UC Berkeley
UC Berkeley Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

School Democratization in Neoliberal Chile: Uncovering the Structural Forces that Sustain Anti-Black and Anti-Immigrant Racism

Permalink

https://escholarship.org/uc/item/9wm9023v

Author

Rojas, Maria Eugenia

Publication Date

2024

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

School Democratization in Neoliberal Chile:
Uncovering the Structural Forces that Sustain Anti-Black and Anti-Immigrant Racism

By

María Eugenia Rojas Concha

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Education

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Tina Trujillo, Chair
Professor Janelle Scott
Professor Cati V. de los Ríos

Summer 2024

Abstract

School Democratization in Neoliberal Chile:
Uncovering the Structural Forces that Sustain Anti-Black and Anti-Immigrant Racism
by

María Eugenia Rojas Concha

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Tina Trujillo, Chair

The scholarship on school privatization and market-oriented reforms has demonstrated the negative effects on segregation and inequity triggered by this model, not only in Chile but globally. Less is known about how to transition toward a democratic-oriented education approach after decades of embedding the values rooted in a competition-based education system. This dissertation shows the challenges of trying to become true to democratic and social justice principles in a society penetrated by neoliberal beliefs and ideals amid forces that emerged after the sudden and abrupt immigration flow and a global pandemic.

The Santa Fe Private Voucher School in Chile endeavored to welcome and accommodate emergent multilingual immigrant students of African descent (EMISAD). Its school community actively supported the integration of the newcomers. In an education context historically designed to make all actors compete for a scarce resource (quality education), where market-based ideals of success and high-stake testing mechanisms are at its core, welcoming students that need extra resources to achieve academic progress is, in the language of this system, an "unprofitable business strategy." Nonetheless, a group of social justice-oriented educators is defying systemic barriers and forming a system of protection against many challenges that obstruct EMISAD's appropriate integration into Chilean society. They work hard and, in some cases, risk their jobs to redistribute resources, provide extra academic support, and offer affection and care through trauma-informed practices. Regardless of all these efforts and good intentions, there is one significant hurdle, deeply harmful to students' well-being, that educators have not been able to dismantle: overt anti-Black discrimination, deeply embedded in a society where the whitening project of *mestizaje* has successfully taken over the collective imaginary. This ethnographic case study is grounded in 600 hours of participant observation and more than 100 interviews. It critically analyzes the journey of a social justice-oriented voucher school in Chile that fully embraced the market-oriented educational model until 2012. Yet, it has since experienced deep and complex organizational changes: de-privatization, democratization, diversification, and de-marketization and tried to become a welcoming space for its new population of emergent multilingual immigrant students of African descent.

Here is my heart, Tomi, Juancri, and Mica.

I love you.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Acknowledgments

Throughout this doctoral journey, I have been blessed with the firm support and encouragement of numerous individuals who have played instrumental roles in shaping both my academic pursuits and personal growth. Their contributions have been essential to the completion of this dissertation, and for that, I extend my deepest gratitude. El mayor agradecimiento en el mundo goes to my beloved partner, Tomi. Eres el regalo más lindo que he recibido. I could write a dissertation-length book describing all the blessings of sharing a life (and PhD journey) with you. Your endless support, understanding, love, and delicious dinners sustained me through the long hours and challenges of this adventure. Your joy in my accomplishments and unwavering presence made every milestone sweeter. When I met you 15 years ago, I fell in love with your intellectual brilliance and beauty. As I got to know you better, I was awed by your sensitivity, by how easy it was to be myself around you, and by the tons of laughs and fun moments we were living together around the world. But it wasn't until 2017, when Juancri arrived, and you became a dad, that I came to know the best version of yourself. Raising a family with you has been the biggest joy of my life. I look forward to keep falling in love with you every day and to having you by my side hasta que nos hagamos viejitos juntos.

Secondly, I want to express my deepest gratitude to the SFVS school community. This dissertation is a testament to your collective wisdom and dedication, and I am honored to have had the opportunity to learn from each of you. I am profoundly grateful for the trust you placed in me by sharing your lived experiences and insights, which have enriched this study immeasurably. I also want to recognize and applaud your tireless efforts; every child deserves educators of your caliber whose commitment extends beyond the classroom to touch students' lives with care and compassion.

Most of my PhD experience has been fun, exciting, and fulfilling and Tina, your constant support and reassurance, especially during the early days of my program with a newborn, meant more to me than words can express. Along this line of humanizing academic work, I express my deep gratitude to my second adviser Janelle Scott. During the unsettling days of 2020, Janelle's selfless offer to assist with household tasks while we battled COVID underscored the depth of true support during difficult times. Having you both by my side for six years was always intellectually stimulating because your comprehensive revisions of my work were pure academic gold; Still, receiving your rich and honest feedback was not always easy. You both invited me to question my own assumptions and beliefs and encouraged me to identify my neoliberal and White supremacist biases. This process was uncomfortable, painful, and also essential for intellectual growth. I sincerely value the time, effort, and energy you devoted to this. I feel fortunate for the opportunity to learn from your brilliant minds and kind souls.

También agradezco profundamente a mi tercera committee member, Cati de los Ríos, por su cariño incondicional, por tu sabiduría ancestral, y por nuestras conversaciones que aliviaron las dificultades de trabajar en un contexto desafiante. Your Translanguaging class was perfectly executed and set a high bar for the higher education pedagogy I wish to practice. Finally, I want to thank someone who became a pillar in the last stretch of this journey. Erin, your exemplary teaching style and personal connection

have deeply influenced me. Your ability to balance care, encourage critical thinking, and commitment to your students is truly inspiring. Gracias por ser mi Angelito de la guarda.

I am also deeply thankful for the support I received from professors from other departments that welcomed me in their academic spaces. To Nikki Jones, your compassionate response during a challenging personal moment demonstrated true empathy and understanding. Your kindness and encouragement to take care of myself while I mourned the loss of my pirigüin will always be remembered with gratitude. Thank you, also, for showing me that a humane and caring approach to fieldwork is compatible with rigorous and excellent qualitative research work. To professor Tianna Paschel, your brilliance and guidance on understanding Latin American dynamics is a strong part of my work. Professor Loïc Wacquant for the honor and privilege of learning about ethnoracial systems of domination around the world in your class.

I also would like to offer my sincere appreciation to the individuals who provided valuable support including being parts of my orals or offering me feedback on my writing, including Lisa García Bedolla, Carmen Montecinos, Thomas Philip, René Espinoza Kissell, Rachel Williams, Caleb Dawson, the Latinx research group members, Michelle Young, Eos Trinidad, Bruce Fuller, Cristóbal Otero, Kris Gutiérrez, Cristina Mora, Elise Castillo, Huriya Jabbar, and Charlotte Smith. Your contributions were invaluable. Your support made all the difference.

On the daily basis, the people I talked the most with were not professors, but the staff members of our department that I met in the kitchen and the hallways of Berkeley Way West. I am deeply thankful to the staff members of BSE, including Junko Kiross, Sunny Sandeford, Rubén Muñoz, Robert Jenkins, Rian Whittle, Lynnettee Wilson, Mayra Reyes, Rosa Garcia, Jeanette Luong, and Liliana Hernádez; building community with all of you kept me going every day. I am deeply thankful for your kind support.

I extend my heartfelt thanks to Gaby Cervantes, the custodial staff on the night shift for their cheerful presence during late nights in the BSE building, reminding me that academic spaces are also spaces of human connection and support. Now that I reflect on how close we became I realize that the days I stayed until after the sun went down must have been more than I remember.

If my family and my academic community have been foundational for completing this PhD, my friends are the fuel that kept me going. To Diana, your solidarity and dedication to assisting me with revisions are deeply appreciated. Your commitment to refining my work through multiple iterations reflects true academic camaraderie. To Karen and Francis, your positive energy and genuine connection with my children brought light to our lives. Your presence made our academic community feel like a warm, welcoming family. Rafa y Gladys, agradezco su cariño, risas y disposición para unirse a nosotros para cenar con aviso de un minuto de antelación. Disfrutar la vida con ustedes ha sido un lindo regalo. To my organizing companions Alice, Andy, Talia, and Arlyn, your energy, conviction, and commitment to building a better department have been inspiring and motivating. I have learned so much from all of you.

To my dear friends outside of the BSE who provided both intellectual stimulation and emotional support, thank you for being a constant source of encouragement and

distraction during challenging times. Thank you also for all the amazing camping trips and dinners we shared. Thank you, Viole, Javi, Keegan, Elad, Kelly, Anthony, Mamas B and J, Neto, Pri, Kate, Scottie, Charo, Lucho, Fina, Teo, Sara, Yiyo, Sharon, and Mike. Sami and Pato, I know our beautiful friendship will last hasta que nos hagamos viejitos.

A special note goes to probably the most cited academic in my dissertation, Cristián Bellei. So many people can attest about your role in shaping our education system; thus, here I want to express that I truly appreciate your generosity. I admire your efforts to make academic information accessible in a comprehensible manner. Your commitment to the democratization of knowledge is inspiring. With kindness you show what is takes to challenge neoliberal beliefs and values.

A superb acknowledgment goes to the incredible caregivers, mostly women, who lovingly cared for Juancri and Mica, allowing me to pursue my academic endeavors with peace of mind. Your dedication and warmth made all the difference. Dinha, Carmen, Mila, Tami, Simone, Dani, Cami, Isa, Su, Tanika, Tate, Adele, Sylvia, and Melanie your devotion and love for my kids during these critical years will live in them forever.

All the people I have thanked have supported me, but I would not even have dreamed of starting this journey without my mother who taught me and encouraged me to live a life without limits. Mami, you are the most influential role model in my life, gracias por enseñarme a ser fuerte y servicial en un mundo que a menudo es hostil hacia las mujeres. Tu ejemplo de perseverancia y valentía sigue guiándome cada día. Thank you so much also to my in-laws Titi, Tata and Flavia who have defied borders and thousands of kilometers to play an active role in their grandchildren's life.

Finally, to my children, Juan Cristóbal (Juancri) and Micaela Leonor (Mica), your kindness, compassion, and innocence have been my greatest inspiration. Your unwavering support and love have been my anchor throughout this journey. I am endlessly proud of the compassionate individuals you are becoming, and I am grateful for the love and joy you bring into my life every day. I still remember when I was explaining to you, Juancri, that some people experience housing instability and are left with no other options than to live in the streets. Without hesitation you said that they should be invited into other people's houses and that simple thought planted the seed that motivated us to invite a person who was unhoused to live with us for five months. It was a challenging period, but you and Mica have always been excellent at sharing everything we have and welcoming everyone into our lives. We did not change the lives of millions who are struggling in an individualistic and uncaring society (that's for my policy work to achieve) but we broke the inertia of injustice in the life of one person, and that is on you, Wakito. Mica, your determination combine with your Encanto is a scaring and powerful blend. Your capacity to emotionally connect with the people around you is a gift that will change the lives of those who are fortunate to meet you. I love you both deeply, like I never thought I could and what I am most inspired by is witnessing your love and care for each other. I will forever hold in my heart and mind the day I heard Juancri asking Mica 'Mica, will you always be in my life?' to what Mica replied 'Yes, I promise, and a promise is a promise, and you never break a promise.' Whatever you do in life, do never break that promise.

Chapter 1. Introduction and Contextual Background

I learned about the existence of the Santa Fe Voucher School (SFVS)[1] in December 2018. The summer break of two and a half months had begun for students, and many schools in Chile devote time to planning and professional development at this stage of the year to prepare for the next academic year, which starts in March. In this context, the SFVS' principal, Raúl, had been invited to an event organized by the *Servicio Jesuita a Migrantes* (SJM, Jesuit Migrant Service) to share their experience of enrolling a high percentage of migrant students with principals of schools that were expecting to see an increase in enrollment of immigrant students in 2019. Among other things, Raúl proudly presented that the school has changed its logo in a collaborative process to reflect the multicultural community it has become since the sudden and ongoing demographic change in 2015. At the end of the talk, I approached Raúl, and I shared that I had just finished the first year of my PhD program and was interested in studying schools experiencing demographic shifts in Chile. He gave me his phone number and we started communicating via WhatsApp. I visited the SFVS to conduct a pilot study in June 2019 and the dissertation fieldwork in 2021.

On Semantic Decisions

The concepts used in this dissertation to explore and explain social dynamics were chosen carefully. Since this research explores social constructs outside the United States, in this section I provide the rationale to contextualize and explain several decisions.

Neoliberalism: I draw from the Chilean economist and Professor at the University of California, Los Angeles, Sebastian Edwards who defines neoliberalism as "a set of beliefs and policy recommendations that emphasize the use of market mechanisms to solve most of society's problems and needs, including the provisions and allocation of social services such as education, old-age pensions, health, support for the arts, and public transportation" (Edwards, 2023, p. 14). I use this definition because it reflects the way neoliberalism was implemented in Chile.

Market-oriented: This concept refers to the use of market mechanisms such as competition and choice.

Privatization: I present this concept to point out that market-oriented mechanism can be applied to the public sector, without the need to involve private actors. Nonetheless, in the case of the education sector in Chile, marketization (making schools compete) and privatization (incentivize private actors' participation) occurred simultaneously.

Voucher Management Organization (VMO): I use this concept interchangeable with foundation and it captures that the organization that administered the SFVS has always been a non-for-profit organization and that it manages more than one school. The general term for organizations that administer schools in Chile is *sostenedor* which translates as private provides.

---

[1] The name of the focal school, the neighborhood where it is located, and the names of participants are pseudonyms. In addition, I occasionally changed the gender and/or role of participants to protect their identity.

Afro descendants or of African descent: *Negro/a*, which translates as Black, is a contested term in Latin America. The vast majority of participants did not embrace that label and in order to respect their preferences and avoid imposing a category on them, I use the concepts of Afro descendants or people of African descent.

Ethnoracial: I draw from scholarship on Latin America in choosing the concept merging ethnic and racial identification for the purpose of analyzing these dynamics in a Latin American country. Scholars use the concept of ethnoracial classification to acknowledge the cognitively indissociable nature of race and ethnicity (Loveman, 2014; Richards, 2013; Telles & Paschel, 2014).

Black and White Capitalized: Along the lines of acknowledging the intertwined relationship between race and ethnicity, I capitalize Black and White, along with Latino/a or Indigenous, to denote the ethnic component of these labels.

Whiteness: I draw on Scott and Bajaj's definition of whiteness because it highlights the historical roots and the international nature of this ideology. They define whiteness as "a transnational ideology that stems from colonial dispossession. Social class, gender, heteronormativity, and patriarchy intersect to create systems in which white people and those people proximal to whiteness achieve elite status and institutionalize racialized hierarchies that continue to mark societies. Educational systems around the world are connected to histories of colonization and empire that employed 'scientific' notions of race to justify economic, political, and cultural domination a transnational" (2022, p. 2).

White supremacy: I conceive White supremacy as a spectrum that at one end hosts a minority that support the genocidal principle of exterminating those who are not White and at the other end, where the majority are located, host "a more extensive, more powerful version of white supremacy; one that is normalized and taken for granted" (Gillborn, 2005, p. 486).

Structural or systemic racism: I use this concept to highlight the unequal distribution of opportunities and the role that identifying characteristics plays in these dynamics. Under this framework, access to opportunities are "produced and regulated by institutions, institutional interactions and individuals [that] jointly and differently provide and deny access along lines of race, gender, class, and other markers of social difference" (Grant-Thomas & powell, 2006, p. 5).

Emergent Multilinguals: I follow the recommendation of Ofelia Garcia (2009b) in using the concept of emergent multilinguals to describe students who are learning Spanish. In contrast to Spanish Language Learner or Limited Spanish Proficiency, Emergent Multilinguals breaks away from a deficit focus by highlighting what students possess. Still, these terms are imperfect, ever-fixed, and ever-evolving.

Race: It is common among Chilean academics to use quotation marks to denote that race is a social construct and not a biological category. Even though I sustain to this premise, I do not use quotation marks because I draw on Bonilla-Silva's analysis which states that "[a]fter the process of attaching meaning to a 'people' is instituted, race becomes a real category of group association and identity" (1997, p. 472). In more recent

pieces, the sociologist has clarified that "(r)aces are indeed invented social categories, but they are socially real and reenacted in the everyday life in encounters in all sorts of situations and spaces." (2015, p. 1360).

On Translation: All translations were done from Spanish to English. When there is a note that says "Translation mine" it means that the original text was in Spanish.

Research Questions

Although researchers have studied the educational dynamics associated with immigrants and refugees in Europe and the United States, fewer scholars address the phenomena that occur in countries outside of these regions. In practice, this lack of scholarly attention means that policymakers and educators in this region have scant empirically based knowledge about how to respond to these shifts in the best interest of students; Moreover, scholars in Europe and the United States have missed an opportunity to learn from these underexplored experiences. For this reason, this empirical work examines how suspending the normative components of the neoliberal education system (e.g., vouchers, school choice, and testing) interacted with the values and beliefs of a school community. Furthermore, I explored how a policy intended to democratize school access was received in the context of transnational diaspora amid the disruption and uncertainty of a global pandemic. My work is thus guided by the following questions:

1. What is the relationship between market-oriented educational policies and educators' beliefs and practices in the context of trying to build an inclusive and democratic school and with regard to the integration of emergent multilingual immigrant students of African descent (EMISAD)?;
2. In what ways have educators responded to the suspension of market-oriented mechanisms (e.g., voucher funding system) during the COVID-19 pandemic and to the new immigration dynamics? What are the implications of these responses for EMISAD?; and
3. What is the relationship between educators' notions of intersectional identities (e.g., nationality, ethnicity, race, and language) and their aims of building an inclusive school environment?

By addressing these questions, this work enters the genealogy of social science research that investigates self-portrait justice-oriented or equity-oriented schools. Examples of that work are *Despite the Best Intentions: How Racial Inequality Thrives in Good Schools* (Diamond & Lewis, 2015) and *Progressive Dystopia: Abolition, Antiblackness, and Schooling in San Francisco* (Shange, 2019).

Chapter Overview

This dissertation critically explores the way school communities mediate sudden and abrupt dynamics of change, the systemic forces that influence their response, and the role of values and beliefs in developing and applying (or not) the tools to support the students they serve. The Santa Fe Voucher School (SFVS) is an example of these phenomenon. The school underwent several dynamics of change with the aim of becoming a democratic and inclusive space. Multiple factors supported the SFVS transformation. The school went from being a selective institution that required family interviews and academic tests for enrollment to becoming open to all students requesting enrollment. This process is referred to in this empirical project as democratization

because it eliminated the barriers that previously prevented the enrollment of students whose academic performance, values, and religious beliefs did not align with the ideals of the school. This mechanism of attracting "good" students and selecting the ones that are easier or cheaper to education is at the core of what has been described in the literature as "cream skimming" and has influenced the increase of socioeconomic segregation within Chilean schools. Through democratization, the SFVS was moving away from those practices. The second transformation that the school experienced was to stop charging families a co-payment, also known as shared funding. In the case of Chile, the demand for parental tuition as a mandatory complement to the public pesos that schools receive per enrollment (voucher) happened in most schools receiving public pesos in 2016 and was one of the mechanisms that earned this country the top position in school socioeconomic segregation among OECD nations. The SFVS engaged in democratization and de-privatization efforts voluntarily. Three years later, in 2015, the Inclusion Law was passed, and a ban on selection processes and family co-payments became mandatory for all schools receiving public funding. The third change captured in this dissertation is a demographic shift that was facilitated by the first two changes. Dropping the barriers for enrollment and eliminating family co-payment cooccurred with a profound demographic shift in the Reloncaví neighborhood, triggered by the arrival of immigrant families, predominantly from Haiti. This change is defined as diversification. It is essential to point out that the shift occurred organically in the sense that there were no intentional efforts at the school to attract immigrant students; the school was seeking to attract any students (and the vouchers they bring) in order to achieve financial stability. Finally, in 2020 and 2021, all publicly funded schools in Chile experienced a pause in the voucher funding model for the first time since the return to democracy in 1990. Student enrolment and attendance have been the leading indicators for school resource allocation. Nevertheless, the COVID-19 pandemic forced the right-leaning government of Sebastian Piñera to suspend the voucher mechanism and implement a fixed funding model for schools. This process is defined as de-marketization because, in the Fall of 2021, the SFVS did not need to compete with other schools for student enrollment.

Moreover, the funding necessary to keep the school open and operational was guaranteed regardless of students' presence. All of these dynamics of change constitute the context of this study, which analyses how the school community mediated the transformations the school experienced, with a focus on the impact that such mediation had on emergent multilingual immigrant students of African descent (EMISAD). In the following pages, I first dive deep into the national contextual background to situate the mediation of the SFVS community in conversation with system-level analysis. I also provide contextual background on the Reloncaví neighborhood and offer an overview of the grammar of schooling in Chile to describe the features that are different from the United States context. This chapter continues by describing the laws and norms relevant to understanding the dynamics of change experienced by the SFVS and dives deep into the national increase in the immigrant population at a national and educational level. Finally, the first chapter of this empirical project concludes with the contextual background and structural conditions in Haiti, the country of origin of most immigrant students attending the SFVS.

The second chapter is a review of the relevant literature. This review is organized to begin with the systemic and structural features associated with the SFVS experience and then move to the meso and micro level analysis in the classroom. I begin by discussing how market-oriented education policies have gained traction worldwide. I continue by focusing on the concrete mechanisms that bring this theory to life at the educational level: Parental choice, voucher model, high-stakes accountability, and others implemented during and post- dictatorship. I continue by putting in conversation literature about the impact of this model in Chile, and research that offers an analysis of how this model has been contested through social movements. The following section presents recent investigations that illuminate the experiences of immigrant students, with an emphasis on students of African descent. I then examine systems of ethnoracial domination worldwide, ethnoracial classification systems in Latin America, and conclude with a focus on Chile.

The third chapter presents the conceptual framework that guides this dissertation, from the design and conceptualization of the phenomenon I studied to the analysis of the data and writing of the findings. This research relies on four core theories or concepts. The first draws on education policy literature and conceives school communities as sites that act as a Zone of Mediation between equity-oriented policies and the outcomes of such reforms. The second concept, *mestizaje*, draws on the literature on Latin American migration experiences and nation-state-building processes. The *mestizaje* framework is relevant for explaining dynamics that arise in the context of South-to-South migration processes. Finally, the final theoretical tool that guides this empirical project is Critical Race Theory (CRT). Born in the legal tradition in the United States, CRT is used to understand the experiences of students of African descent in a country where most people identify ethnoracially as White. This framework pushes this research to focus on the structures of oppression and marginalization that create the conditions for the processes of racialization that students in Chile have experienced. Finally, the concept of transnationalism provides accurate tools to understand the state of constant physical and symbolic movement that immigrant students at the SFVS experience. The fourth chapter provides an in-depth look at the data collection and analysis methodology.

The following three chapters are the findings section of this dissertation.

Chapter Five. Ten Years Later: Neoliberalism Still Reigns

This chapter critically analyses the organizational change that the school underwent by highlighting the neoliberal forces that influenced how the school community mediated these changes. This chapter demonstrates how these micro, meso, and macro forces prevented the SFVS from fulfilling its moral obligation, rooted in Jesuit philosophies, to provide high-quality education to the marginalized students it serves. First, I provide an overview of the neoliberal forces that prevent the SFVS from accomplishing its educational goal. Second, I describe the forces or obstacles imposed by the Voucher Management Organization while acknowledging that this organization is shaped by the neoliberal notions that reign in Chile. Finally, this chapter ends with an analysis of educators' lived experiences, values, and beliefs to understand the efforts and sacrifices that these individuals endured to resist the oppressive educational context they inhabit.

In summary, this section illustrates all the mechanisms of the neoliberal educational model that still guide and influence the SFVS almost ten years after the attempt to move away from the principles of privatization, selection and exclusion of students.

Chapter Six. The Limits of Commitment, Hard Work, and Best Intentions

The sixth chapter illustrates the forces that have influenced the school community's response to the rapid demographic changes experienced at the SFVS. The chapter begins with an in-depth portrait of Camila, a 5th-grade teacher who has gone above and beyond for her students. The efforts to recruit and retain educators like Camila illustrate how SFVS mediated the demographic shift that was triggered in part by the school's equity-oriented focus when it became free and open to all. However, as mentioned earlier, the efforts and best intentions of the new group of educators could not protect students from all the systemic challenges that EMISAD faced. Following the portrait of Camila, this chapter reveals an experience that applies to all newcomers at SFVS: their migration journey to Chile. It continues with a detailed explanation of the economic detriments of enrolling immigrant students. It then moves on to convey routine elements that impact the experiences of all students, such as pedagogical decisions and instructional practices. Finally, at the end of this chapter, I present how the SFVS acts as a site of cultural and social reproduction of nationalist ideology. All these sections show the school community as a Zone of Mediation in the context of the sudden arrival of EMISAD. In an increasingly polarizing society dominated by social media algorithms that reinforce individuals' biases, the images of school community members are ever more portrayed as the villains or the good guys. My research complicates this portrayal by revealing the multiple forces that impact how a school community mediates changes triggered by policy reform, social shifts, and a demographic remake.

Chapter Seven: Intersectional Identities and the Systems of Oppression that Educators Are Unable to Contest

The seventh chapter of the findings addresses ethnoracial dynamics, revealing that ethnoracial myths associated with the White supremacist project of mestizaje are prevalent in the school and prevent educators from disrupting and eradicating anti-Black sentiments and violence present at the SFVS. Based on a deep appreciation for the adults in their school community, EMISAD justified the negligent response of their educators when students experience explicit ethnoracial discrimination. Following the logic of analyzing the school community's mediation of demographic change, this chapter focuses on three aspects in which educators' efforts to support EMISAD were either absent or primarily inadequate. The first is the experience of failing to educate students with limited or interrupted formal education, a phenomenon that no one in the SFVS community was aware of. The second was the miseducation of emergent multilingual students, also an arguably new phenomenon in Chile. The third is the neglectful response the school community deployed to disrupt physical and psychological violence against students of African descent. This chapter draws on the CRT and the mestizaje frameworks to analyze the anti-Black ethnoracial dynamics that have a long history in countries like the United States but are seemingly recent in countries like Chile.

The final chapter of this study is a discussion of challenges and opportunities connected to the social phenomenon that this research illuminates.

The remaining portion of this first chapter addresses the contextual background necessary to understand the social dynamics that this research uncovers.

Chilean Education System: The Neoliberal Laboratory

The educational model that prevails in Chile today was meticulously designed by Chilean economists who learned about the neoliberal educational approach developed by Milton Friedman while studying at the University of Chicago in the 1950s and 60s (Madero, 2018). An agreement between the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile and the economics department of the University of Chicago, funded by the Ford Foundation, enabled the training of a group of economists who worked under the supervision of academics such as Theodore Schultz and Gary Becker (both, along with Milton Friedman, recipients of the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences).

After the Coup d'état of September 11th, 1963, several of the Chicago Boys, as they came to be known, were appointed to high-level governmental positions throughout the 17 years of the dictatorship regime (Edwards, 2023). The legal framework for applying the neoliberal model in the education system was set in the 1980 Constitution, which on the one hand guarantees the right to education for all people and on the other hand protects the right of parents to choose a school for their children. This created the ground and the institutional means to boost a system of competition among schools.

The ideas are based on the premise that when parents have the choice to select a school for their children using vouchers, schools compete for enrollment and thus have an incentive to improve the quality of their product (education) in order to increase the number of vouchers associated with enrollment (Chubb & Moe, 1990; Friedman & Friedman, 1990). In concrete terms, a voucher is "a piece of paper redeemable for a designated sum of money, if, and only if, it is used to pay the cost of schooling your child at an approved school" (Friedman & Friedman, 1990, p. 161). It is relevant to point out that, unlike some experiments with vouchers in the United States, in the case of Chile, the government does not grant the funding directly to families, but instead, schools receive the funds. Regardless of this difference, the mechanisms to make schools compete for enrollment remain the same (Torche, 2005). According to the theory, the revitalization of the education system with the use of vouchers also benefits traditional public schools because the per-pupil spending formula encourages their improvement through competition over student enrollment. The military-led government of Augusto Pinochet boosted the creation of voucher schools throughout the nation by lowering the requirements and obligations for new schools to open, permitting voucher school owners to benefit from the tax pesos associated with vouchers, and allowing schools to select the students they enroll (Bellei, 2015). Under these circumstances, enrollment in public schools dropped from nearly 80% in 1981 to 35% in 2023, while enrollment in voucher schools reached 54% in 2023. Enrollment in fully private schools has remained stable at around 9%. An interruption in the shrinking number of public schools in Chile occurred after 2016, when for the first time since the return to democracy in 1990, enrollment in public schools did not decline. This interruption was partly due to the enrollment of immigrant students in public schools.

The voucher model was complemented by an accountability system introduced in 1988, when reformers implemented the *Sistema de Medición de la Calidad de la Educación* (SIMCE, System of Measurement of Education Quality), a nationwide census sample, a standardized test to measure students' competencies in language, math, history, and science, and adding physical education, English, and technology in 2010. Once a year, at the same time, all students in the 4th, 8th, and 11th grades in Chile answer the standardized tests in front of external evaluators who come to the schools to supervise the correct operation of SIMCE. Since its implementation, the measure has prompted an increase in the subjects tested, the standards measured and the frequency of administration. The results of the test are publicly available for each school but are not disaggregated by individual students (Meckes & Carrasco, 2010). One of the most significant consequences of SIMCE has been the mobilization of financial resources for schools and teachers whose students obtain high scores (Ferrer, 2006) and the punishment that could be materialized through school closures if students underperform. This is the threat that the SFVS is under due to its low performance on SIMCE in the years before its pause.

Finally, an additional way of applying the neoliberal model to the education system during the dictatorship was the decentralizing traditional public schools. According to the proponents of school privatization and decentralization, decreasing the role of the state in public school administration would decrease the bureaucratization of the system and increase efficiency (Chubb & Moe, 1990). This reasoning supported the transfer of the governance of traditional public schools from the state to local municipalities. This reasoning supported the transfer of the governance of traditional public schools from the state to local municipalities. Research shows that decentralization contributed to developing a highly socioeconomically segregated and inequitable education system (J. P. Valenzuela et al., 2014).

In summary, this empirical project draws on understanding neoliberalism as a form of societal organization whose values and principles penetrate society through social, economic, political, and educational channels. At the core of this system is the notion that members of society must compete for scarce resources such as high-quality education. Therefore, those who can access the type of high-quality education that allows them to prosper socioeconomically are the "winners". This means that high-quality education is only available to some. In the case of Chile, these "some" have been those who can afford to pay for a quality education and who have the social and cultural capital to be selected by high-achieving schools that go through rigorous and strict selection processes, as used to be the case with the SFVS. This notion is incompatible with the democratic ideal of education as a human right that should be accessible to all, not only in terms of access but also in terms of quality. Embedded in this neoliberal conception of how society should work is the idea that we live in a constant crisis and confrontation with one another. The manifestation of a neoliberal education system in Chile is the socioeconomic segregation of schools, the low academic results of schools that enroll students from socioeconomically marginalized backgrounds, a high-stake testing system, and an accountability regime that constantly ranks schools, teachers, and students based on standardized evaluations.

Together, these reforms, the mechanisms that make schools compete to attract students (or the voucher they brought), and the creation of rankings to marketize educational institutions, together with other policies, gave Chile the title of one of the first neoliberal experiments in the world (Harvey, 2007). According to Canadian activist, writer and scholar Naomi Klein, the replacement of traditional public schools with voucher schools in Chile was "the most extreme capitalist makeover ever attempted anywhere" (2007, p. 8).

After the Chilean experiment took place, the implementation of neoliberal educational mechanisms worldwide has been fed by public debates around efficiency, equity, and freedom. Proponents of a choice-based model argued that educational inequities and school segregation could be overcome by implementing neoliberal mechanisms such as vouchers and school competition. The discourse was well received across political lines, mainly because these policies would allow for budget cuts. In this sense, the attractiveness of neoliberal policies is that, in theory, shared values of building an educational system where all students have access to high-quality educational opportunities could be achieved with low public educational investment.

Chilean Education System Post Dictatorship

In the '90s, two decades after the implementation of market-oriented reforms, local and international academic research began to highlight the drawbacks in terms of a decline in public school funding, students switching from public schools to voucher schools, and limited progress in improving student educational outcomes (Carnoy, 1998). This data illuminated that the promises of market-oriented reforms not only failed to materialize but exacerbated an already inequitable education system. These problems were the catalyst for a series of educational reforms that attempted to correct the problems created by the market-oriented reforms without attempting to eradicate the principles of competition and choice at the system's core. In market-oriented language, the measures I have described have attempted to correct the negative externalities of a neoliberal education system.

PIE Program

In 2007, the *Programa de Integración Escolar*, (PIE, Educational Program for Integration) was implemented to increase the voucher amount for students with special needs. Schools would be required to use these funds to hire special education teachers and implement a program that would focus on supporting the academic progress of students with special needs. Modifying the school funding model increased the voucher for schools that enroll students with special needs and voluntarily implement PIE. In the name of equity, the program's implementations came with restrictions for schools, such as the requirement to become free of charge for parents and the elimination of selection processes for enrollment.

SEP Law

The equity-oriented logic, at the core of the implementation of the PIE program was the same driver used to impulse the *Subvención Escolar Preferencial* (SEP, Preferential School Subsidy) law in 2008. This progressive funding system acknowledges that more resources are needed to educate students from low socioeconomic

backgrounds; thus, the schools that enroll those students would receive more financial support. Specifically, the voucher amount increased between 30 and 50% (depending on the grade level) if a student is enrolled whose family belongs to the lowest 40th percentile of the income distribution, labeled in Chile as a *prioritario* ("priority.") Additionally, schools with a high concentration of students from low-income backgrounds qualified for extra subsidies (Bertoni et al., 2023). The only administrative requirement to be classified as "priority" is to register in the *Registro Social de Hogares* (Social Registry of Homes), which is a national database that records the families' socioeconomic status (SES).

Inclusion Law

Several years after the implementation of PIE and SEP, the data showed that they were unable to tackle the high levels of school segregation and inequality in Chile. This failure is connected to massive social protests in 2006 and 2011 (Bellei & Villalobos, 2024) and set the foundations for endorsing the Inclusion Law in 2015. Until 2015, VMOs could be for-profit organizations while receiving public funding from the government. They could also select students based on academic merit, family interviews, or other criteria such as religious preference. Finally, they could require families to make a co-payment to supplement the voucher they receive from the government. The Inclusion Law bans those three entitlements (profitability, selection, and family co-payment) of VMO.

The ruling banned any selection process for enrollment in all schools receiving public funding, which enroll almost 90% of the students, banned the demand for family co-payment, and determined that all organizations responsible for the administration of publicly funded schools must be not-for-profit. The Inclusion Law created a centralized *Sistema de Admisión Escolar* (SAE, School Admission System) to assign students to schools based on parental choice (M. Hernández & Carrasco, 2020).

Education Expenditure

These reforms have been expensive. Instead of creating a low-budget and cost-efficient education system, as the market proponents advertised, expenditures in education have increased. According to an OECD review with data from 2019, Chile spent 6.5% of its GDP on education, considerably more than the OECD average of 4.9% (OECD, 2022) as shown in figure 1.

Figure 1 *Composition of total public expenditure on education as a percentage of total government expenditure (2019). Primary to tertiary education (including R&D), in per cent*

Over the past 20 years, the increase in educational expenditure, which across all sources grew 62% between 2008 and 2019 (OECD, 2022), allowed for the implementation of expensive policy reforms that aimed to decrease educational disparities: increase in school day hours, free college tuition for low-income students, improve working conditions for teachers, and offer subsidies (or increase the voucher funds) for students who need extra resources, such as those coming from marginalized backgrounds or those with special educational needs.

Inclusion of Immigrant Students in Official Documents

Either implicitly or explicitly, the goal of the inclusion of immigrant students can be found in official documents throughout the state apparatus (Aguayo-Fernández et al., 2023).

The second article of the General Education Law established in 2009 in response to the student movement of 2006, established that "[Education] is framed within the respect and appreciation of human rights and fundamental freedoms, multicultural diversity, and our national identity, empowering individuals to lead their lives fully, coexist, and participate responsibly, tolerantly, supportively, democratically, and actively

in the community."[2] The third article explicitly declares that the education system should "Recognize and value the individual in their cultural and origin specificity, considering their language, worldview, and history."[3] Finally, the 23rd article names curriculum flexibility to respond to the needs of a diverse group of students: "Curricular adjustments will be made for specific educational needs, such as those created within the framework of interculturality […]. Bilingual Intercultural Education is expressed in the curriculum aimed at children, youth, and adults who recognize cultural and ethnic diversity, in which the language, worldview, and history of their indigenous community are taught and transmitted, establishing a harmonious dialogue in society." (República de Chile, 2009). Translation mine[4].

With regards to educational access, the 17th article of the 2021 Law of Migration and Foreign Affairs assures that:

> The State shall guarantee access to preschool, primary, and secondary education to minor foreigners established in Chile, under the same conditions as nationals. Such right cannot be denied or limited due to their irregular migratory status or that of any of the parents, or of whoever has the care of the child or adolescent.

> (República de Chile, 2021). Translation mine[5]

As the review of the literature and the findings section of this study will illuminate, on the one hand, these laws have not been able to guarantee the successful inclusion of immigrant students in Chilean schools. On the other hand, they have not mobilized extra resources or preferential subsidies toward schools that serve large numbers of immigrant students.

Chile's Grammar of Schooling

In this section, I describe some characteristics of the K-12 school experience in Chile that are relevant to place the experience of the SFVS in conversation with the more extensive education system. The Chilean education system is organized by four education levels: preschool, primary (1st - 8th grade), secondary (9th - 12th grade), and tertiary education (college or vocational training). Primary and secondary education is mandatory, and enrollment in these levels is similar to the of average OECD countries: 98% in primary school and 83% in secondary school, versus 98% and 84% (OECD,

---

[2] Original: [La educación] se enmarca en el respeto y valoración de los derechos humanos y de las libertades fundamentales, de la diversidad multicultural y de la paz, y de nuestra identidad nacional, capacitando a las personas para conducir su vida en forma plena, para convivir y participar en forma responsable, tolerante, solidaria, democrática y activa en la comunidad.

[3] Original: reconocer y valorar al individuo en su especificidad cultural y de origen, considerando su lengua, cosmovisión e historia.

[4] Original: Se efectuarán adecuaciones curriculares para necesidades educacionales específicas, tales como las que se creen en el marco de la interculturalidad […] La Educación Intercultural Bilingüe se expresa en el sector curricular dirigido a los niños y niñas, jóvenes y adultos que reconocen la diversidad cultural y de origen y en la cual se enseñan y transmiten la lengua, cosmovisión e historia de su pueblo de origen, estableciendo un diálogo armónico en la sociedad.

[5] Original: El Estado garantizará el acceso a la enseñanza preescolar, básica y media a los extranjeros menores de edad establecidos en Chile, en las mismas condiciones que los nacionales. Tal derecho no podrá denegarse ni limitarse a causa de su condición migratoria irregular o la de cualquiera de los padres, o la de quien tenga el cuidado del niño, niña o adolescente.

2021). According to World Bank statistics from 2023, the literacy rate for people 15 years old or older in Chile is 97% (UNESCO, 2023).

Schools in Chile can offer all three levels of education in one building, and students are usually not placed in classes based on academic ability (Torche, 2005). Tracking mechanisms are in place during the last two grades of secondary school, where students choose a vocational track to develop technical skills or a humanistic-scientific track that is focused on preparation for college admission. Regardless of this tracking system, any graduate from secondary education can continue college-level education (Treviño et al., 2018).

Some schools, mainly private and voucher schools, offer all grades, from kindergarten to 12th grade. Traditional Public Schools would usually be K-8th, *escuela*, and another school building, *liceo*, would be 9th-12th. Another singularity is that students could be placed in the same class with the same classmates throughout their educational journey if the school offers all the grades. Each class is assigned an advisory teacher or *profesor jefe*, responsible for the students' academic progress, should guide them when challenges arise, and act as a direct nexus between families and the school. Finally, each class is assigned to a classroom for the whole school year, and teachers move from classroom to classroom throughout the day. Some schools have special classrooms overseen by teachers, such as the art classroom or the science lab, but in most cases, students remain in their classrooms during core subjects' instruction (history, math, Spanish, English, etc.).

Even though the administration of public education was transferred away from the Ministry of Education, some essential prerogatives of this institution still remain. The first is the establishment of national educational standards that schools must achieve. All schools are free to teach the national or standard curriculum in the way that suits them best, as long as they meet the learning objectives set by the Ministry of Education. In addition to setting learning objectives, the Ministry is also responsible for measuring students' and teachers' performance and accomplishes this role through national agencies (Bellei et al., 2022).

The national curriculum is mostly fixed. Students get to choose classes only in high school, when they would choose plastic arts or music in grade 9th and specialization in grades 11th and 12th. Table one shows the number of hours students spent per subject areas.

Table 1 *Number of Hours Spent Per Subject Areas*

Subject Area	Number of 45' Blocks a week	Number of 45' Blocks a Year
Language and Literature	6	228
Foreign Language: English	4	152
Mathematics	7	266
History, Geography and Social Science	4	152
Natural Science	6	228
Technology	2	76
Visual Arts or Music	2	76
Physical Education and Health	2	76
Orientation	1	38
Religion	2	76
Subtotal Minimum Time	36	1,368
Free Disposition Time	6	228
Total Instruction Time	**42**	**1,596**

Source: República de Chile (2016)

Even though academic freedom or *libertad de enseñanza* is guaranteed in the constitution, almost 80% of the schools in Chile follow the recommendations of the Ministry of Education regarding time allocation for subject areas (Cox, 2011). Finally, regarding the time Chilean students spend at school, in 1997, Chile began implementing the *Jornada Escolar Completa* (JEC, Full-School-Day), which mandates that students attend school from 8 am to 3 pm. This policy increased the school day by 30% (Dominguez & Ruffini, 2023), the equivalent of six extra weeks of classes per year.

A Rapid and Unexpected Increase of Immigrant Students in Chile

According to the Ministry of Education, in Chile, in 2014, immigrant students represented 0.6% (22,425) of the national enrollment; eight years later, in 2022, 6.6% (240,515) of students were born outside the country. In 2021, when the data collection for this study took place, 12.2% of the total migrant population was from Haiti, making it the third largest immigrant community after Venezuela (31%) and Peru (16.6%) (UNICEF & INE, 2023).

Figure 2 shows the number of immigrant students enrolled in the Chilean school system each year (in dark blue), the percentage variation in relation to the previous year (in red), and the percentage they represent each year (in light blue).

Figure 2 *Immigrant Students' Enrollment in the Chilean School System per Year, Variation in Relation to the Previous year, and the Percentage they Represent*
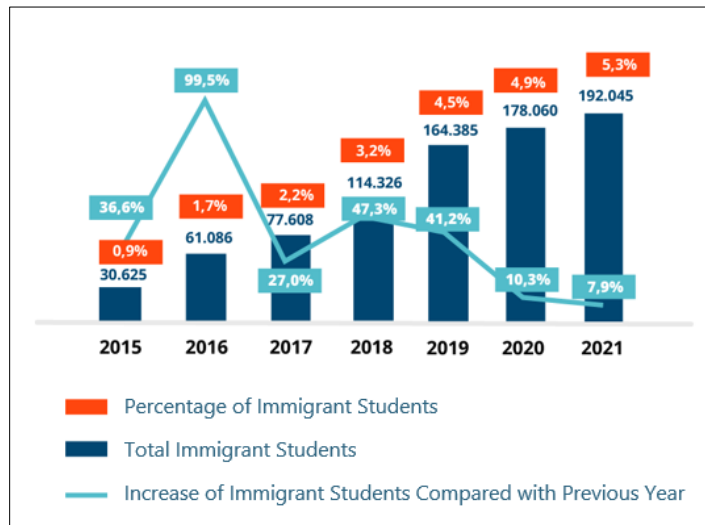
Source: SJM & Educación 2020 (2021)

The following section describes the rapid increase of immigrant families in the neighborhood where Santa Fe Voucher School is located.

