hold low expectations about their



students because of the students' social class background. Ivan perceived these low expectations manifested in classes of students feeling bored and not challenged. He has a current interest in entertaining his students in order to keep their interest.

Social identity awareness also played a role in informing participants' responses to the vignettes. Participants described the experience of growing up in a context of poverty, and some described the experience of being women and mothers as factors informing the values and orientations of their choices. For example, Tamara and Sandy empathized with the student being harassed by her classmates in the vignette. Both of them explained that they can relate because they have faced similar experiences and this helps them recognize and interrupt the dynamic in the vignette.

Participants' professional trajectories also informed their responses. Most participants explained that they have learned to address complex incidents in the class by using their intuition and a trial-and-error approach. For example, Juana remembers her experience teaching a class mostly comprised of vulnerable students, and how this experience helped her understand that school does not always make sense for students. This experience helped Juana prioritize responses that involve listening and gathering more information about the incident. Also, several teachers referred to self-directed professional development as a factor informing their responses.

In the previous section, I summarized the main finding of this study responding to the three guiding questions of this research. I briefly describe the teachers' "big ideas" about inclusion and exclusion in education, their responses to

and understandings of social class and gender-based discriminatory behaviors between peers in the classroom, and the factors that teachers identify foregrounding these understandings and actions. In the next section, I continue delving into these findings, focusing on three of the most important ideas developed in this study.

### **Discussion of Findings**

In the following section I discuss three of the main findings of this research. Highlighted findings concern teacher preparation for inclusion, equity and social justice education literature, and literature that examines the impact and influence of inclusion policies in the Chilean education as well. The first finding analyzes the correspondence between teachers' "big ideas" about inclusion and exclusion in education with their analysis of the vignettes, and projected actions aimed at interrupting discriminatory behaviors in the classroom. The second finding discusses the theory-practice gap that surfaces when teachers examine a specific discriminatory behavior between students in the classroom. Finally, the third finding highlights the main factors that shape teachers' understanding of and responses, suggesting that teacher's prior experience (personal and professional) has the most influence. In the section below I discuss these three findings and connect them with relevant literature.

### **Teachers' Perspectives of Inclusion and Exclusion in Chile's Education System**

The teachers' understanding of inclusion and exclusion dynamics in education reflected recent demands for educational equity and inclusion that inspired current

legislation on the topic. Most participants shared this perspective, characterized by a critique of the role that the market plays in Chile's education system and its consequences, as they have experienced and witnessed the impact of this logic for their students. Teachers identified a connection between the neoliberal logic of exclusion with other displays of exclusion in education, for example, the barriers that are placed for students with cognitive or behavioral challenges as these students require more resources, which were not always available in the schools where participants worked. When schools compete, students who are from low-income contexts, who have special needs, or who have behavioral challenges, are more likely to be excluded because they are perceived as an obstacle for school's prestige. Participants seem aware of the main ways in which the neoliberal system operates at the institutional level, and the ways in which it has contributed to the segregation and exclusion of low-income populations. Most of the teachers saw socioeconomic segregation as a mechanism of social exclusion as it makes it more difficult for low-income students to access the most prestigious schools, excluding them from the possibility of social mobility.

Participants did not mention other forms of exclusion that could manifest in schools, such as when students are excluded because of their gender identity, sexual orientation, racialized ethnicity, or language. Only one participant mentioned physical mobility as a factor that can limit a student access to a three-story building that does not have an elevator. Despite the presence of language addressing these categories in the law, there is no mention of barriers that are placed on students because of these social markers. In addition, the participants' vision of exclusion

focused on the results of the process (leaving school) more than the process (isolation, discrimination, lack of supports) itself.

Teachers described possible practices that are consistent with what policy documents describe as actions that are helpful to the creation of an environment that is conducive to learning (i.e., the framework for good teaching in Chapter two). Specifically, teachers try to manage the group process within the class by establishing and enforcing classroom rules (or the school bylaws). For teachers who described this strategy, they remarked on its contribution to inclusion in education, as the control over the class reduces the number of conflicts and the risk of students entering into the different procedures (stated in the bylaws) that could lead to their expulsion. A second strategy they described at this level is modeling. This strategy is not described in any policy document and it is possible that teachers had picked this strategy up from other sources such as their education as teachers or other experiences.

At the classroom level, participants' understanding appears to be more aligned with policy tools focusing on the integration of students with cognitive and behavioral challenges. This emphasis could be traced to the 1990s and early 2000s, when dominant ideas about inclusion embraced an integration logic. The integration logic, closely linked to a biomedical model, focuses on cognitive and physical disabilities, understanding these individual differences as deficits and proposing individual treatment and interventions as the main strategies to address diverse students in schools (Ainscow & Miles, 2008; García-Cedillo, Romero-Contreras, & Ramos-Abadie, 2015; López et al., 2018). Along with the integration logic, the efforts

of the Chilean government during the first years of post-dictatorship governments focused on universal access to primary education, increasing literacy levels among disenfranchised populations, and reducing the achievement gap between rich and poor students (Campos-Martínez, 2010; Hirmas, Hevia, Treviño, & Marambio, 2005; Gentili, 2011). Most of the study participants proposed actions to address exclusion in the classroom yet these actions seldom mirror their understandings of exclusionary practices impacting student access and success; instead, their projected actions sought to shift the behavior of the students so they can fit into the school culture rather than seeking to change the school.

Under this perspective, the solution to exclusion consists of providing accommodations for the students in need to help them adapt to the rules and culture of the school. Participants of this research tend to share a conception of their students as vulnerable subjects that lack motivation, family support, and that hold internal deficits or cognitive deficiencies, which is consistent with findings in the bulk of the empirical research on Chilean teachers (Carrasco, Zamora, & Castillo, 2015; Julio-Maturana et al., 2016; Rojas, Falabella, & Alarcón, 2016). Consistent with this diagnosis, teachers tend to propose actions with the aim of remedying these deficits in their students, on occasion, by taking care of their emotional needs, on other occasions by motivating them to go beyond the limitations placed by their context, and ascribing to a different set of values consistent with the ones promoted by the school. In some occasions, the goal for teachers and schools seems to be the assimilation of the students to the dominant school culture. In this case, valuing diversity implies accepting students' differences while at the same time asking them

to abide by the prevailing cultural norms and practices enforced by the school. In this sense, school bylaws and procedures that are intended to protect the students from arbitrary treatment can simultaneously contribute to penalize students who experience academic and social challenges. Doing inclusion in this way clears educators and schools from their responsibility to educate all students, placing the weight of this responsibility in the students and their families. This is a way in which neoliberalism perpetuates and reifies processes of exclusion.

Teacher perspectives on inclusion and exclusion in education connect to current policies in school; however, these policies not always are internally consistent or provide concrete support to the principles and ideas they propose. Teachers with little professional development opportunities respond to exclusion using a logic that resembles a deficit perspective or an integration approach to inclusion. Generally, teachers tend to suggest actions that seek to change students rather than movements that challenge the institutional conditions that facilitate the students' exclusion. Although policy assumes that teachers are competent enough to implement their principles, in many occasions, this proves a challenge for teachers as their work conditions and preparation do not allow them to enforce actions as the required by policy. In the next section, I discuss the gap in teachers' understanding between what they know to be true at the system-level and their projected actions at the classroom level, as well as some of the difficulties teachers experience in coordinating the multiples levels in which exclusion manifests.

### **Gaps Between Teachers' Micro and Macro Understandings and Actions**

After presenting the vignettes to the teachers, they described their understanding of the situation portrayed and the actions they will pursue to interrupt its course. In both vignettes, teachers struggle to coordinate micro and macro levels of understanding of exclusion. Although most of the teachers interviewed seemed aware of the negative impact of socioeconomic segregation on marginalized students, the four teachers responding the social class vignette struggled to recognize the incident described as a form of classism. Similarly, when talking about their “big ideas” about exclusion and exclusion none of the eight teachers reference gender inequality as barrier to access or success. Yet, when presented the gender vignette, three of the four teachers recognized the interaction as a sexist or *machista* aggression. In the following section I develop with more detail these ideas.

Despite teachers' awareness about the role that social class backgrounds play in the exclusion dynamic that manifests in schools, most participants did not explicitly identified social class as a factor informing the discriminatory dynamic portrayed in the social class vignette. This omission could suggest that teachers struggle to recognize the impact of social class in everyday interactions, even though they understand it more broadly. It also could mean that despite being one of the most widespread accepted categories of difference ordering the social hierarchies in Chile, teachers may not be willing or prepared to handle this topic in their classroom as it could be perceived as controversial (Magendzo & Toledo, 2009; Toledo & Magendzo, 2013).

Instead of referring to the social class dynamic portrayed in the vignette, participants used proxies that described some of its manifestations, such as the use of stereotypes, the inaccurate association between poverty and crime, or the prejudicial character of students. Teachers struggled to connect the classroom level manifestation of classism with its manifestations in exclusion dynamics performed by school and education institutions. In their responses to the class vignette, the teachers expressed a desire to intervene in the situation, but focused on students by encouraging students' critical reflection, change in beliefs, and increasing their empathy towards peers who struggle with economic adversity. Their main purpose was to restore the *convivencia* in the classroom. But, in most cases, restoring the *convivencia* did not imply a more profound analysis of the social systems that create and reproduce social class differences and the impact of these systems in everyday interactions at school.

The disconnection between teachers' understanding and projected actions is particularly interesting in the case of gender. In the initial discussion about exclusion and inclusion in education, none of the teachers referenced gender inequality as a barrier to students' access or success. Yet, when presented with the gender vignette, most recognized the interaction portrayed there as a sexist or *machista* aggression. This recognition was particularly true for the two female teachers who readily connected personally to the incident using their own gender socialization experiences. It appears that teachers with more awareness of sexism were more eager to intervene rather quickly to the situation, and also decided to approach the targeted female student (not just the entire class). But also it seems



that this awareness came from their own experience and not from their education as teachers or other training situation.

One possible explanation for this emerging pattern could relate to educational policy and how it deals with issues of gender discrimination and exclusion. As I explored in Chapter two, Chilean legislation recognizes the subordinate status of women in society; however, policy tools have the tendency of translating this subordination as a male/female achievement gap in mathematics and language. This narrow indicator leaves out a series of practices and institutionalized differences in the treatment and expectations constructed for boys and girls. In this sense, there are no indicators that analyze the normalized sexism present in school bylaws that regulate the way in which girls need to dress (Romero, 2008). Gender is also absent in the textbooks used to teach students about language, mathematics, sciences and history (Binimelis, 1993; Palestro, 2016). Therefore, despite the well-intentioned policy, the culture that reproduces gender hierarchies still dominates the school culture and interpersonal relations. Consistently, most of the interest of policymakers and researchers in gender inequality is placed around women's access to STEM disciplines. As I argue in Chapter two, the interest of Chilean legislation in women's access to education seems to be connected to their ability to access and participate in the market economy.

Schools contribute to the normalization of gender roles, stereotypes, and hierarchies, which occurs through the different messages that girls and boys receive in schools regarding their behavior, their interests, and their future life plans. Teachers also experience these differences; female teachers are expected to perform

a series of activities related to nurturing and caring for the students, male teachers are placed in administrative and leadership positions granting them more power in schools (Reyes-Jedlicki et al., 2014). However, these differences do not seem to be considered by teachers when they talk about their “big ideas” on inclusion and exclusion in education. This micro-macro level disconnection appears to facilitate the reproduction of gender inequality as teachers could find it more difficult to critically analyze sexist interactions that do not represent blatant discriminatory behaviors.

A sharper connection between micro and macro levels of analysis of gender dynamics and sexism may equip teachers to better identify how gender inequality manifests and becomes reproduced in their classrooms. For example, teachers’ responses to the vignette that portrayed a gender-based discriminatory interaction prioritized starting a conversation with the complete class to help them reflect on the incident and the need to respect each other. The incident became a teachable moment to talk about respect with the complete class, yet teachers did not directly address the perpetrator students as they said they would only talk with the targeted student individually. Teachers did not develop male students’ awareness about sexism in their behaviors and the impact of these behaviors in reproducing gender inequality. Identifying and interrupting a sexist dynamic at the micro level does not automatically lead to broader critical analysis of gender inequality and its manifestations in other cultural and institutional practices sustained by schools.

In short, one of the major findings in this study is teachers limited coordination between their ideas about inclusion at the system level with their

understanding of and responses to at the classroom level. This gap not only impacts the quality of the teachers' responses to classroom dynamics but also can reinforce pervasive oppression dynamics based on socioeconomic class and gender. In the next section, I discuss some of the factors that may explain this gap between knowledge and action for this group of teachers in particular, and teacher educators more broadly.

### **Factors Shaping Teachers' Understanding and Responses to Discriminatory Behaviors in the Classroom**

The eight teachers who participated in this study described the factors that influenced their responses to discrimination in the classroom. Most of these factors related to their own history and the experiences they have accumulated due to their social class and gender status. These experiences inform the ideas of teachers, which teachers implement hoping that they will engage students and solve the situation represented in the vignette. Overwhelmingly, teachers reported as one of the main sources informing their practice "trial and error." As participants describe, trial and error is based on intuition and is usually inspired by previous experiences, either from the participants' childhood or their preparation as teachers.

Some participants described how the trial and error approach to conflict in the classroom helped them question their practice and inspired their current responses to conflict in the classroom. They explained how their lack of strategies to engage students from a different background forced them to figure out some of the differences between the students' realities and their own. This new knowledge also became a factor that they pondered when approaching conflict in the classroom,

which is especially relevant as none of the participants referred to having a structured training experience focused on promoting equity and inclusion in their classroom. The teachers' professional preparation does not seem to provide tools to critically analyze social class and gender inequalities as they manifest in their work.

Teachers also described their socioeconomic background while growing up and/or gender as factors that influenced their understanding and inspired their responses to the vignettes. Teachers who came from a similar background than their students seemed to understand better what may be of interest to the students, or knew how to better engage their students. In some cases, teachers realized that social class differences acted as a barrier for them to understand the reality their students live, and from this realization they decided to get more informed about the possible realities of their students. Something similar happened with teachers' gender identity. Gender was also influential, especially for female teachers, who reported experiencing similar situations to the one described in the gender vignette. The women teachers self-identified with the role of mothers, from which certain personal and social expectations shaped their approach to their students, such as occupying the role of caregiver and taking an interest in personal aspects of the students. Despite these experiences, teachers' responses to social class and gender discrimination tended to match a traditional approach. Participants addressed the conflict as an incident between two students with almost no further reflection about the systems of inequality that the incident reproduces and reinforces.

The teachers' own pre-service teacher preparation also proved to be influential in shaping their understanding of the situation and responses. What

teachers accounted as the most useful knowledge from their experiences relates to their courses in developmental psychology and group management, along with the role models and experiences of immersion that helps them grapple with their professional practice. Knowledge of developmental psychology was a key factor mentioned by several teachers because it allowed them to plan the level of abstraction and difficulty of the activities in their classes. Participants also explained that they consider this knowledge when responding to the class about the discriminatory interactions portrayed on the vignette. According to the participants, the content of their responses and the prompts to help students reflect on their actions was guided by their psychological knowledge, coaching them in a way that help students understand and relate to the teachers' words. Similarly, teachers described the disciplinary content they teach as a resource and a factor that influences the type of response they deliver. Social sciences and history teachers use their historical knowledge to explain to their students some of the historical background informing their behaviors. Language teachers invite the students to tell their stories of discrimination and explore their own identity.

Overall, factors informing teachers' responses seemed highly idiosyncratic and did not respond to a specific framework or idea of how teachers learn and practice inclusion in schools. To practice inclusion, participants drew on their personal experiences and knowledge of developmental psychology. These sources of knowledge do not provide a complex understanding of exclusion and inequity dynamics. As a result, teachers are left to improvise, follow their "gut" feelings, or use trial and error as main strategies to intervene when social class- or gender-

based discrimination arise.

### **Implications of the Study for Chilean Education Policy and Teacher Preparation**

Chilean teachers stand in a historical context where ideas about inclusion and justice in education are in flux. During the decade between the 1990s and early 2000s, dominant ideas about justice embraced an integration logic. More recently, the integration logic has yielded space for an inclusion logic in education, a logic that not only tolerates but “supports and welcomes diversity among all learners” (Ainscow & Miles, 2008, p. 16). The inclusion logic has been promoted and supported by international organizations like UNESCO (1994), which state that “inclusion and participation are essential to human dignity and to the enjoyment and exercise of human rights” (p. 11). In terms of teaching, the “concept of inclusive education emphasizes the right of diverse students not only to study in the general school setting, but to adequately address their needs in order to secure their personal development and academic achievement” (García-Cedillo et al., 2015, p. 145). In Chile, Lopez et al. (2018), tracked the influence of this trend back to the year 2004 with the “Report from the National Committee of Experts in Special Education” (p. 5) and later, in 2005, with the “New Policy of Special Education: Our Commitment to Diversity” (p. 5). With these milestones, the direction of policy development and legislation on education has started to embrace the idea of inclusion in education as an effort to provide quality education to all children independent of racial, social class, gender, ethnic, or ability status differences (López et al.).

The inclusion logic is also consistent with what Adams & Zúñiga (2016) describe as a diversity approach. This approach is characterized by the recognition and appreciation of differences among social and cultural groups, defined by historically constructed categories of differences such as social class, gender, ethnicity, religion, age, ability status, sexual orientation, and others. However, neither the inclusion logic nor the diversity approach coordinates the analysis of differences with systems of advantages based on such differences (Adams & Zúñiga). Social movements advocating for a more just society historically have embraced a social justice education approach to social differences, in part due to the close connection between this approach and the grassroots organizing strategies developed in the struggles for social equality (Adams, 2010). A social justice education approach foregrounds an engaged pedagogical practice that encourages participants to examine the different ways in which systems of privilege and oppressions affect their lives and helps them translate their awareness and analysis into individual and collective actions (Adams & Zúñiga, 2016; North, 2006). This critical and engaged perspective to equity and inclusion in education is absent in policy documentation and curricula in Chile; however, some of its principles are present in social movements' demands and popular education experiences across the South American region (Cabello, 2018; Cendales, Mejía, & Muñoz, 2016; Reyes-Jedlicki, 2014).

Chilean legislation on inclusion results from a process of political negotiation between competing agendas. One of these agendas pursues the consolidation of the neoliberals and their cultural project (Clark, 2017), pushing for legislation and

policy tools heightening individualism, competition among schools and teachers, individual rewards and collective punishments, freedom of choice, and holding individuals responsible for societal failures. This project represents a neoliberal agenda in education, which also seeks to transform all school practices into indicators, and to quantify the experience of students using these values to support the education market (Alarcón & Donoso, 2018; Connell, 2013; Lipman, 2011; Schild, 2000). Other educational projects pursue the recognition of diversity, affirming cultural practices of disenfranchised groups, valuing the existence of difference, affirming their identities, and respecting their traditions and culture (Adams & Zúñiga, 2016; López et al., 2018). Still other educational projects move beyond affirming diversity to challenge and transform all manifestations of injustice which are reinforced by socially constructed hierarchies resulting from historical legacies targeting specific social groups based on ability status, age, social class, ethnicity, language, race, and/or nationality (Adams & Zúñiga).

Despite social movements and advocacy organizations being some of the main public actors pressuring for shifts in the status quo, the legislation enacted in Chile does not always fully align with the content and direction of their demands (Alarcón & Donoso, 2018; Diaz, Castro-Paredes, & Davis-Toledo, 2012). For example, most of the laws use a progressive language that advocates for the recognition and valuation of differences, the importance of equality, non-discrimination, and justice in school practices and processes. However, this progressive language is shadowed by a neoliberal rollout of policy tools that centers top-down assessments and personal accountability (López et al., 2018).