The Reloncaví Neighborhood

Reloncaví is an emblematic neighborhood located in the district of Estación Central, in the heart of Santiago, Chile's capital. According to the *Servicio Nacional de Migraciones* (SERMIG, National Migration Service), in 2001, 214 people of immigrant origin lived in Estación Central. Twenty years later, by 2021, 52.761 immigrants resided in this district.

Figure 3 *Evolution Over Time of the Number of Immigrants in Estación Central*
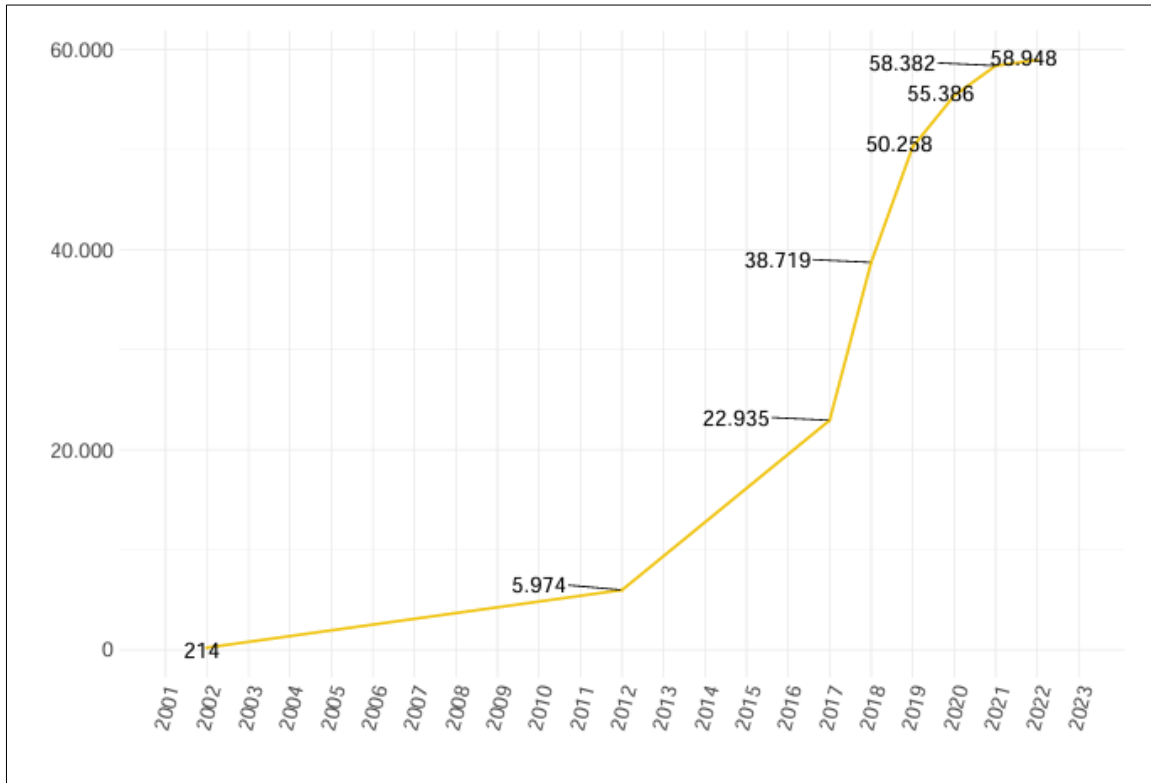
Estación Central became home to nationals of different Latin American countries, the Reloncaví neighborhood became known as the place of residence for many Haitian immigrants.

This neighborhood has a long tradition in Chile's capital because it is considered one of the first *poblaciones* of Santiago. The exact translation of población es neighborhood; however, when *poblaciones* began to emerge, the concept was more than just a territorial division. Sociologist Loïc Wacquant names Chilean *poblaciones* as one example of ghettos that do not fit traditional notions of impoverished urban spaces due to their socioeconomic diversity (Wacquant, 2013). *Poblaciones* emerged as a communitarian space for grassroots organizing, political resistance, and collective solidarity. Part of this identity still exists in Los Robles. Interactions in the neighborhood resembled the old relationships between neighbors and the school as a trusted organization that was a central part of the community. One morning, Miguel, the director of School Coexistence, handed me a debit card and its password and asked me to walk a block away from the school to buy snacks for 20 people for a gathering. He specifically told me to go to Pepito's minimarket. This family-owned business was a house whose entrance had been remodeled to sell a variety of products, from snacks to needles. When I arrived at the store, I asked the only person there if he was Pepito; he said yes and asked who had sent me. I told him that *tío* Miguel had asked me to buy snacks for a gathering

happening at the school. When Pepito handed over the snacks, I gave him the debit card. He said he was only taking cash at the moment, but immediately and without hesitation he told me to take the snacks and tell *tío* Miguel to pay for them later.

Miguel was not surprised when I returned to school with all the snacks without having paid for them. Growing up close to the school had granted Miguel community member privileges that conferred him the status of a trusted person, and he was constantly representing the whole school community in the Reloncaví neighborhood.

Chapter five provides a more in-depth description of these dynamics and the political resistance dimension enacted during the Augusto Pinochet dictatorship and the violence that its residents experienced. This historical context is still stamped on the identity of Reloncaví and its residents today.

Haiti: The Country of Origen

I provide an overview of Haiti's historical and contemporary critical features because approximately 80% of the immigrant students enrolled in the SFVS in 2021 were of Haitian origin. They all experienced different circumstances and migration experiences, and their family arrangement varied. Nevertheless, they all had a connection to a country that first suffered from violent colonialism and then faced challenging obstacles in its nation-state-building process due to external interference. The origins of the impoverishment process in Haiti began with the Spanish genocide of the Tainos people, the indigenous community that inhabited the territory called Ayiti before Cristóbal Colón named it Hispanola (Casimir, 2020). It continued with the implementation of the institution of chattel slavery by France, and persist today through the racial capitalist's social, political, and economic doctrine.

Within 220 years, Haiti has evolved from a successfully exploited colony of the French empire to one of the poorest countries in the world. It is now widely agreed among academics that the transition from a stable colony to the current state of poverty and desolation has its roots in the double debt imposed by France after Haiti became the first and only nation to emerge from a prolific slave revolution (Dubois, 2004) that lasted from 1791 to 1804. The uprising was a direct response to the brutal and inhumane conditions imposed by France on enslaved people, as described by Haitian sociologist Jean Casimir:

> Their body, their time, their spouse, their offspring, their ability to move about in the geography of the colony . . . everything they were or could be was considered the property of their master. They were stamped with an indelible social and juridical inferiority passed on to their descendants. They gained a juridical existence only when they disobeyed. (2020, p. 42)

The Haiti's revolution was not only successful in resisting Napoleon Bonaparte's efforts in trying to reconquer the former colony, but it also set the precedent for other enslaved people across the American continent and became the starting point of emancipatory revolts. Drawing on a review of the scholarship addressing the impact of the Haitian Revolution, Haitian-American scholar Celucien L. Joseph states that:

the events leading to the Haitian Revolution were the most transformative events in the history of slavery and imperialism colonialism. African revolutionaries turned an enslaved colony into a free republic, enslaved people into a free people, and thus, the formerly enslaved into free citizens (2012, p. 40).

Despite the victory and its significance, the sovereignty of Haiti was not initially recognized by the international community, including France, and Haiti's economic dependence and the urge to establish commercial relations led them to accept an "indemnity to slave owners" (Henochsberg, 2016, p. 12) who had experienced economic detriment after Haiti's independence. The argument was that the French enslavers had to be compensated after experiencing expropriation when Haiti became the first free country among the European Colonies. Haiti paid its "debt" by applying for loans from French banks, which put the Caribbean nation in a double payment obligation due to the high interest rates it owed the banks once the debt was paid to the French government. To put the burden into perspective, in 1850, 45 years after the debt agreement, 50% of Haiti's public revenue was used to pay the debt. In addition, new international debts were incurred with other nations to pay the loans.

Figure 4 *Haitian Public Expenditure by Type as Percentage of Public Revenue, 1840-1914*
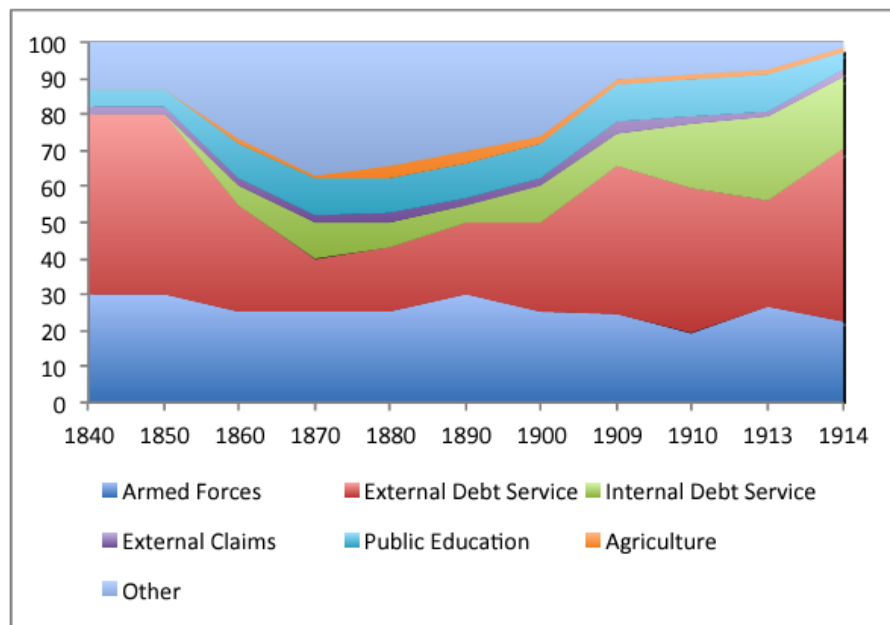
Source: Henochsberg (2016)

Haiti has not only experienced international pressure and intervention from France. For almost 20 years, starting in 1915 it was occupied by the United States "to restore order and maintain political and economic stability" (United States Department of

State, n.d.) states the official history, ignoring that "United States troops burned entire villages accused of sheltering insurgents and ruthlessly executed captured rebels" (A. Hochschild, 2012, p. 12) just as it has done in other parts of the world.

A more recent historical account of violence that is relevant for this research is the ethnic cleansing efforts of Haitians that took place in the neighboring Dominican Republic in 1937. Then President Rafael Trujillo unexpectedly ordered the massacre of approximately 15,000 Haitians (Acosta Matos et al., 2018) during what became known as the Parsley Massacre because Dominican soldiers asked those believed to be Haitians to pronounce *perejil* . It is important to note the way Spanish was used as a linguistic tool to establish cultural differences and perpetrate genocide.

Even though there is agreement regarding the sudden development of the massacre, the nationalist motives intertwined with the xenophobic and anti-Black racism that prevailed in Dominican society had been under construction since colonial times (Rodrigues Pinto, 2018). The genocide triggered a collective trauma whose repercussions are present and significant today (Pérez Vargas, 2018). This was made clear by one participant in this study, who said he would rather starve to death before emigrating to the Dominican Republic.

For all these external forces that prevented Haiti's development, it is imprecise to attest that Haiti is one of the poorest countries in the world. Instead, a more accurate representation is to acknowledge that Haiti is an impoverished nation that is reckoning with the legacy of the global racial project of colonialism. Along similar lines, to point to the 2010 earthquake as the main reason for explaining mass migrations (Lutz & Yayboke, 2021) is misleading because it downplays the history of exploitation that explains the inadequate infrastructure associated with the mass destruction and the death of approximately 220.000 people. To put this "natural" disaster in context, the month after the earthquake in Haiti, an earthquake measuring 8.8 on the moment magnitude scale struck the densely populated Chilean territory, claiming 521 lives. The Chilean earthquake was the sixth strongest in history and about 500 times stronger than the 7.0 earthquake that shook Haiti. In other words, the Haiti earthquake as a "natural" disaster is only part of the explanation needed to understand the devastation; the other part is a man-made disaster.

Covid-19 in Chile

At the beginning of March 2020, the Chilean authorities announced the first case of a person infected with the SARS-CoV-2 virus. This incident coincided with the start of the school year, which runs from March to December. As was the norm around the world at the time, uncertainty and chaos filled school communities with questions around first school closures and then school reopening protocols. Unlike other places, strict lockdown measures were implemented in Chile and non-essential staff had limited options to leave the house (Bellei et al., 2022). The vast majority of schools remained closed for the entire year. There was a plan to return to face-to-face teaching in early 2021, but such attempts mainly took place in fully private schools.

Figure five shows pandemic events that impacted the operations of schools during 2020-2022.

Figure 5 *Timeline of the Main Milestones During the Evolution of the COVID-10 Pandemic in Chile, 2020-2022*
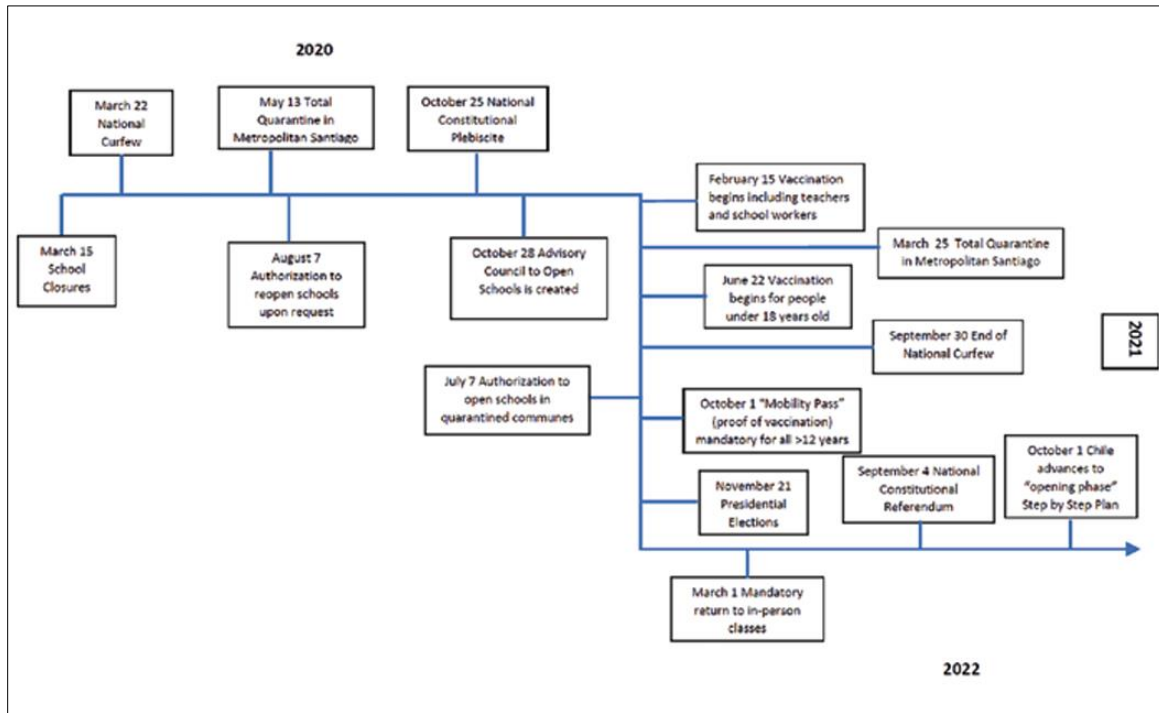
Source: Bellei & Contreras (2024)

The Ministry of Education responded to the changes through several measures that transformed the teaching and learning conditions during the pandemic: reduction of the nationally mandated curriculum, making national standardized test voluntary in 2020 and 2021, distribution of electronic equipment for attending online instruction, flexibilization of school funding to allow resource allocation toward gear such as masks, thermometers and hand sanitizer, and relaxation of attendance mandates to enable schools to divide classes into two groups to reduce the number of students inside classrooms and comply with special restrictions. Despite all these modifications, schools were hit especially hard in Chile due to the prolonged closure period for in-person instruction that they experienced. Figure six offers a comparison of school closure among OECD countries.

Figure 6 *School Closures Due to COVID-19 (2020, 2021 and the First Quarter of 2022). Number of Instructional Days of School Closure*
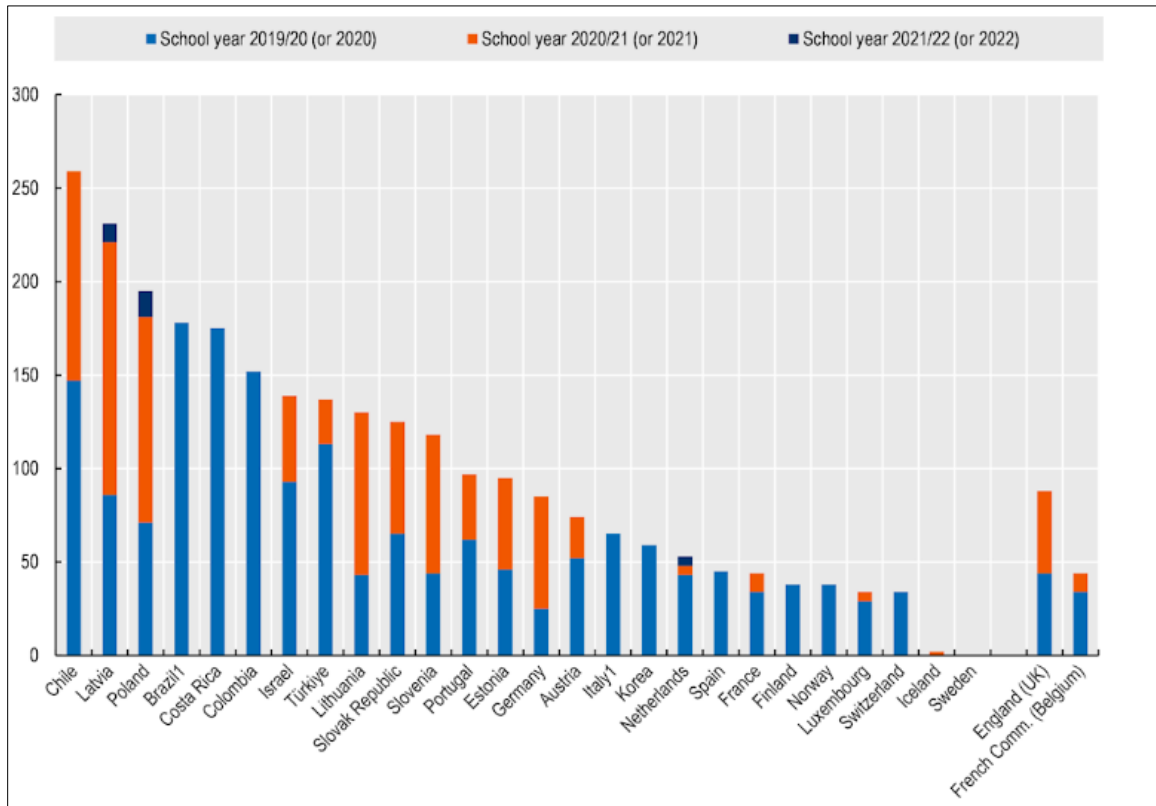
Note: 1. Data for 2021 and 2022 are missing.

Source: OECD (2022)

Figure six shows that among OECD countries, Chilean students experienced the highest number of instruction day closures.

Chapter 2. Literature Review
Privatization Reforms. An International Overview

School privatization is more complex than an increase in the number of entirely privately managed and funded schools (Belfield & Levin, 2002). Privatization of an education system can take many forms and be implemented at different levels and through various mechanisms. In this study, the main difference between a private-oriented education system and a neoliberal-oriented education system is the role of competition within schools, which creates a market. While the creation of a market is related, it is independent of the private-public administration and funding of schools. It is possible to implement a competition-based model only through public schools, and it is also possible to use a fixed funding model in a system of primarily privately operated schools where they do not have to compete for student enrollment to receive state funding (Verger et al., 2016). In some education systems, such as in South Korea, while most students attend traditional public schools, the role of private actors is to establish academies that complement the compulsory education system. Belfield and Levin (2002) argue that it is challenging to assess the effectiveness of privatization reforms around the world because there is no single purpose of education across nations. However, when students' outcomes are used to evaluate the effectiveness of this model, scholars conclude that the evidence is inconclusive (Urquiola, 2016). In Chile, economists have argued that, after controlling by external school factors (such as socioeconomic status or years of schooling of the parents), voucher schools achieve better academic results (Gallego, 2002; Paredes, 2015), and competition produces a positive impact on the system, measured through test scores gains (Gallego, 2006). Bellei (2008) developed six models to compare the performance of these schools and found that the selection procedures used for voucher schools explained some of the differences in net performance. Nevertheless, these schools did not show significant differences even after controlling for various factors.

Furthermore, researchers argue that while individual examples of school success can be found in highly privatized education models, the evidence at the system level suggests that this approach to education contributes to increasing school segregation and achievement gaps (Adamson et al., 2016).

While most cross-country comparison measures use socioeconomic indicators, academics have noted that the neoliberal and capitalist logic guiding privatization must also be understood as a racial project (Omi & Winant, 2015). Along these lines, critical scholar Jodi Melamed (2014) states that:

> Concepts of diversity and race worked together to define "the white race" as so superior to others that freedom and self-cultivation were only beneficial and available to them, thus assuaging conflicts between philosophical commitments to individual liberty and the realities of economic systems dependent on the coercions of slavery, poverty, and industrialization. (p. 85)

In subsequent writing about the connection between capitalism and racialization Melamed (2015) adds that:

> [T]he term 'racial capitalism' requires its users to recognize that capitalism is racial capitalism. Capital can only be capital when it is accumulating, and it can

only accumulate by producing and moving through relations of severe inequality among human groups—capitalists with the means of production/workers without the means of subsistence, creditors/debtors, conquerors of land made property/the dispossessed and removed. These antinomies of accumulation require loss, disposability, and the unequal differentiation of human value, and racism enshrines the inequalities that capitalism requires. (p. 77).

In the context of global neoliberal education reforms, Melamed's insights bridge the smilingly race-neutral initiatives rooted in freedom and choice to preexisting racial projects that cannot be disentangled from racial capitalism to understand the development of racialization processes and the reproduction of racial inequality. Along these lines, and drawing on critical policy analysis to investigate the politics of choice, education markets and competition, Horsford and her colleagues (2018) argue that "[w]hile some school choice policies can trace their origins to progressive equity policies, others have been shaped by discriminatory impulses to restrict access to public schools on the basis of race, language, poverty, immigration status, or academic performance and ability" (p.57). This analysis uncovers the potential of these policies in perpetuating structural barriers that hinder educational opportunities of disadvantaged communities.

Voucher, School Privatization, and High-Stake Accountability in Chile

As described in Chapter 1, Chile was the first country in the world to implement a nationwide neoliberal education model by transforming the school funding formula. For this and other reasons, the country has attracted the attention of international academics (e.g., Carnoy, Parcerisa, Anderson, Verger, and Zancajo, among others), who have applied different analytical tools to capture the impact of the market-oriented reforms that have been in place for more than 40 years. This interest, together with the work of well-regarded national scholars (e.g., Bellei, Montecinos, Valenzuela, Flabella, among others), has contributed to the emergence of a solid education policy literature and positioned Chile as a case study for understanding the impact of neoliberal policies.

In a historical review of Chilean education policy from 1965 to 2009, Oliva (2010) argues that the reforms in the 1960s conceptualized education as a tool for economic development. This development was briefly interrupted by the government of Salvador Allende, which attempted to reinstate education as a tool for democratic means. However, during the 17-year-long dictatorship that began in 1963, the conception of education as solely connected to economic goals was ingrained in Chilean society, and the school privatization focus took over the policy reforms to become the new norm in the education arena and other social areas. This transformation resulted in the creation of a subsidiary state. In addition to a change in the role of the State concerning education, Assael (Assaél Budnik et al., 2011) identifies the policies that triggered the marketization of public education in Chile. First, the decentralization process, in which traditional public schools were transferred from the central government to local municipalities, also resulted in teachers losing the protection of state employees (Carnoy, 1998) (this triggered a dispute that continues to this day as teachers demand payment of the "historical debt," which has caused massive protests). Second, the privatization of higher education, which is generally a model for the K-12 system. Third, a nationwide standardized testing system was introduced. To complement these market-oriented reforms, the democratically elected governments followed the same direction the

dictatorship had embraced. First, the standardized test became publicized to facilitate the choice of families. Second, schools were authorized to charge family co-payment to complement the voucher they received from the government. Third, the Full-School-Day law authorized the transfer of public resources to private owners to build schools. Finally, a strict and high-stakes accountability system was established, and schools were classified based on standardized testing performance and threatened with measures such as school closures (Elacqua, 2012). In this model, the state sets the standards, evaluates them and disseminates results. According to Parcerisa and Falabella (2017), this accountability model upholds the market model while giving the State a more prominent role in the education system. This has resulted in schools experiencing a dual sphere of accountability, where schools in Chile are accountable to both the market and the State (Falabella, 2015).

Because geographic socioeconomic segregation is lower than within-school segregation, scholars have linked the dramatic system change to the high levels of school segregation in the Chilean school system (J. P. Valenzuela et al., 2014). Assael Budnik (2011) also notes that this systemic change has been linked to the imprinted idea in the Chilean social imaginary that success or failure is connected to individual efforts instead of systemic deficiencies. As my work shows, changes at the belief system level are more complex and take longer to achieve than changes at the structural level.

In addition to school segregation, market-oriented reforms have also changed educators' roles. Through a shadowing research methodology, Montecinos and colleagues (2015) documented two days of school activities of 12 principals and identified that 24% of their time was spent on issues related to school marketing. In Chile, these activities range from designing flyers, to visiting public institutions such as hospitals to promote schools, to interviewing parents to understand their enrollment decision-making processes. In this sense, Carrasco and Formm (2016) used Pierre Bourdieu's notion of fields as an analytical tool to understand the practices of schools. They argue that schools develop tactics to position themselves in the market. These strategies are informed by the school's knowledge about their local markets. In other words, schools are aware of their reputation and have notions about the factors that are out of their control concerning attracting students. For example, public schools that do not require co-payments from families and mainly enroll students from marginalized groups do not focus on attracting high-income families but work on their public image by changing the school logo or uniform to attract middle-income families. Regardless of how the purpose of education is described in the paper, the evidence from Chile shows that a competition-based system shifts the focus and energy of educators away from educating students.

Finally, discussions around the role of education in society are part of a global conversation. Historian David Labaree (1997) argues that creating a clear vision of the role of education and a balance between its different goals (producing good citizens, good workers, and good social opportunities) is fundamental to the development of a coherent education system. At the core of what academics in Chile have identified as central to the dysfunction of the education system is the lack of coherence in education policies (Bellei & Munoz, 2023). An example of such incoherence is illustrated in this research project by the clash between policies that portray education as a private good (voucher system) and those that expect education to provide enormous social compensation (inclusion law).

School Segregation and Educational Inequalities in Chile

As discussed, academics have argued that market-oriented educational reforms are related to the high levels of socioeconomic segregation in the Chilean education system and beyond (Adamson et al., 2016; Bonal & Bellei, 2019). To measure socioeconomic school segregation in Chile, scholars have used the dissimilarity index, also known as the Duncan index, to "reflect the different distribution of two groups (e.g., high and low socioeconomic status students)" (G. Gutiérrez et al., 2020, p. 160) among schools. In other words, the Duncan index establishes whether the presence of students from a specific group (in this case, SES) in a school reflects their presence in the larger population. In this measure, the higher the value, the more segregated the school system is. In line with multiple reports, Gutierrez, Jerrim, and Torres (2020) find that compared to OECD countries, Chile's schools experience extreme levels of socioeconomic segregation.

Figure 7 *Estimates of School Segregation Across OECD Countries.*
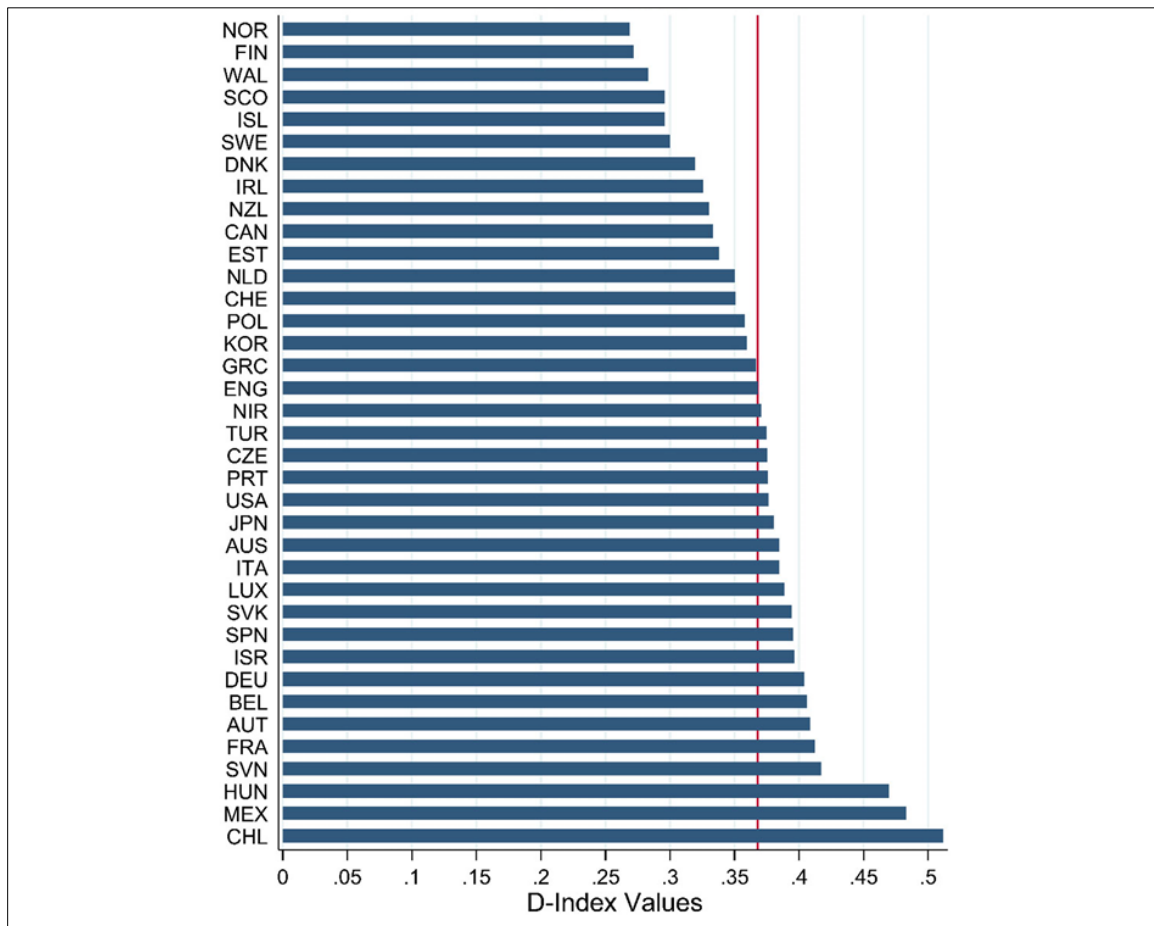
Note in the original publication: Figures refer to the value of the D index when dividing students into 'high' and 'low' socioeconomic groups based upon the national median of the ESCS index.

Source: Gutiérrez et al. (2020)

In addition to socioeconomic background, scholars have used other measures such as mother years of schooling and results on standardized tests to illustrate the deep

segregation between schools. Tables 2 and 3 show the socioeconomic stratification of the education system in Chile proving a perfect association between SES status, the type of school and academic outcomes of student measured on national standardized tests.

Table 2 *Enrollment Distribution Based on Socioeconomic Status*

Socioeconomic Status	Average Years of Schooling Mother	Monthly Income in Chilean Pesos	Percentage Enrollment in Public Schools	Percentage Enrollment in Voucher Schools	Percentage Enrollment in Private Schools
A Low	7	119,000	80.0	20.0	0
B Middle Low	9	180,000	79.3	20.7	0
C Middle	11	331,000	38.2	61.8	0
D Middle High	13	738,000	10.5	89.5	0
E High	16	1,526,000	0	12.0	88.0

Source: Assaél et al. (2015)

Table 3 *Test Scores Results of the 2017 SIMCE in Fourth Grade Based on Socioeconomic Status and Type of School*

Subject	Type of School	Low	Middle Low	Middle	Middle High	High
	Public	239	245	257	275	
Math	Voucher	233	252	264	244	295
	Private					298
	Public	251	254	266	283	
Language	Voucher	249	59	271	285	301
	Private					303

Source: Bellei et al. (2018)

Previously, I have shed light on the educational policies and mechanisms, such as family co-payment and school selection processes, that are associated with the high levels of SES segregation in Chilean schools. Another stream of research has shown how families navigate the choice-based system (Alves et al., 2015; Rambla et al., 2011). Based on several years of interviews with families from different SES backgrounds, Ramos, and colleagues (2022) find that parents from all social classes use social class markers in their school selection processes but in different ways. For families from high

SES backgrounds, the logic was that if you paid, you obtained a better education and a better group of peers. Thus, higher tuition was a proxy for the school's social composition, and the school's social composition was a proxy for the academic performance of the students at the school. However, for families from middle SES backgrounds, there was an expectation that children would attend a school with families who shared their SES background, values and beliefs "*Semejante a uno. Ni más ni menos*" (p.46.) as one participant expressed. Another common pattern among families was that most of them knew their "school market" (Ramos et al., 2022, p. 50) and used this knowledge (safety, school environment, education quality, teachers, etc.) in their school choice processes. In this context, the researchers argue that school segregation is an expected outcome of neoliberal policies based on a market-oriented logic and not a phenomenon triggered by parents.

Social Movements and the Demands for a "Free, Public, and High-quality Education."

High levels of school segregation and inequality have been at the center of social movements in Chile. In 2006, high school students initiated the most significant social uprising since returning to democracy in 1990 (Kubal & Fisher, 2016). The movement, known as the *Revolución Pinguina* (Penguin Revolution) for the black and carbo school uniforms of public school students (Donoso, 2013), was successful in initiating a national dialogue around the demands of students, in triggering the subsequent education policy reforms that addressed the calls for strengthening the public education system, and in opening up the road for massive college students protest in 2011 (Donoso, 2016).

Using longitudinal data to analyze college student protests between 1990 and 2020, Bellei and Villalobos (2024) studied the protesters' major milestones, demands, and tactics. Their study reveals four characteristics of this phenomenon. First, the protests have been cyclical and, over time, have become more massive. Second, the students' demands have focused on structural changes to disrupt neoliberalism, including the end of a market-oriented education system. Third, the tactics used to attract social attention are diverse and have diversified over time. Finally, student organizations have evolved and their leaders have continued to adapt to remain in the political arena, with some becoming elected officials. The clearest example is the political rise of President Gabriel Boric, who went from a prominent figure during the 2011 social uprising to President of Chile in 2021.

Despite the success described above, scholars argue that the neoliberal education reforms have been complexed to dismantle in Chile, and the reforms that the social movement inspired have only been able to reorganize the rules of the market model, consolidating a mixed model with greater government influence (Guzmán-Concha, 2017) but still rooted in the neoliberal principle of competition. Institutionally speaking, empowering the public education system was challenging because it required the disempowerment of the private sector, which gained considerable influence in the 1980s and 1990s (Bellei, 2015). After the government boosted and promoted private actors' involvement in education, reverting their influence needs to be done by the same institution that has lost power and credibility. In other words, the difficulty in developing a robust system of traditional public schools lies in the low levels of trust that society places in the institution of public schooling because the public school system has been

impoverished, weakened, and diminished as a result of enabling the private school system (Carnoy, 1998).

An Attempt to Democratize and De-privatize Public Education

Until 2015, VMOs could be for-profit organizations while receiving public funding from the government. They could also select students based on academic performance, family interviews, or other criteria such as religious preference. Finally, they could require families to make a co-payment to supplement the voucher they received from the government. The Inclusion Law bans those three entitlements (profitability, selection, and co-payment by families) of VMOs, requiring that they become not-for-profit organizations. In addition, the law created a centralized online school enrollment system in 2017. Students are automatically assigned if parents indicate an under-enrolled school as a first preference. However, when parents choose an over-enrolled school, an algorithm that considers several variables (siblings at the schools, special needs, SES, etc.) determines the enrollment allotments (Sillard et al., 2018).

The congressional discussion of the Inclusion Law was a hectic process. The changes proposed by the initiative were profound and significant. It was a paradigm shift to no longer be able to benefit from public pesos and to be forced to enroll any student without prior verification of family background or academic achievement. It was widely assumed that students from families who could not afford educational fees would enroll in schools with lower test scores and several deficiencies. Therefore, these proposals were met with great resistance from various actors. For example, Voucher Management Organizations warned that 70% of their schools would be forced to close (Saura & Mateluna, 2020). The threat was significant, considering that voucher schools account for more than 55% of the national enrollment. Despite this resistance, the Inclusion Law had substantial support from traditional public schools, especially in light of the end of profitability among voucher schools (Rojas Fabris et al., 2021).

Nearly ten years after the legislation of the Inclusion Law, the most dramatic change for schools was the transition of voucher schools from for-profit organizations to non-profit organizations. Prior to the Inclusion Act, 72.9% of voucher schools were for-profit organizations. Looking at the size of this group, for-profit schools made up 38% of the total number of schools (Muñoz & Weinstein, 2019). By 2018, 97% of them had already completed or started the process of converting to a non-profit organization (Rojas et al., 2023). Another key change was the gradual transition to the elimination of the co-payment for families. Although the amounts varied, prior to the Inclusion Law, approximately 70% of students attended schools that required a co-payment from the family in addition to the voucher or state subsidy. By 2020, this number had dropped by more than half (Rojas et al., 2023). Finally, the centralized enrollment system has largely eliminated enrollment barriers. Nevertheless, the redistribution of students, the desegregation of schools and the emergence of an equitable system have not materialized. As Figure eight shows, quantitative estimates have shown that the dissimilarity index used to measure school segregation has not changed drastically since 2015 (J. P. Valenzuela & Allende, 2023).

Figure 8 *Duncan Indexes for Tenth-grade Students in Chile*

Figure 8 *Duncan Indexes for Tenth-grade Students in Chile*
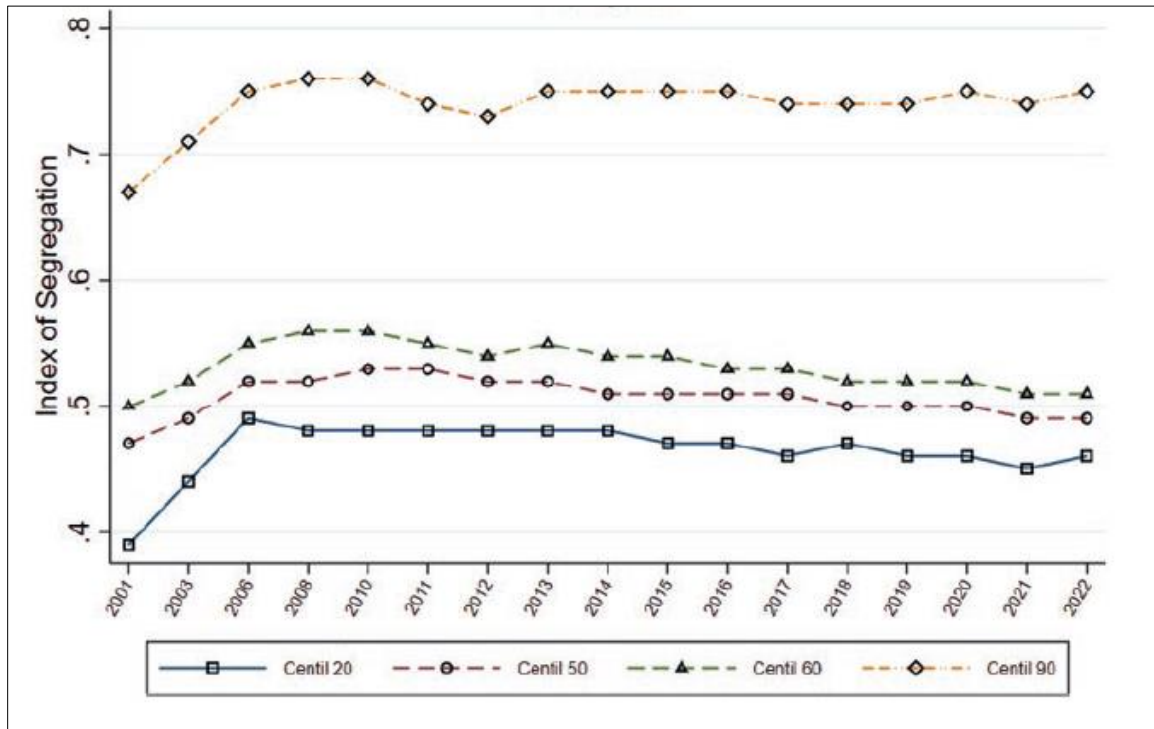
Source: Valenzuela & Allende (2023)

One explanation that has emerged from the qualitative research is that, on the one hand, family preferences have remained stable, even though families have access to more options. On the other hand, the great public support for integration is at odds with school communities' fears about the diversification process in their organizations (Rojas et al., 2023). In other words, educators agree with the need to integrate schools but are concerned about becoming more diverse organizations themselves.

In summary, former President Michelle Bachelet's promise to take the market out of education and education out of the market has not quite materialized. On the one hand, taking the market model out of education requires a restructuring of processes related to funding (voucher) and enrollment (choice). On the other hand, taking education out of the market means reducing the power of private organizations and individuals in the education system, which has only been partially successful, considering that about 65% of students in Chile are educated in privately administered schools.