While inclusion policies advocate for schools where all students can experience meaningful learning processes, assessment policies privilege academic achievement, pressuring and ranking schools in relation to the students' test scores. Furthermore, Chilean researchers report teachers' commitment to fostering inclusive environments. However, this commitment to inclusion finds institutional barriers that divert the time of teachers to tasks focused on promoting students' achievement on high stakes tests such as the SIMCE (Campos-Martínez & Morales, 2016; Rojas et al., 2016; Romero, 2008). Similarly, policies designed to foster inclusive practices and safe schools also reduce these ideas to indicators and standards measured by quantitative questionnaires or calibrated evaluators. Under this legislative umbrella, the narrow range of actions allowed for teachers creates a disconnection between what teachers would like to do, and what they are able to do. The teachers' professional preparation does not seem to provide tools to critically analyze and act upon the tensions at the core of the work of teachers using a social justice lens.

The Chilean legislation about school violence and *convivencia* synthesizes the struggle among these competitive ideologies, creating a complex framework of laws and policy tools that regulate the teachers' work and the school culture and traditions. While this framework allows an assemblage of ideas from competitive schools of thought, the educational policy ultimately privileges some of these ideas in its design and implementation contributing to the reproduction of social inequalities. For example, the pressure placed by the stakes of testing centers the life of the school on preparing students to succeed on the test while other aspects of

the students' lives not directly linked to their academic performance get neglected. Students with less support are left behind or, as the participants of the study explained, get excluded from the school. The teachers' work environment does not seem to provide enough opportunities to implement creative and transformative pedagogies to help teachers reflect and practice upon inclusion in their classrooms. Teachers live in constant tension between competing ideologies and do not always have the resources, or the knowledge, to strategically navigate the school in order to adjust their practices and values, and promote inclusion and social justice.

The implementation of these logics creates social practices in different levels of social life. At the institutional level, it is possible to identify a mix of these practices in the language used in legislation, policy tools, and bylaws regulating the education system and the life of the school. At the interpersonal level, teachers and school staff interpret and appropriate pieces of each logic foregrounding the direction of their practice, which affects the lives of their students and colleagues. Inclusion becomes a contested term located within a shifting socio-political context. Chilean teachers stand in this context and negotiate the different demands placed by it, but in many cases do not have an appropriate preparation to grapple with this complexity. This study surfaces some of the tensions, challenges, and achievements of Chilean teachers when they face a situation that requires them to deal with exclusion dynamic in the classroom.

Despite the well-intentioned language in the policies, the culture that reproduces gender and social class hierarchies still dominates the school culture and interpersonal relations. Policies and policy tools/artifacts that regulate

teachers' work have been developed within the context of a struggle between competitive discourses. Teachers integrate parts of all these discourses, but they privilege neoliberal logics in their application. Teachers are regulated by this logic and their work—and subjectivities—are shaped by it.

### **Future Research Directions**

One of my goals for this exploratory qualitative study was to identify gaps in the literature and research questions or topics for further research., particularly as it concerns the use of vignettes to investigate possible theory-practice gaps in teacher preparation and performance across contexts . In this section, I present outline a few directions for future research.

As I established in Chapter four, vignettes are methodological devices commonly used to surface the subjacent motives informing decision-making processes of practitioners (Arbeau & Coplan, 2007; Darvin, 2011; Green, Shriberg & Faber, 2008; Jeffries & Madder, 2004). In my study, vignettes proved to be useful methodological device to help surface the teacher's gaps between teachers' understandings of a classroom interaction and the projected actions they propose to address class and gender based discriminatory behavior. In addition, the use of vignettes proved helpful in grasping the extent to which teachers' understanding of Chile's policy frameworks for addressing exclusions is not mirrored by this group of teachers analysis of and intended action in particular classroom situation, Hence, further studies involving a larger sample of teachers that focuses on questions

related to teacher preparation and performance in the area of inclusion and exclusion could benefit from the use of this methodological device.

The empirical literature reviewed in Chapter four revealed several gaps related to how social class and gender dynamics manifest in Chilean schools. One of these gaps relates to knowledge about the teachers' social identity awareness and the teachers' experiences of socialization within systems of oppression such as sexism or classism suggesting that more attention needs to be placed on social identity-based awareness in teacher preparation. Hence, another important direction for future research concerning issues of exclusion and inclusion in K-12 classroom settings should pay attention to teachers' social identity based socializations along gender, class, ability and other social markers that impact their self-awareness and social location in the classroom. As Bell, Goodman, & Varghese (2016) explain, teachers' social identity (ies) usually manifest in the classroom when making decisions about content, pedagogy and during teacher-student interactions. One of the findings of this study supports this claim as one of the factors influencing this group of teachers' responses to the vignette. However, because of the exploratory character of this study, this finding is suggestive but not conclusive. Hence, further research is needed to examine this pattern of finding.

Last, inquiring into the relationship between teachers' identity awareness and their pedagogical practice could also be a research topic in future studies. For instance, studies that encourage teacher inquiry into their own socialization narratives along social markers such as gender, religion, sexuality and socio-economic class may shed light on the factors that contribute to reinforce or resist

classist and sexist dynamics in the classroom. This relationship between teacher's identity awareness and pedagogical practice could also be emphasized more explicitly when exploring teachers' classroom practices and/or responses to classroom interactions. For example, one of the studies reviewed by del Río and Balladares (2010) used a vignette to introduce a student to teacher candidates, relying on social class and gender markers to describe the student's profile. The researchers asked participants to assess the personal characteristics of students in the vignette. Interestingly, the authors of the study describe the identities of the participants who responded to the vignette but do not reference how future research could use a similar approach, but make more central the identity of teachers in the analysis of their responses to the vignettes.

Finally, after collecting the data that I analyzed in this research, a feminist wave of protests flooded the streets and education institutions in Chile. It would be important to assess the extent that the public discourse was constructed around issues of gender inequality, and how that discourse may have had an effect on teachers' perceptions and understandings of gender-based discriminatory dynamics in their classrooms.

## APPENDIX A

### ELECTRONIC CONTACT TEMPLATE: RECOMMENDERS

I am pleased to contact you to request your collaboration in a research project currently developing as part of my doctoral work. This project pursues to understand how seven and eight grade teachers working at public funded schools address classrooms interactions associated with *convivencia*<sup>1</sup> and inclusion between students. It also explores some of the personal, contextual and professional factors that teachers relate to their approach to these interactions. Finally, the project seeks to understand the barriers, risks, challenges and resources that teachers identify when addressing such situations.

I write to you as a (Chilean expert / educator currently involved in the education system) to respectfully ask for your support in the process of recruitment of potential participants. Specifically, to participate in this project teachers should meet the following criteria:

- 1) Currently work in a public funded school, Municipal or Private.
- 2) Teach at seven or eight grade middle school level.
- 3) Teach language or social sciences subject.
- 4) Have been working as teacher for more at least three years.

Your cooperation entails contacting potential participants and sharing with them the letter of invitation to this study, which is attached to the email. The potential

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<sup>1</sup> There is not direct translation -or a proxy- for the term *convivencia* as is used by Chilean people. The best translation in the meaning of the phrase “*convivencia e inclusion*” to English would be to only using the word “inclusion”. However, in order to maintain the symmetry between the Spanish and English version of the documents I added the word *convivencia* without translation to all the documents in English.

participants will be asked to complete a brief, confidential and voluntary, socio-demographic survey. The link to this survey is included in the body of the invitation letter. If you have any questions related to the investigation and/or to the procedures to contact potential participants, please feel free to write to my email:

[jcampos@educ.umass.edu](mailto:jcampos@educ.umass.edu)

Thank you for your time and collaboration,

Javier Campos-Martinez

**ELECTRONIC CONTACT TEMPLATE: ELECTRONIC CONTACT  
TEMPLATE: RECOMMENDERS (SPANISH)**

Estimado/a XX,

(Cargo)

Me es grato comunicarme con usted para solicitar su colaboración en un proyecto de investigación que desarrollo actualmente como parte de mi trabajo doctoral. El proyecto tiene como objetivo conocer cómo docentes de séptimo y octavo básico, en escuelas con financiamiento público, abordan interacciones que ocurren entre los estudiantes relacionadas con la convivencia y la inclusión en la sala de clases. Además, explora los factores personales, contextuales y profesionales que los docentes relacionan con su aproximación a estas interacciones. Finalmente, busca conocer las barreras, riesgos, desafíos y recursos que los docentes identifican cuando enfrentan estas dinámicas.

Le escribo este email en su calidad de (*experto en educación chilena/docente actualmente vinculado al sistema educativo*) para pedir respetuosamente su apoyo en el proceso de reclutamiento de potenciales participantes. Específicamente, los y las docentes que participen del proyecto deben cumplir con los siguientes criterios:

- 1- Trabajar actualmente en una escuela con financiamiento público, Municipal o Particular.
- 2- Enseñar actualmente en séptimo u octavo básico.
- 3- Enseñar actualmente contenidos de los siguientes subsectores: Lenguaje y Comunicación o Historia, Geografía y Ciencias Sociales.
- 4- Haber trabajado como docente por mas de tres años.



Su colaboración consiste en contactar a posibles participantes y compartir con ellos la carta de invitación a esta investigación, la cual adjunto en este email. Las personas que usted contacte deberán completar una breve encuesta de caracterización socio-demográfica, confidencial y voluntaria, cuyo link se encuentra en la carta de invitación. Ante cualquier pregunta sobre la investigación y/o sobre los procedimientos de contacto. Por favor no dude en escribir a mi email: [jcampos@educ.umass.edu](mailto:jcampos@educ.umass.edu)

Muchas gracias por su tiempo y colaboración,

Javier Campos-Martínez

## APPENDIX B

### ELECTRONIC CONTACT TEMPLATE: PARTICIPANTS

Dear Teacher,

My name is Javier Campos-Martinez; I am currently a PhD student at the College of Education University of Massachusetts Amherst in the United States. I am writing to respectfully explore your interest in participate in my dissertation project. This project pursues to understand how seven and eight grade teachers working at public funded schools address classrooms interactions associated with *convivencia*<sup>2</sup> and inclusion between students. It also explores some of the personal, contextual and professional factors that teachers relate to their approach to these interactions. Finally, the project seeks to understand the barriers, risks, challenges and resources that teachers identify when addressing such situations.

Your contribution would consist in participating in two interview sessions that will last approximately 60 minutes each. These interviews will be carried on mutually agreed upon location between the researcher and yourself. The interview sessions will be separated by not less than 4 days and no more than 2 weeks. The interview sessions will happen on a mutually agreed date, between September 1 and October 15. Your participation will be entirely voluntary, and even once they have started, you may leave the interview, without any consequence for you.

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<sup>2</sup> There is not direct translation -or a proxy- for the term *convivencia* as is used by Chilean people. The best translation in the meaning of the phrase “*convivencia e inclusion*” to English would be to only using the word “inclusion”. However, in order to maintain the symmetry between the Spanish and English version of the documents I added the word *convivencia* without translation to all the documents in English.

If you are interested in collaborating, the first thing to do is complete the form at the following link: <http://bit.ly/2c0h0pH>. This form includes demographic questions, questions about the school in which you currently work, and questions about your professional trajectory. The information you share in this form is confidential, it will be available only to me, and it will help me adjust the content of the interviews I will do as part of this project. In the event that the interview could not be arranged, the information that you provided in this form will be deleted. If you are chosen to participate, the information you provide in this form will become part of the research data and it will be maintained confidential and secure. Once you complete the form, I will contact you using the means of your choice to coordinate the next steps of your participation in this project.

If you are interested in participating, but you need more information about the investigation or have any other questions. Please do not hesitate to write me an email to: [jcampos@educ.umass.edu](mailto:jcampos@educ.umass.edu)

Thank you for your time,

Greetings,

Javier Campos-Martinez

## **ELECTRONIC CONTACT TEMPLATE: PARTICIPANTS (SPANISH)**

Estimado/a Profesor/a XX,

Mi nombre es Javier Campos Martínez, actualmente soy un estudiante de doctorado en la Facultad de Educación de la Universidad de Massachusetts Amherst, en los Estados Unidos. Le escribo respetuosamente para explorar su interés en participar de mi proyecto de tesis. El proyecto tiene como objetivo conocer cómo docentes de séptimo y octavo básico, en escuelas con financiamiento público, abordan interacciones entre los estudiantes relacionadas con la convivencia y la inclusión en la sala de clases. Además, explora factores personales, contextuales y profesionales que los docentes relacionan con su aproximación a estas interacciones. Finalmente, busca conocer las barreras, riesgos, desafíos, y recursos que los docentes identifican cuando enfrentan estas dinámicas.

Su contribución consistiría en la participación de dos entrevistas individuales de aproximadamente 60 minutos. Estas entrevistas serán realizadas en el lugar que usted elija, estarán separadas entre ellas por no menos de 4 días y no más de 2 semanas, y ocurrirán entre los días 1 de Septiembre y 15 de Octubre en un horario que acordemos mutuamente. Su participación en estas entrevistas es completamente voluntaria, e incluso una vez iniciadas, usted podrá optar por abandonarlas sin ningún tipo de consecuencia.

Si esta interesado/a en colaborar, lo primero que debe hacer es completar el formulario en el siguiente enlace: <http://bit.ly/2c0h0pH> . Este formulario incluye preguntas de carácter demográfico, preguntas sobre la escuela en la cual trabaja, y sobre algunos hitos de su trayectoria profesional. La información que provea en este formulario es confidencial, sólo será conocida solo por mí, y me ayudará a ajustar el contenido de las entrevistas que realizaré en el marco de este proyecto. En el caso de que la entrevista no

sea concertada, la información que entregue en este cuestionario será eliminada. Si usted es elegido/a para participar en las entrevistas, su información se convertirá en parte de los datos de la investigación y será mantenida confidencial y segura. Una vez completado el formulario, le contactaré por el medio de su elección para coordinar los siguientes pasos de su participación en el proyecto.

Si se encuentra interesado en participar, pero necesita mas información sobre la investigación o tiene algún otro tipo de pregunta. Por favor, no dude en escribir a mi email [jcampos@educ.umass.edu](mailto:jcampos@educ.umass.edu)

Muchas gracias por su tiempo,

Saludos cordiales

Javier Campos-Martínez

## APPENDIX C

### CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATION IN A RESEARCH STUDY

*University of Massachusetts Amherst*

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<b>Researcher(s):</b>	<i>Faculty Sponsor: Ximena Zúñiga Ph. D.</i> <i>Primary Student Researcher: Javier Campos-Martinez</i>
<b>Study Title:</b> <b>student</b> <b>the classroom</b>	<b>Chilean teachers responses to, and understanding of, interaction with diverse peers in</b>

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#### 1. WHAT IS THIS FORM?

This form is called a Consent Form. It will give you information about the study so you can make an informed decision about your participation in this project.

#### 2. WHO IS ELIGIBLE TO PARTICIPATE?

You are eligible to participate in this project if you meet the following criteria:

- 1) Currently work in a public funded school, Municipal or private subsidized.
- 2) Teach at seven or eight grade middle school level.
- 3) Teach language or social sciences subject.
- 4) Have been working as teacher for more at least three years.

#### 3. WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY?

This study pursues to understand how seven and eight grade teachers working at public funded schools address classrooms interactions associated with convivencia and inclusion between students. It also explores some of the personal, contextual and professional factors that teachers relate to their approach to these interactions. Finally, the project seeks to understand the barriers, risks, challenges and resources that teachers identify when addressing such situations.

#### 4. WHERE WILL THE STUDY TAKE PLACE AND HOW LONG WILL IT LAST?

The study will take place at a mutually agreed upon location between the researcher and yourself. The total time estimate for this study is of 120 minutes. You will be expected to participate in two interview sessions that will last approximately 60 minutes each.

## **5. WHAT WILL I BE ASKED TO DO?**

Two interviews compose this research study, both interviews last approximately 60 minutes each. In the first one, I will introduce you a small story describing an interaction between students associated with coexistence and inclusion in the classroom. Following this story, I will invite you to describe how you would navigate the situation presented in the story. Then we will talk about your personal and professional experiences that you relate with the approach you took to the story. Also, in this interview we will examine some of the barriers, risks and resources you considered significant when navigating situations of coexistence and inclusion in the classroom.

The second interview explores with more deepness your personal and professional biography. In this interview we will have a conversation about some of the milestones of your personal and professional biography that may be related to the ideas and practices you currently use to navigate some of the challenges of coexistence and inclusion in your classroom. Finally, in this second interview will explore some of the professional development need you consider will help you promote an inclusive coexistence between the students in your classroom.

## **6. WHAT ARE MY BENEFITS OF BEING IN THIS STUDY?**

You may not directly benefit from this research; however, we hope that your participation in the study will help inform teacher education practices, policies and procedures. In addition you will have an outlet to describe, assess, and reflect on your knowledge and experience and you may experience feelings of reward for furthering knowledge on the strategies that teachers use to address students interactions in classrooms.

## **7. WHAT ARE MY RISKS OF BEING IN THIS STUDY?**

We believe there are no known risks associated with this research study; however, a possible inconvenience may be the time it takes to complete the study.

## **8. HOW WILL MY PERSONAL INFORMATION BE PROTECTED?**

The following procedures will be used to protect the confidentiality of your study records. Study records include contact information, audio files, the interview notes and interview transcripts. The researcher will keep all the study records, including any codes to your data, in a secure location, specifically an encrypted password protected computer that only the researcher has the password for.

Research records will be labeled with a code. A master key that links names and codes will be maintained in a separate and secure location. The master key and audio recordings will be destroyed six years after the completion of the study. All

the electronic files including audio files, coding databases, and electronic interview transcript documents containing identifiable information will be encrypted and password protected. Any computer hosting such files will also have password protection to prevent access by unauthorized users. Only the researcher will have access to the passwords.

All participants will be asked to select a pseudonym for this project. If participants do not select a pseudonym, the researcher will create a pseudonym for the participant. Participant's true names, contact information or other identifying information will not be linked in any way to audio files and transcripts. At the conclusion of this study, the researcher may publish his findings in academic journals and at academic conferences. Any participant contact information used to schedule the interview will not be included in research reports or presentations. Additionally, researchers will use participants' pseudonyms in these reports or presentations and will remove or may alter personal information that would make them identifiable.

## **9. WHAT IF I HAVE QUESTIONS?**

Take as long as you like before you make a decision. I will be happy to answer any question you have about this study. If you have further questions about this project or if you have a project-related problem, you may contact Javier Campos-Martinez, main investigator, at [jcampos@educ.umass.edu](mailto:jcampos@educ.umass.edu), Skype address @jcampospiie or U.S. Phone Number +1 413 356 0984. Also if you have any questions regarding this study feel free to email my faculty advisor, professor Dr. Ximena Zuñiga at [xzuniga@educ.umass.edu](mailto:xzuniga@educ.umass.edu). If you would like to speak someone not directly involved this project, or if you have any questions regarding your rights as a research participant, you may contact the University of Massachusetts Amherst Human Research Protection Office (HRPO) at [humansubjects@ora.umass.edu](mailto:humansubjects@ora.umass.edu).

## **11. CAN I STOP BEING IN THE STUDY?**

You do not have to be in this study if you do not want to. If you agree to be in the study, but later change your mind, you may drop out at any time. There are no penalties or consequences of any kind if you decide that you do not want to participate. You have the right to refuse to answer any question or to terminate your participation in the interview at any time with no penalty or detriment to yourself. In addition, you have the right to review transcript of the interviews and a summary of the findings will be made available to you at your request.