Researching Immigrant Students' Experiences in Chile

With the surge of immigrant students in Chilean classrooms in the last ten years, academics have begun to examine the experiences of newcomers in schools. Using the database Scopus, the figure nine shows the evolution of academic publications that include the following terms either in the title or the abstract: "immigrant" OR "migrant" OR "foreigner" OR "newcomer" AND "students" OR "school" AND "Chile"

Figure 9 *Evolution of Academic Publications that Focus on the School Experiences of Immigrant Students in Chile*
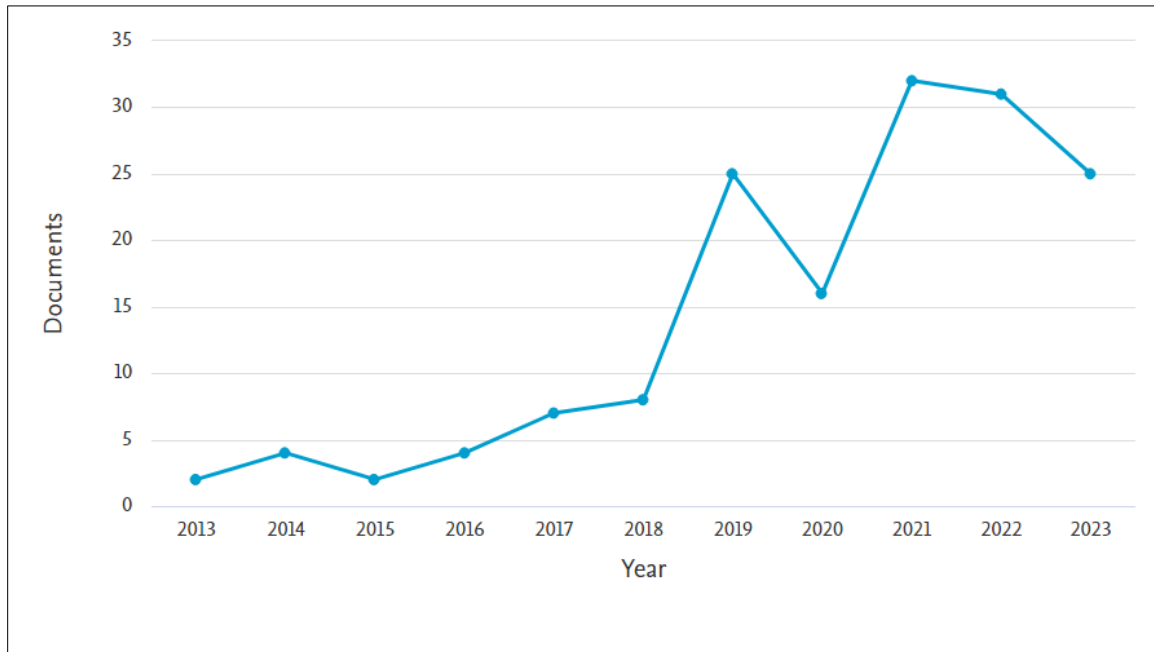
The database hosts 156 documents published between 2013 and 2023 that met the inclusion criteria. Of those, the vast majority are articles (n=129); most were from social science disciplines (n=112) and were published in Spanish (n=97). In what follows, I provide an overview of the recent literature regarding the enrollment and inclusion of immigrant students in Chilean schools.

As stated earlier, school segregation in Chile is usually studied only considering the students' socioeconomic background (J. P. Valenzuela et al., 2014). With few exceptions (Córdoba & Miranda, 2018; Córdoba-Calquin et al., 2022), other identifying characteristics such as ethnicity, race and nationality, have been largely ignored. Researchers have begun to study migrant families' preferences in the school-choice system, and one of the first findings is the over-representation of immigrant students in traditional public schools. According to the Ministry of Education, 35% of all students attended public schools in 2020 and 55% attended voucher schools. However, 58% of immigrant students are enrolled in public schools and 37% attend voucher schools (MINEDUC, 2021). The remaining students attend private schools that do not receive public funding and are therefore not subject to government regulations on selection and profitability. This inverse representation of immigrant students in Chilean schools has an additional nuance. In areas with a high presence of immigrant students, one-third of them attend schools with an enrollment of more than 30% of immigrant students (Córdoba & Miranda, 2018). Social science research aimed at understanding the school choice patterns of immigrant families is still developing. Exploratory studies of schools with an over-representation of immigrant students and nearby schools where this phenomenon is not present shows that neither the residential situation nor the type of school (public or

voucher, for instance) explain the overrepresentation of immigrant students in certain schools (Córdoba-Calquin et al., 2022).

The experiences of children with an immigrant background in school became the focus of academic attention in early 2010, with the work of Pavez-Soto (2012) was one of the first attempts to understand the process of school enrollment and integration in Chilean schools. In line with the literature on school enrollment of nationals, Pavez-Soto (2012) documents the obstacles Peruvian families face when enrolling their children in school. According to the study, while schools are required to facilitate the enrollment process for all children, Peruvian parents say that in practice schools make many excuses, such as requiring excessive paperwork or claiming that there is not enough space for new students. Later research by Joiko (2019) shows that families are forced to play an active role in the school selection process and that the State expects them to act as consumers in searching. In this neoliberal context, families encountered difficulties navigating the bureaucratic enrollment process, placing an additional burden on migrant families who had to learn to navigate the system and were expected to provide documents proving their regular migration status. Subsequent research conducted after implementing the centralized admission system shows that even though immigrant families receive a temporary ID number, they still face difficulties using that ID to access the online platform (Moyano Dávila et al., 2020).

Another stream of literature has explored the experiences of immigrant students once they enter Chilean classrooms (Salas et al., 2018; Valledor et al., 2020). Quantitative research has shown that immigrant students hold high levels of appreciation for their teachers, exhibiting a more positive perception than Chilean students (Pedemonte et al., 2023). This result is at odds with qualitative research that has uncovered teachers' prejudices against immigrant students. Drawing from 75 in-depth interviews and 46 classroom observations, Valenzuela-Vergara (2023) documents that negative stereotypes that educators hold about immigrant students not only influence the relationship between those groups but also reinforces prejudices and stereotypes among Chilean students, which adds an additional barrier for immigrant students' integration. Some of the stereotypes documented are the superiority of some nationalities (Venezuelan students) compared to others (Peruvian or Haitian students), and the ideas of national advancement, civility, and improvement compared to other Latin American countries portrayed as uncivil.

Regarding the impact of immigrant students on native students' test scores, Contreras and Gallardo (2022) analyzed standardized test scores of 6th-grade students in math and found that classes with a surge of immigrant students negatively affect Math scores and reading performance, especially when the immigrant group was "non-Spanish-speaking students, mostly Haitians" (p. 12). I use the language from the study to denote that a deficient focus on what the students lack (Spanish) is currently the norm when referring to emergent multilingual students. The authors caution that this impact is likely a short-term effect. Additionally, they focus on structural deficiencies that could explain the results. The first is the lack of educational support for emergent multilingual students. The second is the lack of professional development opportunities for teachers in teacher preparation programs. The third is that the teacher-to-student ratio increases with the enrollment of immigrant students. Finally, the authors argue that unlike the extra support

to educate students with special needs or those from low SES backgrounds, schools that serve immigrant students do not receive additional subsidies.

Other research has also explicitly addressed the linguistic diversity of immigrant students, but in most cases, it has been to describe obstacles, barriers and challenges expressed by educators working with multilingual students (Toledo Vega et al., 2022). It is important to note that most studies that have examined the arrival of Haitian students in Chilean schools (Ayala et al., 2024) have only mentioned students' ethnoracial roots without an in-depth analysis of educators or classmates' racial biases.

A small but growing research agenda focusing on immigrant students of African descent has examined racial bias. Using the framework of silencing as a form of epistemic violence, Valoyes-Chávez, Andrade-Molina, and Montecino (2023) document that Black immigrant students with varying levels of Spanish proficiency are subjected to silencing practices in Mathematical education classrooms that hinder their participation in the collective process of knowledge production.

As this review shows, while there are some exceptions (Leihy & Martini, 2023), most research fails to account for the experiences of refugee children and ignores students' prior experiences before arriving in Chile. Furthermore, researchers dismiss transnational youth's connection to the country they left, characterizing migration dynamics as fixed and static processes, rather than acknowledging the complex realities and dynamics of maintaining physical and symbolic ties to other countries.

Ethnoracial Domination Around the World

Racism is a slippery and ever-changing idea that arises from the intersections of social and individual meanings associated with ancestry, cultural, and phenotypical characteristics. Therefore, "Racism produced (and continues to produce) "races" out of peoples who were not so before" (Bonilla-Silva, 2015, p. 1395). This triggers a social process of racialization, pivotal for the emergence of racial domination projects. The racial domination projects that are central to this empirical project are colonialism, the institution of chattel slavery, neoliberalism, and forced migration. The roots of anti-Black racism can be traced back to the institution of slavery, which was driven by "the principle that human beings could be owned as instruments of production" (Fredrickson, 2016, p. 30). In its origins, slavery was an economic model of human exploitation in which the enslaved people and the slave owners could be of the same race (Frederickson, 2015). This was the case with the enslavement of Irish people by English people in the sense of being treated as property that could be bought and sold. It is important to note that this form of slavery, also described as indentured servitude, has been differentiated from chattel slavery due to the role that the racialization process played in the latter (Handler & Reilly, 2017). After the Transatlantic Slave Trade, which violently and inhumanly brought enslaved people throughout the Americas, including Chile (Cussen et al., 2016), the institution of slavery became racialized, and phenotypical characteristics became the most salient mark of the chattel slavery racial domination project.

Other forms of racism, such as violence against Jews and Muslim communities, are rooted in cultural or religious affiliation (Fredrickson, 2015). Several marginalized groups have experienced racial violence throughout human history. Some case examples include the Roma community in Eastern Europe, which continues to be stigmatized as a

"criminal race" and suffers from discrimination (Wacquant, 2013, p. 36). Another example is the Burakumin population in Japan, also referred to as the invisible race, due to the lack of physical traits to distinguish this racialized group from the rest of the Japanese population (Wacquant, 2013). This introduction serves the purpose of conceptualizing race as a social construct and provides a transnational overview of the dynamics of ethnoracial domination.

After agreeing to the idea of race as a social construct and racialization as a social process that are constantly shifting, the next step is to analyze the building blocks that would be part of the construct, and that is where divergence among contexts begins. In Latin America, for example, race cannot be separated from ethnicity because there are cultural traits associated to Black ethnoracial identity such as speaking English or having an English last name in Panama (Alexander Craft, 2008) or the sound of the drums that comprise the Uruguayan *comparsas* which bring Candombe into life (Andrews, 2010). Race and ethnicity can't be divorced in Latin America because while English is associated with Afro-Antilleans in Panama, Candombe is a festivity that unites Afro-Uruguayans. Whereas there are specific characteristics that make the social construct of race unique within Latin American countries, there are also common patterns and historical trends rooted in colonial institutions and forms of domination (Quijano, 2000) that are foundational to understanding current racialization processes.

Scholars who have recently studied transnational racial meaning-making developments argue that "Racialization is a political project connected to policing, economy, citizenship, and education. Racialization is imposed, resisted, and remade within and across national and local contexts where education is a central site" (Scott & Bajaj, 2022, p. 3). This is why understanding the current meaning of race in a specific place and society requires us to develop a historical analysis of the power dynamics that have played a role in shaping the current social structures. This examination also requires an understanding of whiteness. Leonardo (2022) argues that the historical "success" of whiteness across contexts is rooted in its flexibility. In other words, whiteness is able to adapt to the racialized norms of the context in which it is exercised and welcomes the white identification and recognition of groups that would enter into its fold in a different time or space. At the core of this argument is the idea of the operational principle of mestizaje, its influence as a whitening project, and the role of schools as sites of perpetuation of oppressive ethnoracial hierarchies.

Ethnoracial Identity in Latin America and Chile

Ethnoracial categorization and labeling in Latin America are complicated. According to Dixon and Telles (Dixon & Telles, 2017), "The absence of racial classification laws and the widespread race mixture among White, Indigenous, and Black populations resulted in blurred racial boundaries and a relatively small White population in much of Latin America. Notably, one-drop rules were never consolidated in Latin America." (p. 409). One way of accounting for similarities and differences regarding racial classification is by analyzing census data. As in other parts of the world, census instruments have been fundamental in shaping the nation-state identity formation process in Latin America. In her historical examination of ethnoracial classification across Latin American countries, Loveman (2014) observes that almost every country in the region uses different "words" to label people of African descent if they use them at all.

In some countries, such as Mexico, the elites embraced the discourse of *mestizaje*, in which Mexicans were the product of the mix between indigenous people and Spanish colonizers. Under this notion, all African roots get diluted, and are ignored; in other words, claiming racial identity is understood as a betrayal of the nation; of Mexico (Sue, 2013). In Mexico, as well as in other Latin American countries, *mestizaje* was/is a whitening project constructed on the idea that White ancestry was "better." Therefore, it would prevail in the mix of a White person and a non-White person. In some countries, this notion evolved into the belief that having White ancestry means self-identifying racially as White. One example of this phenomenon is the 2011 census question of racial self-identification in Costa Rica, where the categories of Mestizo and White are the same for self-identification. The question is presented as follows:

> Does_____ consider himself/herself...
> 1. Black or Afro-descendent
> 2. Mulato/a
> 3. Chinese
> 4. White or mestizo/a
> 5. Other
> 6. None
>
> *Note in the original publication:* this question is skipped if the person identifies as Indigenous
> *Source:* Loveman (2014, p. 258)

Embracing the idea of ethnoracial homogeneity through mestizaje resulted in erasing a question about race identification in most Latin American regions up until the 21st century. The rationale was that the newly formed Latin American nations had broken away from colonial practices of ethnoracial classification for conquest purposes and had embraced a national identity (e.g., Chileans), so there was no need to ask them about racial identification. However, it is well documented that the aspirations for equality remained at the discourse level and did not translate into equal access to opportunities or administrative treatment. In other words, "[i]ndependence did not miraculously erase three centuries of combined de jure and de facto ethnoracial classification and subjugation." (Loveman, 2014 p. 81) Specifically in Chile, the census of 1835, the first to be completed successfully post-independence, offered national homogeneity as a justification for the omission of inquiries about language, religion, and race: "Happily, in our country, there exists a unique race, free and equal both in the color of their skin and their political rights and duties, which exempts us from the work of distinction that occupies large pages in the American census." (Censo Jeneral de 1865 as cited in (Estefane Jaramillo, 2004, p. 57). Translation mine[6].

During the 20th century, the lack of data about the social conditions of Black people in different Latin American countries was successfully used to sustain the myth of racial equality. The scenario was compelling because it is hard to make a case for ethnoracial inequality when there is no data to support the argument, and there isn't a de

---

[6] Original: felizmente en nuestro país existe una raza única, libre e igual lo mismo en el color de su tez que en sus derechos y deberes políticos, lo cual nos exime de un trabajo de distinción que ocupa largas páginas en el censo americano.

jure segregation system that relies on a strict classification system. Nonetheless, the prominence of ethnoracial inequities was evident through other means (Andrews, 2007).

Pressure from the international community, the rise of grassroots organizations advocating for racial equality, and local sociopolitical dynamics converged in the development of demands to governments to construct a Black political subject at the end of the 20th century (Paschel, 2016). Some countries such as Brazil and Colombia were successful earlier and others such as Argentina, Bolivia and Mexico have included the issue in their most recent census. Chile is only joining the effort with the 2024 census, which includes the following question:

Figure 10 *Question About Ethnoracial Identification in 2024 Chilean Census*

The question translates as:

According to your ancestors, traditions, and culture, are you or do you consider yourself:

Remember that Afro-descendant people have African ancestors.

1. Afro-descendant
2. Afro-Chilean
3. Black
4. From the Tribal Afro-descendant People of Chile
5. Moreno/a from Azapa
6. Black from La Chimba
7. None of the above

With this question, the Chilean census presents ethnoracial identification as it relates to ancestry, cultural and geographical roots and joins countries such as Argentina which asks, "Are you or anyone in this house Afrodescendant or have Afro-descendant or African-origin ancestors (father, mother, grandparents or great-grandparents)? Yes; No; Don't know." This framing breaks away from countries like Brazil or Cuba which draw direct connections between race and skin color. In Brazil, the census question asks: "Your color or race is: White; Black; Pardo; Yellow; Indigenous." While in Cuba is "What is his/her skin color (Mark only one) White; Black; Mestizo or Mulato" (Loveman, 2014).

On the one hand, one particularity of the question is that it does not offer space for White or Mestizo/a self-identification, which, in a country where racial relations have been understood as a binary, could leave open the possibility to interpret that anyone who answers "None of the Above" identifies as White. On the other hand, another relevant nuance of the innovation of the census instrument is that it has the potential to destroy the myth supported by historians (Tijoux, 2016), about the lack of influence and presence of people of African descent in Chilean history. Well-known historians in Chile, such as Francisco Encina and Diego Barros Arana, postulate that Black people did not have the physical strength to survive in Chile's geographical conditions and died of disease or fled to the tropics. They also say that this phenomenon was positive for the formation of the "Chilean race" (Cussen, 2016, p. 31). Historians, such as Celia Cussen (2016), argue that the high levels of social integration of Black people in Chile explain the phenotypical transformation of the slave-descendant population. One example of social integration was inter-racial marriage during the colonial period. Cussen documents that in the first generation of enslaved people in Chile, 50% married a Black person in the second generation, the percentage dropped to 34%

Additionally, the institution of slavery in Chile relied less on the Transatlantic Slave Trade than other countries because Black enslaved people could buy their freedom soon after their arrival and because, unlike other Latin American countries, Chile institutionalized the slavery of indigenous peoples (Cussen et al., 2016). This is not to say that Chile was a racial democracy. Dulitzky (2005) argues that in the region, "The myth of a racial democracy, which is defined as harmony between ethnic and racial groups and, therefore, the absence of racial discrimination, would lead people to believe that any display of racism and discrimination that may occur is usually the result of social and economic rather than racial prejudices" (p.10). If anything, the lack of ethnoracial identity could also be detrimental for advancing social progress because "(t)he same classification system that promotes inequality may also undermine it. Once categorization generates groups with sharply defined boundaries, the members of that group can draw on their shared identity within the boundary to mobilize against their subordinate position" (J. L. Hochschild & Weaver, 2007, p. 160). Moreover, the refusal to acknowledge Black roots and the enchantment of whiteness continue to form the basis of racial construction in Chile today (Mitnick, 2004).

Recent research conducted after the recent migration dynamics has shown that the arrival of Afro-descendant immigrants has reinforced a White(r) ethnoracial identification among Chileans (Bonhomme, 2023). My work is a contribution to the growing literature examining ethnoracial dynamics in Latin America. Advancing a precise understanding of how race is constructed, understood, and approached in Chile, especially at the school level, is crucial for building mechanisms that support the integration of Black immigrant students.

Chapter 3. Conceptual Framework

Introduction

       I conceive the conceptual framework as an evolving tool that guided the dissertation process (Ravitch & Riggan, 2016). For this reason, this section changed throughout the course of the research: Research Design, Fieldwork, Data Analysis, and Writing. This framework is the result of an organic deductive and inductive process and highlights the major forces impacting the educational experiences of immigrant students that I identified and was encouraged to explore by the theoretical frameworks that guided this research. Specifically, this conceptual framework brings together concepts of educational policy, ethnoracial identity, language, and transnationalism to further the understanding of the neoliberal education system and its influence on the experiences of EMISAD. This conceptual framework is based on the premise that schools are the foundation for the emergence of the social dynamics described in the literature review. Among others, these include the commodification of education as a private asset through the implementation of neoliberal logics and the perpetuation of White supremacist transnational ideologies.

Figure 11 *Conceptual Framework to Understand the Experience of Immigrant Students in Chile*
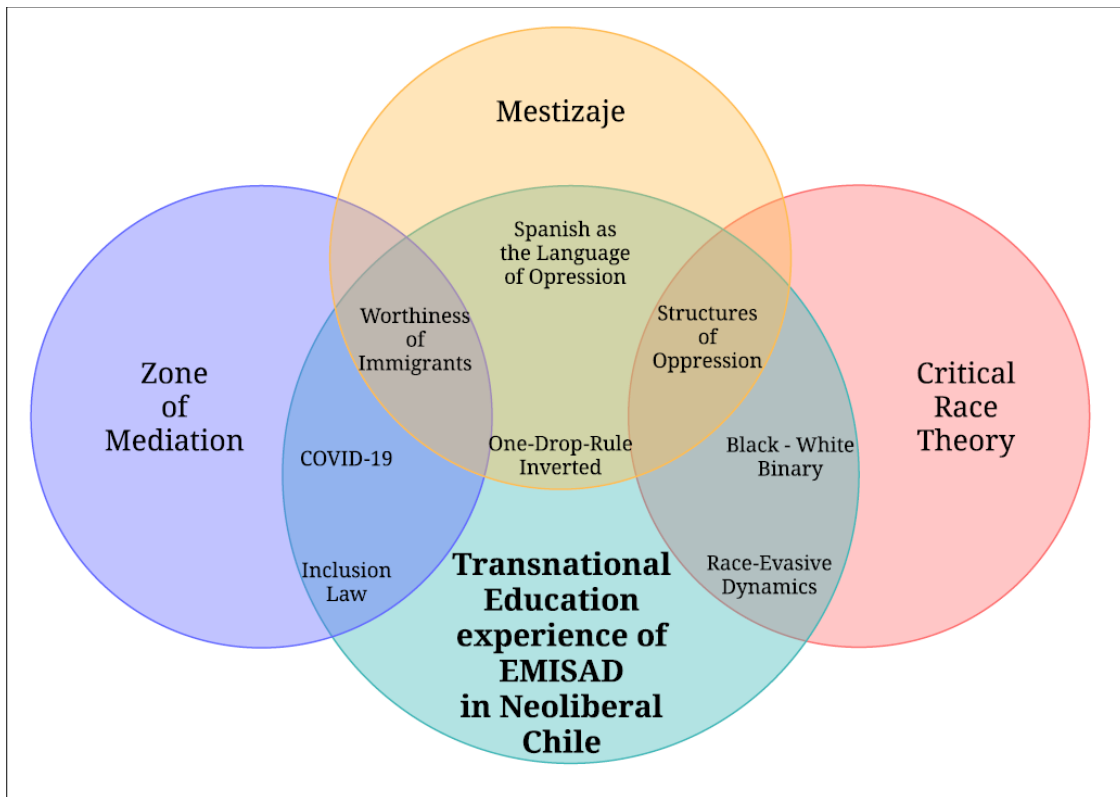
Source: Author's Elaboration

       This framework guided the answer to the research questions that this dissertation responds:

1. What is the relationship between market-oriented educational policies and educators' beliefs and practices in the context of trying to build an inclusive and democratic school and with regard to the integration of emergent multilingual immigrant students of African descent (EMISAD)?;
2. In what ways have educators responded to the suspension of market-oriented mechanisms (e.g., voucher funding system) during the COVID-19 pandemic and to the new immigration dynamics? What are the implications of these responses for EMISAD?; and
3. What is the relationship between educators' notions of intersectional identities (e.g., nationality, ethnicity, race, and language) and their aims of building an inclusive school environment?

Zone of Mediation

I draw from the Zone of Mediation (ZOM) framework originally developed by Oakes and colleagues (1998) and then extended by Kevin Walner (2001). I utilize the ZOM to conduct a policy-level (macro-level) analysis to locate and examine the factors that contribute to the challenge or acceptance of education policy reforms. The ZOM framework is an invitation to pay attention to the political, normative and technical factors that form the context in which the policy is to be implemented. From an organizational perspective, schools are recognized in this framework by their ability to mediate between policy goals and actual outcomes. Using this framework allows me to focus on the macro level (policy reform) and establish a connection to the place of implementation (school).

For decades, there has been an effort to understand "what works" to improve education quality, especially for students in disadvantaged contexts (Hattie & Yates, 2013). Regarding policies, academics have theorized about the lack of connection between policymakers and the realities on the ground where the policy will be implemented (Cuban, 2013). Others have argued that schools must act as "learning organizations" and embrace dynamics of change as opportunities for improvement (Fullan, 1993). Finally, attempts have also been made to explain policy performance through an analysis of policy instruments. McDonnell and Elmore (1987), for example, describe four sets of policy instruments, "mandates, inducements, capacity-building, and system-changing" (p.136), and analyze their efficiency depending on the nature of the problem being addressed. Nonetheless, less attention has been placed on the values and beliefs that will determine the reception of the policy. Although the policy mechanisms, implementers, and context of implementation might be the same, the Zone of Mediation framework suggests that it is vital to consider that if Chile's inclusion policy promoted the enrollment of European White immigrant students who spoke Swedish, the response would be different than if it promoted the enrollment of immigrant students of African descent from Haiti who spoke Creole. This difference in the perception of the students described is due to the different symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986) of the groups to which they belong. This form of capital is linked to the honor and prestige that society associates with groups or cultures.

The Zone of Mediation offers the possibility of conceptualizing educational policy instruments as non-neutral mechanisms. According to Welner (2001), the Zone of Mediation integrates two ideas from the politics of education literature. One is the "zone

of tolerance" which is the extent to which a community would accept changes derived from a new policy in place. The other is the "mediating institution," which suggests that organized social settings, such as a school system, negotiate, influence, and channel the ways in which macro-political and economic forces (i.e., people, communities, values, beliefs, resources, etc.) become embedded in a place. These forces range from historical political events such as social movements to current economic affairs and can be both local and global (Oakes et al., 1998). The final implication is that the mediating institutions influence the responses and interactions of the people affected by the forces in these places. For my dissertation, I explored how the normative and symbolic components of the neoliberal education system, such as the notion that quality education is a scarce resource available only to those who can pay for it. I connect them to the values of the school community to understand how policies aimed at desegregating schools are received. The Zone of Mediation framework suggests that there is a limit to the acceptance of the changes triggered by the policy, which in this case is the increase of enrollment of immigrant students. Because this change occurs in a context that was already perceived as "in crisis," it drives the school community to engage in moral dilemmas (Stevenson, 2007) between inclusion (promotes by social justice values) and exclusion (promotes by the neoliberal system). This example shows how the Zone of Mediation framework brings into conversations the context of the microlevel where the policy is expected to trigger changes as well as the normative characteristics of the macro-level, which conceptualizes education as a private good (Labaree, 1997). Another implication of the neoliberal model is the move away from implementing a "pedagogy of care" (A. Valenzuela, 1999) and a focus on teaching to improve test scores.

To summarize, "the intersection of forces around a particular issue shapes the Zone of Mediation for that issue" (Welner, 2001, p.95). A significant aspect to consider is that in the cases Welner studied, the implementation of equity-oriented policies was triggered by court orders. A substantial contribution of my work is that it examines the dynamics triggered by a policy that was voluntarily implemented by the Santa Fe Voucher School under argumentatively favorable conditions.

Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory (CRT) is a framework that emerged from the legal tradition in the United States to understand and develop solutions to structural racism, systems of oppression, and harmful power dynamics supported and perpetuated by notions of White superiority (Crenshaw et al., 1995). Grounded in the Marxist tradition to understand how society operates, the CRT framework adds a racial component to the power dynamics that underpin social relations. Whereas in Marx's prism, social classes and the constant struggle to accumulate power to accumulate capital formed the main basis of social relations, in the CRT framework, the struggle for the liberation of Black people and the oppression by White people provides guidance to understanding current social relations. In other words, while Marxists argue that social class "is the system upon which the maintenance of capitalism depends" (Cole, 2009, p. 259), the proponents of the use of CRT to explore education dynamics argue that "class- and gender-based explanations are not powerful enough to explain all of the difference (or variance) in school experience and performance. Although both class and gender can and do intersect race, as stand-

alone variables, they do not explain all of the educational achievement differences apparent between whites and students of color." (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995, p. 51).

CRT is based on the notion that race is a social construct that evolves over time to allow for the persistence of racism as an enduring feature of society (Bell, 2018). Under this logic, the focus to achieve racial progress must be placed on structural changes. Consequently, Zuberi and Bonilla-Silva (2008) argue that:

> It is not a question of how a person's race causes disadvantage and discrimination. The real issue is the way society responds to an individual's racial identification. The question has more to do with society itself, not the innate makeup of individuals. Racial identity is about shared social status, not shared individual characteristics. Race is not about an individual's skin color. Race is about an individual´s relationship to other people within the society. While racial identification may be internalized and appear to result from self-designation, it is, in fact, a result of the merging of self-imposed choice within an externally imposed context. (p. 7).

Racist ideas in society have evolved and changed over the course of 400 years because "the very definition of race has changed over time; thus, to understand the impact of race, one would need to understand the impact and nature of these changes in the definition of race" (Zuberi & Bonilla-Silva, 2008, p. 6). In recent times, a term referred to as scientific racism has tried to prove (with no luck) that Black people have genetic deficiencies that explain their supposed lower intellect (Gould, 1996) or their higher risk of adverse medical conditions such as high blood pressure (Fryer, 2005). These beliefs were the basis for the development of eugenics movements that worked to restrict the reproduction of some groups and encourage the reproduction of others, with the Holocaust being one of their most prominent manifestations. Although social science and biological science research has debunked the notion of genetic differences between races to explain differences between groups, Obasogie and colleagues (2015) argue that science has continued to attempt to link race as a biological concept to the outcomes of individuals. The authors note that after World War II and with the recognition of race as a social construct, "biological race never went away. It simply left the 'prime time' stage afforded to it by certain political movements and embedded itself into post–World War II genetics and medical research." (p. 3113). These research fails to expose the systemic barriers and historical context related to outcome disparities (Cutler et al., 2005) Such structural racism manifests, for instance, when teachers hold lower expectations for Black students or when Black students are disproportionately punished for behavior that other, non-Black students also engage in (Diamond & Lewis, 2015).

Another example is when police target Black people for conduct or actions that are ignored when other people execute them (Alexander Craft, 2008; Carbado, 2015). The list can go on for pages (or books). After the Second World War and the Civil Rights Movement in the United States, scientific racism and eugenics ideas lost social value as the "politically correctness" and colorblind ideology gained more traction (Bonilla-Silva, 2006). The notion of diversity and the aspiration for integration are now embraced in what some call a post-racial era after the first Black president was elected in the United States. However, these aspirations have failed to move from discursive performative into

concrete action. As a result, disproportional punishment continues, police brutality remains largely unpunished, and schools are as segregated as before the de jure segregation ended with the landmark decision of Brown v. Board of Education in 1954 (Orfield et al., 2016).

CRT provides essential tools to understand these phenomena. One consideration is that the colorblindness ideology has permeated deep into current society. Colorblind racism is a social construct in which people claim to see every person as equal regardless of their skin color. However, their implicit bias, their inner racist voice, still drives their decisions and frames their conceptions and stereotypes (Bonilla-Silva, 2006). Unlike eugenicist followers, people who deny the prevalence of race in society today use other frames, such as "culture," to explain the perpetuation of disadvantages for Black people. Such beliefs are grounded in the ideology of social Darwinism (Graves Jr, 2003). The supporters of these ideas argue that, in the same way, stronger biological species evolve and remain in nature due to the natural selection process, stronger races, that is to say, those with the "best culture" are to dominate in society, accumulate benefits, and survive because they are "the fittest" (Spencer, 1872).

Another component of the CRT framework is the criticism of liberalism for its claims about the neutrality of law and power or meritocracy (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). It is common among people to admit "not seeing color" and blame individuals' lack of economic or academic success on the person's lack of effort. There is a lack of recognition that the United States is structured in racial hierarchies in which whiteness is a form of property, in the sense that those who possess it have access to the benefits and resources that are denied to those who do not. In other words: Whiteness is something that a person can place a value on and has a right to, which comes with a long list of benefits that can be passed down from generation to generation (Harris, 1993).

Intersectionality is another important dimension of CRT that needs to be explored in order to better understand the social dynamics studied. This framework was developed to understand the relationship between different systems of oppression that play a role in the configuration of oppression and marginalization toward Black women (Crenshaw, 1991). Intersectionality adds another layer to the understanding of systemic racism experienced by Black women in particular, as the dynamics of oppression to which they are exposed do not only operate through racial exclusion, but also through gender-based marginalization, creating a new form of subjugation, that was previously invisible in academic circles. While intersectionality was originally used to disentangle the connections between race and gender discrimination, it is now used as a framework to understand multiple interconnected systems of oppression for people who identify with many marginalized identities, such as low socioeconomic status, immigrant status, nationality, and, as used by Annamma and colleagues (2018), the intersection of gender, race and disability.

All of these societal features have material consequences for schools and CRT has been used to examine, denounce and challenge the racialization practices reproduced in schools (Ladson-Billings, 1998; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). One of the phenomena studied is the way educators engage in race-evasive practices by ignoring or downplaying the role that race plays in students' experiences (Dickar, 2008).

This extensive description of CRT is necessary for understanding that this theoretical framework constitutes a unique tool applicable to social dynamics in an educational context because it "is a radical critique of both the status quo and the purported reforms" (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995, p. 62). The status quo and reforms have failed to create an equitable education system in which opportunities are fairly distributed and students have the chance to reach their highest potential in terms of academic and moral development. CRT values the lived experiences of marginalized populations and a methodological implication of this approach is to provide opportunities for expression to populations that have historically been unheard and marginalized (Dixson & Rousseau, 2005). This epistemological orientation guided my decision to interview participants from immigrant backgrounds in order to understand their experiences based on their expertise and their perspectives. Furthermore, CRT encouraged me to focus on the neoliberal racialized project (Omi & Winant, 2015) to understand the racial dynamics that occurred in the school communities I studied. That is, rather than focusing on individual accountability, I sought to understand the mechanisms that perpetuate the systemic barriers that schools and students face. Ultimately, the application of CRT requires a call to action to challenge social paradigms and change the status quo, which is critical to drive educational improvement for marginalized populations.

In connecting CRT and *mestizaje* in the Chilean context, unlike other countries in Latin America, the predominant discourse around racial categorization in Chile is a binary (Bonhomme, 2023) of White and Black identification, with indigeneity being treated as a solely ethnic category. This social construct is similar to how race is socially constructed in the United States and differs from the dynamism and fluidity that characterizes ethnoracial identification in many Latin American countries (Telles & Paschel, 2014).

Another vital point of connection is that the myth of Latin American racial harmony has penetrated not only the Latin American imagination but has also migrated into the United States. In the book Racial Innocence (2022), Afro-Latina scholar Tanya Katerí Hernández analyses legal cases of racial discrimination perpetuated by Latino or Latina self-identified people in the United States. Hernandez reveals that anti-Black discrimination is protected by the belief that since people with ties to Latin America are part of a marginalized group in the United States, they are unlikely to discriminate against other marginalized minorities like Black people on the basis of race. This argument was used repeatedly not only by defense attorneys but also by judges in their rulings. In the prologue of the book, Hernández describes in detail how her mother's African features, including her dark skin color, made her the target of psychological abuse and rejection perpetrated by her mother, the author's grandmother. This account is theorized by Omi and Winart (2014) when they state that:

> 'Power' cannot be reified as a thing that some possess and others do not; instead it constitutes a relational field. Furthermore, unless one is prepared to argue that there has been no transformation of the U.S. racial order in the past several decades, it is difficult to contend that groups of color have attained no power or influence. To do so risks dismissing the political agency of people of color. Racialized groups are positioned in unequal ways in a racially stratified society.

Racial hierarchy pervades the contemporary United States; that hierarchy is preponderantly white supremacist, but it is not always that way. There are some exceptions, specific urban areas where groups of color have achieved local power, for example, in the administration of social services and distribution of economic resources. In cities like Oakland and Miami, this has led to conflicts between blacks and Latin@s over educational programs, minority business opportunities, and political power, with dramatically different results depending on which group held relative power. In these cases, some groups of color are promoting racial projects that subordinate other groups of color. While such exceptions do not negate the overarching reality of white supremacy, they do suggest that differences in racial power persist among groups of color. Inter-group racial conflict is not unidimensional; it is not solely whites vs. people of color, though whiteness still rules, OK? (p. 130)

I end this section of the conceptual framework by connecting Critical Race Theory and *mestizaje* through the inseparable relationships between proximity to whiteness and access to power:

The concept of whiteness is different from white people because whiteness is an ideological and material structure that is preponderantly deployed by white people and hails or interpellates whites. But if we conclude that racism has been only about white people, then that elides difficult conversations about internalized racism, and internalized oppression from non-white people, who can perpetuate whiteness, even when there are no white people present. This helps us to see that non-whites are involved in whiteness and are implicated in whiteness. Whiteness is an ideology, but not in the orthodox sense of ideology as only ideational, ideology as only expressed as an idea. (Leonardo et al., 2022, p. 38)

The historical construction of the *mestizaje* project is influenced by the aspiration to become regarded and desirable in the eyes of the international (White) community. With that desire in mind, Latin American elites materialized a racial project that involved physical and symbolic experiments to whiten its population.

Mestizaje

As stated earlier, Critical Race Theory is a framework that originated in the United States. Thus, it is best suited to explain a local phenomenon, so it is important to examine which aspects can be applied to the Chilean context in order to understand how racial projects function in the country. One of the most fundamental aspects of Critical Race Theory is the notion that race is a social construct. This idea is relevant because while in the United States race is conceived in rigorous and fixed way, in most Latin American countries race is understood as a malleable characteristic of people's identity that cannot be completely separated from a person's ethnicity. Therefore, several scholars use the concept of ethnoracial classification to recognize the cognitively indissociable nature of race and ethnicity (Loveman, 2014; Richards, 2013; Telles & Paschel, 2014). For example, in the United States, when a person of light skin color and Black ancestry (parents, for instance) crosses the "color line" to gain access to benefits reserved for Whites, this is considered passing (Drake & Clayton, 1945). Passing could take many forms and was a socially reprehensible practice because historically, when individuals

were involved in this practice, they were forced to deny their community membership to access benefits available only to White people in the United States. Because most nations of Latin America never installed a de jure system of racial segregation, society was not organized by law based on race. This approach of social organization did not imply the absence of racism; it only meant that racism and White supremacy operated differently than in the United States because "[o]fficial classification of individuals does not have to be directly tied to administrative allocation of benefits or penalties, or to the enforcement of legal segregation, to become consequential in the construction of political and cultural divides" (Loveman, 2014, p. 11).

Furthermore, several Latin American countries have taken up mestizaje as a racial project. During the process of nation-building, elites in Latin America were pressured to create a symbol of nationalism and unity that was valued by the European community that was so admired (Loveman, 2014). In the period that followed the end of slavery in several countries, the ideas of social Darwinism and scientific racism became more widespread. An increasing number of influential figures argued that White was a 'superior race' and that whiteness was therefore a valuable asset. In alignment with the idea of racial hierarchy, the elites in Latin America embraced the vision that their compatriots were of mixed ancestry. White prevailed in mixing with other races because White was seen as the superior race. Strictly speaking, mestizaje is not a direct embrace of race and ethnic mixing but served as evidence of racial improvement. While some authors have argued that the mestizaje project was not popular in Chile (Richards, 2013) because mestizo identity is not widespread, I argue that the process of mestizaje, understood as a whitening project, was so effective that today more than half of the population in Chile identifies as White (Latinobarómetro, 2020). Furthermore, it is important to remember that the whitening project of mestizaje fundamentally had nation-building purposes that were successful in Chile in establishing a notion of homogeneity across its population. Latin American historians have documented these efforts:

> [This is the] axiom that seems to guide the search for national identity in Chile and other countries: the idea that for a national identity to exist, homogeneity is necessary, in this case racial, with diversity being incompatible with the possibility of the existence of an identity. Remember that this homogeneity was also highly sought after in relation to other variables such as the national language, religion, territory, and common national history. If this homogeneity did not exist, it would need to be invented. In the 19th century, homogenization was proposed and attempted through various measures: promoting international immigration of populations considered superior; encouraging racial mixing to dilute, in the long term, the presence of groups considered inferior; and even policies that contemplated the extermination of undesirable or rebellious populations resistant to assimilation and dispossession. (H. Gutiérrez, 2010, p. 137). Translation mine[7]

---

[7] Original: [Este es el] axioma que parece guiar la búsqueda de la identidad nacional en Chile y en otros países: la idea de que para que exista una identidad nacional es necesario que haya homogeneidad, en este caso racial, siendo la diversidad incompatible con la posibilidad de existencia de una identidad. Recuérdese que esa homogeneidad fue muy buscada también en relación a otras variables como la lengua nacional, la religión, el territorio, y la historia patria común. Si esa homogeneidad no existiera, debería ser

Understanding the way in which race is socially constructed in Chile is crucial to recognizing attitudes toward immigrant students and the different experiences they have depending on their race or country of origin. As has been shown, Chile has portrayed itself as a White nation, has implemented concrete plans for whitening its population, and has embraced whiteness as the characteristic that unifies the nation (Mitnick, 2004). Since the colonial period, Chile has tried to hide its indigenous roots and ignored its "mestizo" heritage (Montecino, 1999) in order to develop what prevails today as a national identity, the "Chilean race." As in other Latin American countries, the creation of a national identity has been a whitening project aimed at denying indigenous and Afro-descendant heritages and emphasizing the European ancestry brought by the Spanish colonizers (Sue, 2013).

The invisibility of the racialized "other" has different expressions in Chilean society. Some are social exclusion, school segregation and racial discrimination, as experienced by indigenous and immigrant groups in Chilean schools (Merino & Mellor, 2009; Pavez Soto, 2012).

The self-identification of Chileans as Whites entails a position of White superiority that is evident through exclusionary practices toward the immigrant community and the development of stereotypes that are prevalent in the public imagination (Aravena Reyes & Alt Álvarez, 2012) and serve as a means of perpetuating circles of oppression and discrimination. Discrimination against immigrant students in Chile has been documented in the literature (Pavez Soto, 2012, 2013). However, it has not been further analyzed to understand the relationship between a market-oriented school system (testing, accountability, competition, and measuring success only by academic outcomes) and the experiences of immigrant students.

Mestizaje, a Linguistic Dimension

> To speak a language is to appropriate its world, a culture. The Antillean who wants to be white will succeed, since he will have adopted the cultural tool of language. I can remember just a year ago in Lyon, following a lecture where I had drawn a parallel between black and European poetry, a French comrade telling me enthusiastically: "Basically, you're a white man." The fact I had studied such an interesting question in the white men's language gave me my credentials.

> Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (2021, p. 21)

It is not a coincidence that the first chapter of the landmark work by the Black Martinican intellectual Frantz Fanon is dedicated to exploring the role of language in the process of understanding the psychological harm triggered by colonialism and anti-Black racism. In his own words, "All colonized people-in other words, people in whom an inferiority complex has taken root, whose local cultural originality has been committed to the grave- position themselves in relation to the civilizing language" (p.2).

---

inventada. En el siglo XIX la homogeneización fue propuesta e intentada con diversas medidas: promoción de inmigración internacional de poblaciones concebidas como superiores; estímulo a la mezcla de razas para diluir, a largo plazo, la presencia de grupos considerados inferiores; e incluso políticas que contemplaron el exterminio de poblaciones indeseables o rebeldes a la asimilación y al despojo

Therefore, an ethnoracial analysis of Mestizaje, rooted in notions of White superiority, is incomplete without a linguistic examination to uncover the dominance of the languages of colonizing nations: French, Spanish, English, Portuguese, and Dutch. Linguistic domination and subjugation have been present since colonial times in Latin America. Moreover, the meanings and values attached to colonial languages to the detriments of Indigenous languages have symbolic and material contemporary consequences.

The notion that languages are cognitively and materially placed in a hierarchical scale of social estimation rooted in white supremacist principles is an ongoing phenomenon defined as language ideologies. The examination of language ideologies (Rosa & Burdick, 2017) has mostly focused on either understanding the power dynamics between two colonial languages, English-Spanish, or through the examination of the imperialistic emergence of English global "superiority" (Phillipson, 2017). However, in the context of South-South migration, new dynamics of Spanish as a language of domination have emerged. These power dynamic is shaped by the process of nation-state formation, which sought national unity through Cultural homogenization, defined as "a socio-political process aimed at cultural homogeneity and deliberately fostered by political elites" (Conversi, 2008, p. 1288). Among other means, the goal of building a homogeneous society materialized through the genocide of Indigenous languages. French became the official language in the French-colonized Caribbean region, and Creole was discouraged at school (Fanon, 2021) and erased from official documents. Moreover, in Spanish-colonized countries, indigenous languages suffered similar outcomes, and only recently, there have been (primarily) unsuccessful efforts that have focused on reverting the annihilation of stigmatized languages (Gustafson et al., 2016).