## **12. WHAT IF I AM INJURED?**

The University of Massachusetts Amherst does not have a program for compensating subjects for injury or complications related to human research, but the researcher will assist you in getting treatment.



### 13. PARTICIPANT STATEMENT OF VOLUNTARY CONSENT

When signing this form I am agreeing to voluntarily enter this study. I have had a chance to read this consent form, and it was explained to me in a language that I use and understand. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have received satisfactory answers. I understand that I can withdraw at any time. A copy of this signed Informed Consent Form has been given to me.

Participant Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

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Print Name:

Date:

By signing below I indicate that the participant has read and, to the best of my knowledge, understands the details contained in this document and has been given a copy.

Signature of Person  
Obtaining Consent

Print Name:

Date:

Consentimiento Informado para Participar en un Proyecto de Investigación  
*Universidad de Massachusetts Amherst*

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**Investigadores:** *Faculty Sponsor: Ximena Zúñiga Ph. D.*

*Primary Student Researcher: Javier Campos-Martinez*

**Título del Estudio:** **Comprensiones y respuestas de profesores Chilenos sobre interacciones entre estudiantes diversos en la sala de clases**

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### **1. ¿QUÉ ES ESTE FORMULARIO?**

Este formulario se llama “Consentimiento Informado.” Le dará información sobre el estudio, para que pueda hacer una decisión informada sobre su participación en el proyecto.

### **2. ¿QUIÉN PUEDE SER SELECCIONADO/A COMO PARTICIPANTE?**

Para ser elegido como participante de este proyecto cumplir con los siguientes criterios:

- 1) Trabajar actualmente en una escuela con financiamiento público, Municipal o Particular Subvencionada
- 2) Enseñar actualmente en séptimo u octavo básico
- 3) Enseñar contenidos de uno los siguientes subsectores: Lenguaje y Comunicación o Historia, Geografía y Ciencias Sociales.
- 4) Haber trabajado como docente por mas de tres años.

### **3. ¿CUÁL ES EL PROPÓSITO DE ESTE ESTUDIO?**

El estudio tiene como propósito conocer cómo docentes de séptimo y octavo básico, en escuelas con financiamiento público, abordan interacciones que ocurren entre los estudiantes relacionadas con la convivencia y la inclusión en la sala de clases. Además, explora factores personales, contextuales y profesionales que los docentes relacionan con su aproximación a estas interacciones. Finalmente, busca conocer las barreras, riesgos, desafíos, y recursos que los docentes identifican cuando enfrentan estas dinámicas.

### **4. ¿DÓNDE SE LLEVARÁ A CABO EL ESTUDIO Y CUÁNTO TIEMPO TOMARÁ?**

El estudio se llevará a cabo en una locación acordada mutuamente entre usted y el investigador. El tiempo total estimado para este estudio es de 120 minutos. Se espera que participe en dos sesiones de entrevista que se extenderán por aproximadamente 60 minutos cada una.

## **5. ¿QUÉ SE ME PEDIRÁ HACER?**

Este estudio esta compuesto por dos entrevistas las cuales tienen una duración aproximada de sesenta minutos cada una. En la primera entrevista, presentaré una historia corta describiendo una interacción entre estudiantes relacionada con la convivencia y la inclusión en la sala de clases. Después de presentar esta historia, le invitaré a describir como Ud. abordaría dicha situación. A continuación, conversaremos sobre experiencias personales y profesionales que Ud. relaciona con su abordaje de la situación. También identificaremos algunas de las barreras, riesgos y recursos que Ud. considera necesarios al navegar situaciones de convivencia e inclusión en la sala de clases.

La segunda entrevista examina con mayor profundidad su biografía personal y profesional. En esta entrevista conversaremos sobre algunos hitos de su biografía personal y profesional que pueden estar relacionados con las ideas y practicas que usted utiliza actualmente para abordar algunos de los desafíos que plantea la convivencia e inclusión en la sala de clases. Finalmente, exploraremos algunas de las necesidades de desarrollo profesional que usted piensa que pueden ayudarle a promover una convivencia mas inclusiva entre los estudiantes en la sala de clases.

## **6. ¿CUÁLES SON LOS BENEFICIOS DE PARTICIPAR EN ESTE ESTUDIO?**

Usted no se beneficiara directamente de esta investigación; sin embargo, esperamos que su participación en este estudio contribuya a orientar practicas, políticas y procedimientos en la formación de profesores. Adicionalmente usted tendrá un espacio para describir, evaluar y reflexionar sobre su practica, conocimiento y experiencia y podría experimentar sentimientos generales de satisfacción personal por contribuir a avanzar el conocimiento sobre las estrategias que utilizan los profesores para abordar las interacciones entre estudiantes en sus clases.

## **7. ¿CUÁLES SON LOS RIESGOS DE PARTICIPAR EN ESTE ESTUDIO?**

Creemos que no hay riesgos conocidos asociados a su participación en este estudio; sin embargo, una posible inconveniencia puede ser el tiempo que tome completar las entrevistas.

## **8. ¿CÓMO SERÁ PROTEGIDA MI INFORMACION PERSONAL?**

Los siguientes procedimientos serán usados para proteger la confidencialidad de sus datos en el marco del estudio. Los datos del estudio incluyen su información de contacto, archivos de audio, notas de las entrevistas, y transcripciones de las entrevistas. El investigador mantendrá todos los registros del estudio, incluyendo los códigos que se hagan sobre sus datos, en un lugar seguro, específicamente un computador encriptado y protegido por contraseña a la cual solo el investigador tendrá acceso.

Las grabaciones y transcripciones serán rotuladas con un código. Un archivo maestro que una los nombres de los participantes y los códigos será mantenido en una ubicación separada y segura. Este archivo maestro y las grabaciones de audio serán destruidas seis años después de la finalización del estudio. Todos los archivos electrónicos incluyendo archivos de audio, bases de datos con códigos, y transcripciones electrónicas de las entrevistas que contengan información que sea identificable, serán encriptados y protegidos con una contraseña. Cualquier computador que contenga estos archivos será protegido con contraseña para prevenir el acceso de usuarios no autorizados. Solo el investigador tendrá acceso a la contraseña.

Se les pedirá a todos/as los participantes escoger un pseudónimo para este proyecto. Si los/as participantes no eligen un pseudónimo, el investigador creará un pseudónimo para el participante. Los nombres reales de los participantes, la información de contacto u otra información que pueda conducir a su identificación no será ligada a archivos de audio o transcripciones. Al concluir este estudio, el investigador puede publicar sus hallazgos en revistas académicas o en conferencias académicas. Adicionalmente, el investigador utilizará los pseudónimos de los participantes en estos reportes, y removerá o alterará, la información personal que pueda permitir la identificación de los participantes.

## **9. ¿QUÉ HAGO SI TENGO PREGUNTAS?**

Tome el tiempo que estime necesario antes de tomar una decisión. Estaremos felices de responder cualquier pregunta que tenga sobre este estudio. Si tiene mas preguntas sobre el proyecto de investigación, o si tiene algún problema relacionado con la investigación, puede contactar a Javier Campos-Martínez, el investigador principal via email a [jcampos@educ.umass.edu](mailto:jcampos@educ.umass.edu) , dirección Skype @jcampospie o a través de su numero de teléfono en los Estados Unidos +1413 356 0984. Además, si tiene alguna pregunta sobre este estudio, por favor siéntase libre de escribir a mi profesora patrocinadora, Dra. Ximena Zúñiga a su email [xzuniga@educ.umass.edu](mailto:xzuniga@educ.umass.edu). Si desea hablar con alguien que no este directamente involucrado con el proyecto, o si tiene alguna pregunta sobre sus derechos como sujeto de investigación puede contactar a la Oficina de Protección de Investigación en Humanos de la Universidad de Massachusetts Amherst (University of Massachusetts Amherst Human Research Protection Office, HRPO) o en la dirección electrónica [humansubjects@ora.umass.edu](mailto:humansubjects@ora.umass.edu).

## **11. ¿PUEDO DEJAR DE PARTICIPAR EN EL ESTUDIO?**

No tiene que participar de la investigación si no lo desea. Si a aceptado formar parte de este estudio, pero luego cambia su opinión, puede dejar de participar en cualquier momento. No hay penalidades o consecuencias de ningún tipo si decide no seguir participando. Tiene el derecho de negarse a contestar cualquier pregunta o terminar su participación en la entrevista en cualquier minuto, sin ninguna penalidad o detrimento para su persona. Adicionalmente, tiene el derecho a revisar

las transcripciones de la entrevista y un resumen con sus principales hallazgos será puesto a su disposición cuando lo requiera.

## **12. ¿QUÉ OCURRE SI SUFRO UN DAÑO?**

La Universidad de Massachusetts Amherst no tiene un programa para compensar sujetos por danos o complicaciones relacionadas con la investigación con humanos, pero el investigado lo/a asistirá buscando tratamiento.

## **13. DECLARACION DEL PARTICIPANTE DE CONSENTIMIENTO VOLUNTARIO**

Al firmar esta forma usted estoy aceptando participar voluntariamente de este estudio. He tenido la oportunidad de leer esta forma consentimiento informado, y me ha sido explicada en un lenguaje que uso y comprendo. He tenido la oportunidad de hacer preguntas y he recibido respuestas satisfactorias. Entiendo que puedo dejar la investigación en cualquier momento. Una copia firmada de este consentimiento informado me ha sido entregada.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Firma del participante:

\_\_\_\_\_  
Nombre en Imprenta:

\_\_\_\_\_  
Fecha:

Firmando abajo yo indico que el participante ha leído, y en mi mejor comprensión, entiende los detalles contenidos en este documento y se le ha entregado una copia.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Firma del investigador:

\_\_\_\_\_  
Nombre en Imprenta:

\_\_\_\_\_  
Fecha:

## **APPENDIX D**

### **PLACEMENT FORM AND DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION**

Thank you for your interest in this project.