Transnationalism

The final framework that has guided my work from data collection to analysis and writing is transnationalism. According to Schiller, Basch, and Blanc (1995), this framework is relevant "to take into account that immigrants live their lives across national borders and respond to the constraints and demands of two or more states" (p. 54). With this recommendation in mind, I use this conceptual framework for two purposes. First, it allows me to understand the globality of exclusion based on race, nationality, and ethnicity. Even though race is a social construct that develops locally, it is influenced by extended factors that operate globally. In this sense, the racial project in Chile is driven by different mechanisms and ideas that did not necessarily originate in Chile. From the influence of Hollywood on social media to conversations with relatives who have emigrated from the country, Chileans receive messages that affect their worldview and their development of ethnoracial schemes associated with social hierarchies (Roth, 2012). Second, conceptually, transnationalism provides a more accurate representation of many students at the SFVS.

According to Skerrett (2015), "unlike immigrant youth, whose feet are firmly planted in their new homeland, transnational youth maintain significant ties to two or more nation-states" (p.2). Transnationalism can be used in the broadest sense to examine different dimensions of the immigrant experience. Most of the literature on transnational experiences and physical and periodic borderland crossing (Nuñez & Urrieta Jr, 2021)

has focused on the study of social dynamics at the United States-Mexican border. Sánchez (2007) for example, asserts that a theory of transnationalism:

> embodies various systems or relationships that span two or more nations, including sustained and meaningful flows of people, money, labor, goods, information, advice, care, and love; in addition, systems of power (i.e., patriarchy, Westernism) can be created, reinforced [or disrupted] in this process." (p. 493).

Even though the definitions were mainly derived from the studies that the researcher conducted with youth of Mexican origin in the United States, they are suitable for understanding the flows of physical and symbolic resources between Chile and the country of origin of its immigrant population. The dynamism embedded in the idea of flows is core to understanding the particularities of transnational youth. This dynamism shows up in at least two dimensions. The first and most salient form is the physical movement that transnational youth are part of. Some of them, such as the students of Haitian origin, engage in a global diaspora form of forced "international dispersion" (Audebert, 2020) due to the significant presence of people of Haitian origin around the world. Another form of movement that characterizes transnational communities is the regular movement between countries. This was the case with the Haitian communities that established themselves in the Dominican Republic before moving to Chile. This characteristic is significant because passing through a Spanish-speaking country allowed the transnational youth to go through an intensive learning process. In addition to language, transiting through the Dominican Republic also influenced the development of the students' "racial schemes" (Roth, 2012) development.

An additional nuance is that the preferred destination of many Haitians is North America (Audebert, 2020), making many other countries a place of transit and putting Haitian communities in a constant state of alert. This explains how changes in geopolitical dynamics can trigger sudden waves of migration that push them to head north. Finally, another form of physical migration is movement within the country. At the school level, this can cause confusion among teachers, confusing newly arrived immigrants with students who have been in the country for a long time (Skerrett, 2015). Another source of confusion at school level that arises when educators are not aware of the unique life experiences of transnational youth who might be on the move for a long time is that educators "can mistakenly assume that these students and their families do not care enough about education" (Skerrett, 2015, p.6). To respond to the needs of culturally and linguistically complex classrooms such as the ones with high presence of transnational students, Ball (2009) uses the concept of *generativity:*

> to refer to the teachers' ability to continually add to their understanding by connecting their personal and professional knowledge with the knowledge that they gain from their students to produce or originate knowledge that is useful to them in pedagogical problem solving and in meeting the educational needs of their students. (p. 48)

This approach acknowledges the contribution and opportunities of integrating students' transnational experiences and treat them as assets to expand the instructional possibilities of teachers. Furthermore, Paris (2012) argues that educators must not only develop relevant pedagogical practices, but also strive to provide the tools necessary to

preserve cultural heritage. As he explains: "the term culturally sustaining requires that our pedagogies be more than responsive of or relevant to the cultural experiences and practices of young people— it requires that they support young people in sustaining the cultural and linguistic competence of their communities while simultaneously offering access to dominant cultural competence." (2012, p. 95). Finally, Bajaj and colleagues (2022) complement and extend this theory by presenting a holistic approach to humanizing the educational experience of immigrant and refugee youth that comprises, among other things, utilizing translanguaging (García, 2009a) in second language development, honor students' histories and cultural heritage, incorporate differentiated instruction, and develop systems of support for students with limited and interrupted formal education.

The second dimension is symbolic, metaphorical, mental, and emotional constancy in ever-changing, dynamic and blurred borderlands (Anzaldúa, 2001). This manifests itself in the connections and relationships that youth transnational students maintain with their country of origin or with their relatives living around the world. This permanent state of navigation brings with it challenges, such as the need to connect two different worlds. This same experience also provides transnational youth with the tools to improve their resilience and foster their growth on multiple levels of human development: intellectual, emotional, linguistic, etc. An awareness of the assets that transnational youth have acquired provides school communities with the opportunity to enrich classrooms with meaningful instructional practices (Skettett, 2015).

Finally, I lean on the construct of "cultural citizenship" (Ong et al., 1996) to understand the relationship between the values, beliefs, and cultural characteristics of immigrant students and policy reform. I want to explore how immigrant students influence their context and how their context (influenced by policy reforms) influences them. According to Ong and colleagues (1996), cultural citizenship:

> refer to the cultural practices and beliefs produced out of negotiating the often ambivalent and contested relations with the state and its hegemonic forms that establish the criteria of belonging within a national population and territory. Cultural citizenship is a dual process of self-making and being- made within webs of power linked to the nation-state and civil society. Becoming a citizen depends on how one is constituted as a subject who exercises or submits to power relations (p. 738).

While this construct has been used to observe dynamics at the national or state level, I use it to zoom into a school immersed in constant change triggered by education policy changes, demographic changes, and changes due to the pandemic. The construct of cultural citizenship helps to explain phenomena that may not be captured by critical race theory, such as cultural hierarchy among seemingly racially homogenous groups. While various forms of exclusion can be analyzed and understood using racial approaches, the way ethnoracial identity is socially constructed in Latin America, and particularly in Chile, makes it difficult to ignore cultural and ethnic identities that are closely tied to nationality in the exclusion/inclusion equation.

Following the goal of critical race theory to place the experience of the "racialized other" at the center of analysis in order to acknowledge its merits, knowledge, and

experience in its entirety, I use the framework of transnationalism to add two identifying characteristics that add a significant layer of complexity to the experiences of immigrant students. First, the experience of being a transnational youth, and second, the experience of learning a new language, with all the emotions, strengths, and challenges that this process entails.

To summarize, all components of this conceptual framework support the connection of macro, meso, and micro levels for an in-depth analysis of the educational experience of emerging multilingual students of African descent. The Zone of Mediation framework favors the notion that school communities are active entities capable of influencing the implementation of equity-oriented policies that are not neutral. As this case study shows, these policies are implemented in a neoliberal system that promotes certain values (i.e. competition, individualization, etc.) to the detriment of other values (e.g., equality, collaboration, common good, etc.). Furthermore, these policies are enacted in places, in this case Santa Fe Voucher School, that have historically served as spaces that facilitate the creation and reproduction of social transnational inequalities based on race, ethnicity, nationality, language, and other constructs that trigger processes of racialization. The frameworks of critical race theory, mestizaje, and transnationalism provide analytical tools to illuminate the forces (neoliberalism, colonialism, White supremacy) that influence the emergence of the Zone of Mediation and how they permeate the belief systems of educators committed to contesting and resisting these systems of domination.

Chapter 4. Methodology

Introduction

It all started in 2018 with an invitation to attend a talk by the principal of a school that was recognized as a pioneer in working with immigrant students in Chile. I contacted the organization that focuses on advocating for the rights of immigrant people in Chile, the *Servicio Jesuita a Migrantes* (SJM, Jesuit Migrant Service), and in my email, I said that I wanted to "conduct an exploratory investigation about the experiences of Black students in Chilean schools. I intend to analyze and describe the schools as a context of reception". After that initial contact, I was invited to attend the presentation. The event aimed to share the experience of one school that experienced a sudden and rapid increase in immigrant students, with other schools expecting to see an increase in enrollment of immigrant students in the 2019 school year, which would start in March 2019. This school was presented as an experienced organization regarding the inclusion of immigrant students. Before the meeting, I had never heard of this privately managed and publicly funded school, which I called Santa Fe Voucher School. After the talk, I approached the school principal and expressed my research interest, and he handed me his phone number so that I could arrange a visit to the school in 2019.

The focus of this research project was exploratory: I would try to understand the experience of Black immigrant students in Chilean schools and examine different aspects such as academic achievement, discipline, and racial dynamics. However, as I began to understand how this school became a diverse organization, the political focus of this study began to emerge. During my visit in the summer of 2019, I conducted 27 interviews with SFVS community members, policy makers, government actors, and SJM staff. These interviews made it clear that the SFVS was undergoing a transformation process that could be replicated, albeit in an extreme form, by other schools in Chile in a few years' time once the effects of the Inclusion Law began to arise. As previously mentioned, the Inclusion Law is a national legislation promulgated to socioeconomically desegregate schools receiving public money and democratize the enrollment process to provide equal access to school to all children. The law prohibits schools from requiring co-payments from families and using selection methods and requires that all schools receiving public funds become non-profit organizations.

This law was created in response to nationwide protests and riots that paralyzed schools and the streets to protest the market-oriented school system that has ruled Chile since the 1980s. Even though the national-level discussion about educational inequality and injustice was new in 2006 when the uprising took place, the values and ideals that the students pursued were at the heart of the organizations working to build a more just society. Led by Saint Alberto Hurtado, the most influential Chilean Jesuit, the Jesuit community had a history of advocating for marginalized communities in Chile. Saint Alberto Hurtado is best known for driving its green track across Santiago to assist people who were unhoused.

Initially, I designed a research project in the form of a comparative case study to understand the experiences of immigrant students in a traditional public school and a voucher school in Chile. Before the COVID-19 pandemic, I was granted access to both schools. However, in 2021, when I was on site, I had to adapt the design of my research project and conduct a single-case study. The main reason for this decision was the ethical

implications of simultaneously moving between two school settings. I proposed to spend 20 hours per week in each school to document the students' experiences at the same time. Time is an important factor in my project due to the intensity of the changes affecting the schools. Health regulations, immigration norms, and pandemic protocols were all factors that changed dramatically in the months I spent in Chile. In order to make comparisons, it was therefore essential to understand how these changes affected the students' experiences. Nevertheless, it was highly risky to move from one school to another as I could spread COVID-19 across settings.

I recount this change between the design of my study and the actual study I conducted to show that although my study was deductively designed as a comparative case study, I had to allow space for flexibility and become comfortable with ongoing changes that were necessary to complete the fieldwork.

Another relevant change to the design was the level of my involvement in the school and the methods I used for data collection. I proposed to use a standard case study methodology (Yin, 2017) to understand the experiences of immigrant students in the midst of a pandemic within a neoliberal education system. However, when I arrived at the school, I realized that I could provide important and necessary support through a participant-observant approach (Glesne, 2011).

Positionality

I am the daughter of María Eugenia Concha Catalán, a single mom who worked tirelessly to ensure *que a sus hijos Manuel and María Eugenia no les faltara nada*. And she succeeded. I grew up in Puerto Montt, in a middle-class matriarchal household where basic needs were always met; we had everything we needed, but if our shoes broke at the beginning of the month, we had to wait until the 19th, which was payday, to get a new pair. My brother and I grew up valuing the sacrifices that our ancestors made for us to enjoy a comfortable life. Even though our grandparents grew up in poverty, they made sure that their five children had access to educational opportunities. My mom took advantage of those opportunities and became a lawyer. She was a public employer who inculcated in me the values of public service and working for collective prosperity, even if that meant sacrificing individual benefits. Like millions of other families, my mom navigated the market school system and tried to enroll me in a Catholic voucher school, Inmaculada Concepción, when I entered Kindergarten. Like many other Catholic voucher schools receiving public funding, the Inmaculada Concepción had a strict selection process, including family interviews and proof of affiliation to the Catholic church. The fact that I did not pass the selection process because my parents were divorced shows that the freedom to choose in Chile was given to schools, not to families. After that rejection, my mom enrolled me in the Escuela España public school, which I attended until 6th grade. Escuela España was similar to the Santa Fe Voucher School: most of my classmates were from middle-low or middle-class backgrounds, the teachers were highly committed to public education, and the parents highly trusted the school. In the seven years I attended Escuela España (which only offered primary education), my mom went up the professional ladder and became a judge in our town. In the second attempt to get a spot at the Inmaculada Concepción voucher school (which offered secondary education), I had to complete an academic test in Math and Spanish Language Art, which I failed. However, during the family interview, the school's principal, a nun, explicitly recognized

that they would offer me a spot because I was the daughter of one of the three judges in our town. Because my mom now occupied a higher position in the social hierarchy, I became a desirable subject to the school, which was willing to ignore my bad academic performance and objectionable family composition. Even though this is a single experience, it reflects the forces within the education system.

The dynamics of competition are experienced differently by the schools that families do not choose. For them, one of the consequences of an education model based on the notion that education is a scarce resource available only to a few is that the system is forced into constant crisis. When I was teaching Spanish Language Arts in a public high school in Chile, our principal called the teachers to a meeting and described the critical situation of enrollment numbers for 2013: if enrollment numbers did not improve by the end of the year, some teachers would be laid off and those who remained would have to take a pay cut. We were forced to use the time we had dedicated to improving teaching and learning to develop plans to increase student numbers. I was involved in two strategies to attract more students. One was to get on public busses, get the attention of everyone on the bus, and talk about the qualities of our high school to convince them to enroll their children or tell their relatives and friends about our school. I spoke for about five minutes and then went to each seat to hand out a brochure designed by a company hired by the school. The other strategy I used was to cover my car with promotional material and information about our school.

Even though I worked in a marginalized environment, time was by far the scarcest resource I had as a teacher. Looking at the situation from a different perspective, I can understand that the actions I described and many other activities I was forced to do were the biggest obstacles to better serving my students. All the time and dedication that I had to use in marketing, I could not invest in the immigrant students I taught. Therefore, I acknowledge that while I worked as a teacher, I did not take charge of the different needs of my immigrant students. I ignored their specific requirements and pretended all my students were a homogeneous group. Consequently, I recognize that these neglectful responses deprive immigrant students in Chile of the opportunity to fully develop a sense of belonging and reach their moral and academic potential.

Being a teacher invites me to approach the field with curiosity, openness, humility, respect, and admiration for the work of the school communities I enter (Siddle Walker, 1995). I humbly acknowledge that I come into a space in which I am an outsider, and I seek to understand the dynamics with which I am unfamiliar because I have never experienced many of the realities that the participants in my study have experienced, such as forcefully leave their home country, persecution, poverty, ethnoracial and linguistic discrimination, etc. Although I was educated in public and voucher schools in Chile, I know that there are many differences between my schooling experience and the class privileges I enjoyed and the experiences of the participants in my study. This difference prevents me from fully understanding the realities of the transnational students I interacted with and is one of the limitations of this study.

An important aspect of my positionality is that I received all my academic training in research at institutions in the United States society. My work is directly informed by scholars from the United States society and frameworks that originated in

their context. This can be problematic because if I do not identify the forces that influence my research, it can lead to a poor or distorted understanding of the social dynamics I am trying to illuminate. Moreover, I risk perpetuating imperialist forms of knowledge domination if I fail to incorporate local forms of knowledge. For this reason, I have placed significant efforts on studying and incorporating the work of Latin American researchers and especially Chilean scholars. Awareness of the importance of contextualizing conceptual frameworks, research, and experiences has allowed me to recognize the advantages and risks of using frameworks such as Critical Race Theory. I acknowledge that CRT helps focus on the way anti-Blackness has penetrated institutions to become a structural feature globally. However, it fails to capture the dynamics that emerge in a context where the one-drop rule (Drake & Clayton, 1945) materializes in an opposite way to the U.S. context. As Brazilian Black movement activists argue, a drop of White blood is an entitlement to avoid being classified as Black (Bailey & Telles, 2006). This dynamic has a common ground across Latin American countries. In the region, individuals with European ancestral history who claim a White identity can access significant benefits because proximity to whiteness translates into great social, economic, political, educational, health, etc. advantages and outcomes.

Finally, in Latin America, apart from a few exceptions, people don't talk, write, or investigate race in general and Blackness in particular. The myth of racial democracy and harmony is fundamental to understanding this. Scholars have argued that a sense of comfort is part of the explanation. Another reason is the fear of revealing one's racist values, beliefs and assumptions. The terrifying possibility of saying the wrong thing is paralyzing, and I am no exception. I only started to frame this dissertation around the experiences of students of African Descent after significant pushback and encouraging meetings with my advisors. Initially, my research was about immigrant students; I, too like many others, engaged in the race-evasive dynamics this manuscript illuminates in chapter seven. This change, and all the learning that came with it, is by no means a sign that I am done learning or have rid myself of racial bias. If anything, it is the starting point of a long journey that will continue to be challenging and even painful. This journey of discovery requires a constant re-examination of my values, beliefs and assumptions, which are undeniably contaminated by White supremacist and neoliberal ideas that continue to evolve and be reinvented.

Epistemological Orientation

I value lived experience and believe that people's perception of reality shapes the way they see the world. Therefore, constructivism is the epistemological orientation that guides my work (Lincoln et al., 2011). This orientation, and therefore this study, is based on participants' views, and the knowledge I produce is constructed based on participants' social interactions. Key dimensions of this research include how members of the school community understand the dynamics of power and perceive the challenges and opportunities of living in a diverse environment while responding to the demands of the neoliberal system in which they are embedded. Social relations in a school community (or elsewhere) do not take place in isolation, but in a particular place or situation and are influenced by sociocultural and historical contexts as well as the power dynamics between those involved. All of these factors contribute to and inform my understanding of the reality that is the participants' lives.

This constructivist approach implies an inductive development of theory because I believe that knowledge is constructed from the bottom up. Although I relied on a theoretical framework to collect and analyze the data, the guidance I received from Critical Race Theory was just that: guidance, not a set of prescriptions about what to see and ignore. Nevertheless, this approach had specific methodological consequences. For example, I conducted semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions to give participants as much space as possible to tell their stories.

Social constructivists see knowledge as the researcher's interpretation of the participants' interpretation, which is constructed through social interactions (Lincoln et al., 2011). Therefore, the researcher must gain the trust and respect of the participants in order to gain access to their interpretations. If participants are afraid to answer some questions or if they are forced to participate in the study but see no point in participating, the whole process of data collection (and, therefore, findings) will be biased.

Finally, the passion I developed for social and racial justice was a significant motivation in conducting the research I designed. Approaching the field with social justice lenses inspired me to offer support as I observed the deep struggles the school faced during the unprecedented time of reopening the school in the midst of a global pandemic. This passion and commitment were not at odds with my work, which was to conduct rigorous and excellent research that allowed me to understand the changing and complex social structures that perpetuate social inequalities.

Defining the Case of Study

Due to the nature of the social phenomena I aimed to understand, a case study was the most appropriate method because it "investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the "case") in depth and within its real-world context, especially when the boundaries between the phenomena and context may not be clearly evident" (Yin, 2017, p. 15). One of the characteristics of the case study is that it draws on multiple sources of evidence, which led me to use a triangulation method to validate the conclusions. This means that each conclusion must be based on at least three sources of evidence. The evidence can be an excerpt from a document, a quote from a participant, or a vignette from a notebook that I used during the observation. An additional validation method for a case study is to explore and identify competing additional explanations for the findings (Yin, 2017). By having these possible explanations on my radar and both addressing and rejecting them, the conclusions of the study became more robust.

At the center of my research is the Santa Fe Voucher School. The SFVS is a Jesuit, social justice-oriented Catholic school located in a district of Chile's capital that has come to be known as "Haiti" due to the significant presence of immigrants from Haiti in that territory. The school had 593 students. 75% of them were classified as "priority," 46% were immigrants, and more than 80% of them were from Haiti. The SFVS was a unique case affected by the changes caused by a new policy and the increase in the number of immigrant students. In general, I sought to capture, analyze, and understand the internal and external forces that play a role in influencing decisions that ultimately affect the impact of emerging multilingual immigrant students of African descent (EMISAD). I have focused on the normative (rules), attitudinal (values and beliefs),

political (educational or immigration laws and policies), economic (availability of resources), and social (Covid-19 pandemic or transnational) forces.

Institutionally, the SFVS has been in a state of change for a long time. This school was founded in 1906 in a different location. the foundation that currently manages the school was established in 1998. When the Jesuits took over the administration of the school, they built a new school building and the school moved to its current location. In 2007, SFVS, which enrolled students from kindergarten through 12th grade, underwent a merger with a nearby school that enrolled students from kindergarten through 8th grade. After the schools merged, the nearby school began enrolling students from kindergarten through 4th grade and 5th-12th grade at the Santa Fe campus.

In an official document developed in 2020 to clarify the mission and vision of the foundation, the Jesuit and Catholic identity is defined: "We seek to ensure that the work [...] is developed from a perspective of justice, that is, to guarantee the right of every child and young person to quality education. Historically, this was not always the case. Many times, the work was approached from the perspective of welfare and charity." Translation mine[8]. The perspective and concept of justice became a guiding concept for their work. In addition, the document also acknowledges recent educational reforms: "Public policies of the last decade have emphasized inclusion and comprehensive education. We celebrate these policies and implement them in our schools, not from a neutral perspective, but from the Ignatian educational project. Therefore, we practice inclusion without giving up our Catholic identity and – in our establishments – comprehensive education includes academic excellence and spiritual-religious formation." Translation mine[9].

Even though the case of my investigation is the Santa Fe Voucher School, the scope of my research went beyond the boundaries of the school building. I primarily conducted fieldwork at the school, but I also conducted interviews at the Ministry of Education, Universities, Municipality, and National agencies, and the events that occurred in students' homes were an important part of my investigation.

Participant Observation
Building Rapport

With an understanding of participant observation as a continuum (Glesne, 2011) between primary participant and mostly observant, I originally planned to be on the continuum's observant end. I ended up being more toward the opposite end of the spectrum by accident. My original plan was to conduct interviews, classroom observations, and review institutional materials. I began the fieldwork a week after the

---

[8] Original: Buscamos que el trabajo […] se desarrolle desde una perspectiva de justicia, es decir, para garantizar el derecho de todo niño, niña y joven a una educación de calidad. Históricamente, esto no siempre fue así. Muchas veces, el trabajo en estos establecimientos se planteó desde la clave del asistencialismo y la beneficencia.

[9] Original: Las políticas públicas de la última década han enfatizado la inclusión y la educación integral. Celebramos estas políticas y las implementamos en nuestros colegios y escuelas, pero no desde una perspectiva neutra, sino desde el proyecto educativo ignaciano. Por ello, practicamos la inclusión sin renunciar a nuestra identidad católica y –en nuestros establecimientos– la educación integral incluye excelencia académica y formación espiritual-religiosa.

school returned to in-person learning after being on a remote learning regime for 17 months. During the first meeting with a school administrator, I shared my academic qualifications and professional experience as a high school classroom teacher. I then said that I could support if anything came up during the fieldwork. I later realized that the school was understaffed on a daily basis due to the strict Covid-19 regulations. In 2021, quarantine was mandatory if anyone at the school had any symptoms associated with COVID-19 (the list was extensive). So from day one, I was fully immersed and assisted with a variety of tasks: I took students' temperatures and sanitized their hands upon entering the school, called parents to find out why students were absent, substituted for absent teachers and taught their lessons, digitized student attendance, and organized events such as Teacher Appreciation Day (TAD), just to name a few, which led to me engaging with students and staff as a community insider. My participation in these activities resulted in meaningful informal conversations. For the TAD, the principal asked me to record students' testimonies about what they value most about their educators and what they would give them if resources were unlimited. This activity was eye-opening, as I realized that all of the students I randomly approached during recess had amazing impressions of their educators. I was later able to ask them further in in-depth interviews.

The desire to provide support also allowed me to build close relationships with the participants and gain their trust. Following the educators' schedule, I spent 30 hours a week in person at the school. I was given an institutional email address through which I received correspondence that was sent to all educators, and I was added to the school's WhatsApp groups. I was assigned my own office where I wrote analytic memos and conducted interviews throughout the day (I also used this space to pump breast milk for my daughter, who was nine months old at the start of data collection). The interviews took place intentionally after I had gained the trust of the participants. This allowed me to create individualized questionnaires that explored specific situations or dynamics that I observed. I carried a notebook with me everywhere and wrote descriptive and analytic memos daily. I wrote more than 200 pages of field notes. I discussed the observations I made and the themes that emerged every three weeks with Professor Tina Trujillo, the chair of my dissertation committee. She asked me questions and constantly challenged me to look for counter-evidence to interrogate my observations.

Most participants in my dissertation are the members of the school community whose work or presence had an impact on the life of EMISAD (Emergent Multilingual Immigrant Students of African Descent). This, of course, includes the custodial staff. I spent hours observing, supporting, working with, and interviewing school maintenance personnel. One of the activities I conducted along with them, for instance, was to tape the floor to mark the 1.5-meter distance between students' desks to respect national health mandates. I saw how one of the *tías* (aunts) who cleaned the school constantly risked a disciplinary sanction because she took leftover bread after the teachers had breakfast and gave it to students who came to school with empty stomachs. Commonly, leftovers were thrown away, and due to COVID-19 mandates, schools could not provide lunch or breakfast services at the school.

My dissertation captures the voices and actions of the actors that usually don't make it into academic papers. Academics constantly write about the detrimental effects

of current power dynamics that prevent achieving equity and social justice. Still, our research contributes to perpetuating these dynamics when we mostly give space to teachers and administrators to inform research findings. I did not come into the field planning to spend so much time focusing on the role of the school maintenance personnel. This area of research emerged organically as I witnessed the personal relationships and close ties between them and EMISAD.

Substituting teachers also allowed me to get to know students and their fears, dreams, and interests. When covering a 5th grade in the first module of the morning, I was asked to do the *acogida* (welcome*)* with them. The theme was Bartineo's Miracle, a person who was blind and had been cured by Jesus Christ. The guidance I received was to read and reflect on the biblical passage, so I asked students what they would ask for if they could be gifted with one miracle. One student said he would ask that his parents no longer fight; another said she would ask for her father to come to Chile (from Venezuela); another student wished for the pandemic to be over; and another wanted a PlayStation 5.

Being perceived as a teacher could have had a negative impact on the data collection process, especially when it came to interviewing students, because in some contexts, teachers have a low reputation among students. At SFVS, teachers were not perceived as a threat; on the contrary, students trusted teachers, and as they began to see me as a teacher, I began to gain their trust. This led to conversations about intimate situations that ended in tears on several occasions.

In addition to explicit requests, I found several other ways to contribute and support, and these efforts were recognized on many occasions. I hesitated to share these recognitions, primarily because recognition was not the goal of my service and because I saw a significant imbalance between what I received from the SFVS community and what I was able to provide in return. Still, sharing the school community's kind words and gestures exhibits a vital aspect of this organization's identity.

School community members made me feel welcomed at the school. At the end of the interview, one teacher said that my presence at the school was meaningful. She said she is quiet and might not be outgoing, but she observes a lot and has noticed that *había dejado una marca* (I stamped a mark) at the school with all I was doing. Finally, on the last day of data collection, the principal asked me to come to her office, and the leadership team thanked me for my contributions to the school. They also gave me a pin with the school's emblem to remember them, as if I could ever forget them.

Communicating Initial Findings

Towards the end of the data collection and during the process of data analysis. I communicated initial findings with people in position of authority: teachers, the school administration and three members of the board of directors. I considered it was urgent to disrupt some dynamics that were detrimental for students' educational inclusion end emotional wellbeing. I made this decision because the information and data I had the privilege to access came with a responsibility. As Patel (2015) argues, the knowledge production process I had engaged on entitled an obligation to respond in the best interests of the participants, even if that response might partially compromise the research project.

I heeded the call to act promptly, using the power that my status as a researcher gave me, and shared the initial findings with those in positions of power before the fieldwork ended. The following example focused on problems related to the (lack of) teacher support system for education in culturally and linguistically challenging classrooms and the broken communication systems between the foundation and the school.

> **María:** look, I'm going to take two minutes to make a comment that I think is relevant to your role as a member of the board of directors […]. You repeated many times in this interview, 'the focus on the pedagogical, the focus on the pedagogical'. When that same discourse reaches the teachers, for the teachers the message that reaches them is like 'then, I'm not teaching? so it's like I don't have the focus on the pedagogical? I have the focus on the pedagogical, but I can't ignore that my students go through the difficulties that you yourself described' […]. For many teachers, it's like the Foundation doesn't care if this student arrived starving and it doesn't care if I have to spend my time, my resources to feed him. And that is something absolutely undervalued and unknown, because for them deep down it is like 'but why are you spending your resources to feed him and not spending your resources so that he learns more?' For the teacher it is 'because they cannot learn if they are hungry.' […] 'The foundation sends us to a training where some nuns talk to us about using tablets. What tablets are you talking about? If the computers here don't even work well,' that is something very violent. It's like 'the Foundation doesn't know us if they send us to do training to teach classes on Google I don't know what, when in truth I do all my classes on WhatsApp because WhatsApp is the only means my students have. Why didn't they asked me how I'm doing the classes before sending me to do a training on the most technological software that they surely use at the [private Jesuit school]?'

> **Mateo:** Everything you're saying is brutal, it's brutal, I thank you very much. But what you say hurts me. It hurts in my soul. I see gaps and I see huge challenges on the board. [...] I have been frozen, super removed. I thank you very much for this.

<div align="right">Interview, January 20th, 2022</div>

It was not easy to share this information, but the reception of the initial findings was always positive. In the case of the foundation for example, participants humbly acknowledged negligence with regards to the way the foundation had supported the SFVS. One participant shared that I have touched a wound that hurts because it is rooted on a debt that the foundation has with the school.

Finally, another way of sharing initial findings was through the publication of three OpEd that illuminate systemic barriers for supporting immigrant students in Chile:

https://www.ciperchile.cl/2022/03/28/exclusion-discriminacion-y-humillacion-la-dolorosa-travesia-para-encontrar-colegio-en-chile/

https://www.ciperchile.cl/2022/11/14/no-sobran-ninos-migrantes-faltan-voluntades-politicas/

https://www.ciperchile.cl/2024/04/05/haiti-la-historia-de-un-despojo/

Unexpected Impact at Personal Level

All features of becoming a participant observant described by Glasne (2011) occurred during the fieldwork work experience:

> Whether in a village in another country or in a school in your hometown, participant observation provides the opportunity for acquiring the status of 'trusted person.' Through being a part of a social setting, you see patterns of behavior; experience the unexpected, as well as the expected; and develop a quality of relationship and responsibility with others in the setting. Participant observation ideally continues throughout data collection. (p. 63)

I achieved a deep immersion that allowed me to connect emotionally with the participants of the focal school, where I became a member of the community. Bourdieu's concept of habitus is central to Wacquant's immersive experience in a boxing gym and is an analytical tool to understand social constructions in this context. In the book describing his ethnographic work, Body & Soul (2022), Wacquant acknowledges that "the practicalities of firsthand observation led me from the ghetto as implement of ethnoracial domination to embodiment as puzzle and springboard for social inquiry" (p. 257). Without intentionally trying to mimic Wacquants' experience of embodiment, I engaged in a similar sociological experiment by absorbing the stress and anxiety created under the working conditions of the focal school in this study. Emotional breakdown and poor mental health emerged from a combination of factors including the pandemic, unstable working conditions, lack of institutional support, the notion of being immersed in an endless state of crisis induced by a neoliberal design, and the feelings of guilt that educators express when they acknowledge to failing to support people they cared about.

Furthermore, the mental health problems that educators experienced materialized in various ways. In the span of six months, one educator had a months-long psychiatric medical; another had an open- brain surgery to remove an aneurism, and a third had surgery due to carpal tunnel syndrome. All these medical challenges are associated with high levels of stress. Similarly, I experienced three medical complications during fieldwork that forced me to begin a course of antibiotics. I cannot remember the last time I had to take antibiotics before the fieldwork, and I have not been recommended such treatment after the end of the research activities in March 2022.

The first two infections I suffered were mild and low risk. The third occurred in December 2021 when a 5 cm pus abscess suddenly started to grow between my legs. Within a few hours, the rapidly growing infection prevented me from walking, put me in a wheelchair and forced me to go to the emergency room of a public hospital in Chile. This episode was the closest I have been to surgery in my life. The infection was so severe that I entered a critical window of 24 hours in which the antibiotics had to work to avoid surgery. The health issues I had been experiencing for the past six months, and the fact that they were inconsistent with my lifelong medical records, drove the gynecologist to associate the illnesses with high levels of anxiety and stress.

Finally, there is another contextual factor to consider: The field research process had evolved optimally. My research experience matched all the best-case scenarios described in books and courses on qualitative methods I took. Personally, I was also in a

moment of excellent stability and satisfaction; I was surrounded by family and loved ones that I had only seen occasionally since 2015 when I started living in the United States. Consequently, I can only attribute my health weakness to the cruelties, injustices, dehumanization, and inertia I observed and had material consequences in the lives of the students I had the privilege of interacting with in deep and meaningful ways.

Interviews and Focus Groups. Building Rapport First

This research is about the lived experiences of the participants, their expectations, frustrations, dreams and the challenges they encountered in trying to become a democratic space in a neoliberal education system where anti-Black sentiments and attitudes are conspicuous and influential. Therefore, I interviewed the participants because "as a method of inquiry, interviewing is most consistent with people's ability to make meaning through language. It affirms the importance of the individual without denigrating the possibility of community and collaboration. Finally, it is deeply satisfying to researchers who are interested in others' stories"(Seidman, 2019, p. 13). For this study, I conducted more than 100 interviews. In total, I recorded 119 events, most of which were interviews. I interviewed several participants on multiple occasions. All participants were at least 13 years old, and all minors had their parents' consent to participate in the interview. Table four shows an overview of the participants in this study:

Table 4 *Pseudonyms and Roles of the Participants*

Teachers	Admin	PIE-ESEL	Educators	Students-Chile	Students-Haiti	Other Countries	VMO	Policy Makers
Camila	Inés	Catalina	Sonia	Nestor	Farah	Abel	Antonio	Ignacia
Bárbara	Carolina	Tatiana	Susana	Elisa	Aimée	Nathalie	José	Isidora
Paulina	Miguel	Jasmine	Sam	Jaison	Darline	Martina	Mateo	Andrés
Liliana	Hernán	Denise	Maite	Ayelén	Agathe	Guillermo		Karen
Enrique	Raúl	Teresa	Michelle	Florencia	Albert	Melanie		Felix
Renato		Tamara	Paz	Renzo	Claude			Jacinta
Josefa			Pilar	Mariela	Susette			Rodolfo
Luz			Claudia	Eugenia	Rosalie			Javiera
Alicia			Lucía	Esteban	Lovelie			Pascal
Constanza				Rita	Dorcily			
Pilar				Benito	Gervais			
Ester				Cesar	Lois			
Cristina				Patricio	Linda			
Ricardo				Giselle	Evens			
Tomás				Gonzalo	Esterline			
Guido				Pedro	Beatrice			
Hugo				Marcia				
Danilo				Rosa				
Rebeca				Alexander				
Hector								
Estefanía								
Camilo								

Different parts of my positionality allowed me to connect with different people. Transnationalism was not only a theoretical concept I used to understand the community I studied better. It also helped me to communicate with several school community members because I also had a transnational experience due to my life story back in the U.S. For instance, one morning at the end of September, while taking and recording students' temperatures, the school psychologist and the social worker shared with me that they were fans of Grey's Anatomy. Not only had I also seen the show, but my son was born at the University of Washington Medical Center, a teaching hospital like the one portrayed in the show. In fact, during my son's delivery, an intern was supervised when learning to inject an epidural into my spine. Sharing about the experiences I have lived in the United States also allowed me to connect with teachers. For instance, the history teacher told me he envisioned the United States as a country without a homeless community. That instance was an opportunity to share the lack of social welfare policies and governmental support for marginalized communities.

As stated earlier, in most cases, I asked participants to consider participating in this research through an interview after I had built rapport and gained their trust. Knowing participants in advance allowed me to construct personalized interview protocols and target the questions based on my observations.

I used my phone and a recording device during the interview to record the conversation. I took notes manually and wrote down follow-up questions so as not to interrupt the participants. The absence of technology, such as a laptop, allowed me to listen carefully and pay close attention to the participants. All participants received a 64GB flash drive as a thank you for their participation in the interview. Originally, I had planned to offer a gift card. However, after discussing this decision with the principal, I was advised to offer an artifact that could be valuable to the participants.

All interviews began with reviewing the protocol and asking participants if they agreed and if they had any questions. Only one participant did not agree to record the interview, in which case I took notes of the conversation. Another participant said the only retribution he would want was access to the results of the study. At the outset, I openly shared the purpose of the research and my motivations for conducting the interview. All interviews started with questions about the participants' lives and careers. I also asked participants about their hobbies and motivations before discussing topics that were more related to the scope of the research. Although the interview format cannot be dismissed because I asked most of the questions and the participants answered them, I intentionally sought to create spaces where I could share my experiences, beliefs and feelings. Finally, I conducted interviews until I reached a saturation point (Small, 2009) where participants largely repeated what previous participants had said or what I had captured through observation.

In addition to the interviews, I conducted three focus groups: one with teachers, another with Chilean students, and another with immigrant students (two students from Venezuela, one from Colombia, and one from Haiti). These focus groups allowed me to observe the impact that the participants had on each other when discussing topics that are

not normally addressed in school, such as anti-Black and anti-immigrant sentiments and attitudes.

Data Analysis

For qualitative analysis (Miles et al., 2018), I personally engaged in four rounds of immersion in the data. The first occurred during the process of data collection. The second stage was the process of cleaning the data that had been transcribed by the software Sonix.ai. I listened to all the recordings, and I adjusted the transcripts accordingly. In this second state I began writing analytic memos based on ideas that emerged from the transcripts. The third stage was the coding process coding. I use a coding scheme drawn deductively from the literature and the conceptual framework and inductively from interviews and observation in the field. I coded all transcripts using MAXQDA. Through an inductive and deductive process (Saldaña, 2021), developed a codebook of 57 codes and assigned 3,149 codes to the data.

I mainly used concept coding, such as Professional.Development and Languagism. I also used value coding, such as Diversity.Conceptions; Jesuit.Morals and Deficit.Thinking. Another set of codes were holistic: Neoliberalism; School.Coexistence, and Standarization. Finally, I use some provisional coding: Colorblindness and Colonization which emerge deductively from the literature. All codes and their definitions are listed in the appendix and figure 12 shows the frequency of all codes applied. Some of the codes with the highest frequencies were Diversity.Conceptions (n=102); Teaching.Strategies (n=97); Systemic.Barriers (n=84); and Explicit.Racism (n=83). To organize the codes and facilitate thematic analysis, I divided them into five categories: Educators, Students, SFVS, Policy and Politics, and Othering.

Figure 12 *Code System and Frequency of the Codes*

Codes	3152					
EDUCATORS	0	Students.Families	62	POLICY AND POLITICS	0	
Educators.Childhood	20	Comparison.Schools	22	External.Organizations	68	
Educators.College	57	Campuses.Transition	11	Systemic.Barriers	84	
Educators.K12.Education	58	Educators.Treatment	84	Neoliberalism.Market.Ed	54	
Educators.Calling	25	Educators.Appreciation	45	Voucher.V.Public	27	
Educators.Hiring	40	SFVS	0	Copayment	22	
Motivation.Working.SFVS	27	Diversification.Process	56	Standarization	71	
High.Expectations	25	Power.Dynamics	72	Inclusion.Law	33	
Deficit.Thinking	21	Diversity.Conceptions	102	OTHERING	0	
Religion.Influence	27	TP	42	Host.Country	76	
Staff.Turnover	38	Campuses.Tension	23	Colonialism	20	
Curriculum.Multicultural.Ed	48	School.Coexistence	98	Gender	26	
Teaching.Strategies	97	School.Discipline	70	SES	46	
Wellbeing.Strategies	38	Covid-19	57	Languagism	88	
Connection.With.Students	49	Reloncaví	56	Myths.Stereotypes.Immigrants	45	
Knowledge.Students.Context	63	Moral.Contradiction	31	Colorblind.AntiBlack.Racism	7	
Educators.Burnout	29	Jesuit.Morals	54	Explicit.AntiBlack.Racism	83	
Education.Aim	36	Padre.Vicente	8	Folklorization.Immigrants	4	
STUDENTS	0	PD	20	Race.Reflextions	66	
Formal.Work	19	Perception.About.Foundation	56	Racial.identity	30	
Higher.Ed	32	Scarce.Resources	52	Immigration.Status	67	
Migration.Journey	62	Enrollment	51	HIGHLIGHT	227	
Differences.Immigrants	30	School.Finance	16			
Childhood.Student	15	PIE	25			
		ESEL	39			

Source: Author's Elaboration

During the coding process, I drew a conceptual map, shown in figure 13, in the whiteboard of the research office I use, linking the emerging themes. Since the drawing was in a space visited by professors and colleagues, this constantly evolving model became a significant instrument for socializing initial findings and engaging in brainstorming processes with other academics.

Figure 13 *Conceptual Map of Emerging Themes*
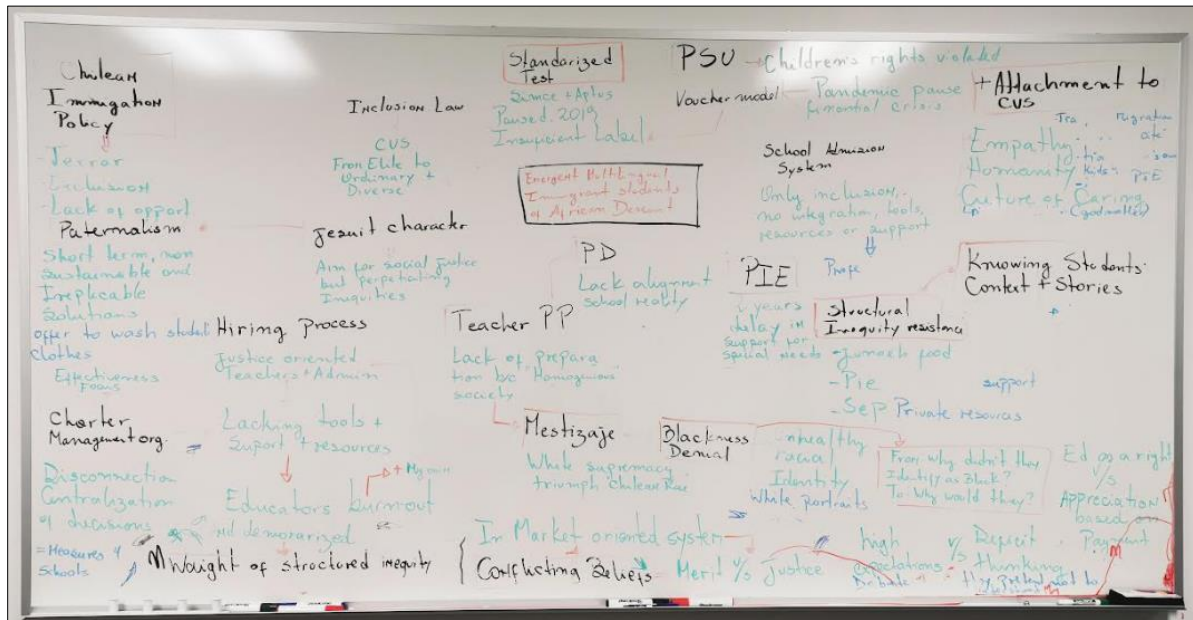
Source: Author's Elaboration

This conceptual map guided the process of developing the dissertation outline. After the outline was presented to and approved by Professor Trujillo, I conducted the final data review by reading the relevant sections and writing the chapter findings for this dissertation.

Finally, Conference presentations facilitated the analytic process during the writing stage. I used these spaces to expose and test the themes that emerged from my research. I received constructive questions and positive feedback from the five paper session chairs who reviewed my work. Below are the names of the conferences, the time period, the title of the work I presented, and the discussant of each panel:

1. UCEA Fall, (2022). - Between Resistance and the Pedagogy of Care: How a School in Chile Mediates Systemic Inequities that Target Immigrant Students - Professor Laurence Parker.
2. AERA Spring, (2023). - De-marketization and democratization of a Chilean School: When Hard Work and Best Intentions Aren't Enough - Professor Christopher Lubienski.
3. CIES - Regional Fall, 2023 - A Race-Evasive Approach to Advance (In)Equity in An Ethno-racially Diverse School in Neoliberal Chile - Professor Monisha Bajaj.

4. NAEd/Spencer Foundation Spring (2024). - Chapter 7: Intersectional Identities and the Systems of Oppression that Educators Are Unable to Contest - Professor Lorrie Shepard.
5. AERA Spring, (2024). - Three Equity-Oriented Policies That Failed Immigrant Students - Dr. Alexadra Cruz.

On Translation

All the fieldwork and data collection for this study was conducted in Spanish, Chile's de facto official and administrative language. Spanish is also my first language, and I translated all information and quotes from Spanish to English. I used Artificial Intelligence (AI) technology such as a ChatGPT and Grammarly to verify the translation and correct grammar and typo mistakes. It is important to mention that not all quotes could be verified with AI technology because the overtly racist and xenophobic content of some segments did not comply with the policy usage of ChatGPT. The following is one example of this type of content:

Figure 14 *Screenshot of ChatGPT's Violation of Usage Policy*
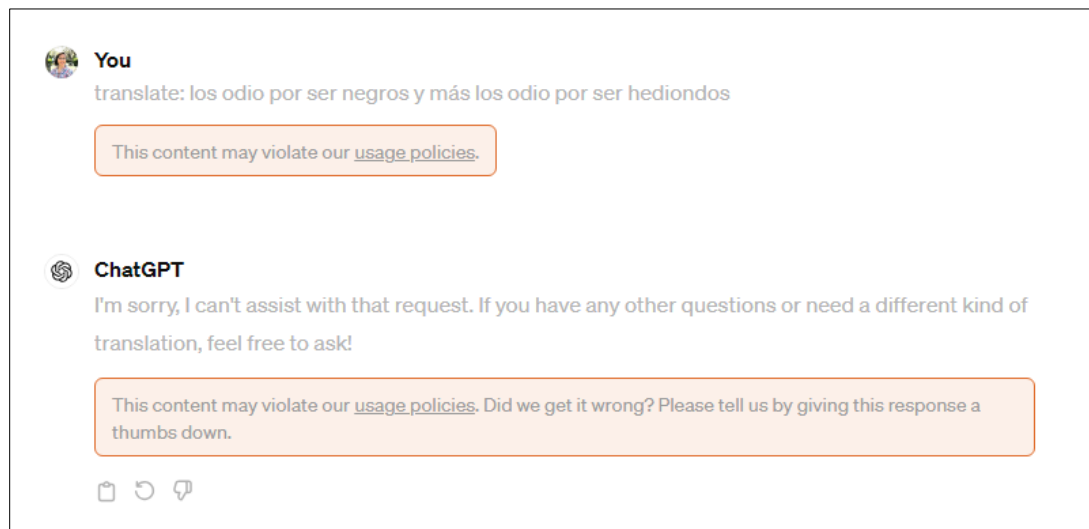
Validity Measures

Intending to reach high research standards, I applied three techniques to validate the findings and conclusions of this study: triangulation, member-check, and translation support (Donmoyer, 2012). First, I triangulated the data before arriving at conclusions. This means that at least three sources of evidence supported each finding. Secondly, I conducted member checks with three participants after I finalized the analysis stage to expose the study's findings to the scrutiny of the participants. Finally, the appendix section of the dissertation offers the Spanish and original version of the quotes used in chapter 5, 6 and 7. Additionally, a Spanish translation of the findings chapters was shared with participants.

Limitations of Study Design

The fieldwork, data analysis and writing of this study was carried out by only one person, the author. This imposes limitations on the data analysis as it restricts the analytical discussion throughout the research process. For example, I did not conduct a

reliability check by assessing the internal consistency of the coding process because I coded all the data. Another limitation was the amount of time involved in the laborious research process of an investigation that relies on ethnographic methods.

All communication with participants and interviews were conducted in Spanish, and I translated all quotes used in this dissertation. This is a limitation because some participants spoke a language other than Spanish and could not be interviewed in their native language. In addition, some of the interaction between participants took place in Creole, the national language of Haiti in addition to French. As I do not speak this language, I had to rely on the participants' translation to understand the content of the conversation.

This case study is an in-depth investigation of a school. The aim of this study is not to offer tools for generalization, but to examine a social phenomenon comprehensively. Still, the lack of generalization is a limitation for informing policymakers and practitioners.

Finally, as my positionality statement noted, I come from a middle-class family, and I have never experienced the systemic oppression and violence that I observed and that the participants of this study described. Consequently, my understanding of their experiences is limited and restrictive. Still, being aware of these limitations provided me with the opportunity to intentionally address them throughout the research process.

The following three chapters constitute the findings sections of this dissertation.

Chapter 5. Ten Years Later: Neoliberalism Still Reigns
This chapter aims to answer the first research questions of this dissertation:

What is the relationship between market-oriented educational policies as systemic forces and educators' beliefs and practices in the context of trying to build an inclusive and democratic school and with regard to the integration of emergent multilingual immigrant students of African descent (EMISAD)?

To achieve this goal, the organizational change that the school underwent is critically analyzed by highlighting the neoliberal forces that influenced the way the school community mediated these changes. This chapter demonstrates how neoliberal ideals present at the micro, meso, and macro levels prevented the SFVS community from achieving its moral obligation, rooted in Jesuit philosophies, to provide high-quality education to the marginalized students it serves. I start by giving an overview of the system-level neoliberal forces that prevent the SFVS from achieving its educational goal. Secondly, I describe the forces or barriers imposed by the Voucher Management Organization while acknowledging that this organization is shaped by the neoliberal notions that prevail in Chile. Finally, this chapter ends with an analysis of educators' lived experiences, values, and beliefs to understand the efforts and sacrifices that these individuals endured to resist the oppressive educational context they inhabit.

In summary, this section highlights all the mechanisms of the neoliberal educational model that still guide and influence the SFVS almost ten years after the attempt to move away from the principles of privatization, selection and exclusion of students.

Introduction
In 2012, the Santa Fe Voucher School adopted a policy that became a national mandate four years later. The board of directors of the Voucher Management Organization (VMO), which governs the school, decided to stop requiring families to pay tuition or co-payments and to stop testing students or interviewing families for enrollment. In other words, the school embarked on a process of de-privatization, which meant that beginning in 2012, its operations started to be funded primarily with tax pesos, as private funds from the families of students attending the school were no longer required. The other process initiated at the school was the democratization of the enrollment process. Before 2012, families could be asked to undergo an interview in which they were asked about their religious preferences, for example. Students were also asked to take academic tests to make enrollment decisions. In the years before the democratization process and de-privatization, the school had experienced a significant decline in student numbers. Therefore, the decision to exclude students with poor performance on the test or those from non-Christian families was not frequently exercised by the school authorities. Nonetheless, although the enrollment barriers were almost non-existent, the transformation into a completely open school, without any admission obstacles, triggered a significant change in how the school was socially perceived in the Reloncaví neighborhood.

When the fieldwork occurred in 2021, the school had been under the new regime for nine years. According to official documents such as the *Proyecto Educativo*

Institucional (PEI, Institutional Educational Project), the new SFVS mission reflected the school transformation: "By 2022, the SFVS will be recognized by its innovative, intercultural and inclusive proposal, that benefits the development of meaningful learning." (PEI, 2020). Translation mine. A change in the school logo that took place in 2017 responded to this vision. According to the PEI, the new logo "represents the longing of our intercultural proposal, so that different cultures, knowledges, languages, and experiences are integrated into one community that includes them all." (PEI, 2020). Translation mine. Still, this chapter illustrates that the journey to a more intercultural and inclusive organization was not yet completed in practice.

The Role of Neoliberal Context

In Chile, neoliberalism was implemented as the administrative rule for social organization that guided not only education, but also health, pensions, the allocation of natura resources etc. In this context, schools are interconnected to the social landscape and therefore are impacted by external forces that operate outside of their walls, as the following quote shows.

> Like three or four kids, went out to get vaccinated, but they came back because they didn't manage to get the doses. When they get home, their discourse will be like, 'hey, but if they're vaccinating the Black people, they're vaccinating the foreigners, they're taking the vaccines,' and so on, as if they don't deserve it, and this is a general feeling, and it's true. In this context, people fight for everything, even for spots in kindergarten. And it's not because they are foreigners, but because there are more poor people in a context that was already poor, that's all.

> Miguel, Head of School Coexistence. Interview, August 2nd, 2021

This quote from a school administrator encompasses several different phenomena that are rooted in racist neoliberal ideology and have profound implications for SFVS:

1. The notion of competition.
2. The notion of scarcity.
3. The notion of social winners and losers.

The quote also sheds light on the mechanisms that facilitate the use of social class antagonisms to camouflage anti-Black racism. A deeper dive into the vaccination dynamic also helps to clarify the differences between traditional public schools and voucher schools. While voucher and traditional private schools returned to in-person instruction by August 2021, TPS across the country were used as vaccination centers. In August 2021, for example, the vaccination center in Reloncaví was the school located directly in front of the SFVS. This section takes a critical look at the phenomenon captured by Miguel's analysis.

Schools' Reputation

In Spanish, there is a concept to describe things being broken that is different than in English. When you say that something se *echó a perder* in Spanish, it could mean that it is still working but in a very defective manner. Particularly in Chile, the phrase is used to denote that something such as an institution, a neighborhood, or an organization has lost its symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986) described in the conceptual framework, and became associated with low socioeconomic status. It either became poorer by losing

material capital, or it gained the stigma of being related to people from low SES backgrounds. Former SFVS students who graduated before the school eliminated entry barriers said that the SFVS se *echó a perder* ten years ago when the school became open to all and began to accept everyone requesting enrollment.

Experienced teachers added a layer to the analysis when they confirmed that the school continued to have "the same type of students," meaning that the students still came from the neighborhood and lived in marginalized conditions as before. Yet that new student body among the marginalized is made up of those who are on the outer edge.

A custodial staff who has always lived in the neighborhood agreed with these assessments. Furthermore, she added that the school's decline in reputation has worsened in recent years:

> From 2014 onwards, and later when more migrants started arriving, many parents said that the school had gone downhill because it had admitted too many foreigners. Since around that time, I've heard people say that the school's reputation decreased, because now, there is no monthly fee, it's like it's free, or they let anyone in who wants to come. The school's doors are open for all children who want to enroll. People say that this is what tarnished the school's image.

Susana, Custodial Staff Member. Interview, October 7th, 2021

A school's social prestige is at the heart of the neoliberal model, in which families can choose indiscreetly, and resources are allocated based on enrollment. In Chile, scholars have shown that "choosing a school is closely linked to social class and the socio-spatial context in which one lives" (Ramos et al., 2022, p. 13). In this context, the case of the Santa Fe Voucher School highlights the tensions that a school faces as it evolves into a more democratic, inclusive, and diverse space in a society where xenophobic, anti-Black, and neoliberal forces prevail. Its educators constantly navigate the contradictions between the desire to welcome all students and the recognition that developing an inclusive space hurts the school in terms of academic performance and social prestige.

Co-payment
In terms of prestige and social esteem, the extreme socioeconomic segregation between schools in Chile reflects SES discrimination at the school level. One of the critical mechanisms of segregation that led to the development of the current system was the family co-payment (J. P. Valenzuela et al., 2014). Contrary to what politicians and academics expected, even families from low-income backgrounds protested vigorously against implementing the Inclusion Law that prohibited co-payment. They complained that their children went to school with undesirable students that grew up in "families not committed to the school project nor with their children's education," as a middle-class mother explains in Hernandez and Carrasco (2020, p. 1115). The neoliberal project has succeeded in socially embedding the notion that monetary investments increase the value of education and individuals' commitment to learning. In this sense, academics have long tried to magnify the "peer effect" (Sacerdote, 2011), i.e. the effect that the characteristics of their peers have on individuals. In this context, research has demonstrated the

detrimental impact on equity and segregation of policies that pushed for homogeneous classrooms, such as "tracking" where white and economically advantaged students gained access to more rigorous curriculum and other school opportunities (Oakes, 2005). In the Chilean context, the "peer effect" logic assumed that families who pay co-payments invest more in their children's education, these children perform better and trigger a domino effect that affects everyone in their educational context. These ideas have penetrated the social imagination to such an extent that even those who advocate for a more egalitarian education system reveal traces of neoliberal values of competition, exclusion and socioeconomic segregation in their justifications.

During an interview, a social justice advocate spoke at length about the emotional disadvantages of academic tracking, the social immorality of highly selective schools, and the pervasive consequences of competition and individualism. However, when she did not talk about the problems of the neoliberal model, one could see that some of the issues she initially considered problematic were later highlighted as positive:

> For me, it was a big shock to go from working, as I mentioned, in an almost idyllic environment in a preparatory school *where the kids paid to learn something*, and you taught them that something. There, not even a fly would disturb the class. You just taught them the class material they needed to learn. But here, you have to motivate them.

> Cristina, Teacher. Interview, October 20th, 2021

Cristina implies that because students were paying in her former job, they had a higher commitment to learning: "not even a fly would disturb the class" means all students were paying attention. Even though teachers criticized the segregation triggered by family co-payments, they still saw value in having parents pay school tuition.

Along the same lines, when I asked a veteran teacher about the impact it had in SFVS's elimination of family co-payment, he said the effect was psychological:

> You invite me to think about bad things because. Let's see, look, the day the payment stopped, I think something happened psychologically that damaged the family. In spirit, this school is linked to a father who founded the *Hogar de Cristo* (Christ's Home), Saint Alberto Hurtado. And thinking of the poorest, it exists within the work of the Hogar de Cristo, the *hospedería* (shelter). Homeless people who don't have a place to sleep, who don't have a place to live go there. Well, around 7 or 6 in the afternoon, they arrive at the *hospedería*. They line up in the street and go in and the first thing they do is go to the bathroom, they bathe, then they eat a plate of food and then they go to bed. But what I wanted to tell you is that those homeless people were charged $100 Chilean pesos (10 cents) to enter the Hogar de Cristo, which is a pittance, but it was very symbolic that they paid those 100 pesos because basically, it was charging 100 pesos to a poor person, who perhaps did not have money, but *paying gave him dignity* in terms of entering the Hogar de Cristo and feeling that 'I am paying, here they are not giving me anything.' So it was like feeling that it was not a free thing nor was it completely charity because 'I had to pay'. So I think that at the school when they paid, because what they paid was also a pittance, it also gave them that legitimate

right to demand from the school because they were paying. But when they stop paying, they are unconsciously looking at things in a different way. Something there is damaged.

<div align="right">Hugo, Teacher. Interview, September 29th, 2021</div>

The understanding of education as a human right is based on the idea that everyone has access to opportunities to learn the content and skills necessary for meaningful participation in society. Furthermore, in *Democratic Education*, Gutmann (1999) argues that "In its most general application to education, nondiscrimination prevents the State, and all groups within it, from denying anyone an educational good on grounds irrelevant to the legitimate social purpose of that good. Applied to those forms of education necessary to prepare children for future citizenship (participation in conscious social reproduction), the nondiscrimination principle becomes a principle of nonexclusion." (p.45). This notion stands in opposition to the competitive nature of the neoliberal model described in the conceptual framework because democratic education implies that all barriers to access to adequate education, including financial ones, should be removed. In an ideal world, access to education should not involve sacrifice or loss of capital (in this case, economic capital). However, neoliberal values and beliefs have created the illusion that education is a private good (Labaree, 1997) and fed the social imagination with deficit perceptions that position children from families who pay school fees as more willing to learn than those who do not.

Adherence to neoliberal values and beliefs could lead to irrational discourses and confront educators with moral dilemmas (Stevenson, 2007). School community members often advocated for two fundamentally opposing principles: inclusion and exclusion. Hugo, the teacher who championed the selection process, also condemned the mechanisms the SFVS used before it became free of charge and open to all:

> **Hugo:** At the beginning of the 2000s, towards the end of the 20th century, this building was constructed because we were losing student enrollment in the previous school, and the children usually came from this side of the neighborhood, from Los Robles. So what was done was to build the school closer to the children's lives. Now, indeed, this school has become an elite institution within the schools of the neighborhood. It was very difficult for children to enroll here, and that often forced us to make the school selective in terms of students. Since there was so much demand from children who wanted to study here, in an incomprehensible manner, we found ourselves selecting the students, deciding who could enter and who could not.

> **María:** And what selection methods were used? For example, exams?

> **Hugo:** Yes, exams. They used tests created by the school's own teachers and admitted those with the highest scores.

> **María:** And interviews with the family as well?

> **Hugo:** It also came down to the hope that the families were Christian. I mean, we didn't even consider that it could be for everyone and that they could speak highly of the school. I think I speak poorly because the original spirit of what had been

created for the poorest people, for the most needy, for those facing more difficulties, got lost. The same people who are rejected in many places and well, 'I came to a school in a working-class neighborhood, and even here, in my own working-class neighborhood, they reject me.' So it was not understandable.

Interview, September 29th, 2021

The Zone of Mediation framework (Welner, 2001) exposes the dispute between socially accepted values such an egalitarian education system, free from segregationist mechanisms, and ideas rooted in the operation of schools as restaurants: competition, profitability, prestige, incentives, etc. Which were advocated by neoliberal architects such as Milton Friedman.

Standardized Testing and "Unequal Competition"

The *Agencia de la Calidad de la Educación* (National Education Quality Agency) As part of the national categorization of schools in Chile, placed the SFVS in the *insuficiente* or inadequate group. This label is the lowest of four categories of school performance: High, Medium, Medium-Low, and Inadequate. Schools are ranked based on several factors, being scores on the national standardized test, SIMCE among the most significant. Schools are also compared to other schools with a similar socioeconomic composition of their student body. The SFVS school community had repeatedly emphasized that the classification was a disadvantage for them because it hid several peculiarities of the school:

1. Recent immigrant students who spoke a language other than the test's language had to take the exams in Spanish. In an interview, a former high-ranking official at the *Agencia de la Calidad de la Educación* that administered the test, clarified that the school could note emerging multilingual students so that their individual results did not affect their scores. Still, at SFVS, this information was unknown.
2. The test did not consider the prior school experience of recent immigrant students and ignored the unique circumstances of students with limited or interrupted formal education.
3. Family members could only be characterized socioeconomically if the head of the household where the students lived had a RUN (the national identity number was reserved only for individuals with permanent visa status).

In these cases, the system interpreted that they belonged to a high SES. As a result, SFVS is portrayed in official government records as a school whose student body is more affluent than other schools with the same SES composition. In other words, while the school was labeled in the official documents as serving approximately 75% low-income students, the percentage should have been higher if all students were adequately accounted for.

The material consequences of this systemic error are that a high number of immigrant students made the school feel like it was being penalized. In a system that is supposed to function based on incentives and punishments, being classified as *insuficiente* is perceived by educators as direct punishment. Nevertheless, the educators at SFVS directed their frustration at the system and not at the immigrant students:

In Chile, the doors were generously opened to migrants, but they didn't create sufficient policies to effectively work with migrant people. I mean, they focused

on receiving, receiving, and receiving, but they forgot, and I believe even until today, that migrants had to be in a system and *compete on an equal footing* with the rest of the children who do speak the language.

<div align="right">Hugo, Teacher. Interview, September 29th, 2021</div>

Still, even though the blame is directed toward the system, for Hugo, the problem of the lack of support to serve immigrant students is not that students' right to education is violated but that there is unequal *competition* with schools that they are compared against, that do not enroll immigrant students.

Scarcity and the Crisis Narrative at the Macro Level

The crisis narrative of the neoliberal education model is created and reinforced by several factors that are part of the model's conception (Klein, 2007). One of these is the idea of competition. As discussed in the conceptual framework, this has led to the notion that education is a scarce resource. As a result, there are winners (high achievers) and losers (low achievers) at the individual and school level. All these assumptions convey the message that families must fight for their children's access to quality education, and this message is mostly unquestioned in Chile (M. Hernández & Carrasco, 2020; Ramos et al., 2022). This view is at odds with a democratic and equality-oriented view of education as a child's right, where all students are entitled to quality educational opportunities regardless of their background. In the context of the high number of immigrant students, these deficit perceptions are reinforced by xenophobic and racist beliefs prevalent in Chilean society. The following extract of an interview with a high-ranking official from the *Servicio Nacional de Migraciones* (National Migration Service) shows the connection between the notion of deservingness and the constant state of crisis discussed in the contextual framework:

> **Félix:** For example, what's happening in the north, in the north, there's a scarcity in many municipalities, a shortage of slots, because, for example, in one month, 40,000 Venezuelans entered, in one month. That's like Melipilla and Talagante entering in a month. You would arrive in Antofagasta or Calama. And you know what? There wasn't anything. There were no slots for migrant children or for Chilean children.

> **María:** Or for children in general.

> **Félix:** And there you created this conflict of interests because they say, 'Why does a migrant child have preference over a Chilean child?' And it became a mess.

> **María:** Yes, but in the end, it's not that there's a preference; it's just that each child has...

> **Félix:** No, of course. I mean, no, no, but look at it from an average Chilean perspective. An average Chilean thinks like... 'A migrant screwed me over.' That's what they say. So, they don't see it beyond that, you know? People, in general, during times of crisis, many people become selfish. They become very selfish.

<div align="right">Interview, December 13th, 2021</div>

The missing level of analysis in this quote is that there are features of the system that promote the selfish values that arise in moments of crisis. One of these is the notion that education is a scarce resource that is only available to a few. This is particularly evident in a country like Chile, which has been trying for years to combat the decline in student numbers in traditional public schools, which have fallen from almost 80% of students in 1980 to almost 33% in 2020 (Bellei & Munoz, 2021).

The crisis narrative at the micro level

Most school community members shared the idea that the SFVS was under a long and continual crisis. The crisis could be perceived on multiple levels, such as infrastructure problems or student misconduct. However, the most worrisome matter for the school administrators was the loss of enrollment. I write the loss of enrollment instead of students because *pérdida de matricula* was the concept frequently used by educators. To tackle this reality, the school engaged in several efforts to understand why students were leaving: surveys, phone calls, and conversations with the families of students who had left were some of the strategies used.

All the analyses to try to understand the process of "deterioration" of the school focused on what triggered the exodus of students. However, there was no mention of trying to understand why the students stayed. Focusing on why students stayed, allowed understand what needs to be done to foster the factors that attract and retain students.

There were many efforts to explain the loss of enrollment. For the school principal and other educators, the root of the crisis was the lack of resources:

> Not everything can be subject to enrollment. I believe this school needs an injection of resources [...] If I want to change the school, I need an injection of resources. I mean, after that injection of resources, hold me accountable for whatever you want, but give me a foundation to start from.

<div align="right">Inés, Principal. Interview, December 17th, 2021</div>

This analysis pushes back against one of the main features of the voucher system, which is that if schools cannot attract students, they must close because the school principal immediately attest that the injection of resources must not be associated to enrollment. The idea that the SFVS was in a crisis was shared with the Voucher Management Organization. As José, a member of the board of directors of the VMO, stated, there was an acknowledgment of the responsibility that they, as a management organization, held: "There are many other factors, including the company's [Compañía de Jesus] neglect in any case, but it is in a huge crisis." During the 1,5 hours interview on November 11th, 2021, José used the word crisis 11 times to describe the SFVS. The other factors he described were the poor quality of the teachers, the neglectful work of the previous principal, and the deterioration of the Reloncaví neighborhood due to the increase in crime and drug trafficking. These elements in neoliberal systems constantly reinforce deficit notions of marginalized schools. The following section within this chapter addresses the discrepancies between the perceptions of the VMO directors and the work of the teachers.

Restricted Inclusion

The Inclusion Law, among other goals, aimed to eliminate enrollment barriers to decrease socioeconomic segregation. Upon its signature on May 29th, 2015, then-President Michelle Bachelet, declared:

> With the Inclusion Law that we are signing today, we begin to fulfill what the citizens have been demanding for many years: that education ceases to be a commodity and becomes a public good, open to all and that calls upon all of us. Finally, it has been established that education is a social right around which our community is organized. The educational system created during the dictatorship, which amplifies the enormous inequalities already existing in our society and fragments cohesion, is starting to be left behind. The school that excludes our sons and daughters from an educational institution due to payment demands or an agonizing selection process is now in the past.
>
> Michelle Bachelet, Chile's Former President. Public Speech, May 29th, 2015.
> Translation mine

Following the *mestizaje* myth analyzed in the conceptual framework, the Law was designed with a culturally homogeneous society in mind, where citizens were only differentiated along SES lines. Therefore, there were no discussions about integrating immigrant students during the legislative process. A former high-ranking official who was in office during the second Government, President Michel Bachelet, and was directly involved in drafting the Law confirmed this when I asked if the reality of immigrant students or other groups were taken into account during the design of the law:

> No, I don't think so. I think the structural nature of the reforms pushed in the previous period, their complexity, even though they were based on a set of more specific processes, more specific social and educational processes happening in Chilean society, none of them are specifically addressed, or I believe, with sufficient focus on the issue of migrants or even broader interculturality.
>
> Rodolfo, Policymaker. Interview, May 28th, 2019

Ignoring the specific needs of immigrant students during the policy-making processes had repercussions at the school level on several fronts, including the new enrollment processes.

The mechanisms to meet the inclusion law's non-discrimination principles created a centralized enrollment process (Honey & Carrasco, 2023). In the new system, parents must apply through an online platform and specify at least two schools in urban areas and one in rural areas. The process is quite simple and straightforward for Chilean families, although technological barriers could pose a challenge. However, the complications could be more difficult for immigrant families, as was the case for Lois and her mother, Linda. The following vignette draws on fieldnotes from December of 2021.

Lois and Linda had been in Chile for more than three years. Lois, the student, initially entered the education system with the temporary ID number that every newcomer receives when they have a temporary visa. Lois was enrolled in a school in 5th grade and transferred to a different school where she completed 6th and 7th grade. Now

that Lois and Linda have moved to the SFVS neighborhood, they have tried to get a spot through the centralized system but have failed. Initially, the system connected Lois and Linda through the temporary ID numbers they received when they arrived in Chile. However, the joy of obtaining a permanent visa clashed with the realization that the bureaucratic problems would continue. Since Lois and Linda were given a new identification number, the system did not recognize them as mother and daughter, and their application was considered invalid. To overcome this obstacle, Lois and Linda appeared in person at the SFVS in December 2021, while Lois' former school inspector spoke to them on the phone. The inspector explained the situation to the SFVS receptionist and emphasized that Lois was a good student, quiet, and his school had always had good experiences with Haitian students.

This scene was a flashback to the old days in Chile when schools could choose their students based on arbitrary criteria. Lois experienced the exact obstacle that President Michelle Bachelet said the Inclusion Law would eradicate. Even if these incidents are not repeated, the new system is not immune to discriminatory mechanisms. Desegregation literature in the United States showed how school districts that were mandated to integrate their schools after *Brown v. Board of Education*, (1954) implemented school choice systems to maintain the racial makeup of their schools and please the White families that demanded the perpetuation of the status quo and resist school integration (Scott & Quinn, 2014). Acting upon these racist and segregationist principles, the SFVS could have informed Lois and Linda that the school had no more openings or that the enrollment process had ended. Instead, Miguel, the Head of School Coexistence, invited Lois and Linda to a private room where he explained the administrative procedures now that the centralized system was closed. Miguel told them the school would be authorized to enroll students manually in January. Miguel said the system would indicate whether places were still available in 8th grade for the 2022 school year by then. Still, Miguel kindly assured them that he already knew there was a place available for Lois. The girl translated the message into Creole, so her mother could be reassured: their search for school was over.

Another flaw in the system that directly impacted immigrant students was that central registration ran from August to October for the following school year, which begins in March. So, when students arrive in the middle of the school year, they rely on the goodwill of school administrators or government officials to help them navigate the school system. This phenomenon has been described in the literature as the *politics of the mood* and is defined as

> Contingent arrangements of officials who, on their own initiative, in response to a factual demand from the migrant population and often against institutional resistances, intuitively drive lines of action aimed at addressing the most urgent problems of migrants in an almost complete scarcity of resources (Thayer Correa et al., 2020, p. 184) Translation mine[10].

---

[10] Original: Disposiciones contingentes de funcionarios que por iniciativa personal, en respuesta a una demanda de hecho de la población migrante y muchas veces en contra de las resistencias institucionales, impulsan de manera intuitiva y en una casi completa escasez de recursos, líneas de acción dirigidas a resolver los problemas más urgentes de los migrantes.

Relying on officials' moods was in this case positive for Lois and her mom, but this dependence is yet another barrier for the inclusion of immigrant students.

Humans as Numbers

Scholars have pointed out that systems in which schools are evaluated on standardized tests have forced educators to treat students as future test score numbers and turned teachers into employees that produce academic results (Booher-Jennings, 2005). In a system where student attendance drives funding allocation, students become a number in two ways: grades and money. What is not always realized is that teachers suffer from these dynamics within this system. In October of 2021, the educators, led by the president of the teachers' union at the SFVS, submitted a formal written complaint to express their unease. They criticized, among other things, that some teachers' annual salary increases depended on the number of students and that they were not provided with the funds and individual resources they needed to care for the students in their charge.

A week after these issues were uncovered, the school community met in person to discuss and reflect on the letter's contents. Educators shared that they felt their needs were being ignored and the school community was being neglected. In front of all her colleagues, one teacher declared:

> I see that the productivity is more important than the producer […] I have a daughter with a deep depression and daily suicide attempts. I steel myself to come to the school because I like my work and I like to be with the kids, but it makes me tire to feel that one [a person] is a number.

> Luz, Teacher. Fieldnotes, October 2021

Educators blamed the Voucher Management Organization for several problems the school faced. One was that decisions about how the school functioned were made outside the school walls. Inés, the principal, responded during the meeting that the decisions were made at the school level and the role of the VMO was to support the autonomy of the school. The voucher school model was introduced to offer schools a high degree of freedom and independence necessary to achieve the innovation that the centralized and bureaucratic government deprive schools from (Chubb & Moe, 1990). In Chile, however, school sovereignty has been blocked by a high degree of standardization and a dual accountability system: Schools must respond to market pressures and government monitoring (Falabella, 2015). The SFVS case illustrates these dynamics. The perceived lack of school autonomy has been a constant point of contention and concern among school community members. To add weight to her argument, the principal assured teachers that she was "not going to ask you to stand on a corner with a flyer" to attract students (alluding to marketing strategies teachers are asked to carry out in other schools). However, even if the example indicated the principal's power over what she can or cannot ask teachers to do, members of the school community shared in interviews or private conversations that it was not satisfactory. A WhatsApp audio message I received on October 19th from an educator after the meeting reflects dissatisfaction with the principal's response: "There is discontent, disapproval, a lot of displeasure has been expressed, we have said it a lot, and many people are very upset in different personal spaces with the principal or the leadership team."

At the core of the discontent was the neglectful response the VMO provided to the school community. Moreover, the COVID-19 pandemic exacerbated this perceived lack of care. When a COVID-19 outbreak hit the school and there was a risk of school closure due to too many teachers testing positive, the principal took the decision of authorizing a teacher, who had symptoms and was a close contact to teachers who had tested positive, to get tested at a private clinic. Test results at private clinics in 2021 were available withing hours but the school would have to reimburse less than 100,000 Chilean pesos (100USD) to the teacher. The alternative was a free test at a public clinic, but the turnaround of the results was uncertain. The principal made the decision of authorizing the reimbursement without consulting the VMO because the teacher was assumed to have the virus and that was triggering the transition toward remote instruction. However, if the teacher tested negative, the school could remain open. The later scenario prevailed, and the school continued with the in-person regime. Weeks after the outbreak the VMO questioned the decision and made the reimbursement dependent on a satisfactory and detailed explanation of the reason for authorizing a 100USD COVID-19 test. This event is a graphic example of the disconnection between the VMO and the school. It also exemplifies the type of responses that triggered educators' frustration. Finally, it showed that the autonomy and independence of the school was a performative discourse.

The following section shows the role of the foundation in reinforcing the resentment triggered by the disparities and inequality caused by a neoliberal education system.

Voucher Management Organization: Meso-Level Reproduction of Systemic Barriers

The relationships and power dynamics between the Vouchers Management Organization and the school are the last barrier described in this chapter to illustrate the difficulties of becoming a democratic and welcoming school in a neoliberal education system. The influence of the VMO is a significant force impacting the development of the Zone of Mediation (Welner, 2001) described in the conceptual framework. This section critically explores the relationship between the Foundation and the SFVS in the context of a neoliberal education model that imposes restrictions and barriers to the work of the Foundation. For example, while the board of directors' principles for managing the school were rooted in the Jesuit values of equity and social justice, enrollment funding determined their access to the resources to enact those principles. Thus, although there was a desire for improvement at the school level, the Foundation encountered systemic constraints to implementation. Before I present this analysis, I find it essential to highlight that the Foundation has always been a not-for-profit organization, even before implementing the Inclusion Law, which required all VMOs to receive public funding to end profitability with public pesos. Additionally, even though most educators did not know, the Foundation did transfer private resources to complement the voucher pesos and offer the SFVS community opportunities unavailable in traditional public schools. Finally, it is essential to clarify that the board of directors engaged in voluntary and unpaid work. The goal of this clarification is to note that the Foundation was exposed to the same systemic barriers that prevent school communities from accessing the resources they need to offer high-quality educational opportunities to the students they serve. In other words, even though for the school community, the Foundation was to be blamed for

the disparities and inequalities the students at the SFVS experience, in practical terms, the VMO was one of the building blocks in the system of structural barriers impacting the SFVS.

The experts running the VMO

The board of directors of the VMO has made relevant decisions regarding the school organization structure, application of voluntary standardized tests, curriculum, professional development, hiring processes, resource allocation, etc. Still, they did not have a management role, nor interacted on a regular basis with the SFVS community. Instead, they provided guidance to the executive team who were close to the school.

Because of the essential support they offered, each of the seven members of the board of directors was carefully selected. They had extensive knowledge of education policy, a deep understanding of the historical elements and events that have influenced the teaching profession in Chile, and significant insight into the dynamics of change that the SFVS has encountered. Two of the seven directors have doctorates in education from prestigious institutions in the U.S. One director held a high-level position in the Ministry of Education during Gabriel Boric's left-wing Government, and another headed an influential non-profit organization working to professionalize the teaching profession. In addition, three directors had experience working as teachers in schools. In summary, this group of seven experts had spent several years learning about education through practical and academic experience.

This knowledge and practice were shared in the interviews I conducted with three of them (for full disclosure, I knew them before I began my doctoral studies, and two of them are close friends, but they did not help me enter the SFVS community). When I asked one of the directors to describe the teachers at SFVS, he elaborated on the systemic factors that have deteriorated the teaching profession and emphasized that these need to be considered when examining the quality of teachers' work. Although I had asked specifically about the SFVS teacher, he was extremely eloquent in describing the historical context and structural barriers that have weakened the quality and professionalization of the teaching profession. He explained issues such as the decline in society's appreciation of the teaching profession or the low entry and exit requirements in higher education institutions:

> Chile, the State of Chile has abandoned the professional development of teachers since the dictatorship, on the one hand, but also, even from the beginning of democracy, it over-liberalized teacher training and I believe that it has not taken responsibility, the State of Chile, to respond fairly to such an important challenge as education, adequately regulating teacher training, providing adequate conditions, time, and so on. So, I think that historically, the teaching profession has been made quite precarious. […] Therefore, with this previous context, the most vulnerable schools in Chile have been affected because teachers were trained in Chile, especially since '81 when more universities were created, when they began to be trained, many teachers, many, were not asked for academic prerequisites, with very low accreditation requirements. So, this is a structural issue and, therefore, having trained teachers in Chile with this low-quality regulatory framework, the schools that have the most difficulties in attracting,

supporting, and retaining effective and talented teachers are the schools in the most vulnerable context. That's a fact. Therefore, schools like SFVS have had to deal with this precarious reality of the teaching profession in Chile. Having said that, as with all these difficulties, I believe that there is a valuable element of the teachers who are at SFVS, that I believe there is a large vocational element. I think there is a genuine concern to contribute to a more just society, offering opportunities to historically excluded people; in this case they are migrants, and I think there is an important sense of purpose and justice in that, I think it is a characteristic. However, I also mentioned it to you before, I think that this sense of justice has been exhausted and it has been seen that that sense of justice is satisfied through very basic elements of inclusion, […] we have settled for little. We have been complacent and since we are in the Jesuit focus, in words of Father Alberto Hurtado, he said that the socially committed Catholic is a perpetual and total nonconformist. And I think that we have to translate this perpetual and total non-conformity into more purpose and urgency also in our teachers. It is not enough to offer a classroom with a roof, with a decent space, but rather that we have to achieve effective learning for true justice so that students who are in school effectively learn to read and write, learn elementary mathematical operations for their better social development.

Mateo, Board Member, VMO. Interview, January 20th, 2022

The board members' ideas were based on their academic expertise, theory, and personal experiences. In addition, research on teachers' resistance to the implementation of evaluation systems (Avalos & Assaél Budnik, 2006) and the low presence of highly qualified teachers in schools with high proportions of low-income and low-achieving students (Rivero, 2015) supports the directors' analysis. This knowledge led board members to characterize SFVS teachers as ineffective, unprofessional, unwilling to improve, and *settling for little*. However, this analysis completely missed the victories of the teachers at SFVS because they were evaluated using standardized metrics that are incapable of capturing the quality of their work. The following section, which describes the work of educators in-depth, refutes the deficit perception that the board members had about SFVS educators. Moreover, it this shows that, unlike what proponents of the voucher model anticipated, the board members had limited knowledge about the school community. This lack of awareness drove them to make decontextualized decisions which triggered a high degree of resentment towards the Foundation, as one teacher explains:

Here, we give our lives. I mean, more than your working hours, if you have to come on a Saturday, you come on a Saturday. If you have to go to someone's house to deliver groceries because they have COVID, you go. If they live in the occupation camps, you have to visit them. The foundation doesn't see that too much, because when us teachers complain about certain things, or about a union, or something, we always get a *no*.

Constanza, Teacher. Interview, November 30th, 2021

Another leading figure in the Foundation complained about teachers' lack of willingness for improvement. He acknowledged that his criticism was not rooted in his

personal experience with SFVS teachers but in research that shows teachers' resistance to assessments (Avalos & Assael, 2006). This dissertation documents that this resistance was not salient at SFVS through several means. On their initiative, teachers invited me to observe their classes and, during interviews, shared that they would like to receive more guidance. Moreover, several teachers strongly critique the lack of observation:

> Nobody here, nobody here comes to see you in a class. That is why I say that we are like abandoned here. I feel that I can do whatever I want. Nobody is going to tell me anything because nobody has any idea what I am teaching.

> Camilo, Teacher. Interview, December 14th, 2021

The board members did not perceive the teachers' desire for support as genuine. When I told them that several teachers invited me into their classrooms to observe their instruction, one board member replied that this was only because I was not a threat to them, as I was not their superior. The lack of appreciation for the work of educators made the relationship with the Foundation even more difficult. Similarly, one board member explained that the Foundation had told teachers directly that they were spending too much time supporting students in "non-academic" matters:

> The teacher is less concerned about preparing his class and much more about providing support. Look at the metaphor that José [another board member] used when he told the teachers, 'Look, with all due respect, we are not social workers, we are teachers, and what we need to achieve is for the child in the classroom to fundamentally experience an opening to the world of learning.' Clearly, it helps to support him in much more integral, expansive dimensions of life. But ultimately, if our belief is that fundamentally, this is a place where learning is very difficult and that we have to support the students to work on their self-esteem, or whatever, there is a very serious problem.

> Antonio, Board Member, VMO. Interview, November 11th, 2021

The irony of this message is that José worked as a religion teacher at the school and admitted that he ran out of strategies and tools to work with some students:

> **José:** I had two Haitian students whom I couldn't get to engage. There were the majority of Haitian students who entered the classroom, and you could talk to them, and they were older. But others who arrived dead tired. They came to sleep.

> **María:** What did you do in those cases?

> **José:** Personally, I felt like I reached a limit. I said, 'I don't have the tools, the school doesn't have the tools,' and it was like 'ok, let's have him inside' and I would talk to them during the break to know if something happened.

> José, Board Member, VMO. Interview, October 12th, 2021

This excerpt exposes José's contradiction between telling the teachers that they are not social workers and thus must focus on learning and admitting that the school does not provide teachers with the tools they need to work with the students they serve. It is relevant to mention that José did not have teaching credentials. Still, educators who did,

had not been trained in working in linguistically and culturally challenging classrooms, even though they attended prestigious institutions.

Consequently, the deficit view that the VMO members held was also at odds with the professional preparation of teachers. Most of the teachers at SFVS graduated from top universities in Chile with high accreditation standards. They graduated from nationally recognized institutions such as Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, Universidad Metropolitana de Ciencias de la Educación (UMCE), Universidad de Santiago de Chile, Universidad Diego Portales and Universidad Alberto Hurtado, to name a few.

Significant and repetitive details that emerged during fieldwork contradicted the deficit notion of teachers' lack of professionalism and minimal focus on learning outcomes. When I interviewed Pilar, a math teacher, her alarm clock blared. She apologized and told me she had set the alarm to have a few minutes to prepare for her next class. This strategy helped her get to her classroom on time after the break. She did not have to teach after the interview, but she set the alarm for the whole week. When I asked the board members about the teachers, they said the teachers were so unprofessional that they were constantly late to class. I could observe that, in the context of constant schedule changes due to COVID-19 mandates modifications, the teachers had developed strategies to get to class on time and sometimes even sacrificed their breaks to give extra support to the students and stayed in the classrooms during the breaks. I realized this when I was assigned to clear the classrooms during breaks to comply with the pandemic demands for ventilation. During the week I was providing this support, I was constantly struggling because I saw that the extra academic support teachers were giving students was important, but I also had to fulfill the responsibility I had been given.

The students also affirmed the teachers' commitment to teaching and learning. At the end of the focus group with the students, one of them anxiously said that her next class was history, with a tone that implied she was not looking forward to being in that class. I told the group that the teacher for that class was absent, and the student said she knew. She then clarified that they would still have class. She said they were working on the newspaper, a project-based learning activity between history and other subjects and would continue working on their projects. In Chile, in schools where teachers do not care about students' learning and where there is no culture of using learning time strategically and effectively, students play cards, listen to music, or loiter in the hallways when teachers are absent. However, in eight out of nine cases where I substituted for a teacher, the teacher left educational materials for me to use to continue the lesson and avoid interrupting students' learning process.

One Size Fits All
The voucher model and the school choice policy arrived in Chile, promising personalized and contextualized learning experiences and support through the diversification of *Proyectos Educativos* or educational projects. Decentralization proponents argue that the massive bureaucratic apparatus of government (Chub & Moe, 1991) cannot provide schools with the contextualized guidance they need to improve. Therefore, decentralization was optimal to achieve atomization of the school management system. This approach was expected to provide autonomy and independence to school administrators. However, according to educators at SFVS, this promise has not

been fulfilled in their school. Most educators shared their frustration with the VMO's demand to engage in activities not tailored to their context.