Before formally starting your participation in the study, I would appreciate if you could complete this formulary, which includes demographic questions, questions about the school in which you currently work, and questions about your professional trajectory. The approximate response time for this formulary range between five and ten minutes. Your answers will help me adjust the content of the interviews I will do as part of this project.

The information you share in this form is confidential and it will be available only to me. Completing this form is voluntary, and you can leave questions unanswered, or stop completing the form at any time without any consequence. In the event that the interview could not be arranged, the information that you provided in this form will be deleted. If you are chosen to participate, the information you provide in this form will become part of the research data and it will be maintained confidential and secure. If you have any questions regarding the content or the research study, please feel free me write anytime to: [jcampos@educ.umass.edu](mailto:jcampos@educ.umass.edu)

Thank you again for your time and interest.

#### **A. Contact Information**

1. Name
2. Email address
3. Phone number

**B. Professional Information:***1. Educational background:*

- a. High School:
- b. University:
- c. Academic or professional degree(s):

*2. Teaching Experience:*

- a. Years working as teacher:
- b. Level(s) taught:
- c. Subjects matter taught:
- d. Current workplace:
- e. Number of years at your current school:
- f. Subjects you currently teach:

**C. School Information***1. Approximate number of students:**2. Gender composition:*

- a. Co-ed:
- b. Only male:
- c. Only female:

*3. Prevailing socio-economic composition:***D. Demographic Information**

- 1. What is your age when answering this form?:
- 2. What is your gender? (mark your preferred choice):
  - a. Male          b. Female          c. Transgender          d. other:

3. What is your ethnicity?:
4. What is your nationality?:
5. What is your religion?:
6. What is your current socio economic class?:
7. What was your socio economic class during your school years?:

**E. Contact information**

1. What is your preferred contact mean?

- a. Email

- b. Phone

- i. (If this alternative is chosen):* Please indicate the preferred days  
and times to contact you

- c. Other



## **PLACEMENT FORM AND DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION (SPANISH)**

Estimado profesor/a:

Muchas gracias por su interés en este proyecto.

Antes de iniciar formalmente su participación, le agradeceré completar este formulario que incluye preguntas demográficas, preguntas sobre la escuela en la cual trabaja, y preguntas sobre algunos hitos de su trayectoria profesional. El tiempo aproximado de respuesta es entre cinco y diez minutos. Sus repuestas me ayudarán a ajustar el contenido de las entrevistas que realizaré en el marco de este proyecto.

La información que usted comparta en este formulario es confidencial y sólo yo tendré acceso a ella. Completar este formulario es completamente voluntario, puede dejar preguntas sin responder, o dejar de responder sin ninguna consecuencia para usted. En el caso de que la entrevista no sea concertada, la información que entregue en este cuestionario será eliminada. Si usted es elegido/a para participar en las entrevistas, su información se convertirá en parte de los datos de la investigación y será mantenida confidencial y segura. Una vez completado el formulario, le contactaré por el medio de su elección para coordinar los siguientes pasos de su participación en el proyecto. Si tiene alguna pregunta en relación con el contenido de este cuestionario o si tiene preguntas sobre el proyecto por favor, escriba en cualquier comentario a: [jcampos@educ.umass.edu](mailto:jcampos@educ.umass.edu)

Gracias nuevamente por su tiempo y por su interés.

## **A. Información de Contacto**

1. Nombre:
2. Dirección de email:
3. Número de teléfono:

## **B. Información profesional:**

### *1. Antecedentes Educativos*

- a. Institución(es) donde realizó estudios secundarios:
- b. Universidad(es) donde realizó estudios superiores:
- c. Grado profesional y/o académico obtenido:

### *2. Experiencia docente:*

- a. Años trabajando como docente:
- b. Niveles en los que ha enseñado:
- c. Subsectores que ha enseñado:
- d. Lugar de trabajo actual:
- e. Número de años trabajando en su actual escuela:
- f. Subsector que enseña actualmente:

## **C. Información de su escuela**

### *1. Número aproximado de estudiantes:*

### *2. Composición género:*

- a. Mixto
- b. Sólo hombres
- c. Sólo mujeres

### *3. Composición socio-económica predominante:*

#### *4. Composición étnica*

- a. Por favor indique si su escuela atiende estudiantes inmigrantes

#### **D. Información Demográfica**

*1. ¿Cuál es su edad al momento de responder este formulario?*

*2. ¿Cuál es su género?*

*[Marque su opción preferida]*

- a. Mujer
- b. Hombre
- c. Transgénero
- d. Otro:

*3. ¿Cuál es su pertenencia étnica?*

*4. ¿Cuál es su nacionalidad?:*

*5. ¿Cuál es su religión?*

*6. ¿Cuál es su clase socioeconómica actual?*

*7. ¿Cuál fue su clase socioeconómica durante su etapa escolar?*

#### **E. Información sobre contacto**

*1. ¿Cuál es su medio preferido de contacto?*

*a. Email*

*b. Teléfono*

*i. (si esta alternativa es elegida): Por favor indique los días y horas en las que prefiere ser contactado/a*

*c. Otro*

## **APPENDIX E**

### **INTERVIEW ONE**

#### **Introduction**

#### **Warming up questions**

1. Tell me about your work as a teacher.
  - i. How long have you been teaching?
  - ii. What the characteristics of the students you work with?
2. When you hear discussions about issues of exclusion in education, how do you perceive them? / What thoughts come to you?
  - i. What do you understand by exclusion?
  - ii. What are some of the causes of exclusion?
  - iii. As a teacher, what can you do to avoid exclusion?

**Story 1** (*Participants will be exposed to only one of the stories in appendix F*)

#### **Part 1: Questions about the perception of the story**

3. According to your perception, what is happening in this story?
  - i. Is there something that is particularly problematic for you as a teacher? For example? Could you give me more details?
  - ii. Would you intervene in this situation?
4. Could something similar happen in one of your classes, or in one of your colleague's classes?
  - i. Has something similar happened in one of your classes? When did it happen? How long ago?
  - ii. Have you heard/seen this happening to some colleague?

#### **Part 2: Questions about teachers' actions to address the vignette**

- 5A. (If the answer to question 3-ii is positive) What did you do when this happened?
  - i. What would you do differently in the case of this story?
  - ii. What actions would you add?
  - iii. What would you maintain in the case of this story?
- 5b. (If the answer to question 3-ii is negative and the teacher decides not to intervene in the situation) What made you decide to not intervene in this situation?
  - a. Why would you not intervene in this situation?
  - i. When would you intervene or do something?
    - a. What would have to happen for you to decide to intervene?
- 5c. (If answer to question 3-ii is negative and the teacher decides to intervene in the situation) If you decide to intervene in this situation, what would you do? What action would you implement with the students?

- i. How would you address this situation beyond the classroom?
  - a. With your colleagues?
  - b. What type of support would you ask from your colleagues?
  - c. With the *convivencia* team?
  - d. What type of support would ask from the coexistence team?

**Part 3A: Questions to deepen the knowledge about the actions prioritized by the teachers**

6. 6. You mentioned the following actions as possible responses to the situation portrayed in the story (provide a summary of actions previously enounced):

- i. Which one of these actions would you try first, or would you prioritize?
- ii. Could you tell a little more about what makes you prioritize these actions? Why did you order them like this?

**Action 1**

7. You said that one of your actions would be (paraphrasing action):  
Have you done or said something similar in similar situations in the past?

*Proving questions:*

- i. How was it -or would it- be for you to do this?
  - a. What was/would be easier? What did/would make it easier?
  - b. What was/would be more difficult? What did/would make it harder?
- 8. Tell me about the experiences that led you to consider this action? Why did you decide to do this?
  - i. Is there a professional experience informing your decision?
    - a. What kind of experience? (*e.g. I learned in college, professional training, meeting with the coexistence team*)
    - b. How this experience helped you?
  - ii. Is there some personal experience informing your decision?
    - a. What kind of experience?
    - b. How this experience helped you?
- 9. Could you help me identify what types of skills are required to perform this action?
  - i. What skills have you developed to deal with situations like this?
    - ii. Where have you acquired these skills?
- 10. What factors beyond the classroom would facilitate to carry out such actions? (*For example: Support the director, colleagues, coexistence team, parents, students, principal, UTP, school psychologist, vice principal*)
  - i. What factors would make it more difficult?
- 11. Now I would like to talk a little about the possible consequences of intervening in the situation using this action?
  - i. What might be some of the positive consequences of intervening in the situation?
    - a. For the students
    - b. For learning dynamics

- c. For you as a teacher
- ii. What might be some of the risks involved in the situation?
  - a. In the relationship with colleagues, school managers and/or administrators

#### **Part 4: Questions about teacher's group memberships**

- 12. How do you describe your social class (or gender) background?
- 13. In your own experience, how central is your social class? If you had to rate its important, how central would it be according to this scale?  
(Hand index card with Likert scale)
  - i. Between 1 to 10, where 10 represents the highest importance, how central or important is your social class for you?
  - ii. Please tell me more about your self-rating. How did you arrive to it?
- 14. What experiences related to your own social class background (or gender) may influence your actions and why?
  - i. Could you provide an example?
  - ii. How could this experience have impacted your response?

#### **Closing questions**

- 15. How was having this conversation for you?
  - i. Do you want to add something?
  - ii. Did you learn/reaffirm something about yourself?
- 16. Do you have a question for me?

## INTERVIEW ONE (SPANISH)

Pseudónimo Participante:

Nombre del Entrevistador:

Fecha:

### **Introducción**

Esta entrevista es parte de mi proyecto de tesis donde busco conocer como los docentes abordan situaciones relacionados con temas de convivencia e inclusión en la sala de clases. Mi proyecto parte desde tres constataciones: 1) Que existe interés entre los docentes para navegar los desafíos que plantean los temas de convivencia e inclusión en la sala de clases. 2) Que en muchos casos la formación inicial y continua que han recibido los profesores y profesoras para enfrentar estos desafíos no es suficiente. 3) Que los docentes proponen prácticas auténticas frente a estos desafíos que pueden servir tanto a otros docentes, como a formadores de docentes, para fomentar salas de clases más acogedoras e inclusivas.