> When I arrived, they had already started a training program called Global Nazareth, which were nuns who came from Spain. They brought us all together, in a large hall there in San Mateo Private School, all the schools of the foundation and all day from 8 to 5, sitting and listening to the nuns showing us cool ideas, but they were not contextualized. They showed a video with the nun showing her tablets. The kids all working with a tablet on the grass. I looked and said, 'let's see? I don't even have a projector.' Unacceptable. That is what I mean with abandonment. We are in 2021, it cannot be that the children do not have a projector.

> Camilo, Teacher. Interview, December 14th, 2021

The professional development offered to teachers is one example of the one-size-fits-all dynamics that triggered significant frustration. One of the barriers to meaningful professional development was that it was expected that all four schools administered by the VMO would receive the same training.

The complaints of educators at the SFVS are not unique. The education literature has shown that the most effective forms of professional development are content-focused, incorporate active learning in collaborative spaces, provide coaching and expert support, which makes the experience contextual and site-based, and is sustained in time (Darling-Hammond et al., 2017).

"Here, There is Neither Justice nor Charity; There is Only Survival"

The teachers' resentment towards the VMO was unanimous, known to the VMO, and had various causes. One of the most frequent points of criticism was the inequality of resources that private Jesuit schools received from families' school fees and the contrast with the resources allocated in the SFVS. In particular, teachers criticized the Foundation for not acting according to its stated values of social justice. Many teachers described the Jesuit system as a small slice of the social inequalities and disparities that exist nationally. A broad social analysis shows that the inequalities triggered by the neoliberal model and responsible for the discontent at the center of massive social uprising, are observed at a micro level in the SFVS. One participant used a religious metaphor to explain how the relationship between the Foundation and SFVS was perceived:

> It was said that this [SFVS] was the son, the forgotten son, of the Jesuits. What's more, I'm going to say a much uglier expression. This is the bastard son, like the abandoned son, the forgotten son, the one who doesn't... Because you can't understand.

> René, Member of the School Community. Interview December 15th, 2021

René highlighted the water filtration at the gym of the SFVS and the 20 million-dollar investment for rebuilding a private Jesuit school to make his point. But the resentment was not only due to disparities. A school community member at SFVS

described the indignity of receiving donations from private Jesuit schools that were in bad conditions or that were impossible to use in the school.

> They send all the waste here; I even received a truckload of bad chairs. take. With less parts and I said, but why do they send that if we are not a garbage dump? [...] I feel that it is like: 'Well, if they don't have anything, then that they receive half of the chair will be fine.' I feel that. So, I feel that they do charity, even if they think they don't. They do. So, I think it's washing your hands, and with that I clear my conscience because I sent something. It is like that.

> Carolina, Head of Pedagogy. October 20th, 2021

The disparities that a neoliberal model triggers are violent because they present the idea of winners and losers as commonsensical. However, in Chile a critique to the model was initiated by the students protest of 2006 and 2011 (Bellei & Villalobos, 2024), as previous sections show. Many of the teachers participated actively in those uprising and developed an awareness of the unjust education system that served them as framework to assess the VMO.

Traditions among Jesuit schools also fueled the SFVS community's anger and resentment. One of them was having private school students visiting the SFVS. Teachers were critical of this activity and described it as "social tourism," in which wealthy students visit poor students and learn about scarcity. Another critique from teachers was that receiving the group of students required an investment from school administrators to prepare and organize the visit. In one of the activities, three of the four school administrators took part in a one-hour lecture on the multicultural context of the school. Given the lack of staff due to COVID-19 mandates, preparing and delivering the talk required resources in the form of time and energy that were diverted from SFVS students.

The school administration was aware of the teachers' criticism of this activity. To minimize "social tourism," SFVS students also attended a Jesuit private school in 2021. As Tamara, a special education teacher, described, this experience created a new challenge:

> **Tamara:** And I have one of my PIE students who went on this visit to the private school in Vitacura, and I asked him about that experience. I said, 'tell me, how was it, what did you think, what did you like or dislike, etc.' And he told me he loved it. Really nice, the students welcomed him very well, overall it was a very nice experience. And I said, 'what did you like about that school compared to this one? What would you want from that school? that school has everything that this one doesn't have, it has the courtyard. It's a garden full of green areas, trees, where you can relax, talk, enjoy a beautiful environment, it has an Olympic field, it has...' It's a school with many resources that provide them, it gives them many opportunities. If you look at this school, there are no green areas here. Here, the walls are concrete. They're concrete, they're concrete-colored. […] Imagine in your house, when you're at home and you make it beautiful, how do you feel?

> **María:** Clearly, much better.

Tamara: Instead, if you come home and your house has walls, all concrete, all ugly, all scarce. *You see that scarcity, you're born into scarcity and you're educated in scarcity.* And the children here are educated in scarcity. […] This is your life, this is your reality. It's like this school reinforces that. I don't know, I think the Foundation would kill me if they heard this. But I would like to tell them someday anyway. […] I believe this school perpetuates everything we have, I mean, the entire system, all the scarcity, all the children who graduate without the possibility of going to university and everything, without the possibility of projecting themselves beyond the environment they know here. A violent environment. A drug-filled environment. A hostile environment.

Tamara, Special Education Teacher. Interview, November 12th, 2021

Tamara succinctly describes the inequities that a neoliberal model perpetuates and how the SFVS is a perfect example of systemic disparities that prevent the implementation of democratic education (Gutmann, 1999). What makes this reality harder to grapple with is the social justice principles in which the SFVS was founded, and that were practiced by some members of the Jesuit community.

Saint Alberto Hurtado is the most renowned figure in the Chilean Jesuit Community. He is admired for his devotion to social justice and for practicing his discourse that always focused on supporting "the poor." The SFVS community heard about Saint Alberto Hurtado daily. His image was on the school walls, his sayings were reproduced, and his work was honored at school events with pride because he used to live near the school. One of the most famous sayings of Saint Alberto Hurtado, *La Caridad Comienza Donde Termina la Justicia*, which means Charity Begins Where Justice Ends, explained the emotionally draining dynamics between the Voucher Management Organization and the SFVS:

There are many who are disposed to enact charity, but are not resigned to accomplish justice; they are disposed to give alms, but not willing to pay a just salary. Even if it seems strange, it is much easier to be charitable (obviously only in appearance) than just. Such apparent "charity" is not authentic, because the true charity begins where justice ends. Charity without justice will not save us from social ills, but only creates a profound resentment. Injustice causes much greater evils than charity can repair.

Saint Alberto Hurtado, as cited in Gavin (2011).

As it has been shown, the resentment at the SFVS was prominent. Furthermore, one educator went beyond Saint Alberto Hurtado's phrase to explain her frustration: "I believe that here there is neither justice nor charity, only survival."

Teachers struggled to make sense of the abandonment the school experienced and formulated explanations that were rooted in the lack of care of the VMO:

It's like they don't care at all about the kids getting ahead, I believe, in this area. They're not interested, I think. I don't have any other explanation […] Have you seen the pigeons? The pigeon droppings. It's outrageous. Going up a staircase and

stepping on nothing but pigeon droppings to get to a classroom. The kids sitting there on the staircase covered in pigeon droppings, that's horrible.

<div align="right">Camilo, Teacher. Interview, December 14th, 2021</div>

Camilo's graphic description of how the inaction on behalf of the foundation impact students was a recurring theme among participant to describe the SFVS's reality. Still, for the most part, educators did not reproduce the same lack of care they experienced from the VMO. As the next section shows, in most cases, they tried to ignore the abandonment and direct their energy toward serving their students how they wished they were served.

Understanding Resistance: Who Mediated the Dynamics of Change?

Hijo [son], *hija* [daughter], *corazón* [heart] or *amor* [love] were common expressions educators used when talking with students. All of the educators, regardless of their professional status, were called *tía* or *tío* ("aunt" or "uncle") by the students and their families. Some educators used this designation to talk to their colleagues. After I began substituting absent teachers, I earned the status of *tía*. In the transcripts I analyzed, the terms aunt or uncle came up almost 200 times. Students were talking about an educator, or other educators were talking about their colleagues. Using these terms is common in preschool and elementary schools. Still, it is not the norm in schools enrolling older students, where usually the teachers are called *profe* and the custodial staff are called *tías del aseo* or cleaning aunts. This warm and affective treatment was part of an orchestrated effort to develop a welcoming and familiar environment for the students. At the center of this effort was the conviction that caring about students would allow educators to support them better. This section speaks about educators' *resistance* because as the conceptual framework illuminates, the neoliberal educational system does not promote a caring approach to foster relationships with students, but rather prevents them through the competitive nature of the model.

Caring at the SFVS was not only about good treatment. For educators, it was also about having in-depth knowledge about students' circumstances. When I asked a staff member, Paz, about her motivations for keeping track of what all the students are going through, she said she felt motivated to having up-to-date information about students' experience outside school (if parents get divorced or if there is financial instability, etc.) to provide an informed opinion during the Context Council. Before the end of the quarter, teachers met for a few hours a day to discuss each class's state. The headteacher presented a general class overview and highlighted cases of struggling students. These meetings aimed to assess and develop support strategies for students in each class.

Following the recommendations from the literature on building a healthy school culture (Valenzuela, 1999; Skerrett, 2015; Bajaj, et al., 2022) but without having read this body of knowledge, information about students was not the end of a process, but the means that facilitated the development of significant forms of caring. I observed numerous examples of caring. I saw custodial staff prepare chamomile tea for students who were not feeling well. Social workers provided fruit and snacks for students who had not eaten breakfast. For the birthdays of staff and teachers, the educators organized a celebration with a cake and a gift for the birthday person.

The educators' commitment to care for students was no coincidence. During the application process, the educators were informed of all the challenges they would face at SFVS. The teachers emphasized that all the warnings turned out to be accurate, and they accepted the job because of their high professional and moral commitment to social justice. Moreover, teachers working at SFVS had the opportunity to work at a private school under better working conditions and with fewer emotional challenges, but they chose to work at SFVS.

This section contributes to responding to the second research question of my dissertation: *In what ways have educators responded to the suspension of market-oriented mechanisms (e.g., voucher funding system) during the COVID-19 pandemic and to the new immigration dynamics? What are the implications of these responses for EMISAD?* I present the cases of five educators who embodied the pedagogy of care (Valenzuela, 1999), and I describe their connections with the students they served. In a neoliberal context where "good education" is mainly judged on standardized terms and educators are evaluated based on students' test scores results, it can be easy to overlook the humanity of school communities. Nonetheless, this passage shows that the lived experience of educators allowed them to connect with their students' marginalized and oppressed realities. Ultimately, the conceptual framework illuminates that these connections influenced how the school community mediated (Welner, 2001) the education changes that the SFVS experienced. I examined the individuals' values, beliefs, life experiences, and motivations and how those informed their actions. I selected five educators who represented all professional roles (traditional teacher, school administrator, custodial staff, receptionist, and special education teacher) and various life circumstances. Some participants had migratory experiences, while others had grown up in the Reloncaví neighborhood. Despite the diversity of these educators, they all had a deep connection to the students they served.

Educating from experience

In his last year of high school, Miguel was the symbol student of the prestigious, private Jesuit school he attended: San Mateo School. Miguel received numerous awards when he graduated from high school in 2006. Among them was the most outstanding recognition given only to one student per generation: the San Mateo Spirit Award. Miguel was a student from a marginalized neighborhood that made it. He lived in a *cité* (an overcrowded and unstable structure where families usually occupy one room and share a common bathroom and kitchen) two blocks from the SFVS. He was the student who overcame socioeconomic adversity to become a star pupil. He was the embodiment of meritocracy. He was the anecdote needed to perpetuate the neoliberal idea that students who fail in school have not worked hard enough or do not have the right mindset (Dweck, 2006).

Miguel was sponsored by a Jesuit priest who saw potential in him. In 6th grade, his family received a scholarship that covered school costs, and Miguel was enrolled in 7th grade at San Mateo Private Jesuit School. The social experiment of enrolling marginalized children in an elite school has been evaluated in heterogeneous terms by its participants (D'Agostino & Madero, 2023). In Miguel's generation, he was the only one to complete the program and graduate. The path was also a challenge for Miguel. One of his most significant difficulties was that the school only gave him a tuition scholarship,

but his family had to pay for all school supplies, lunch, transportation, and uniforms. In other words, in the name of social justice, the school opened its doors to Miguel but gave him no additional support to navigate the school culture, academic challenges, and any difficulties he might encounter. The wealth gap between Miguel and his classmates was so significant that Miguel wistfully remembers when his father was deeply concerned about being unable to provide more economic support to improve the family's living conditions.

When Miguel was in 11th grade, he became the caregiver of his three-year-old brother, who until then had lived with his grandparents, a practice that had become increasingly common in Chile, where grandparents play a central role in caregiving support (Zegers & Reynolds, 2022). Miguel's mother worked long hours, and his father had two jobs to provide the family with a dignified life, which they were denied in the *cité* where they lived. This lifestyle did not allow them to care for the two children, but Miguel missed his brother so much that he offered to become his caregiver. Looking back, Miguel refers to his teenage years to understand and explain how he had become accustomed to overcoming adversity. He and I spoke at length about the high risk of burnout that educators at SFVS face, as at the time, several educators were on sick leave due to mental health diagnoses. In one of these conversations, I asked him if he had ever been close to a mental health crisis during his time at SFVS. He said that life had prepared him to always remain calm in emergencies. He was able to do so when a student fell from the second floor of the school, skinned his knee, and suffered bruises, and when his daughter bled profusely after an injury. Composure was a defense mechanism he could not control, and it took over his body even when he did not want to be composed. Miguel remembered being unable to celebrate or express his euphoria when he scored the goal that took his soccer team to the next round in a university tournament.

The same lack of expressive body language was present when Miguel spoke about the Jesuit institution. He repeatedly let it slip that he shared a feeling that vacillates between appreciation and outrage towards the Jesuit community. Before coming to SFVS in 2017 to work as a school administrator, Miguel was a physical education teacher at the private Jesuit school he graduated from. He became president of the teachers' union there and had to negotiate improvements to working conditions. Looking back, he pointed out how difficult it was to find room for improvement, as teachers at his previous school enjoyed excellent working conditions that were in drastic contrast to the circumstances of educators at SFVS. The inequalities were further highlighted by the deterioration suffered by SFVS after 17 months of distance learning in 2020 and the first semester of 2021. Miguel did not shy away from presenting these complains and he thought that being outspoken has earned him a bad reputation within the Jesuit community. Still, Miguel was grateful for the opportunity the Jesuit community offered him to gain access to a quality education and values rooted in the ideals of social justice.

Engaging in critical analysis led Miguel to understand and question the power dynamics between the Voucher Management Organization, led by Jesuit priests, and the school administrators. For him, the privileged life that many priests had enjoyed prevented them from empathizing with the needs of the population they were supposed to support, and their disconnection from the reality of the school is the reason for poor decisions that affect students' experiences. The exact opposite has happened to him. The

lack of privilege growing up allowed Miguel to connect with the reality of SFVS as profoundly as he did. Miguel would usually take me to the subway station at the end of the school day. On one of these 15-min rides, he talked about students working full-time at formal jobs. This was one of the biggest concerns he had after returning to in-person classes because he knew that entering the real world to work was, in a sense, an irreversible process and incompatible with graduating high school. This challenge is difficult to overcome in a context where there is no possibility of obtaining a General Education Diploma and where the only option for school competition is to complete each school year.

> There are many things that I understand quickly, but because of my origin. I had classmates who were working and studying at that time. For me, it was very common, and everything that was very common for me appeared here... I did it too; supporting my family when I was a student. That can be endured and it happens. But the pandemic caused many people to start working. Many students began to work more regularly, that is, within the usual informality, but very regularly, as well as every day at such a time. Family income, depending on that student. And the situation became even stronger when cases like Wesley who left the country; like Domingo Pérez who is not coming and who we talked about in the teachers' council […] I realized that Domingo had a much more full-time job because he told me, and that's how I found out, as we went to the houses to see their particular situation, to try to get them to return and to leave food baskets

> Miguel, Head of School Coexistence. Interview, November 15th, 2021

The experiences of Wesley and Domingo were not uncommon when schools resumed in-person learning after extensive closures (OECD, 2022). Chronic absenteeism and dropout rates increased significantly after the COVID-19 pandemic online learning requirements were lifted. According to the Ministry of Education, the percentage of students with severe absenteeism (less than 85% attendance in one year) increased from 28% in 2019 to 38% in 2022 (MINEDUC, 2023). Unlike what the voucher model predicts, this statistic was meaningful to Miguel because he had emotional ties to the absent students, not because the school suffered financially due to student absenteeism.

The theories, ideas, and beliefs underlying the Chilean educational system suggest that school communities act motivated by financial incentives (Friedman & Friedman, 1990). Moreover, the funding model stipulates that the subsidization of schools depends on student enrollment and attendance. As this model was suspended during the pandemic, the SFVS had secure funding based on 2019 data and regardless of student attendance at the school. The actions Miguel took, from talking to students to making home visits, are a testament to his commitment to bringing students back to school and show that the school is not responding to the monetary incentives of the voucher funding model because, at least in 2021, the school did not suffer economically when Domingo and Wesley's desks remained empty day after day.

Miguel's implementation of the pedagogy of care (A. Valenzuela, 1999) was also evident in other dimensions. He chose his words carefully when speaking about the school, the neighborhood, the students, and their families to avoid dehumanizing language that denoted a deficit perspective. For example, he was attentive when

describing the context of the school and spoke of "high sociocultural complexity" when referring to the challenges educators faced in their work at SFVS. This language is similar to the idea of culturally and linguistically complex classrooms coined by Arnetha Ball (2009). He also had a critical approach to commonly used descriptions such as "dysfunctional families."

> **Miguel:** there are other cases where there are families that are *dysfunctional*. There is a kind of disorder, and they are living with their grandparents.

> **María:** Why did you use quotation marks with the word dysfunctional? Don't you like that word?

> **Miguel:** It complicates me because I feel that the judgment is very drastic, considering that families in many contexts do not comply with all the care that a minor must have, regardless of the context where they are. But only here the word dysfunctional is used.

> **María:** Oh, of course, in another context, when the nanny takes care of you, and you don't know...

> **Miguel:** And the child has a horrible time. So, they talk about the well-constituted family that supports them, but in reality, they never see the child. That happened to me a lot in San Mateo. Then, the students, especially the older ones, see that they are a cornerstone of income and also realize that life changes. This is what happens with Domingo Palacios. When I interviewed him, I told him, 'Domingo, this can't be, it's not normal, and it's not right for you to leave school because of this, so come back.' He also tells me that 'coming, to me, is not the same anymore,' and why isn't it the same? Because he felt bigger because the jokes didn't make him laugh, because what's happening at school isn't important. What is happening at work is important. What I learn there is important. Then, the job began to work also as a training space.

Miguel, Head of School Coexistence. Interview, November 15th, 2021

When Miguel talked to the students, they were not the "other people's children" (Delpit, 2006) he was supporting, but people who suffered from adversities similar to those he had experienced in his childhood. He developed a deep understanding of the complex phenomenon that causes students to drop out of school because he explored the same difficulties that he, his friends, and peers experienced growing up. Miguel's connection to the SFVS community was initially described in the literature as "Culturally Relevant Teaching" (Ladson-Billings, 1995), and Miguel met the characteristics of teachers practicing this approach. For example, he visited students at home and conducted individualized activities to bring them back to school because he saw himself as part of the community in which he worked. He also had high expectations of the students. Evidence of this was the time, energy and other resources he invested in students who were at higher risk of dropping out of school due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

Other educators at the school shared Miguel's commitment to students and his resistance to the neoliberal educational model. Their life experiences also influenced the

connection they developed with students and how they mediated (Welner, 2001) the dynamics of change the school experienced.

Multidimensional Care

Teacher Pilar was warm and friendly. Her heart was soft, and she was constantly in good spirits. I stood once in the schoolyard talking with the principal, and Pilar stood next to me and hugged me tightly. Her approach was so spontaneous that the principal asked if everything was well. Pilar said everything was fine and she was just being *cariñosa* or affectionate.

Pilar was also loving to her students. She called them love or heart and knew their personal stories. On one occasion, one of Pilar's students looked *decaído* (low-spirited) to her. She asked him what happened, and the student said he was worried because his father, the only person in his household with a stable salary, was not bringing enough money to the house to put food on the table. Teacher Pilar brought that concern to Miguel and Michelle, the school social worker, and said she would get organized to support the family with food.

Pilar collected and brought everything she saw in her house to the school that could be sold in the flea market, where the student's mom sold secondhand things. Pilar's experience growing up with limited access to material resources allowed her to encounter her students' material poverty with great sensibility and care. She explicitly named the importance of being respectful when help is offered and providing only what could be of actual use (and not useless leftovers). Hence, the aid was a real contribution.

Pilar also acknowledged that hers was an *asistencialista* or paternalist act, but it was necessary because the student and his five siblings suffered from deep material needs. She collected food and clothes and brought them personally to the student's house. He lived on a *toma*, an occupation of a terrain carried by several families that often grew. The biggest *toma* in Santiago had 10.000 people, and the quality of the structures varied from solid houses to weak construction with dirt floors. Pilar student's living situation was more like the later description. Still, he asked Pilar if she wanted to come inside his house. To avoid being invasive, she asked him back if he wanted to invite her to his house. He said yes, "I want to show you my house," she recalled. Pilar went inside and saw that their bathroom was a hose and that they used a mug to bathe. She shared with him that when she was little, her family was economically poor, and they did not have a shower or a bath, so she also had to use a mug to get clean. The experiences that connected Pilar to her students where constantly shared in classes:

> **María**: how do you think your personal experience ultimately serves you in working in this context? Does it help you?"
>
> **Pilar**: Yes, it does. I mean, first, it's the closeness because 'kids, I went through the same things you're going through.' I mean, I never had vacations as a child. I came to know Santiago and the rest of Chile a bit after I graduated from university because before that, nothing. […] But I think the closeness comes from shared experiences, like having bathed with a little jar of water, having bathed by the dam, and we all went through the same things. I have the blessing that now, of course, I have my shower, I have my home, but that's because I went through

years of sacrifice. So, I usually tell them, 'kids, you're in the middle of it. Work hard now. Later, go to university, and you can have your money, your things, or whatever you want, you can have it.'

<div align="right">Interview, September 23rd, 2021</div>

Other teachers and administrators recognized Pilar's commitment. During a meeting, for instance, Miguel shared that he accidentally saw Pilar had between 15 and 20 WhatsApp chats with parents. He also shared that Pilar visited the home of a student who was not from her advisory class. At the same time, Miguel also expressed concern about the high risk of burnout faced by highly committed teachers like Pilar and other educators at the school.

Different Ways of Exclusion, Similar Suffering

The presence of Denise, a special education teacher, is significant for SFVS students in several ways. The first is how she evaluates the work of subject teachers and explains with detail and clarity what it means to be an exceptional teacher at SFVS. She speaks highly and with great admiration about the teachers she supports and works with, including Pilar. Denise also gives detailed examples of developing a close relationship with students. In particular, she talks about the impact the departure of Haitian students has had on her and how they have found a way to stay in contact with her.

María: Have you talked to any of those who are leaving?

Denise: Yes, and it's a very painful situation. Look, I would say that about two or three children per class are either going back or to Mexico to eventually reach the United States. […] and they left on foot, I mean, by bus here, then walking, crossing the border on foot. So, before leaving, she said to me, 'I say, okay, but dear, remember that there's a teacher here in Chile who cares a lot about you, so you don't forget.' 'Yes, teacher, I know, and I'll write down your number on a piece of paper because we might get robbed or killed on the way.'

María: So, she was absolutely aware of what...

Denise: How terrible, because she understood perfectly the risks she was facing. And when she arrived, she texted me, 'Teacher, we reached Mexico, I don't know what. No, they didn't kill us, and they didn't steal our phone' because she was texting from the same number, but she had written it down on a piece of paper to be able to message me from there. So, I feel it's our responsibility, all of those we lose along that journey because we failed.

<div align="right">Interview, August 18th, 2021</div>

Academic literature has not kept up with sudden migration dynamics that rapidly evolved, but international organizations and journalist accounts have documented new experiences. One is that the journey toward the United States-Mexico border has shifted in recent years. While in the past, the norm was that the journey was initiated in Central America, the number of people coming from South America and crossing the Darién Gap has skyrocketed in recent years. The Darién Gap is a 60-mile inhospitable territory populated by dense rainforest vegetation on the border between Colombia and Panama.

According to the Panamanian Government, in 2022, 150,327 Venezuelans and 22,435 Haitians crossed the Darién Gap (Servicio Nacional de Migración, 2022). According to a New York Times article (Turkewitz, 2022), while a couple of years ago only a few thousand people crossed the Darién Gap a year, in 2022, almost a quarter million people embarked on the journey, and 33,000 of those who crossed the Darién Gap during the first semester of 2023 were children. To understand the inhospitality of the terrain, as of the writing of this research, there were no official accounts of the number of people dying while crossing the Darién gap because their bodies were not recovered.

During the observations and interviews with Denise, I tried to understand how she was able to build a connection that caused her student to stay in contact with her even though she was about to embark on a journey that could get her killed. Like all other SFVS educators, Denise had not had the opportunity to learn how to work with and support emergent multilingual immigrant students of African descent (EMISAD) in formal spaces and through professional training. Additionally, she attended private school and had not grown up in the same marginalized socioeconomic circumstances as the SFVS students. Still, there was one point of connection that helped her empathize with EMISAD:

> **María**: Has anyone trained you? Has anyone supported you? Has anyone worked with you specifically, as someone who is in direct contact with the kids? From the foundation, from the Municipality, from I don't know where. How have you managed to learn?
>
> **Denise**: Because I have been discriminated against my whole life. I am prepared to be discriminated against. So, one looks for the opposite.
>
> **María**: Why do you say you've been discriminated against your whole life?
>
> **Denise**: I am Jewish, gringa, white, very white, in an anti-Semitic world, in a racist world, in a classist world. [...] we were prepared to defend ourselves. But not physically. Never physically. But yes, because we are in a world that is not ours. We live in a country that is not mine. Fundamentally, it's the same for us. The difference is that I have the language. That's why I don't leave. Because I have the language.
>
> Interview, August 18th, 2021

This is one of the multiple ways I identified how educators find means to connect with EMISAD and identified characteristics they have in common with students. In no case have educators paired themselves with students or stated that they have gone through the same situations and suffering their students have experienced. Educators presented these similarities as tools that have helped them develop empathy and guided their actions and how they relate to students, but constantly make clear the extra challenges EMISAD experiences. As described in the conceptual framework, Ball (2009) coined the concept of *generativity* "to refer to the teachers' ability to continually add to their understanding by connecting their personal and professional knowledge with the knowledge that they gain from" (p. 48). In addition to using a generative approach to

develop a better understanding of their students, educators also engaged in curriculum adaptation to develop meaningful teaching and learning experiences.

Political Repression

So far, I have focused on the cultural and socioeconomic characteristics of the students and educators to illuminate how they found ways to connect even though their realities growing up in Chile and Haiti were seemingly so different. And Pilar, a custodial staff, also had that in common with students. She and her children attended a school like SFVS and depended on the school for meal access. Nutrition was a susceptible issue for Pilar, and she invested substantial amount of energy and professional capital to feed students who suffered from food insecurity. Before the COVID-19 pandemic, all schools that received public funding in Chile (about 93% of schools) could provide breakfast and lunch to students in the lower 60th percentile of the income distribution. However, in 2021, schools were only allowed to distribute food baskets to low-income families with a National Identification Number.

To address the inequities that resulted from the school's exclusion of nearly 30% of immigrant students who did not have a National Identification Number, the school social worker, who graduated from SFVS, rearranged the baskets to increase the number of families they could reach. Each family received less food, but more families could receive the baskets. This redistributive approach stands in opposition to the value of competition, fundamental in the neoliberal model. Nevertheless, the baskets were only distributed sporadically and were not enough to combat the food insecurity that some students suffered from. With this concern in mind, Pilar would constantly and quietly ask students if they had breakfast before coming to school or if they had brought snacks. When students admitted that they had not, Pilar would come to the teachers' lounge to get leftover bread and offer it to students. I saw her being scolded and threatened with disciplinary sanctions for violating the national health mandates that prohibited schools from feeding students. I also saw her ignoring the warning and providing the student with the leftovers. When I asked her why she risked sanctions by feeding the students she explained that her motivations came from her heart:

> Really, it's because I feel sad. Yes, because I think... I like to have the bathroom clean because I think, well, my kids didn't use the school bathrooms. They didn't go there. 'Will they have a clean classroom? Have they eaten?' Because they also ate at school. [...] So, I truly always say, I work thinking it's for my kids. Really, yes, thinking it's for my kids, and I always think, 'well, because I went to school without breakfast.' My meal was at school, and if I didn't have food on weekends, I would go to the community kitchens in La Palma. From there, from the chapel. So, I know what it's like to be hungry.

> Pilar, Custodial Staff Member. Interview, November 9th, 2021

Pilar not only shared her knowledge about what it means to be hungry with the students she served, but she also had in common with them the trauma of experiencing political repression, persecution, and violence, something that has always been a commonplace in Haiti. Pilar was 13 years old when she visited *la olla común* [communal kitchen], unaware that history was unfolding before her eyes. In July 1986, she was one of the last people to be captured by photographer Rodrigo Rojas de Negri's camera. To

document everyday experiences as a form of resistance, Rodrigo had traveled to Chile from the United States, his country of residency. He began to immerse himself in spaces protesting against the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet. Rodrigo's goal was quickly interrupted by the same repression he wanted to capture, and his tragedy is now considered one of the most horrific crimes against humanity committed during the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet. In 2016, then President Michelle Bachelet arrived at Washington D.C. to lead the inauguration of a mural that immortalized Rodrigo's image.

Thirty years earlier, in 1986, the day after attending and photographing the *olla común* of La Palma, Rodrigo, along with Carmen Gloria Quintana, was captured by a military patrol, beaten, doused with kerosene, burned alive, and abandoned in a rural area outside Santiago. They were found by police officers who ignored the origin of their wounds and took them to a hospital, where Rodrigo died four days later. After a weeks-long struggle between life and death, Carmen Gloria Quintana survived the extensive injuries, which extended to 62% of her body. Today, she has visible burn marks all over her body, including her face. Pilar knew them both personally.

> They, the day before, there in my neighborhood, had *a olla común*, they had games and everything. And the next day, we found out that they had been burned. Before, there was no gas distribution, one had to go to Gasco to buy gas. And this was on a Sunday morning, and my mom sends me to buy gas with a neighbor, and I see everything, all the clothes, Father Pepe was there... I remember, I saw all of that.

<div align="right">Pilar, Custodian Staff Member. Interview, November 9th, 2021</div>

Pilar describes this moment in her life as the decisive factor in her recognizing what injustice looks like. The students' traumatic experiences due to the socio-political instability in their countries were rarely talked about. Educators at SFVS have not received training in trauma-informed pedagogy and, therefore, faced the dilemma of addressing complex topics in the classroom at the risk of revictimizing their students or avoiding these conversations in the first place. Most tended to choose the first option, even though the school was in a neighborhood that actively resisted the oppression of the dictatorship. Nevertheless, there were some exceptions, which I will discuss in the next chapter.

The Migration Connection

While in Venezuela, Arepas are typical, in El Salvador, pupusas go with everything; and in Mexico, the tortillas are the norm; in Chile, *sopaipillas* are the traditional street food. *Sopaipillas* are frayed dough sold at intersections in popular neighborhoods like Los Robles. *Sopaipillas* are popular because you can buy three for one dollar, which is enough for an average person's breakfast. Since I supported hand sanitizing and temperature taking of students in the morning, I could observe that when students came to school eating a *sopaipilla*, Susana, the front desk receptionist, asked them if they needed another napkin. This response got my attention because it is not the punitive response practiced in other Chilean schools. Susana could have told the students to eat the *sopaipilla* outside before entering the school. After all, according to health mandates, students were required to eat in open-air spaces. She could have gone further and even confiscated students' food. Instead, she offered students what they needed.

Susana also had vast knowledge about students' circumstances. On one occasion, a student from Haiti in 11th grade who had just delivered a baby came to school to meet with the Head of Pedagogy, and the first thing that Susana asked her was how her baby was doing.

Because Susana works at the front desk, she was usually the first face that students, parents, and everyone coming to the school would see. For some immigrant families, Susana was the first person they interacted with within the Chilean education system. Her expertise on issues related to enrollment and all the administrative processes for immigrant families was precious for orienting the enrollment process at the school, and her stance was to provide all the answers to questions that families had in their process of navigating the Chilean education system or find someone who could assist them.

Susana grew up in a household that suffered severe material deprivation. This was one of the points of connection she had with the students at the school. Another similarity was that she went through an internal migration process when she was young. She grew up in a rural area in the Araucanía Region in Chile, which is the home of a significant population of *Mapuche* indigenous people. She attended a rural school far from her house and had to walk one hour *"even if there was rain, even if there was snow"* to attend school. Susana was a committed student. Still, she could only finish 6th grade because that was the last grade at her school. As for most students from rural areas at the time, the only option for her would have been to attend boarding school in a nearby town, but her family did not have the means to pay for her and her seven siblings. At 15, Susana emigrated to Temuco, the closest city to where she lived. As she talked to me about her story, she realized that this part of her life was connected to the experiences of almost 50% of the students enrolled at the SFVS. Susana told me that she had never realized that migration was also part of her story. Since she had never moved to a new country, she had not looked at her experiences from a migratory perspective. But as she talked about herself and the impact it had on her life trajectory, she realized that she shared with the students the practice of leaving home at a young age to seek better socioeconomic opportunities.

Despite her well-meaning views and intentions, Susana's care and concern for the students could not prevent her from developing and expressing harmful stereotypes about Emergent Multilingual Immigrant Students of African Descent (EMISAD). When she saw that I had an eye infection, she kept asking me how I was doing for several days and if I had gone to the doctor. Due to the generally accessible universal public healthcare system in Chile, it is common for different socioeconomic groups to see a doctor for non-life-threatening illnesses. So, Susana asked me again how I felt and gave me unsolicited advice:

> Today, when I was leaving, Susana told me that I had to be careful with the kids because they could transmit strange diseases such as lepra. The Haitian kids that don't get vaccinated, for instance, could transmit things. She said that someone told her this.

> Fieldnotes, November 13th 2021

Susana said she would share this advice with me, although she did not follow it. Throughout history, forms of marginalization and oppression have changed and evolved. Still, one of the most apparent and damaging mechanisms of social exclusion is the creation of the untouchable category. This form of marginalization is widespread today in caste-based societies such as India. In Chile, in the context of the illusion of a homogeneous nation, social hierarchies are recognized based on socioeconomic characteristics such as last name, accent, school or college attended, or neighborhood. While these factors are used to examine SES segregation, marginalization by ethnic-racial characteristics is omitted. However, with the expansion of immigrant communities, ethnic and race-based mechanisms of marginalization can no longer be denied. Unfortunately, immunization rates and poor health outcomes are similar in Venezuela and Haiti (WHO, 2022).

Nevertheless, Susana directly warned me not to touch Haitian students to avoid contagious diseases at a time when the general recommendation was not to touch anyone outside your household to reduce the risk of contracting the COVID-19 virus. Her recommendation and the emergence of the untouchable category in general, are rooted in xenophobic and anti-Black ideas that directly target the Haitian community. At the same time, other immigrant groups with lighter skin color are considered safer to interact with. The following chapter describes ambivalent attitudes, such as Susana's fluctuation between caring and excluding EMISAD.

Throughout this chapter, the aim was to put the Santa Fe Voucher school in conversation with the broad neoliberal education context to illuminate the forces that influence the development of the Zone of Mediation. Systemic barriers imposed by a high-stake accountability system, as well as ingrained values and beliefs that perpetuated the notion of education as a scarce resource influenced the way the school community mediated the diversification process that was triggered when the school started processes of de-privatization by stop charging family co-payment, democratization by eliminating enrollment barriers and a de-marketization through the pause of the voucher founding model. This chapter ends with educators' profiles to highlight the active role played by participants and how their lived experiences guide their motivations for dismantling structural inequality. The following chapters uncover the challenges to enact their resistance.

Chapter 6. Structural Forces: The Limits of Commitment, Hard Work, and Best Intentions

Introduction

Camila's vignette, which constitutes the first section of this chapter, represents a new group of educators who arrived at the school along with the new student body. The efforts to recruit and retain educators like Camila illustrate how SFVS mediated the demographic shift that was triggered in part by the school's equity-oriented focus when it became free and open to all. However, as it will become clearer, the efforts and best intentions of the new group of educators could not protect students from all of the systemic challenges that EMISAD faced. This chapter continues answering the second research question of this dissertation: *In what ways have educators responded to the suspension of market-oriented mechanisms (e.g., voucher funding system) during the COVID-19 pandemic and to the new immigration dynamics? What are the implications of these responses for EMISAD?* And begins to explore the answers of the third research question: *What is the relationship between educators' notions of intersectional identities (e.g., nationality, ethnicity, race, and language) and their aims of building an inclusive school environment?* With this aim in mind, this chapter sheds light on the ways in which the SFVS community experienced and mediated the sudden demographic shift in the school community. It begins by uncovering an experience that is universal to all newcomers to SFVS: their migration journey to Chile. Then, the focus moves to the impact of system level decision on the SFVS by offering an in-depth explanation of the economic impact of enrolling immigrant students. The chapter then moves on to convey routine elements that impact the experiences of all students, such as pedagogical decisions and instructional practices. Finally, at the end of this chapter I present the ways in which the SFVS acts as a site of cultural and social reproduction of nationalist ideology.

The Limits of Inclusion, Personalized by Camila

Camila was hired as a 5th grade Spanish Language Arts teacher at SFVS in 2021, but she has a longer and deeper connection to the school. In 2016, during her second year in college and through the Jesuit University where she completed her teaching degree, Camila began volunteering in a Spanish as a Second Language program that took place at SFVS. This initiative was the first of its kind in Chile. Like everyone else involved in the project, she had not received any professional training for this endeavor. For this reason, she began working on her own motivation to create educational materials for teaching Spanish as a second language to newly arrived Haitian adults. Camila volunteered every Saturday from 5 to 8 p.m. for four years. As she explained, this experience was a way to follow her calling:

> I always felt a calling to work in places where there's a need. Always. It's like it didn't matter: adults, children, women, men. It's like... of course, I have a vocation of service, as if it defines my life, determines it. Like what drives me in life is that.

> Camila, Teacher. Interview, December 17th, 2021

Growing up, Camila envisioned responding to this vocational calling through missionary experiences in Africa or Haiti, but her plans suddenly changed because she realized she could respond to her call in Chile by "helping the Haitian community."

Camila was able to form lifelong bonds with her adult students through relationships that went beyond classroom interactions. She was invited to wedding receptions and became the godmother of the children of her students. Not only did Camila build trusting relationships, but she also became aware of the massive socioeconomic needs of SFVS families. Therefore, when it came time to teach her adult students' children in March 2021, Camila immediately set out to identify the specific needs of her students in order to build a system of support that could enhance the students' learning opportunities. She conducted one-on-one interviews with the families in her advisory class and identified their material needs. She followed an interview protocol provided by SFVS which addressed a variety of topics, from immigration status to economic needs and overcrowding to food allergies. With all of this information, Camila reached out to her social network to connect families with donors.

> I brought beds, refrigerators, stoves, grocery baskets. Throughout the entire month of March, I was taking care of my class, from that perspective: 'a bed is needed, ok. I need this, I need to get that...' And all of that I did in the month of March, but that was something additional, personal, that nobody here at the school knows about, because I also didn't want to share it. But that was the work that I did, because I knew that this work would ensure that the parents and the students would have a commitment, not with me, but a commitment with their learning process. Because they saw that their teacher was genuinely interested in them as whole individuals; it is not just coming to school or get online, but truly interested in their lives. And I knew that would be completely beneficial and productive for my students' learning.

<div align="right">Camila, Teacher. Interview, December 17th, 2021</div>

Camila not only focused on the material needs of her students, but also works with other teachers and specialists at the school to develop a culturally sustaining pedagogy that aimed to support all students to reach their highest potential. According to Paris (2012) "The term *culturally sustaining* requires that our pedagogies be more than responsive of or relevant to the cultural experiences and practices of young people—it requires that they support young people in sustaining the cultural and linguistic competence of their communities while simultaneously offering access to dominant cultural competence." (p.95).

I learned about Camila's efforts not only because I saw her working with her colleagues or because she invited me to observe her classes, but also because I substituted for her class when she had symptoms that forced her to stay home, such as headache. The first time, her 5th grade class had to write a story about their place of origin. This assignment was related to the nonfiction writing unit, which is part of the national curriculum for fifth grade. Students were asked to write about memories of their place of origin, which could be another country, another city or the place where they currently live. At that time, due to Pandemic occupancy restrictions, classes were divided into two groups that alternated attending class two days a week. Among the eight students in the

class, there were five nationalities. The students came from Peru, Bolivia, Haiti, Venezuela and Chile, and wrote about what they did, what they liked, and what they appreciated from their place of origin. In line with recommendations from the literature on culturally responsive pedagogy, this activity gave students the opportunity to talk to their classmates about their country of origin without being singled out as migrants and provided a space for sharing cultural traditions connected to their place of origin. In the second half of the lesson, all students shared their work and emphasized that they had most enjoyed learning about their classmates' interests and the place where they had lived in the past. This pedagogical approach was the result of a collaboration that Camila had developed with Catalina, the school's Spanish as a Second Language coordinator. As Camila explains, their goal was to balance the national academic requirements with the interests and experiences of the diverse student body.

> With Catalina, we planned all the Spanish Language Art classes on a weekly basis based on the different needs of the students, taking into account the PIE students and considering the students who were acquiring Spanish as a second language. So, we had weekly meetings to develop the material. We would get together, have discussions, review content, make proposals, and after agreeing on the proposals, we would create the material. I never did it alone.

> Camila, Teacher. Interview, December 17th, 2021

At the SFVS, all co-teaching initiatives in which teachers participated were based on individual efforts. Teachers did not have time to collaborate, so the school could not oblige them to participate in this process. Nevertheless, Camila participated in this process because she saw her students as complex individuals with special needs. They faced a variety of challenges, and she aimed to incorporate this knowledge of her students' realities to engage in generative processes (Ball, 2009) that allowed her to provide customized educational instruction. However, she encountered several challenges that were beyond her scope of action and therefore prevented her from providing them with the support she would have liked. One of these challenges was some students' resistance to her teaching.

In its annual report on key events, Human Rights Watch denounced that in September 2021 the Chilean police "evicted Venezuelans from a square in the northern city of Iquique, during which there were some acts of violence. The next day, anti-migrant protesters burned personal belongings of Venezuelans living in the streets."(Human Rights Watch, 2021)

After learning about this act of violent act rooted in xenophobic sentiments that prevailed in Chile, Camila planned a lesson in which she wanted to discuss the events with her students.

> I presented [the news], and I explained the situation. Then we went out to the courtyard, and it was about writing: What were the feelings that this generated in us, and what were the wishes we had for this situation to change? Or how could we also contribute? [...]some told me that it wasn't fair, that it wasn't appropriate, that rights were being violated. They were able to identify that because we also work with a rights-based approach. Just in the first unit of the year in 5th grade, in

history, which integrated history, English language, Project-Based Learning (ABP), we focused on children's rights.

<div align="right">Camila, Teacher. December 17th, 2021</div>

But not all students had a positive reaction to Camila's lesson. She shared at Context Council that she worried about one of her students' lack of empathy. Later, during an interview Camila explained that one of her students asked for the rain to stop and Coronavirus to end.

Totally. So, I approach him and asked why he did this activity that made absolutely no sense. And he tells me that he's not the Pope, that he doesn't have to take responsibility for what happens to people, so he's not interested, and he wishes for other things. Things that have nothing to do with the well-being of others because it doesn't concern him, and since it doesn't concern him, he doesn't have to go around wishing for things. That level of apathy...

<div align="right">Camila, Teacher. Interview, December 17th, 2021</div>

Camila could have ignored the students' response and avoided a challenging conversation. After all, apathy was not measured on SIMCE standardized tests, so it had no bearing on her evaluation as a teacher. But because she went above and beyond the requirements of her job, Camila was able to recognize that her student needed support and connect him with the school psychologist to develop a plan that would help him develop empathy and compassion.

Ultimately, Camila's biggest challenge was that her students were leaving the country. On one occasion, I witnessed Camila talking excitedly via video call with a student who had traveled overland to the United States-Mexico border. The student told her that they were surviving on their savings, but she had overheard her parents saying that they were running out of money and did not know if they would have anything to eat next week. As she explained after the conversation, she wanted to cry but held in the joy she felt knowing her student had survived the deadly journey through the Darién Gap and was safe when the conversation was held.

Camila's presence at SFVS illustrates the transformation the school has undergone to adapt to the new reality created by becoming a more inclusive and democratic school. More than 80% of teachers at the school were hired after the demographic change began in 2016, reflecting the new values and goals of the community. In 2015, a teacher did not give EMISAD the books that the Ministry of Education distributes for free to all students in the country. Her reasoning was that the students were not fluent in Spanish and therefore it would be a waste of materials to give them the book. Even though the teacher did not point to ethnoracial exclusion, all of the students who were denied the material were of African descent. That same year, it was common for educators to enforce an unofficial rule that students were not allowed to speak any language other than Spanish in school. The logic of cultural uniformity is rooted in the *mestizaje* aspiration of cultural homogeneity. Again, all students prohibited from speaking their native language were of African descent. The teachers engaging in these practices either left the school or faced dismissal. This created an opportunity to

build a new school community with individuals who were asked their opinion about the increase of the immigrant population in Chile during their hiring interview. Even though, I did not personally observe these racist practices on the part of educators, I did learn about them because they were denounced and condemned by members of the SFVS community. However, what stood out during the fieldwork were the explicitly anti-Black behaviors of the Chilean students, which the educators did not know how to confront. Specificity, most educators either downplayed or ignored anti-Black violence even though they acknowledge the preponderance of this form of harm against EMISAD. As the conceptual frameworks explores, this behavior of deciding to avoid confronting the incidents that anti-Black sentiments and attitudes trigger has been described in the literature as race-evasiveness (Dickar, 2008) and the next chapter details this phenomenon.

The Journey to Chile and the Arrival at SFVS

As the transnationalism frameworks highlight (Schiller et al., 1995; Skerrett, 2015), students' recent migration histories are and influential part of their schooling experiences. Students' migration journeys are fundamental to their lives and teachers' work of educating a significant number of students who have experienced the trauma of forced migration is a new phenomenon that the school community has not experienced in the past. A transnational-oriented understanding of student´s experiences offered educators the possibility to conceive EMISAD as global citizens and fight racialized beliefs around worthiness and deservedness exploited by a neoliberal mode. Educators like Alicia shared that the experience of migrating to another country shaped her view of the students:

> I do feel that migrants in general seem to have lost their fear, they've already stepped out of their comfort zone. They've left their comfort zone, and I really admire the kids, I see them as very brave, always thinking, 'maybe I'll go here or there or back to the [Dominican] Republic'. They talk about adapting, they have a level of adaptation that truly surprises me, and I say this honestly, they have impressive versatility, resilience. Well, I also like to see when connections are formed because I feel that it's hard for them, and they put up a shield to not suffer, to not miss […] And it's very normalized, but it's because they've had to live through that, what else are they going to do? Many of them lost their relatives abroad due to Covid or their grandparents passed away, and they've never been able to grieve properly. I mean, they didn't see their grandfather anymore, you know? […] a lot of strength, there's no time to cry.

> Alicia, Teacher. Interview, October 19th, 2021

The journey that immigrants embark to Chile has substantial variation. Of the participants in this study, some crossed the Atacama Desert and entered Chile through unauthorized entry, while others flew on tourist visas that they overstayed. Some tried to settle in other Latin American countries such as Colombia, Brazil or the Dominican Republic before trying Chile. What most of them had in common was the discrepancy between the expectations they had of Chile and the reality they found. The children who came at a young age only knew what their imagination allowed them to know. One participant thought she was going to China and imagined that she would be trying to

101

adapt to a radically different culture. Those who arrived months or years after their parents usually had an idea of the future that awaited them because their parents had told them what Chile was like. Those who arrived at the beginning of the last wave of immigration and were the first in their family to come to Chile had high expectations of this country. Sam, the cultural mediator at the SFVS, came from an upper middle-class background in Haiti; he and his wife arrived by plane and with savings. When they landed at Arturo Merino International Airport, they were full of hope for a promising future. The place was beautiful, well organized and resembled the architecture of airports in developed countries. There were clean toilets with drinkable water that was freely accessible to all. Coming from Haiti, the country with the least access to clean water and sanitation in the Americas (World Bank, 2023), the contrast was great.

Sam had organized accommodation in *Quilicura*, about 8 miles from the airport. In addition to speaking Creole and French, he spoke perfect English before arriving in Chile and learned Spanish after his arrival. The decision to choose Chile as his future country of residence was the result of extensive research and consideration of other Latin American countries. He ultimately chose Chile because, according to his research, the country scored better than other Latin American options on several indicators. The aggregate data on Chile's development usually makes people envision a Latin American outlier: "The Finland of Latin America" as one Colombian participant described how Chile was perceived by the people she knew in her home country. The higher per capita GDP growth, low infant mortality rate, high minimum income and universal access to free education and health services mask the struggle for social mobility and the great socioeconomic inequalities that earn Chile the title of the country with the second higher income inequality among OECD countries (OECD, 2024). The socioeconomic inequality, which has been linked to the neoliberal economic model the country has embraced, is evident when moving from places like Santiago's international airport to less developed areas like the district of Quilicura, where Sam lived when he arrived. For this reason, Sam's wife regretted leaving Haiti as soon as they arrived in Quilicura. "Chile is very ugly", he recalled her saying.

For educators at SFVS, it was important to know the students' perceptions and their migration stories because these experiences shape too many areas of the students' lives. For Lovelie, an 8th-grade student who had been living in Chile for three years, the circumstances under which she immigrated shaped what she did every day after school.

> **María**: Lovelie, when you came to Chile three years ago, did you come with your whole family?
>
> **Lovelie**: No, I didn't come with my whole family because my mom stayed back in my country, and I came here to Chile with my dad and stepmother.
>
> **María**: I see. Is your mom still in Haiti?
>
> **Lovelie**: Yes.
>
> **María**: Do you talk to her?
>
> **Lovelie**: Yes.

María: Do you miss her?

Lovelie: Yes.

María: Why did you come here?

Lovelie: I came here to start a new life, learn new things, and also to work hard and bring my mom here to Chile and share a new life with her.

<div align="right">Interview, December 1st, 2021</div>

To achieve her goal, Lovelie worked daily as a waitress in a Peruvian restaurant and sent remittances home so that her mother and two siblings could come to Chile. This was one of forces that placed Lovelie in borderland zones (Anzaldúa, 1987). For other immigrant students, working was a response to the inequalities exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic. Although the child labor rate in Chile is lower, 3.8% (Bureau of International Labor Affairs, 2021), compared to the average of Latin American countries 6% (ILO & UNICEF, 2021), it is very likely that the increase in the number of immigrant minors and the conditions created by the COVID-19 pandemic (immigrant families without current migration documents were excluded from government financial support) have created the perfect conditions for the increase in child labor. Although educators were constantly thinking about the dilemmas surrounding students' jobs, they could not come to an agreement on what SFVS could best do to support students in these circumstances and did not receive any external guidance around this topic.

Another new reality that occurred with the changing demographics at SFVS was the need to include immigrant students in spaces of representation. For example, at the end of each trimester, students gathered in the school's amphitheater to participate in an award ceremony. Initially, the student who performed the best academically in each class received a diploma and recognition from the school community. According to Miguel, the Head of School Coexistence, the awards were mostly given to Chilean students when the first immigrant students were enrolled at SFVS. The school administration became increasingly concerned by observing that the group of awarded students did not match the demographics of the school. To encourage the representation of immigrant students, the award ceremony was expanded to include other categories such as punctuality, attendance and effort. In the discussions that educators and school administrators had to select award winners for subjective categories such as effort, the students' circumstances were taken into consideration. Consequently, the 8th grade student honored in 2021 was Lovelie. Neoliberal multiculturalism critics have argued that creating spaces to recognize the merits of those who have been historically marginalized instead of disrupting the processes that trigger the disparities does not break down the roots of inequalities (Melamed, 2006). These efforts run the risk of encouraging the perpetuation of the process of otherness that has excluded immigrant students in the first place, especially when the new categories of recognition have less symbolic value than the original recognition.

As the Head of School Convivence noted, this was not exactly the case at SFVS. Although new categories were created to recognize students with immigrant backgrounds, they soon began receiving awards in categories where they were not

represented in previous years. In 2021, of the 174 students honored from 5th to 12th grade, 74 were immigrants and 38 were specifically from Haiti. The greatest honor a student could receive was the Santa Fe Award, given to one student per grade who not only demonstrated outstanding academic achievement, but also embodied all the values and virtues of the Jesuit community. In 2021, six of the 15 awards given went to immigrant students, three of whom were Venezuelan and three Haitian. Another example of how the SFVS community tried to put its values of inclusion into practice was the selection of students to represent the school at a national debating competition. Students representing the school were informally nominated by teachers, administrators, or previous participants who returned to the tournament. This process without guidelines resulted in two students from Venezuela, one from Colombia and one from Haiti representing the school. After three debates, the debate team reached the semi-finals, losing to the team that won the national competition. This success was announced and celebrated several times. One of these was during a school assembly where the four students stepped forward to receive an award and an ovation on behalf of their teachers and classmates.

As demographics changed, SFVS leaders updated the formal documents governing the goals, values and procedures, as well as the school logo, to reflect the new school community that had emerged. The "promotion of interculturality and respect for diversity as a pillar of healthy coexistence" was included in official documents as one of the school's hallmarks, along with a focus on holistic and excellent education that follows a service-based model in a context of social exclusion.

To meet the new mandate in the documents, educators at SFVS needed to educate themselves on the administrative issues related to the implications and opportunities associated with students' migratory status. In addition to fulfilling the responsibility of assisting students in overcoming the obstacles resulting from their low socioeconomic status (e.g., by arranging for free services or providing scholarships), educators faced a new reality when they realized the additional obstacles faced by undocumented students. The school's social worker, for example, assisted students and their families in determining which public services they were eligible for, and which were denied to them. This knowledge came from informal channels and googled research. In other words, educators were on their own to navigate the new reality they were now encountering and immigrant students relied on the politics of the mood (Thayer Correa et al., 2020).

The mediation of demographic change and the emergence of the new student body followed a colorblind approach (Bonilla-Silva, 2006) and occurred largely without consideration of ethnoracial dynamics, racism, and racialization processes. Still, as will be discussed in depth in chapter seven, every educator in the school community had either witnessed or was aware of violent and overt anti-Black discrimination against EMISAD. Nevertheless, conversations about inclusion, updating documentation policies, or building spaces of representation revolved around immigration status and mostly ignored ethnoracial dynamics.

The Economic Burden of Enrolling Immigrant Students
Once students were enrolled and integrated into the school community, an administrative burden, with financial consequences, emerged. In 2021, 32% of the

student body at SFVS (Chileans + immigrant students) had an *Identificador Provisorio Escolar* (IPE, temporary educational identification number). In SFVS, from 5th to 12th grade, there were 172 Chilean students and 156 immigrant students. Of the immigrant students, 96 students, which represents 61% of the immigrant students, did not have RUN or Unique Identification Number. This makeup has a direct impact on the school's financial state and the access to government benefits because most were restricted only to students who had obtain a permanent residential status and had RUN.

An additional administrative burden in the enrollment of students with a migrant background was the distortion of the school's *índice de vulnerabilidad Escolar* (IVE, School vulnerability index), as many students with a migrant background are missing from the database because they are not registered in the *Registro Social de Hogares* (RSH, Social Household Registry). The RSH is a national database with the socioeconomic data of low- and middle-income families in Chile. To be included in this database and receive a score to access social benefits, the head of household must have a RUN, which is usually the case of the minority of immigrants who maintain their migration documents up to date.

According to the international treaties that Chile has signed, all children in Chile have the right to their migration documents and are entitled to obtain a special visa for residential purposes, regardless of the migration status of the child's caregivers and regardless of how they entered the country. However, only those children whose caregivers are admitted to RSH are eligible for the benefits available to children living in poverty, such as school supplies, meals, technology equipment, and access to health services.

The following explanation from a senior official at the Ministry of Education shows that all these additional exclusions experienced by schools with a high proportion of students from migrant backgrounds are well known at government level:

> Yes, it is structural discrimination at the end of the day. It is true that it is like discrimination on top of discrimination, and we are adding discrimination. This group that you tell me [students with migration documents up to date] because we are going to be super precise with the language. This is the priority, preferential or pro-retention group and for them all funds arrive. This group [undocumented students], we two know that it is extremely precarious, but it is not a group classified as priority and preferential. *It does not exist for the State*; it does not exist.

Karen, High-ranking Official, Ministry of Education. Interview, November 3rd, 2021

During interviews, Karen (along with other officials) pointed out the unwillingness of politicians to explain the inertia in updating norms that were created before the lates migration dynamics emerged. She also emphasized that reluctance to implement change could be found across the political spectrum but noted that state agencies such as the National Migration Service were particularly skeptical of change.

During a conversation with Félix, a senior official at the National Migration Service, I asked in various ways why the Government was failing to guarantee the right

of migrant students to legal migration status, regardless of their parents' migration status or their port of entry into Chile. At one point, I pointed out that this right had been respected in the past.

> **María**: back then [when students received lawful migration status], Chile was also new to migration issues, but there was, I don't know, like a willingness. Resources were allocated, energy was put into it, like it was a campaign.

> **Félix**: Can I tell you something? Migration doesn't sell, inclusion doesn't sell. […] It's true. This is not my personal opinion. Migrant inclusion doesn't sell. What sells are deportations.

> **María**: What do you mean by 'sell,' in what sense?

> **Félix**: Public opinion. Public opinion. […] Because finally, being tough on migrants is well-received.

> **María**: Is that the underlying reason why there are so many obstacles that aren't being removed?

> **Félix**: Yep. Let's see, for example, a visa takes, a permanent residency takes 14 months.

> **María**: Does it take on average that long?

> **Félix**: Permanent residency. Yes, 14 months. Do you see a Chilean waiting for an ID for 14 months? They'd burn down the Civil Registry; they'd burn it down. But migrants also understand that there are rights and duties. […] It's also a very strange thing with migrants because they come from politically, the vast majority, politically unstable countries. In Venezuela, they don't even issue an ID, and in Haiti, there's even less infrastructure, you know? So, what happens? It's a very strange thing because they say, 'you know what? if it takes 14 months, you know, it's not that bad because in 14 months in Venezuela, they would never give me an ID. And the Haitian, don't even mention it, you know?' But on the other hand, it's also related to if someone complains, I could give you this, playing devil's advocate again. You know what? It's a migratory benefit, will you take it? If you don't like it, leave. It's a very ugly view. So, what happens? If you realize, and *Extranjería* (foreign affairs) has hired people, they have modernized, and despite everything, it's still not great, but adding and subtracting, if migrants stood up to protest, then you could make real changes.
> Or maybe, if changes were initiated from below or from above, you know? But neither from up there nor down here, nothing moves, you know? And why doesn't it move here? Because the conditions for migrants, I mean, in Haiti or Venezuela, the children don't even go to school, you know? So here, the child has an IPE [identification number], at least he goes to school, you know? And here, migration, inclusion, and migration. No, it doesn't sell.

Felix, High-ranked Official, National Migration Services. Interview, December 13th, 2021

Following neoliberal logics, the Chilean education system is designed on the premise that high quality education is scarce, and a system based on competitions would better allocate this service (Chubb & Moe, 1990) that has become to be understood as a private good (Labaree, 1997). As the conceptual framework on *mestizaje* and critical race theory detailed, on top of those values lay xenophobic and racist beliefs that are not hidden but overt. These notions create more and less deserving categories of human beings. Current anti-immigrant sentiments are prominent in Chile, and they contrast with the reception to immigrants from Europe that Chile, along with other Latin American countries, experienced in the 20th century in the context of implementing the *mestizaje* White supremacist project (Loveman, 2014) that aimed to whitening the local population and that was successful in imprinting a White racial identity in Chile (Bonhomme, 2023).

Curriculum for Multicultural Education

This chapter has so far shown institutional level barriers and obstacles influencing the schools' community mediation of becoming a more diverse and multicultural community. This section illuminates these dynamics at the classroom level to disclose educators' responses about instructional decision-making processes.

Educators at the SFVS were well aware of the anti-immigrant sentiment in the country and used the few and limited resources at their disposal to counter this national reality. Educators at SFVS did not attend teacher preparation programs that placed an emphasis on educating in culturally and linguistically complex classrooms (Ball, 2009) not even a course with that emphasis. They did attend prestigious teacher preparation programs, but even the prestigious colleges lacked this approach. As mentioned earlier, the professional development programs offered by the SFVS were largely one-size-fits-all initiatives that were also used by the other schools overseen by the Foundation, and again lacked a focus on multicultural and/or anti-racist pedagogies, relevant to serve transnational youth (Skerrett, 2015). However, the experiences of the SFVS educators and the equity-oriented focus of the programs in which they participated provided them with informal guidance on how to apply some culturally sustaining educational principles in their classrooms, without necessarily using this terminology to explain their pedagogical choices.

Farah, a 12th-grade student who has lived in Chile for four years, is a testament to these efforts. When talking about her teachers, she shared her appreciation for Pilar, her math teacher:

> She explains good when I doesn't speak Spanish. That's how it goes, she explains me slowly, we go, and she explains me, she makes signs to understand things. I always used to get a seven [A+] in mathematics […] Because she explains good. I always pass the class. I don't know how it's done that. I don't speak the language and I pass the class.

Farah, Student. Interview November 3rd, 2021

Denise, the special education teacher that sometimes co-taught with Pilar, knew why Farah had always obtained high grades even without speaking the language of instruction:

Pilar starts from the base that she teaches differently to all children, that's her foundation. So, since they are all different, there are many ways to teach. A teacher, when I was in my first year of university professor, told us, 'If a child doesn't learn the way I teach, it's because I didn't teach them the way they learn.' […] I think she's an example of the concept of inclusion. She teaches everyone, teaches for everyone.

<div align="center">Denise, Special Education Teacher. Interview, August, 18h, 2021</div>

While reflecting about Pilar's approach, Denise also used the opportunity to analyze why teachers that are successful in other contexts struggled to adapt to SFVS. In the following quote, Denise uncovers several characteristics of the voucher model such as the "cream skimming practices" applied by selective schools when they are encouraged to compete for enrollment and the lack of value added by the schools that enroll students with high cultural capital backgrounds:

They're prepared to teach those who already know. So, those [teachers] are the ones who don't do well here. If you were, until about five or six years ago, a teacher at the *Instituto Nacional* [a selective and high performing Traditional Public School attended by 17 Chilean past presidents], and you say, 'No, the teachers are really good because the students have excellent scores.' Well, it's like going healthy to the hospital and being told it's the best hospital and leaving healthy. Well, it's not much of an achievement, you know? In other words, it's really a school that selects the intellectual elite. And you feel like a good teacher because you teach them. So, what happens when you bring a teacher like that in here? Everything goes downhill. Here, you have to change, they [students] don't have to change. You have to find a way for them to learn, and if you have to stand on your head or turn off the lights and wear neon clothes to get their attention, you do it, you know?

<div align="center">Denise, Special Education Teacher. Interview, August, 18h, 2021</div>

I saw Pilar walking around the school with a rolling backpack where she carried her students' notebooks, materials, and other artifacts she used in her classroom. I personally struggled when I oversaw emptying the classrooms during break to comply with the Pandemic mandates, because she (and other teachers) constantly stayed in the classroom clarifying students' questions. Still, I wanted to understand from Denise what was exemplary about Pilar's work. According to Denise, Pilar's simple trick was to personalize and humanize (Bajaj et al., 2022) her pedagogical practices:

First of all, she collects the notebooks because she's going to review them. And if you haven't done anything, she takes your notebook and gives you assignments. 'Assignment one, due on the 20th. Five exercises from the material, to be completed in two classes.' 'Assignment two, due on the 23rd.' and so on. Handwritten assignments, with her own handwriting. The students' notebooks have her handwriting. During her advisory or counseling hour with her class, she sat at her desk. With sheets, not even notebooks. And she had each student from her class listed with their names, subjects, and grades, all written by hand, and quickly, on the fly, throughout that hour, she was calling students over. 'Claudio,

come here.' And she conducted a short interview. Three minutes. 'What's going on here? Why is this grade here? Why this note? Why this notation?' 'I don't know'. 'Alright, commitment for next week. And I need you to show me this assignment that you didn't turn in before giving it to the teacher.' And she did this every week. So, she had a... You know, there's no super-duper strategy, do you understand me? There's no monumental strategy or training. It's her, it's her.

<div align="right">Denise, Special Education Teacher. Interview, August, 18h, 2021</div>

An additional note on the practices of inclusion and the pedagogy of caring exercised by Pilar was that Chilean students such as Florencia, also appreciated the support she provided them:

She always looked for ways to help you. I mean, you can ask her the same thing 20 times, and she will answer you and always looks for the easiest way to solve the exercises or something that suits you.

<div align="right">Florencia, Student. Interview, August 22nd, 2021</div>

As a math teacher, Pilar did not adapt her curriculum, but she did adapt her teaching (Skerrett, 2015) with the goal of reaching all students. Other educators experienced the demographic shift differently. Due to the excessive focus on European history, culture, and traditions, linked to the racial project (Omi & Winant, 2015) of *mestizaje* (Loveman, 2014), the Chilean curriculum offers limited opportunities for decolonial pedagogical approaches where Latin American knowledge is learned, appreciated and valued (Marolla-Gajardo & Saavedra Solís, 2021). Therefore, educators had to create spaces and opportunities to contextualize the national curriculum with the experiences and interests of their students, which many of them did. In the following quote, Camila, a Spanish Language Art teacher explains the importance of including all students' national roots to disrupt the excessive focus on the Chile-Europe relationship:

And now, in the third quarter, we created the Latin American recipe book. It's a cookbook that also included the eight countries of the students and was mixed with English, language, history, and the core subject was history. So, in the curriculum, it was the process of conquest and colonization of America, but particularly of Chile. […] And it's impossible, I mean, impossible for them to learn just about Christopher Columbus, Napoleon Bonaparte... No. I can't do that. They have to understand the process. So there, I proposed a project with Catalina. We proposed to the teacher to link the process of conquest in America, not only in Chile, which he did address and specify regarding Chilean culture, the viceroyalty, etc., but then we expanded it. And we extrapolated it to all of America because the majority of Latin American countries were conquered by the Spanish, I mean, invaded but conquered by the Spanish. […] So we were looking at instructional and non-literary text types. We continued working on this, and we're going to create a recipe book. The recipe book will be based on the content we studied in history and language, which is to see how the conquest of America still influences the food of all the countries in Latin America.

<div align="right">Camila, Teacher. Interview, December 17th, 2021</div>

This activity is illuminating in showing how Latin American countries suffered similarly from colonialism, but at the same time each nation-state experienced internal particularities (Loveman, 2014) that lead them to, for example, develop different culinary practices. Such Project Based Learning efforts where the result of individual efforts conducted without institutional support or guidance. However, although the educators made an effort to provide culturally sustaining education, they were also the first to express that the efforts were not institutionalized and were not enough to argue that the students at SFVS were receiving multicultural education. Renato, another Spanish Language Art teacher, tried for a while to design worksheets and assignments based on students' language skills. However, he could not continue with the differentiated work because he lacked the time and support. With regret, he admitted,

> [the SFVS is not a] truly multicultural school, where there are opportunities for students to share their stories and experiences, because up to this point, it hasn't been the case, or very rarely there are opportunities for students and teachers to learn the Creole language and understand aspects of students' lives.

<div align="right">

Renato, Teacher. Interview, August 17th, 2021

</div>

Along similar lines, the school phycologist also shared that diversity, inclusion and multicultural education should not be a superficial endeavor but must permeated all dimension of the daily experiences of students, acknowledging that such was not the case at SFVS.

> I might be very mistaken, but it seems to me that many times we fall into the *cliché* of thinking about mechanisms and dynamics where diversity is supposedly valued, but it's not applied in everyday practice. And everyday practice is what determines the sense of belonging. […] I believe we cannot declare this as an inclusive school if the practices are not in place. That's why I say that many times it stays as a *cliché*, on paper, as if just including diversity in the school's mission and vision is enough. But that's not the real work.

<div align="right">

Maite, School Psychologist. Interview, December 2nd, 2021.

</div>

Maite's critique aligns with scholars that argue that becoming a "diverse" organization does not automatically translate into disrupting the power dynamics that perpetuate practices that further the harm to already marginalized groups (Melamed, 2014). The lack of support and guidance that educators had, as well as the novelty of working in an educational context that was subject to sudden and radical changes, put them in a position to implement strategies that have not been studied or tested. They were constantly busy creating new material and trying out new approaches. Consequently, on the one hand, SFVS students became guinea pigs for the didactic and pedagogical innovations that their educators were trying to implement. On the other hand, despite the best intentions behind these practices, the students' academic progress depended on their teachers voluntarily engaging in these processes. Ultimately, this deprives students of the guaranteed right to an excellent education to which every student is entitled (Gutmann, 1999).

Finally, another obstacle to the implementation of pedagogical practices that could allow students to maintain their cultural heritage mentioned by teachers in a focus group was that some students rejected this efforts due to oppressive structures rooted in nationalism deepen through language ideologies (Rosa & Burdick, 2017) within the *mestizaje* project:

>**Renato:** I also believe that they [EMISAD] prioritize and give value to the Chilean language and culture. It's what you actually see. The more you align with your culture as hegemonic, the fewer problems you'll have and the greater the benefits. You are constantly told to learn Spanish; you'll be able to communicate better to have a better future. And there's nowhere that values, for example, preserving the roots of your identity, your food, your history, your cultural heritage.

>**María:** And here in the school?

>**Renato::** It's difficult, actually. One tries, but the same thing happens as teacher Camilo explains. For example, when I try to find stories or things, there's a certain resistance on their part to look back because, I believe, they see it as a kind of regression, and there's no support from home either because I imagine that parents also, very much in line with what Josefa suggests, try to advance, to become more Chilean, and forget their roots. And that has to do with a purely political act of how multiculturalism has been addressed, not only here at school but at a national level. With the Haitians, the Mapuche, and all the groups that have historically been marginalized, everything points towards an interculturality that includes. But in reality, that should not imply the abandonment of your culture, your language, your roots.

><div align="right">Focus Group, December 16th, 2021</div>

As this conversation denotes, SFVS educators were critical of the multicultural project advanced through the neoliberalism system in which they were immersed. This critical perspective, along with the discontent around the lack of opportunities to provide meaningful educational opportunities to all students are not the norm in context of high presence of ethnoracial diversity. In general, the implementation of multicultural education has confronted the barrier of conceiving this approach as early cultural fairs where students present ethnic dances and share traditional foods (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). In the case of the SFVS community, the efforts have gone beyond the folklorization of immigrant students. A testimony of this is that the code created to capture those dynamics was only applied seven times. Still, as the last section of this chapter shows, there is still a long way to go in the implementation of multicultural education.

Engaging in Nationalism and Resisting it at the Same Time
The critical perspective toward a nationalist curriculum presented in the previous section was not fully adopted in other dimensions of the school life. September 18th is the biggest national celebration in Chile. It is the commemoration of the first government meeting in 1810, which was the first step toward Chile's independence from Spanish rule, achieved 8 years later. The holiday is called *Fiestas Patrias*, which literally

translates as Homeland Festivities. This is one of the most prominent spaces for exercising nation-state building pride in Chile. It is mandatory by law to hang the Chilean flag in pristine condition from all the buildings in the country on September 18th and 19th, they day of the *Glorias del Ejército* (Army Glories) which commemorates the soldiers who have served the country. Although exhibiting the Chilean flag is not strictly enforced, the fine for failing to comply is 40,000CLP, (roughly 40USD) which is about 10% of the Chilean minimum wage. What is sacred, is the celebration of *Fiestas Patriatas* at schools. Students spend weeks preparing the performances they present at a school assembly. Learning the Chilean national dance, *Cueca*, is part of the Chilean curriculum and September is the month for its instruction. With the arrival of immigrant students from neighbor countries, schools began to talk about implementing a festivity that centers around Latin America. Some schools shifted toward performances in which dances from other countries were part of the repertoire. The SFVS followed this approach until 2019, but in 2020, although the celebration took place online, they went back to celebrating only Chilean symbols and created a new celebration to honor traditions and dances from other Latin American countries.

Singing and dancing are the main activities during the celebration. Students rehearse their songs and dances during Music and Physical Education classes. A school assembly is then held the day before the spring break of *Fiestas Patrias*, where the entire community comes together to enjoy the performances. Parents are usually encouraged to attend, but due to health regulations, external visitors were limited in 2021.

One element of socialization that was maintained was that older students (5th to 12th grade) visited younger students (preschool to 4th grade). For the younger students, the *Fiestas Patrias* celebration began with the solemn act of the older students singing the national anthem while the elementary-aged students moved the Chilean flags they had created.

Figure 15 *Fiestas Patrias's Celebration at SFVS*

Source: Photo Taken by the Author

During the ceremony, the students in the picture looked happy and proud as they displayed the Chilean flag they had made. This scene shows that the activity had a clear assimilationist and nationalist component rooted on *mestizaje* values and beliefs. Another sign of Chilean hegemony was that the gym where the assembly took place was decorated with the flags of different Latin American countries, with the Chilean flag taking center stage and in some cases being eight times larger than the other flags. Latin American countries have inherited from the *mestizaje* whitening project the emphasis on national symbols, rituals and the centering of nationality over all other descriptions of identity (Loveman, 2014). Chile, as the conceptual framework explored, is no exception to this phenomenon, schools as an institution plays a central role in the indoctrination and racialization processes (Leonardo et al., 2022). In other words, these rituals serve to reinforce notions of superiority and perpetuate nationalist values and beliefs.

This setting contrasted with the song that students from 7th grad had prepared to share with their younger classmates. Led by the music teacher, they sang and performed a song that promoted the values of equality and harmony among Latin American countries:

" Somos Americanos"	*"We Are Americans"*
Si somos americanos	*If we are Americans*
Somos hermanos, señores	*We are siblings, gentlemen*
Tenemos las mismas flores	*We have the same flowers*
Tenemos las mismas manos	*We have the same hands*

113

Si somos americanos	*If we are Americans*
Seremos buenos vecinos	*We will be good neighbors*
Compartiremos el trigo	*We will share the wheat*
Seremos buenos hermanos	*We will be good siblings*
Bailaremos marinera	*We will dance the "marinera"*
Refalosa, zamba y son	*"Refalosa," "zamba," and "son"*
Si somos americanos	*If we are Americans*
Seremos una canción	*We will be a song*
Si somos americanos	*If we are Americans*
Seremos una canción	*We will be a song*
Si somos americanos	*If we are Americans*
No miraremos fronteras	*We will not look at borders*
Cuidaremos las semillas	*We will take care of the seeds*
Miraremos las banderas	*We will look at the flags*
Si somos americanos	*If we are Americans*
Seremos todos iguales	*We will all be the same*
El blanco, el mestizo, el indio	*The white, the mestizo, the indigenous,*
Y el negro son como tales	*And the black are all the same*
Bailaremos marinera	*We will dance the "marinera"*
Refalosa, zamba y son	*"Refalosa," "zamba," and "son"*
Si somos americanos	*If we are Americans*
Seremos una canción	*We will be a song*
Si somos americanos	*If we are Americans*
Seremos una canción	*We will be a song*

Although the great contrast between the decoration and the text made the recital of the song seem performative, at the heart of the difference was the lack of institutional consistency in what it means in practice to act on the values stated in the institutional documents on inclusion, diversity and being a multicultural school.

Only one person was involved in the decision-making process that culminated in the selection of the song. Camilo, the music teacher who rehearsed the song with all the grades he teaches, spoke about the way he analyzed the lyrics with the students as he reflected on the process.

Camilo: I had to find a song that would be fitting for the school, and yes, "Somos Americanos."

María: Did you discuss it?

Camilo: Yes, we read the song. There was a class where we dedicated ourselves to reading the song, and I asked them, 'Alright, kids, what does it invite us to do? What's the message?'

María: And what did they say?

Camilo: 'We're all siblings, teacher, we have to treat each other well.' I said, 'Yes, why would you fight?' 'No, teacher. Here, before, they used to fight

because some were Haitians, and others were Chileans.' So, I spent at least half of a class reading and discussing what message the lyrics convey. I do the same with Violeta Parra's songs as well.

Interview, December 14th, 2021

When I asked members of the school community about the nationalistic focus of the September 18th celebration, they responded, sometimes defensively, that the multicultural celebration to be held in October was the space to develop appreciation for traditions from different Latin American countries.

During the school assembly to celebrate the Latin American culture, Miguel, the Head of School Coexistence, followed a neoliberal multiculturalism stance (Melamed, 2006) when he addressed the audience and described the school's diversity as a privilege and an opportunity.

> There is a unique beauty in this community, and therefore, an important fact. 3%. That is, 3 out of every 100 schools. Only 3% of schools across all of Chile have the level of cultural diversity that we have here at Santa Fe School. In other words, 3 out of 100 schools have this diversity, this cultural richness. You have the opportunity to interact with students and peers who come from different backgrounds, different cultures, those who come from abroad, those who have been here for a while, and those who have recently arrived and have been welcomed by them. You have the luxury and privilege of being part of one of those schools in the 3% that possess this richness from which you can learn day by day, making you more tolerant, more empathetic, and more generous.

Miguel, Head of School Coexistence. School Assembly, October 14th, 2021

Despite the positive tone of the speech, the September 18th celebrations and the Latin American celebrations differed considerably in several aspects. These differences highlighted the same message of national superiority conveyed by the different size of the flags in the younger students' building. First, the Latin American celebration did not receive nearly as much attention as the Chilean celebration in terms of the amount of time reserved for preparation and execution of the performances. While the 18th celebrations took up an entire school day, the Latin American celebrations lasted two 45-minute class periods. Secondly, the two celebrations also had a different significance for the Voucher Management Organization. While two of the seven board members attended the *Fiestas Patrias* celebration, no honored guests visited the school in October. Third, the professionalism, preparation, and dedication of the teachers and students who performed during the *Fiestas Patrias* celebration was also notably superior. Finally, it also played a role that the end of the *Fiestas Patrias* celebration marked the beginning of spring break. All the time and energy invested in preparing for the performance of high-quality dances and musical acts would be recouped during the break that the school community enjoyed. At the end of the Latin American celebration, all students and teachers had a 10-minute break before resuming normal classes.

Hosting a celebration to commemorate the students' shared Latino roots was another way to communicate the demographic change the school had experienced.

However, despite efforts and good intentions of educators, the contrasts between the celebrations conveyed the message that Chilean traditions were more important, which perpetuated the nationalistic beliefs and values that were prevalent in Chile. The following chapter dives deeper into these phenomena.

Chapter 7. Intersectional Identities and the Systems of Oppression that Individuals are Unable to Contest

Before I introduce the last chapter of the findings section of this study, I would like to offer the reader a violence content warning. Chapter seven present explicit descriptions of the anti-Black brutality experienced by members of the Santa Fe Voucher School community and being exposed to this content might be triggering. I offer these descriptions to contest the myth of racial democracy and harmony at the center of the *mestizaje* whitening project, uncover the school communities' response to anti-Black and anti-immigrant racism, and to illuminate possibilities for disrupting the systems that enable the violence to go uncontested. I am aware of the pain that emerges from becoming aware of these accounts because I felt deep emotions as I witnessed how anti-Black violence operated at SFVS. Still, advancing racial progress will not be possible without shedding light on the lived experiences of EMISAD in Chilean schools.

Introduction

Just as the teachers at SFVS were not given the pedagogical tools to work in culturally and linguistically complex classrooms (Ball, 2009), they had not learned about the restorative justice approach to conflict resolution, and they did not have access to anti-racist literature, which impacted the way they confronted the racism that was taking place before their eyes. Given their lack of training in interrupting harmful power dynamics, the high level of appreciation from students (Pedemonte et al., 2023) was a source of cognitive dissonance that could be explained by what educators had in abundance: love for their students. Their care and kindness ranged from the way they addressed them to the pain educators felt when they saw a student being threatened.

Still, love, care and appreciation at SFVS were not enough to break through the barriers EMISAD faced in the forms of systemic racism, intersectionality and racialization processes described in the conceptual framework of critical race theory (Bell, 2018; Crenshaw, 1991; Crenshaw et al., 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Zuberi & Bonilla-Silva, 2008). In a socio-political context stifled by neoliberal (Melamed, 2015), xenophobic and anti-Black values and beliefs the work of individuals is unable to dismantle harmful hierarchies that are deeply embedded in society in general and people's mindsets in particular.

With this framework as guidance, chapter seven aims to answer the third research question of this dissertation: *What is the relationship between educators' notions of intersectional identities (e.g., nationality, ethnicity, race, and language) and their aims of building an inclusive school environment?* Consequently, this chapter addresses ethnoracial dynamics, revealing that ethnoracial myths associated with the White supremacist project of *mestizaje* are prevalent in the school and prevent educators from disrupting and eradicating anti-Black sentiments and violence that impact EMISAD. Based on a deep appreciation for the adults in their school community, EMISAD justified the neglectful response of their educators when students experience explicit ethnoracial discrimination. Continuing with the logic of analyzing the school community's mediation (Welner, 2001) of the demographic change triggered by equity-oriented policies, this chapter focuses on three aspects where educators' efforts were either absent or mostly inadequate to support EMISAD. The first is the experience of failing to educate students with limited or interrupted formal education which is a phenomenon that no one in the

SFVS community knew about. The second was the miseducation of emergent multilingual students, which was also a new phenomenon in Chile. The third, is the neglectful response the school community deployed to disrupt physical and psychological violence against students of African descent.

Students with Limited or Interrupted Formal Education: SLIFE

Among all the recent literature that explores and analyzes the experience of immigrant students in Chile (see Córdoba-Calquin et al., 2022; Joiko, 2019; Moyano Dávila et al., 2020; Valledor et al., 2020), the theme that is constantly missing is the way Chilean teachers are serving students with limited or interrupted formal education, SLIFE. In the SFVS, all students who had been deprived of accessing formal schooling were from Haiti. Miguel, the Head of School Coexistence summarized the circumstances of one student who had been a victim of this phenomenon in the following terms:

> Evens has an issue with inclusion. Evens is like many Peterson's. There are several students who have faced significant problems because the issue of their inclusion is not resolved, as these students still haven't learned to read or write. So, they end up just hanging around in the classroom. […] We're only looking at the Spanish issue, and we're not addressing it effectively because the kids are not progressing. So, I do believe that there is indeed a general debt, both from the school and the system. These are the kids who end up dropping out because we push them out with a working format that leaves them on the sidelines. We don't have anyone who can accompany them, take care of them.

<div align="right">Miguel, Head of School Coexistence. October 28th, 2021</div>

In addition to the lack of literature, there is also no official data on the reality of SLIFE in Chile, thus we do not know how many students are in this condition. Still, Miguel's words denote a deep understanding of the broad phenomenon and the consequences it has on students. However, this knowledge does not come with the tools to address it in the form of extra resources necessary to better serve these students.

In Chile, immigrant students are always placed in the grade they belong in based on their age, and schools are expected to determine grade level based on academic background. In practice, SFVS has requested that students remain in the grade they belong in based on their age when submitting paperwork for validation of studies. This explains why Evens was in 6th grade without having acquired literacy skills needed to read and write. Evens' situation regarding academic lag was not an isolated incident, but at the SFVS, he was known for disrupting classes and getting into conflicts with classmates. The conversations of teachers and administrators constantly revolved around him because he had gotten into trouble or because one of the many vulnerabilities he was exposed to had been uncovered. His case was well known among educators, especially because three brothers attended SFVS in 2021. Due to the pandemic, home visits were more frequent because it was the only way to get in touch with students who could not be reached by phone or email. Usually, these were the students with the most urgent needs, so the educators visited them at home to bring them food baskets or offer other types of support. That is how Pilar, the advisory teacher of Evens' older brother, found out that the family had moved to a *toma*, an occupation were families took over a piece of land and build mostly unstable houses. Evens lived in a house without a floor. The family of

<div align="right">118</div>

seven, which included a newborn, lived on the dad' income working in construction which was not enough to make ends meet. At the SFVS, there were numerous efforts to provide economic support to struggling families, and there was also preoccupation about providing academic support for SLIFE, but the concern rarely materialized into sustainable measures. A testament of this was that despite all the displays of affection that Evens constantly received, he was still not able to read or write neither in Spanish nor in his home language, Creole. This condition was impossible to ignore once his behavior had triggered the presence of the police in the SFVS.

Unlike in the United States, the police presence in Chilean schools is very rare, and at SFVS there have been deliberate efforts to avoid police involvement in school matters. Therefore, when two police officers showed up at the school in late October after students had been dismissed, their presence caused commotion and confusion among members of the school community who had gathered in the main hallway. The officers had come to the school because the parents of a 6th-grade student had called them to report that their daughter had been sexually assaulted by Evens, who was in the parallel class.

According to Sam, the cultural mediator and inspector in charge of 5th and 6th grades, two girls had complained to him during third recess that Evens had touched them inappropriately. One student said the incident had happened in the past and the other student, Giselle, said it had happened during the day. Later that day, Sam spoke with Evens and told the boy that his behavior was inappropriate. To make sure the students understood the message clearly, Sam spoke to the Haitian students in Creole when discussing relevant matters such as this situation. This was one of the only instances in which emergent multilingual students had access to inclusive language practices in their first language. Still, the practice was enacted almost only for disciplinary purposes. In other words, most of the times students heard anything in Creole from someone in a position of authority in the school, was when they were being reprimanded.

On the day of the incident, Giselle's father angrily entered the school at dismissal time, announced that he had called the police, and began speaking to Giselle's advisory teacher and Miguel, the Head of School Coexistence, while Giselle cried beside them. When the police arrived, she asked the principal for the student's age before intervening. Because Evens was younger than 14, he was not chargeable under Chilean law. The officers said that the incident should be dealt with within the school walls and left the school. The school principal and Miguel then spoke to Giselle's father. He calmed down and even apologized for his impulsiveness; he said he did not want any undue punishment for Evens, but he wanted his daughter to be protected.

As with several other occasions I have observed, the school community was once again faced with the moral dilemma of providing a safe space for all students while creating educational opportunities to prevent dropout (Stevenson, 2007).