En esta entrevista le presentaré una pequeña historia que describe interacciones entre estudiantes que ocurren en la sala de clases. Luego de presentar esta historia le solicitaré que elabore con sus palabras su comprensión de la situación y conversaremos sobre las acciones que usted podría realizar para abordar la situación. Una vez que hablemos sobre sus acciones, profundizaremos en algunas de las ideas, experiencias, conocimiento, valores, y otros factores personales que pueden estar relacionados con ellas. También, en esta entrevista examinaremos algunas de las barreras, riesgos y recursos que usted considera significativos cuando navega situaciones de convivencia e

inclusión en la sala de clases. Al final de la entrevista habrá tiempo para que usted pueda hacer preguntas sobre mi proyecto y esta entrevista.

### ***Preguntas iniciales***

1. Cuénteme un poco más sobre su trabajo como docente.
  - i. Hace cuanto tiempo enseña?
  - ii. Cuáles son las características de los estudiantes con los cuáles trabaja?
2. Cuando escucha hablar sobre temas de exclusión en educación, como le llega?
  - i. Qué entiende usted por exclusión?
  - ii. Cuáles son las causas de la exclusión?
  - iii. Como profesor, qué puede hacer para evitar la exclusión?

### ***Viñeta 1 (Clase social)***

Ahora le presentaré una historia. La leeremos juntos en voz alta, y luego tendrá un tiempo para leer nuevamente en silencio. Si desea tomar notas, puede hacerlo en la misma hoja.

### ***Parte 1A: Preguntas sobre la percepción de las viñetas***

3. Según su percepción, que está ocurriendo en esta historia?
  - i. Hay algo que sea especialmente problemático para usted como profesor/a? Por ejemplo? Me puede dar mas detalles?
  - ii. Intervendría en esta situación?
4. Podría ocurrir algo similar en una de sus clases o en la clase de algún colega?
  - i. Ha ocurrido algo similar en alguna de sus clases?
    - a. Cuándo ocurrió? Hace cuánto tiempo?
  - ii. Ha escuchado/visto que esto ocurra con algún/a colega?

### ***Parte 2A: Preguntas sobre las acciones elegidas para enfrentar la viñeta***

- 5a. (Si la respuesta a la pregunta 3-ii es positiva) Que hizo cuando esto ocurrió?
  - i. Haría algo distinto en esta historia?
  - ii. Qué acciones agregaría?
  - ii. Qué mantendría en el caso de esta historia?



5b. (Si respuesta a pregunta 3-ii es negativa y el docente decide no intervenir en la situación) Qué lo/a hace decidir no intervenir en esta situación?

a. Por qué no intervendría?

i. Cuando usted intervendría o haría algo?

a. Qué tendría que pasar para que usted decidiera intervenir?

5c. (Si respuesta a pregunta 3-ii es negativa y el docente decide intervenir en la situación) Si decide intervenir en la situación descrita, qué haría? Que acción realizaría con los estudiantes?

i. Qué haría para enfrentar esta situación mas allá de la sala de clase?

a. Con otros colegas?

b. Qué apoyo pediría a otros colegas?

c. Con el equipo de convivencia?

d. Qué apoyo pediría al equipo de convivencia?

*NOTA: Durante la entrevista tomaré nota de las acciones que el o la docente enumere. Luego parafrasearé lo que he escuchado. Esto lo integraré en la pregunta 6.*

**Parte 3A: Preguntas para profundizar las acciones priorizadas por el/la docente**

6. Usted mencionó las siguientes acciones como posibles respuestas a la situación que plantea la viñeta (parafrasear las acciones):

1.	4.
2.	5.
3.	6.

i.Cuál de estas acciones usted intentaría primero o daría prioridad?

ii. Puede contarme un poco qué lo/la hace priorizar estas acciones? Por qué las ordenó así?

**Acción 1**

\*7. Usted dijo que una de las acciones que llevaría a cabo sería (parafrasear la acción):

Ha hecho o dicho algo similar en situaciones parecidas en el pasado?

*Preguntas de profundización:*

- i. Cómo fue/sería para Ud. realizar esta acción?
  - a. Qué fue/sería más fácil? Qué lo hizo/haría mas fácil?
  - b. Qué fue/sería más difícil? Qué lo hizo/haría mas difícil?

*Algunas dimensiones de indagación pueden ser: carga emocional, tiempo que toma, composición de la clase, clima de la escuela, relación con padres, relación con colegas.*

\*8. Cuénteme sobre las experiencias que le llevaron a considerar esta acción? Por qué decidió hacer esto?

- i. Alguna experiencia profesional?
  - a. Qué tipo de experiencia? *(Por ejemplo: Lo aprendió en la universidad, capacitación, reuniones con el equipo de convivencia)*
  - b. Cómo le ayudó esta experiencia?
- ii. Alguna experiencia personal?
  - a. Qué tipo de experiencia?
  - b. Cómo le ayudó esta experiencia?

\*9. Me puede ayudar a identificar el tipo de habilidades que se requieren para llevar a cabo esta acción?

- i. Qué habilidades ha desarrollado usted para enfrentar situaciones como esta?
- ii. Dónde ha adquirido estas habilidades?

10. Qué factores fuera de lo que ocurre en la sala de clases facilitan el que uno pueda llevar a cabo este tipo de acciones? *(Por ejemplo: Apoyo del director, colegas, equipo de convivencia, apoderados, estudiantes, jefe/a de UTP, psicólogo/a del colegio, inspector/a)*

- i. Qué factores lo hacen más difícil?

11. Ahora quisiera conversar un poco sobre las posibles consecuencias que tendría intervenir en la situación usando esta acción?

- i. Cuáles podrían ser algunos de las consecuencias positivas de intervenir en la situación?
  - a. Para los estudiantes

- b. Para el aprendizaje
- c. Para usted como docente
- ii. Cuáles podrían ser algunos de los riesgos de intervenir en la situación?
  - a. Relación con colegas, apoderados y/o administradores

*NOTA: Se repite preguntas 8, 9, & 10 (marcadas con asterisco\*), con otra de las acciones.*

## ***Acción 2***

\*7. Usted dijo que otra de las acciones que llevaría a cabo sería *(parafrasear la acción)*:

---

Ha hecho o dicho algo similar en situaciones parecidas en el pasado?

*Preguntas de profundización:*

- i. Cómo fue/sería para Ud. realizar esta acción?
  - a. Qué fue/sería más fácil? Qué lo hizo/haría mas fácil?
  - b. Qué fue/sería más difícil? Qué lo hizo/haría mas difícil?

*Algunas dimensiones de indagación pueden ser: carga emocional, tiempo que toma, composición de la clase, clima de la escuela, relación con padres, relación con colegas.*

\*8. Cuénteme sobre las experiencias que le llevaron a considerar esta acción? Por qué decide hacer esto?

- i. Alguna experiencia profesional?
  - a. Qué tipo de experiencia? (ej: Lo aprendió en la universidad, capacitación, reuniones con el equipo de convivencia)
  - b. Cómo le ayudó esta experiencia?
- ii. Alguna experiencia personal?
  - a. Qué tipo de experiencia?
  - b. Cómo le ayudó esta experiencia?

\*9. Me puede ayudar a identificar el tipo de habilidades que se requieren para llevar a cabo esta acción?

- i. Qué habilidades ha desarrollado usted para enfrentar situaciones como esta?

- ii. Dónde ha adquirido estas habilidades?

***Parte 4: Preguntas sobre las membrecías grupales de los y las docentes***

12. Cómo describe su clase social y (o género)?

13. Cuán central es su clase social (o género) en su propia experiencia? Si tuviese que valorar su importancia, cuán central sería de acuerdo a esta escala?

(entregar tarjeta con escala Likert).

- i. Entre 1 y 10, donde 10 representa el puntaje mas alto. Qué tan central o importante es su clase social (o género) para usted?

- ii. Por favor cuénteme mas sobre su valoración. Cómo llegó a ella?

14. Qué experiencia(s) propia de clase social (o género) puede haber influido las acciones y decisiones descritas?

- i. Me puede dar un ejemplo?

- ii. Cómo esta experiencia puede haber influido en su respuesta?

***Preguntas de cierre***

15. Cómo fue tener esta conversación?

- i. Quiere agregar algo?

- ii. Aprendió/reafirmó algo sobre usted mismo/a?

16. Tiene alguna pregunta ?

## APPENDIX F

### VIGNETTES SPANISH AND ENGLISH

#### Viñeta 1

*En una clase (de lenguaje o ciencias sociales) se habla sobre el tema de la delincuencia, los estudiantes que opinan concuerdan en la necesidad de aumentar los castigos para quienes delinquen, como ellos lo explican, que los delincuentes vayan a la cárcel por mas tiempo. Frases como “los que roban son todos flaites”, “ los flaites malos,” o “es flaite porque no trabaja” se repiten en muchos casos. Un estudiante, Juan, cuyo padre se encuentra cesante hace un tiempo y su madre solo consigue empleos temporales, levanta la mano y expresa su desacuerdo con lo que sus compañeros decían sobre los flaites, el dice: “Mi papa no tiene trabajo, pero no el no es flaite.” Otra estudiante, Silvia, que es una de las líderes en la clase, interrumpe a Juan diciendo: “Tu papa es entero flaite” lo que provoca una risa generalizada entre los compañeros de curso. La conversación continua, Silvia agrega “los pobres son flojos porque no quieren trabajar.” Juan se ve visiblemente agitado (rojo de rabia), luego se queda en su puesto con la cabeza baja en silencio.*

#### Vignette 1

In a (language or social sciences) class students and teachers talk about the issue of crime. Students agree on the need to increase the penalties for those who commit crimes, as they explain, criminals should go to jail for a longer time. Phrases like "those who steal are all Flaite<sup>3</sup>", "the Flaite are born evil," or "is Flaite because it does not work" are repeated in many cases. A student Juan, whose father has been unemployed for some time and his mother only get temporary jobs, raise his hand to disagree with what was said about Flaite. "My dad does not have a job, but he is not Flaite." Another student, Silvia, who is one of the leaders of the class, interrupted Juan saying: "your dad is fully flaite" causing widespread laughter among the classmates. The conversation among the students continues, the student who has interrupted Juan claims that "poor people is lazy and do not want to work." Juan sits visibly agitated (red of outrage), then stays on his sit, in silence, with his head down.

---

<sup>3</sup> Flaite: (Spanish pronunciation: ['flaite], FLY-teh) is a Chilean Spanish slang used to define urban youth of low-socioeconomic background by linking them to vulgar habits and crime

## **Viñeta 2**

*Alejandra es una estudiante que se integra a su clase unos días después de iniciado el semestre. Cuando usted pasa la lista, se escucha un silbido -“piropo”- al nombrar a Alejandra. Esta situación se repite durante la semana, ya que otros compañeros también silban o dicen algún “piropo” cuando ella participa en clases. No es posible distinguir quienes están envueltos en estas acciones porque son muy sutiles. Al comienzo la reacción del curso fue con risas, pero con el tiempo estas disminuyen. Cuando usted discretamente pregunta a una estudiante por qué molestan a Alejandra. La respuesta es “es que están enamorados” pero ya se les va a pasar. En una clase donde la mayoría de los estudiantes participa activamente en la discusión, Alejandra se muestra muy interesada en el tema y levanta la mano para hablar. Cuando lo hace, uno de sus compañeros silba mientras ella se dispone a hablar. Alejandra se muestra molesta, no responde, se sienta y se queda callada el resto de la clase.*

## **Vignette 2**

Alejandra is a student who joins the class a few days after the semester has started. When you pass the attendance list, you hear a whistle -"cat calling"- when naming Alejandra. This situation repeats during the week when other students also whistle or made "cat calling" when Alejandra participates in the class. It is not possible to distinguish who is involved in these actions because they are subtle. At the beginning, the students reacted with laughs, but with the time these laugh decreased. When you discretely ask a student why they tease Alejandra? The answer is "because they felt in love," but it's going to pass. In one of the classes, most of the students are involved and participating in the class discussion. Alejandra seems really interested on the topic and raises her hand to speak. When she attempts to talk, one of her classmate's whistled in her back. Alejandra seems frustrated, does not respond, sits and stay silent the rest of the class.

## **APPENDIX G**

### **INTERVIEW 2**

1- How have you been?

#### **Warming up questions**

2- My first question is if there is anything that stuck with you after us reviewing the story last week?

- i. Any thoughts?
  - a. Any emotions?
- ii. Anything that surprised you?
  - a. Why do you think this happened?

#### **Part 1: Teacher personal and social experience**

3. Looking back to your early school years, in what ways, if any, did your social class (gender or ethnicity/race) impact your experiences as a student inside and outside the classroom?

- i. Which of these issues was more important, or meaningful, to you at that time?
- ii. Why did this happen?
- iii. Could you describe one of these experiences?
- iv. Which one of these themes was less present for you at this time?

4. During your teacher preparation: How did your social class (or gender), if at all, impact your experiences as a future teacher/ student?

- i. How were topics related to social class (or gender) addressed during your preparation as teacher?
- ii. In which ways, if any, did your teacher preparation program help you learn about the influence that your own social class, or gender could have in your teaching practices?

5. During your professional life, in which ways -if there are any-, has your own social class (or gender) has tinted your experience as a teacher?

#### **Part 2: Teacher social group membership awareness**

6a. How do you think your own social class (or gender) may have influenced, or may actually influence your perception -the ideas that you have- about yourself as a teacher?

- i. Do you have any examples where this influence has manifested?

6b. If your own social class, gender or race/ethnicity has not influenced the perception you have about yourself as an educator, why do you think this may have happened?

7. How do you think other members of the school community perceive your social class, gender or race / ethnicity?

i. Why might they have this perception?

a. In what ways may your own social class (or gender) background influence your students' perception about you as an educator?

b. In what ways may your own social class (or gender) background influence your colleagues' perception about you as an educator?

c. In what ways may your own social class (or gender) background influence parents' perception about you as an educator?

### **Part 3: Teacher pedagogical practice**

8. In what ways do you consider your students' social class (or gender) background when you develop a lesson plan or a pedagogical activity?

i. Could you describe a(n) strategy/example?

ii. What are/were some of the challenges of planning and implementing this?

iii. What are/were some of the resources available to you to make this happen?

### ***Closing Questions***

9. Thinking about your experiences as a student and as a teacher

i. Would you have liked/wished to have more information, or to learn more about, any of the issues we have addressed in any of the interviews?

ii. Is there something related to what we have discussed which you would like to continue learning or thinking about?

10. As we close this interview, I am wondering if there is something you would like to express before we end?

i. How it was to talk about your own social class/gender background in this interview?

ii. Any surprises?

11. Do you want to ask me a question?



## INTERVIEW TWO (SPANISH)

Pseudónimo Participante:

Nombre del Entrevistador:

Fecha:

Hola, gracias por aceptar participar en esta entrevista de seguimiento, que bueno verlo/a nuevamente.

1- Cómo ha estado?

Me gustaría comenzar esta entrevista regresando a nuestra primera conversación, particularmente a algunas de las observaciones que hizo respecto a la historia corta que revisamos en nuestra sesión anterior. Como recordará, esta historia describía una interacción entre estudiantes relacionada con temas de convivencia e inclusión . Lo que yo buscaba con esta entrevista era entender cómo profesores/as, como usted, abordan algunos de los desafíos que surgen cuando pensamos en temas de convivencia e inclusión en la sala de clases.

### *Preguntas de apertura*

2- Mi primera pregunta es si hay algo que usted se ha preguntado después de revisar la historia la semana pasada.

i. Algún pensamiento?

a. Algún sentimiento?

ii. Algo que lo/la sorprendió?

a. Por qué cree usted que ocurrió esto?

En esta entrevista exploraremos con mas profundidad factores relacionados con su clase social, género y raza/etnicidad que pueden influir en su práctica docente. Esto porque me interesa conocer como su historia personal y profesional se relaciona con la forma en que navega temas de convivencia e inclusión en su sala de clases. Luego, conversaremos sobre algunas ideas que usted tiene sobre sí mismo como educador/a, la forma como usted se relaciona con sus colegas, con sus estudiantes y otros actores escolares en su práctica docente. Finalmente, hablaremos sobre sus necesidades de aprendizaje y de

desarrollo profesional de aprendizaje que usted identifica para su propio desarrollo profesional relacionadas con promover la sana convivencia y la inclusión entre los estudiantes en su sala de clases.

***Parte 1: La experiencia personal y social de los profesores***

3. Pensando en sus años de escuela, cómo percibe que su clase social, género o raza/etnicidad marcaron sus experiencias como estudiante dentro y fuera de la sala?
  - i. Cuáles de estos temas fueron mas importantes o significativos para usted?
  - ii. A que se debió esto?
  - iii. Puede describir alguna experiencia?
  - iv.Cuál de estos temas estuvo menos presente?
4. Durante su preparación como profesor/a: de que manera –si hay alguna- su clase social, género o raza/etnicidad marcó su experiencia como estudiante-futuro profesor/a?
  - i. Cómo eran abordados temas relacionados con la clase social, género o raza/etnicidad en su preparación como profesor?
  - ii. De qué forma, si lo hizo, su programa de formación docente le ayudó a aprender sobre el impacto que puede tener la propia clase social, género o raza/etnicidad en las prácticas de enseñanza?
5. Durante su vida profesional, de que manera -si hay alguna- su clase social (o género) ha teñido su experiencia como docente?

***Parte 2: Conciencia de los profesores sobre sus membrecías grupales***

- 6a. Cómo cree que su propia clase social (o género) puede haber influenciado, o puede influenciar actualmente, su percepción –las ideas que usted tiene- sobre sí mismo/a como profesor/a?
  - i. Tiene algún ejemplo donde ésta influencia se haya manifestado?
- 6b. Si su propia clase social, género o raza/etnicidad no ha influenciado la percepción que usted tiene sobre si mismo como educador/a, a qué se puede deber esto?
7. Cómo cree que otros miembros de la comunidad escolar perciben su clase social, género o raza/etnicidad?
  - i. A qué se debe esta percepción?

- a. Cómo cree que la percepción que tienen sus estudiantes sobre usted esta influenciada por su clase social o género?
- b. Cómo cree que la percepción que tienen sus colegas sobre usted esta influenciada por su clase social o género?
- c. Cómo cree que la percepción que tienen los padres sobre usted es influenciada por su clase social o género?

### ***Parte 3: La práctica pedagógica del docente***

8. De qué manera usted toma en cuenta la clase social o género de sus estudiantes al momento de planificar una clase o una actividad pedagógica?
- i. Puede describir una estrategia/ejemplo?
  - ii. Cuáles han sido los desafíos de planear e implementar esto?
  - iii. Cuáles han algunos de los recursos que han estado disponibles y le han ayudado?

### ***Preguntas de cierre***

9. Pensando en sus experiencias como estudiante y como profesor/a.
- i. Le habría gustado/ desearía tener más información o aprender más sobre alguno de los temas que hemos abordado en nuestras entrevistas?
  - ii. Hay algo, entre lo que hemos conversado, sobre lo cual le gustaría seguir aprendiendo o pensando?
10. Mientras cerramos esta entrevista, me pregunto si hay algo que a usted le gustaría nombrar antes de terminar?
- i. Cómo fue hablar sobre su propia clase social (o género) en esta entrevista?
  - ii. Alguna sorpresa?
11. Tiene alguna pregunta para mi?

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