Enacting a democratic approach to problem solving, two days after the incident, the principal convened an extraordinary council attended by all teachers who taught Evens' class to discuss the incident from different perspectives and participate in decision-making for the future. Offering school communities decision-making spaces with resolution power is not the norm in the education system but was common at SFVS.

Still, Liliana, Evens' advisory teacher, had low expectations for the meeting. She thought she would have to stand up for Evens to avoid expulsion. After the meeting, she said she was surprised by the tone the meeting took.

The following vignette draws from fieldnotes I took during the meeting, which occurred at the end of October of 2021. The session began with Maite, the school psychologist, giving an account of what had happened. She drew on the teachers' accounts and also on interviews conducted with the girls. She emphasized that the incident took place during a game between friends. However, the girls felt that their intimacy was compromised because Evens had overstepped boundaries. Miguel said that based on the Coexistence Manual, the case was well taken, especially with regards to supporting Giselle. Adopting a humanizing approach to working with EMISAD, (Bajaj et al., 2022) he later clarified that he did not use the word "victim", because he did not want to speak of victim and aggressor, as both students were children. The effort to protect Evens' right to be treated as a child was addressed by several other educators before and after the incident and it is a testament of one of several humanizing practices that the school community practiced. Giving Black boys the opportunity to be treated like children isn't always the case in the United States as African American boys are regularly perceived as older and therefore more deserving to be transferred to adult courts than their non-African American peers of the same age (Zane et al., 2022). This is one way of illustrating that Black boys have been ripped from their humanity and childhood because "we have created a world in which Black boys cannot *be*" (Dumas & Nelson, 2016, p. 28). This means that there is an existential contradiction between being Black and possessing the innocence of a child because in this world those realities are fundamentally opposed.

Once the context was clarified, the conversation moved to identifying systemic barriers and contextual information that might influence Evens' actions. Bárbara, a teacher, raised the issue of exclusion because the student could not read and write. Another teacher said it was important to consider the previous incidents he had been involved in. This was the only moment where it felt like the conversation was tailored to Evens' characteristics, rather than focusing on the systemic factors that have shaped him.

Most of the conversation from then on centered around the academic exclusion that the boy had experienced. Catalina, the Spanish as a Second Language coordinator, said that Evens was a marginalized boy who engaged in disturbing behavior to prevent people from noticing that he can't read or write. She suggested that if the decision taken implied that he would stay in the school, they should develop a plan to support him. Because Evens had already repeated a grade "we should be responsible of integrating him" Catalina suggested.

Renato, another teacher also shared that he did not think that Evens did not want to work or make progress because *"when I hand out work to him, he does what he can. So the effort is there."* Renato also pointed out that several educators in the school have been worried about him and were making sure he did not lack food or clothes.

Evens' advisory teacher, Liliana, used clear language to express the most difficult dilemma about the boy: Evens would be in 7th grade the following year and he can't repeat a grade because he did 5th grade two times already. Staying at a grade for the

second time was very likely to trigger Evens to drop out of school. The impossible situation was that he should not be in 7th grade if he could not read or write, and the end of the school year was one month away. She was emphatic in sharing that the school has to support him and can't abandon him, but there had to be an equilibrium between supporting him and sending the sign that inappropriate behavior will not be tolerated. "*He cant be unpunished.*" She concluded.

Moving the conversation toward a discussion about the character of the school and the resources to work in the context where the SFVS is located, Paulina, Giselle's advisory teacher asked the whole group: *We have a multicultural school, but do we have the tools to work the multiculturality?*

This question opened the tensest moment of the entire meeting. What distinguished SFVS as a multicultural school, besides the fact that it has students of different nationalities, was the Spanish as a Second Language Program, which was the first of its kind in Chile. When it was introduced in 2018, the program was seen by SFVS educators as the magic bullet to boost the academic progress of multilingual students. Three years later, disappointment with the program's success was widespread among educators and Catalina, the program's coordinator, was blamed for the "lack of literacy skills" that some students in the program still had. This accusation erupted when Bárbara scolded Catalina, and confronting her with a tone that expressed frustration and anger: *I would like to ask you, Catalina, does he have any problem? A neurological problem? Because if he does not, why doesn't he know how to read or write?*

Catalina responded calmly that Evens never went to school in Haiti and arrived three years ago. When he arrived, he did not know how school's dynamics worked with regards to teachers, expectations, breaks and all other components of navigating a school. Catalina said that he learned the grammar of schooling in his first year, and when he was going to start 5th grade for the second time the COVID-19 pandemic hit, and some students like him, did not engage in school related work for 17 months (OECD, 2022). For that reason, Catalina continued, academically he was in the same place he was at the end of his first year, in 2019. Finally, she also said that if he was to stay in the school, he would need extra support and specified that Evens did not want others to note his "*weakness,*" so, she argued that a good approach would be to have an educator working with Evens one-on-one, to protect from the feeling of being exposed in his "*weakness.*" Catalina's choice of words and the repetition of the term when she talked about Even's lack of reading and writing skills is related to the idea that an arduous journey lies ahead of her to help Evens overcome his "*weakness*". As this case shows, Evens´ circumstances and reality are the result of centuries of colonialist exploitation of Haitians (Casimir, 2020; Dubois, 2004; Henochsberg, 2016), first on the hands of the French colonial empire, and now in the hands of racial capitalism. These, together with U.S. interventionist policies (A. Hochschild, 2012) have blocked the country's development and the possibility of peace and prosperity (Obregón, 2018).

The meeting ended with a call to uphold the dignity of all students involved in the incident. On the one hand, Liliana, Evens' advisory teacher, invited everyone in the room to reflect on the fact that during the *Fiestas Patrias* celebrations, Evens' clothes were soaked when we arrived at school, but he attended school because he had to dance *Cueca*

and play the xylophone: this was a clear example of his commitment to comply with his responsibilities and his attachment to the school community.

Estefanía, a teacher, on the other hand, pointed out that Evens needed to understand that what he had done was wrong and that he therefore needed to *"bow his head"* and apologize in order to begin a reparation process for the students that were disturbed. She added that any parent would have done what Giselle's father did. When the reparation process came up, Maite emphasized that it was important to point out that this all happened in the context of peers, where there is not one perpetrator and one victim. The educators also agreed that the conversation and incident needed to be handled with the utmost confidentiality, especially given the initial distress.

Evens was home for two weeks before resuming school with the new program. During that week, he supported his mother's work at the flea market where she sold secondhand items.

Before his return, I documented in fieldnotes that Pilar, the custodial staff member, said that "*the school must take responsibility [for Evens' learning], they cant ignore it.*" And they did not. Catalina adjusted her schedule, cutting back on group work to block out four hours a week for individual work with Evens. That was the maximum she could offer to continue supporting other students at the school. In addition, an external psychologist was hired to work exclusively with Evens. The psychologist who would work with Evens charged 10,000CLP (about 10USD) per session, knowing that resources were scarce in the SFVS context. This borderline voluntary support was facilitated because the psychologist's brother was Miguel's former student from his time teaching at the Jesuit private school. As with other services, this informal way of accessing professional skills created a dependence on the individual's networks a reliance on the politics of the mood (Thayer Correa et al., 2020) denying the right of a baseline support that students like Evens need.

That plan that was in place for Evens provided significant personalized support, but there were several time slots of his schedule that were not covered, so I was asked to work with him during those times. I admitted that I lacked knowledge and experience in this area, but I was still the best option available to him at the school. In total, we worked 6 hours a week, spread from Monday to Friday.

I was explicitly told that I should start from the very beginning, which was letter recognition and tracing exercises. We used two books, one with a focus on reading and another with a focus on writing. The reading book was the same workbook that has been used for several generations in the Chilean education system to teach students how to read: *El Silabario*. While *El Silabario* uses the phonics-oriented framework to propitiate learning the sound of each letter, the writing book had a focus on latter tracing.

The detrimental effects of errors arising from the good intentions of educators are a salient finding of this investigation. Like other school community members facing constrains and lacking the tools to support their students, I could also see myself making mistakes. I was advised to frame our work as a revision of basic content (rather than learning basic content) to avoid exposing his poor literacy skills, because confronting this reality might trigger resistance in him. I had heard several times that I should assume that

he had not developed the literacy skills needed to read and write and therefore our work together should begin with learning the alphabet and the sound of each letter. I listened to this suggestion taking into account that everyone has literacy (Scribner & Cole, 1978), and everyone has language (Veronelli, 2015), and those should be contextualized considering the person' circumstances. In our first session, we opened the writing book to the first page and the first activity was for the students to write their names and their parents' names. In an act of complete carelessness, I asked Evens to complete the first page. He was able to write his name, but not his parents'. Consequently, my prompting forced him to hide his that he lacked the literacy skills required to write his parents' names; he said he could not remember his parents' names. My mistake was based on the assumption that even students who cannot yet read and write know how to write their names and their parents' names, especially considering that Evens had already been in the Chilean education system for three years. This mistake forced Evens to resort to the multitude of strategies he had had to develop to navigate the world, hiding not his weakness, but the weakness imposed on him by a racist, competitive, unjust and individualistic social order, that had constantly failed him. After this relevant impasse, I accepted the idea that our work together in terms of teaching would be the same as the work a kindergarten teacher begins on the first day of school. The challenge, of course, was to protect his dignity and self-esteem, which was under attack every time he realized that people around him noticed he could not read or write.

In the first week working together (starting on November 15th, 2021), I noticed and documented on fieldnotes that the way Evens held the pen looked uncomfortable for him, as he seemed to be straining hard to get the pen into the workbook. He was squeezing the pen with his thumb and ring finger and hugging the pen with his index and long fingers. When I asked Pilar, the custodial staff member if she had ever heard of anything like this, she knew exactly what I was talking about and what could be done about it. Pilar had three grown-up children who had struggled at school, and she had supported them with the means at her disposal. Her father died when she was 13 and she had to drop out of school to support her mother, who was taking care of her three-year-old sibling. That's why Pilar finished high school shortly before the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic. When one of her children had difficulty holding a pencil, making it difficult to write properly, Pilar used a rubber band to attach the pencil to her child's hand in the correct position and recommended that I do the same because it had worked well for her child. At first, I was deeply hesitant about this suggestion, so I wondered what the reason for this hesitation was. After realizing that I was devaluing Pilar's ancestral knowledge because I thought the technique was not based on "scientific knowledge", and after acknowledging that I would have tried the technique on my own children, I decided to suggest this approach to Evens. It took three sessions for Evens to get used to holding the pen so that he could write better. His hand relaxed, he no longer pressed the pen so hard on the paper and he was able to improve in the calligraphy exercises. He also kept his upper body further away from the workbook, which improved his back posture.

Evens always had the best attitude and willingness to work during our sessions. He was eager to get directly to reading and writing and never complained about the amount of work I asked him to do. He came punctually to the office where our

encounters took place and completed the homework, I assigned him for the next session. Two weeks into the personalized sessions, tears started to roll down his face whenever he was focused and working hard on an exercise. He would also express gratitude for the opportunity he was having. When I said *gracias* to him for all his effort, he would reply that he was the one who should be thanking me.

As stated earlier, Evens is a case like many others. His situation is not exemplary, but represents a phenomenon that schools are failing to address. As the contextual framework highlights, the work, or lack thereof, with SLIFE is reproducing and perpetuating centuries-old colonial logics of oppression and social exclusion (Fanon, 2021).

Mediating Linguistic Diversity

This section illuminates the implementation of the Spanish as a Second Language program at the SFVS. Within neoliberal logics rooted in the principles of competition and limited spending, schools are encouraged to attract the students that are easier and cheaper to educate (Bellei, 2015). As previous sections showed, to address the disparities trigger by the model (Carnoy, 1998), several special subsidies have been implemented in Chile to make it more atractive to enroll students from low SES background or students with special need, for example (Bertoni et al., 2023). Nonetheless, when data collection took place, schools were completely left on their own to implementing programs to teaching Spanish as a second language. Additionally, schools did not receive extra resources, nor guidance to support the work of teachers in culturally and linguistically complex classrooms (Ball, 2009). This section shows how the SFVS tried to resist neoliberal logics that encourage schools to exclude students that are harder to educate but failed to guarantee emergent multilinguals total inclusion. In other words, the school opened its doors and tried to implement a program to support EMISAD, but the efforts fell short.

Surviving mode

In March 2017, Tatiana was eager to start her professional journey. All the factors were perfectly aligned, and she was about to start a dream job. After graduating with a teaching degree and a specialization in Spanish Language Arts at the elementary school level from the *Universidad Católica*, the country's most prestigious university, Tatiana had two job offers. One was a position at a private school near her home, and the other was as a second-grade classroom teacher at Santa Fe Voucher School. The fact that she had graduated from a school similar to SFVS influenced Tatiana's decision-making process. As a recent college graduate, she sought the professional satisfaction of using her academic skills to make a positive contribution to a low-income community similar to the one she grew up in. At her job interview, she was told that a significant number of the students in her class would be multilingual. What no one knew at the time was that of the 38 students in her class, 18 were learning the language of instruction, and many of them had started this learning process a few weeks before the school year began because they had recently arrived in Chile from Haiti.

Tatiana recalled that while the chaos in the classroom was overwhelming, the suffering of her students because they could not communicate their immediate needs was anxiety-ridden and in some cases dehumanizing. One of the examples she cited was a

student who urinated on himself in the classroom because he did not know how to ask permission to go to the restroom and because she could not understand the child's need to use the restroom. The frustrations she was experienced were enhanced by the fact that at her elite university she never learned about multilingual classrooms:

> [regarding] migrants who don't speak the same language, I had never read anything from any author on that, you know. And the focus of the Catholic University is also like, theory always leads to practice, and it's continually revitalized and reviewed, you know. So for me, it was very complex because I was used to be like, 'Okay, this is the theory, and I apply it in practice, and I see what fits and what doesn't according to reality.' But here, I had no theoretical framework to turn to. So it was very, very distressing in the first semester, especially the first few weeks, the first month.

Tatiana, Teacher. Interview, May 31st, 2019

The linguistic diversity was the most prominent identifying feature within the migrant student community at SFVS and the one that drew the most attention from educators when the number of migrant students increased abruptly in 2017. During this time, important adjustments had to be made and relevant aspects taken into account, such as the students' precarious socioeconomic conditions, the traumatic experiences they had had during their migration journey or the overt anti-Black attitudes that emerged. In a neoliberal system that constantly deprives challenged school communities from the resources they need, the SFVS did not have the necessary means to address important issues and had to focus all its attention on urgent matters. The lack of guidance and past experiences led some teachers to make decisions that were unreasonable, as Inés, the school principal, recalls.

> I believe that the migrant population arrived, mostly Haitian, and we didn't know what to do. The teachers of that time here used to give the children all twos [F]. Everyone got a two, 'they don't know, a two.' 'But if they don't speak Spanish, how can you give them a two?'

Inés, Principal. Interview, December 17th, 2021

Some of the teachers who gave students only twos (the lowest grade students receive in Chile) left the school, but those who stayed describe 2017 as the year they survived and gathered individual creativity that could allow them to communicate without words. It is important to contextualize that for many members of the school community, this was their first first-hand experience with someone who speaks another language. The *mestizaje* rooted idea that Chile was a homogeneous country in cultural terms (H. Gutiérrez, 2010) is a myth in that several indigenous communities coexist in this country. However, if there is one cultural dimension in which the calculated and systematic policy aimed at creating a monolithic culture was successful, it was language. Unlike other Latin American countries with predominantly indigenous communities that have maintained or initiated successful language revitalization processes (Guerrettaz, 2020), the post-independence nation-building process focused on the construction of a unified and monolithic notion of Chileanidad. The fairy tale that permeated the social imaginary could only be realized by erasing any symbol of differentiation between the

members of the new Chilean Republic. To this end, indigenous peoples throughout Latin America were subjugated from most aspects of their cultural identity, such as religion and language, and forced to convert to Catholicism and speak Spanish (García, 2008). Although political efforts have been made in Chile to revitalize indigenous language (Becerra-Lubies et al., 2021), these instruments have not been able to challenge the notion that Chilean citizenship can be obtained through assimilation to an ideal culturally homogeneous group. This historical account provides nuances that explain the new reality that educators found at the beginning of the demographic shift. Additionally, Constanza's account shows how the school (and the system in which the school is embedded) failed the students who could and could not speak Spanish.

> We worked with signs and writing. There was a time when many people from Haiti came who hadn't been schooled, so they didn't know how to write either. Even if they wanted to communicate, they couldn't write. Trying to understand and connect ideas. […] Then, more people started coming, and of course, there was a child who had a higher level of Spanish. He was the translator for the others, but it was also exhausting for the child because he was already struggling, so always to be used... In fact, there was a year when there was only one Haitian kid who had been here for a long time, and they used him as a translator for the entire school: a boy.

Constanza, Teacher. Interview, November, 30th, 2021

As the SFVS went through an experience that was unprecedented at national level, a process of trial and error was initially chosen, which led to the implementation of various initiatives. From the point of view of democratic education (Gutmann, 1999), this approach once again reflects the politics of the mood (Thayer Correa et al., 2020); it shows that emergent multilingual students were left to their fate and the goodwill of the school community that welcomed them, without any guidance from the Chilean State. In this sense, leaving access to educational opportunities to chance is the opposite of viewing access to quality education as a social right.

As Constanza describes, the first response was to rely on sign language, and the second was to use one student as a translator for the whole school. Thirdly, the first institutional and official action was to note in institutional documents that the school had become an intercultural community. The next action, resulting from a request from teachers, was to offer the school community a course in Creole, the language spoken by most emerging multilinguals. The role of cultural mediator was then created and an educator from Haiti was hired to take on this role. Finally, in 2018, SFVS became one of the first schools in Chile to implement a Spanish as a second language program to support multilingual education.

Educators had high expectations of the Spanish as a second language project. Teachers believed that students' progress in learning Spanish would accelerate dramatically and that they would not only become fluent in Spanish, but also improve their reading and writing skills. Nonetheless, the resources to make the progress the teachers expected were not available. The school administration only had the resources to hire a single Spanish as a second language specialist with a master's degree in didactics to work with more than 100 students. In addition, the school administration could not

provide teachers with time to work with Catalina because the school did not have the funds to pay teachers for the extra work it involved. Thus, the broken financial structures of the voucher model once again forced the school community to engage in voluntary and unpaid work to take advantage of the presence of Catalina and improve the educational experience at EMISAD.

Several teachers worked with Catalina, but as the principal explains, the program was too expensive and could only be sustained for three years.

> We are largely driven by enrollment, and that's why there is the tension or the request that I make to the board to say that I understand that we operate based on enrollment. But also, put yourselves in the position of a school like this. I can't demand more results from people if I see that we are always haunted by enrollment issues. For example, ESEL, it's a project that's ending now. Today I had to let Tatiana [the project's coordinator] go. She leaves the school because we can't sustain it. We can't sustain it because I can't allocate paid hours to the teachers to work with the ESEL program, I don't have the funds for that. So, what should I do there?

> Inés, Principal. Interview, November 17th, 2021

Among many other, one of the dangers of the voucher model resides in the system's inability to provide the resources that schools with special needs require to support the students they serve. The next section shows that even though there have been efforts in the past to correct the imperfections of the market-oriented system (J. P. Valenzuela & Montecinos, 2017) to make it more attractive for schools to enroll all students, any attempt of providing extra support for immigrant students was politically damaging.

Institutional Barriers Rooted in Myths

In previous sections I have shown strong structural barriers that obstruct the work of schools in supporting EMISAD: lack of funding, inadequate teacher preparation, administrative negligence, etc. In this section, I show the role of barriers that are rooted in believes sustained by structures of oppression and held by the SFVS community. Even though these obstacles do not have their origin in rules and policies, they still have significant material consequences for EMISAD.

As it was described in previous sections, in 2007, a change in the school funding model granted an increase in voucher funds to schools that enroll students with special needs and voluntarily implement the *Programa de Integración Escolar* (PIE, Educational Program for Integration). In the name of equity, the implementation of the program came with restrictions for schools, such as the requirement to become free for parents and the elimination of selection procedures for enrollment. Since the number of immigrant students has increased, schools have not received guidance on how to enroll emergent multilingual students in the program. This guidance was desperately needed because in order to be classified as a PIE, students must complete a written assessment that was only available in Spanish. The consequences of the lack of communication led all PIE staff to believe incorrectly that, by law, students cannot be admitted into the PIE program and

receive the academic support of the specialists until they have been enrolled in the Chilean education system for *two years and are fluent in Spanish*.

Special education teacher Jasmine stated with full conviction and as a fact that students must live in Chile and attend a Chilean school for two years before being accepted into the PIE program.

Jasmine vividly expressed her frustration at wanting to help the students but not having the resources to do so, and the heavy burden this defeat placed on educators. Aligned with the moral dilemmas (Stevenson, 2007) other educators illustrated, Jasmine went from wanting to take an inclusive stance aligned with Jesuit values, to seeing the integration of Haitian students as an imposition that had negative consequences for the school, such as the exodus of Chilean students.

> **Jasmine:** We said, but for that [including migrant students in PIE], we have to go through a process and wait because there are legal requirements that need to be fulfilled for the migrant child to enter the program.
>
> **María:** Can you tell me a bit more because I'm not familiar with the bureaucracy behind all of this?
>
> **Jasmine:** Well, first, the child has to have been enrolled in school here for more than two years.
>
> **María:** In order to enter the PIE program?
>
> **Jasmine:** In Chile, let's say, they have to be here for more than two years, they have to have a Chilean identification number (RUN).

> Jasmine, Special Educator Teacher. Interview, August 18th, 2021

There was complete agreement among PIE specialists about the strict legal requirements and procedures to allow immigrant students' participation in the PIE program. The PIE psychologist, who worked only with students enrolled in the program confirmed these beliefs.

> **Teresa**: Yes, because there's always that language barrier that hinders good communication. I think that's the primary issue. So, receiving students who speak another language is a problem in reaching out to them. I can't assist them when I know they haven't been in Chile for two years and don't handle the language perfectly well. There's a limitation in terms of intervention.
>
> **María**: with regards to that, this is more technical, but where does this limitation come from? That they can't be part of PIE if they haven't been in Chile for two years.
>
> **Teresa**: It's because the Ministry of Education doesn't allow us to assess, for example, with these tests I'm reviewing now, a migrant student who hasn't... it has to be a requirement: being in Chile for more than two years and also mastering the language perfectly.
>
> **María**: Yes, but where does that appear? Like in a...?

Teresa: Yes, in the guidelines from the Ministry of Education, which are on the website.

María: Do you have them?

Teresa: I don't have them anymore, but they would need to be searched for. We reviewed them here quite a while ago at the school, in fact, in 2019 when we were once in a PIE meeting, with all colleagues where there was a speech therapist who isn't here anymore. She was very concerned, saying, 'How are we going to help all these Haitian kids who need PIE support but can't be evaluated because they don't meet the requirements that the Ministry of Education demands?' And it says there in the Ministry of Education guidelines. I could look for them to send them to you.

<div align="right">Interview, November 11th, 2021</div>

I asked for the guidelines several times from various PIE professionals and also looked for them on the Ministry of Education's website. They were nowhere to be found. Therefore, I raised this matter in a conversation with a high authority of the Ministry of Education who is responsible for issues related to immigrant students. The purpose of the conversation was to understand the systemic barriers that the school faced in order to better serve immigrant students. I outlined the problems associated with having to wait two years before providing support to immigrant students. For example, students who have been diagnosed in their home country could receive support upon arrival, or students could be tested in their home language in order to receive support as soon as possible.

Karen: I couldn't... I would have to delve into the regulations. I mean, I need more details. I need more details to be able to clarify. I could give you a list of children with IPE numbers in the millions belonging to PIE.

María: Of course, because they've been in the school system for more than two years, right?

Karen: It's just that, no, I don't have... I mean... No... That's why I'm telling you, I'm not certain that more than two years are required to enter. Let me make the inquiry because maybe this group of folks…

[she walked out of the room]

Karen: I have to find out what's happening at the school because according to what the guys tell me, there isn't a condition regarding the time they've spent in the system to join PIE.

María: That's strange. What could it be? I mean, I know that one condition is speaking Spanish

Karen: Speak Spanish? It's completely... No. There's no condition to speak Spanish to enter. If there's complexity, it has to do with the diagnosis because the tests done to diagnose, of course, are in... but there are schools that have solved it in other ways, like someone reading a test, which we know isn't the best test

because it also has cultural elements, so a child might score lower. Not necessarily because they can't, but because... Do you understand? It's like explaining snow to a child who has never seen it and doesn't... But that's another point.

<div align="right">Interview, November, 3rd, 2021</div>

This example is a reflection of how widespread values and beliefs, rooted on the notion of deservingness, have a direct impact on students' experiences. An analysis using transnationalism and intersectional lenses also shows that while educators at the SFVS were creative and willing to support students deprived of material needs, the same enthusiasm was not in place to support emergent multilingual students. It is also relevant for this analysis that incorporates critical race theory tools, that most of the students excluded from accessing PIE resources were of African descent.

Camouflaged Discrimination

The following vignette illustrates several detrimental dynamics experienced by EMISAD that took place at the SFVS. Dynamics of power, marginalization exacerbated during the COVID-19 Pandemic, anti-Black racism and also the resistance that some participants enacted to protect EMISAD.

In August 2021, when students returned to in-person instruction, classes were held Monday through Thursday and educators had planning time on Friday. Classes were split into two groups as classrooms could only accommodate a limited number of people to maintain the 2-meter social distancing required by the Ministry of Health. In practice, this meant that each student attended class twice a week (either on Mondays and Wednesdays if the student was in group 1, or on Tuesdays and Thursdays if the student was in group 2).

At the end of September, government-mandated social distancing was relaxed, allowing classroom capacity to be expanded so that all students could attend school at the same time. As students began to attend school at the same time, the school management realized that of the school's 16 classes, four would exceed the new capacity of 24 students per classroom. With the goal of complying with health regulations but also maintaining the new system, the school administration decided that any time a class exceeded capacity, *students with special needs and/or multilingual students would be removed from the classroom* to receive individualized instruction with a special education teacher or with Catalina. By the time the principal requested this, the school had already embraced the idea, that removing students from the classroom for special education was detrimental to their academic progress, social integration, and socialization with peers. Special education teachers shared that they had to work hard to reinforce the notion that they would provide additional support to students within the classroom and that students would only leave the classroom under exceptional circumstances, such as taking the special education test or receiving individualized psychological support. Although school administrators tried to promote the ideas as beneficial for the students who would receive individualized learning support, at least one of the special education teachers complained and spoke up against this initiative, while other community members in a focus group also expressed their opposition to the plan.

<div align="right">130</div>

Josefa: The school is not prepared to receive the entire class […] In fact, that's what we were talking about the other day, they would move Haitian students out of the regular classroom and have them take the ESEL workshop just to maintain the occupancy limit in the classroom.

Renato: That's discrimination.

Josefa: Yes.

Camilo: That can't be.

Renato: But of course, it was well argued, actually. The idea is to support what we are doing, but at the same time, you are depriving them because their environment, their classroom, their surroundings.

Focus Group, December 16th, 2021

Catalina, the Spanish as a second language coordinator shared the frustration of her colleagues.

Well, honestly, yes, if you ask me how I felt, I felt terrible the entire past week because, first, you are aware that you are segregating someone, and it's like, why does that child have to leave? Why can't you complete the occupancy by removing another child for something else? Or why can't they find a solution where they don't have to take the children out?

Catalina, Spanish as a Second Language Coordinator. Interview, October 6th, 2021

The plan lasted one week. In the second week of simultaneous instruction, the strategy was to place classes that exceeded the capacity of the classroom in larger rooms, such as the library, dining hall, or science lab. While school administrators felt that teachers had overreached and overreacted when they spoke up against the original plan, teachers felt frustrated by the administration's lack of humanity toward EMISAD (Bajaj et al., 2022) and their lack of coherence. On the one hand, the school's mission was to provide quality learning opportunities for all students. On the other hand, along neoliberal values, the measure showed that some students' presence in the classroom is more important and valuable than others. Even if the measure was only applied for a short period of time, it signaled whose presence in the classroom was more relevant and who was more deserving of subject-related instruction.

Language Annihilation

This last section explores how the lack of guidance, confusion, and the new phenomenon of interacting with emergent multilingual students triggered other forms of harmful linguistic discrimination against EMISAD. As Renato attested, there was no institutional response, conversations or protocols around becoming a school with a significant number of emergent multilingual students.

Renato: There were some very peculiar situations that caught my attention, such as one of them being the prohibition of language in the classroom.

María: They couldn't speak Creole?

Renato: Exactly, they couldn't speak Creole because the argument was that Haitian students were insulting in Creole, and since the teachers didn't know Creole, they couldn't identify when they were insulting and when they weren't […] I believe that, for me, it's a form of violence to deprive someone of their language or not provide them with the opportunity to develop it.

<div align="right">Interview, August 17th, 2021</div>

For Renato, prohibiting students from speaking Creole was a symptom of larger institutional deficits that prevented the school from offering a space where all students could develop a sense of belonging and thrive with pride.

Renato: So, I believe that stripping a person of their identity to turn them into an average Chilean is a mistake. It's a mistake because society doesn't progress that way.

María: Does that actually happen?

Renato: Yes, it does happen, it does. Well, one of the aspects is the appreciation for students when they start speaking Spanish. Even the Haitians themselves, afterward, they don't speak Creole anymore; they always prefer to speak in Spanish. And well, the teachers here, it hurts because it's a practice, but I also assume that it's much more comfortable for us, it's easier when the students speak Spanish and not Creole because they can understand the content, and there's a benefit for them as they are integrating. So, in the face of that, I think it's important for them to know Spanish but always as a second language, not as a first language.

María: Right, like preserving their roots?

Renato: Exactly, preserving their mother tongue. But I feel that the school doesn't take responsibility for that reality, doesn't provide opportunities for them to also value their language and their identity as such.

María: How would you do it?

Renato: By creating spaces, celebrating Haiti's Independence Day, or organizing activities where Chileans get to know, educate ourselves about the existence of different cultures in the school. We coexist not only with Chileans but also with people from other countries in a multicultural school. You also see, for example, the community of workers here, and most of them are Chilean, so that also sends a message, it tells you something.

María: That it doesn't represent the diversity of the students?

Renato: Exactly, the diversity of the students is not represented. Actually, nobody's diversity is represented. So, that's a problem because one can advocate for it, but the school actually tells you something different, not literally, but if you observe, you realize that there is no real intercultural or multicultural project.

<div align="right">Interview, August 17th, 2021</div>

The lack of socialization of the multicultural project described in the institutional documents also affected students' relationships (Valenzuela-Vergara, 2023). At the classroom level, monolingual students who spoke Spanish resented their emergent multilingual classmates and accused them of pretending not to know Spanish. Because at the school there were no conversations about the difference between developing language skills to succeed academically and acquiring language skills to engage in social interactions, the Chilean students' doubts were rooted on their observations. They saw that their emergent multilingual classmates were able to engage in conversations during breaks while they needed extra support during class thus interpreted that as a sign of faking not to know Spanish.

Among monolingual students, linguistic differences were used as a tool to express larger xenophobic and anti-Black sentiments against Haitian students (Rodrigues Pinto, 2018). Subsequently, language as an identifying characteristic deepens the marginalization of immigrant students by creating hierarchical categories among immigrants, as one student expressed in the same focus group:

> **Nestor:** I don't. I don't want to be racist or anything, but I feel comfortable because most of them are Venezuelans. Like I said, if they were Haitians, it would be a bit stranger because they usually have a harder time speaking the language, and you don't understand each other as much with them. But since most of them are Venezuelans, they clearly speak Spanish. Everything is easier and less strange.

> Monolingual Students. Focus Group, November 25th, 2021

The exclusion based on linguistic differences, nationality and race experienced by EMISAD reflected a larger xenophobic phenomenon as evidenced in Nestor's use of "strange" to describe encounters with Haitian students, and students absorbed those ideologies in their communities. In the same focus group, students discussed what was said about the Haitian community at home:

> **María:** And at home, what do your parents think? How do they talk about these topics?

> **Nestor:** My parents can't stand Haitians...

> **Gonzalo:** My mom can't stand Haitians either.

> **Elisa:** My mom too.

> **María:** What do they say?

> **Elisa:** Well, my mom... I don't know... It's just that they can be very aggressive.

> **María:** I see, but what do they say at home? More than what they are, how they are, what do they say?

> **Gonzalo:** they are racist, they are racist.

> **Nestor:** Do you want me to tell you the specific words?

> **María:** Yes, the specific words, what do they say?

Gonzalo: F"#$ Blacks

Nestor: The thing is that they include swear words 'These F"#$ Blacks have to go away'

Gonzalo: Look, sometimes I try to teach my grandma that not everyone is like that. My grandma is slowly learning... But, to some extent, she is right.

<div align="right">Monolingual Students' Focus Group, November 25th, 2021</div>

The intersectional dynamic that emerged in the conversation with the students shows the level of overt racism that is present at the Chilean society (Bonhomme, 2023). This transition from linguistic discrimination to anti-Black racism, introduces the next section of this chapter because it shows how anti-Black sentiments and violence manifested at the SFVS, triggered Black suffering (Dumas, 2014) and how the school community mediated these dynamics. Drawing on CRT theoretical framework, I use intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1991) as a conceptual lens to analyze the marginalization that emerges when different layers of oppression based on linguistic identity, nationality, and ethoracial ideas are interwoven to create forms of violence that cannot be analyzed individually or untangled from the structure that created them.

Anti-Blackness and the Mestizaje Intertwined

The manifestations of anti-Blackness were overt, systematic, harmful, recognized, and largely unaddressed by educators at SFVS. To understand the ethnoracial hostility that EMISAD experienced, it is important to examine the constructs regarding ethnoracial identity that have permeated the Chilean social imaginary. Drawing from the conceptual framework, I start by illuminating how the notion of mestizaje manifested among members of the school community:

> Actually, I see in the Chilean identity a heritage that has historically been a blend. In reality, we are a mix of Mapuche blood with Andalusian blood. In the north, there's Aymara, and in the south, there are, I don't know, various others. So, it seems a bit contradictory to seek a single identity when historically we have been a mixture, just like Latin America has been a blend.

<div align="right">Renato, Teachers' Focus Group. December 16th, 2021,</div>

The teacher Renato's quote reflects a widespread belief in Latin America that is fundamental to the realization of *mestizaje* as a whitening project (Loveman, 2014). By asserting that Chileans are the product of a mixture of indigenous peoples and Spanish colonizers, Renato omits the presence of African ancestors and contributes to the erasure of African influence, similar to what has been documented in other Latin American countries such as Uruguay (Andrews, 2010) and Mexico (Sue, 2013). This omission has greatly affected the development of identity formation, which has been crucial to the process of nation-building in post-independence Latin America. However, by Chilean standards, Renato's beliefs are radical and progressive, considering that historically most Chileans have gone further in implementing the White *mestizaje* project by also diminishing the influence of indigenous peoples (Richards, 2013) and adopting a White(r) ethnoracial identification (Bonhomme, 2023).

According to a high-ranking official and advisor to the Ministry of Education, the homogeneous myth is also responsible for schools responding poorly to demographic changes. Additionally, this quote connects the standardization enforced through the neoliberal model and the homogenization, foundational to the *mestizaje* racial project:

> **Andrés:** What is a Chilean school? What is a third-grade student like in Chile? The truth is that you realize there are many types of third-grade students, but the system is not designed for that, and that has a lot to do with, if you want to delve deep, the construction of our state: it's the idea of a nation, a homogeneous, Castilian, *mestiza*, but essentially Castilian race.
>
> **María:** Mixed but with Spanish roots?
>
> **Andrés:** Exactly, mixed. But coffee with milk. Not dark coffee. And homogeneous. Castilian.

<div align="right">Interview. December 16th, 2021</div>

In other words, the system works and reacts according to its guiding principles. So if students are denied the opportunity to develop a healthy ethnoracial identity that deviates from the Chilean norm, it is not because the system is broken, but because it works the way it is expected to.

Race-evasiveness

At the SFVS, even though the demographic changes and diversification is undisputable, persisted the homogenizing discourse of "we are all equal", highlighted on students' work in the following pages. This discourse was different from the idea that we all deserve equally dignified treatment. In line with colorblind ideologies (Bonilla-Silva, 2006), and race-evasive (Dickar, 2008) practices among educators of the SFVS, there was the idea that racialization was the act of acknowledging students' Blackness (Fanon, 2021). Because Black was associated only with negative stereotypes, the word *negro/a* or *afrodescendiente* elicited a range of uncomfortable reactions from teachers and students who have developed their racial schemes through the transnational experiences that preceded their arrival in Chile (Roth, 2012).

The code "Explicit Racism" was used in 83 segments throughout the data analysis. Yet, none of the 29 teachers I interviewed had participated in training where they could speak openly about issues related to ethnoracial identity or anti-Black racism. Furthermore, many of these educators had been working in ethnoracially diverse classrooms for several years. In a focus group with four teachers, when I asked them if they thought "*it is offensive to call a person Black,*" one teacher said, "*It could be offensive. I think. If you are not Black.*" Another teacher added that some Afro-descendant students refer to each other as Black, but it could be offensive "*if you are not, and the majority of Chileans say it in an offensive way.*" Finally, a third teacher argued that the word has a negative connotation even among Afro-descendant students:

> I have heard 'Black' and 'Black here,' 'Black there' in the classroom and it was never in a comradely tone, it was always offensive. Never. I have even listened to

<div align="right">135</div>

them say amongst themselves, 'hey, don't call me Black.' I have never heard it used to sound like, 'Hey, Black, friend' no, it's always been used to offend.

<div align="right">Camilo, Teachers' Focus Group. December, 16th, 2021</div>

This pejorative use is connected to the centuries long discrimination that Haitians have experienced in the Dominican Republic (Rodrigues Pinto, 2018), where the label *Negro/a* is reserved only to Haitians. When I asked if there has been a conversation around these at a school level, and they said no, one teacher reflected:

> We believe that there is a long way to go regarding the issue of integrating migrant students because we do not have the protocols, we do not have the forms. A new teacher arrives, and he meets migrant children; perhaps he has never worked with migrant children. It's still a shock; it's something we have to learn. In other words, the school could improve very much if it knew how to address that. In other words, it is something that not all teachers have the opportunity to work with children from different countries.

<div align="right">Paulina, Teachers' Focus Group. December, 16th, 2021</div>

Previous to Paulina's intervention there had been an in-depth conversation about students of African descent and the connotation of the label *Negro/a*. However, this quote shows how Paulina twisted the focus of the conversation from students of African descent to immigrant students. This is one example of the way teachers engaged in race-evasive practices (Dickar, 2008). Still, at the end of the focus groups the teachers were thankful for the opportunity to reflect on these topics collectively and formally because it was the first time, they talked about ethnoracial identities, labels, and recognitions. This lack of opportunity to discuss ethnoracial dynamics had at least two direct consequences for students of African descent. One was that the school did not provide opportunities to develop a healthy racial identity in terms of being proud of their roots and developing a sense of belonging to an ethnoracially bounded community. When I asked EMISAD about their ethnoracial identification, they said they did not have one. When I presented several options such as Black, Afro-descendant, Afro-Latina/o, and mestizo/a, one student said she identified as Haitian, *I don't have ethnoracial identification. I feel normal and I feel 100% Haitian*. Another student said he was "human", and another said, "as a person." They said that they have no racial identity to which they belong. This lack of ethnoracial identification was also visible when students had to draw a personal portrait and some Afro-descendant students used light brown or yellow color to paint a portrait of themselves.

Figure 16 *Portrait of Students Exhibited in the Main Hallway*

Source: Photo Taken by the Author

Figure 17 *Portrait of Students from Haiti*

Source: Photo Taken by the Author

The first reaction I had when I observed the portrait was to wonder "*Why don't they use a color that is more reflective of their skin tone?*" but shortly after, I realized that such decision would imply to embrace a group membership that many students strongly reject. Because of this, a more accurate question should rather be, "*why would EMISAD identify as Black or Afro-descendants if they are constantly exposed to messages that associate Blackness with undesirable traits?*" Consistent with what one teacher said during the focus group, I regularly heard Afro-descendant students use the word *Negro/a* to insult each other during recess, and when I asked about it, students said that it depended on how dark their skin was; Afro-descendant students with lighter skin color might call *negro/a* to their classmates with darker skin tone because "*they are blacker.*" This social dynamic, rooted in colorism (Telles & Paschel, 2014), created a tension between how Afro-descendant students perceived themselves and how they were seen by the self-identified White(r) Chilean society, that frequently positioned ethnoracial identities in a White/Black binary. Catalina, who works only with EMISAD at the school narrated the puzzling notion of trying to understand ethnoracial identification dynamics among EMISAD:

> **Catalina:** I will never forget this […] a child says to me, 'Auntie, look, we call her 'carbonara' 'and the girl was just as dark-skinned as him. And I ask, 'But why do you call her that?' 'Because look at her, she's Black.' But you're Black too, I said. 'No, but she's even blacker.' They get upset over things like that.
>
> **María:** A Haitian student told you?
>
> **Catalina:** Between Haitian boys and girls, one Haitian would call another 'carbona,' or sometimes when they got annoyed, they would say 'Africans' and get upset, saying 'that African.' So I ask them, 'But why? Aren't you all Africans, and don't we all come from Africa?' Auntie, do you also come from Africa? And well, yes, because originally the world was a mass that began to separate, and that center was Africa. So I think I also come from there in some way, but I've noticed with the Haitian kids here, issues like skin color, African origin, everything carries a more negative connotation.

Catalina, Spanish as a Second Language Coordinator. Interview, September 1st, 2021

The process of self-identification as part of a historically marginalized and oppressed group is not easy. It can be painful and trigger a sense of humiliation (Pineda, 2018). In the case of the Haitian community the rejection of the word *Negro/a* is influenced by their proximity to the Dominican Republic where the denomination is only reserved for Haitians and is used as a derogative term. The transnational journey of many students brought them first the Dominical Republic where they had the opportunity to engage in the cultural and cognitive process to develop the "racial schemes," that inform notions around social hierarchization (Roth, 2012).

In the neoliberal context, marginalized communities are encouraged to distancing themselves from the oppressed group because the oppressor (society) fills the collective imagination with the notion of individual responsibility (lack of effort, laziness, cultural deficits, etc.) to explain the lack of prosperity of the group. Along these logics, the White supremacist project of *mestizaje* discourages group affiliation with ethnically

marginalized groups such as indigenous and Afrodescendants to exalt European roots (Loveman, 2014). One of the barriers to disrupting these logics is the lack of affiliation since the status quo can only be maintained by preventing the emergence of political subjects who engage in tactics of resistance to dismantle racial hierarchies (Paschel, 2016). Along these lines, the Eurocentric Chilean curriculum contributes to reinforcing damaging stereotypes. By recognizing the existence of people of African descent only as enslaved people, students did not have opportunities to see themselves as beautiful free intellectual people who had agency and were in control of their possibilities. Students were not exposed to other texts and models of Blackness that don't fit in the typical oppressed-oppressor binary. This depravation reinforced the marginalization of Afro-descendant communities and was another reason not to claim group membership.

Explicit Racism

While the lack of representation in spaces like school textbooks or curriculum is a form of anti-Black racism, participants of this study also encounter other forms of violence. They narrated experiences in Chile that resembled the anti-Black attacks that were prominent before the civil rights movement.

> I know how things are, I suffered a lot to be here. I remember, in the first week, I was on a bus, I'm sitting in a seat, and a Chilean person comes and says 'how does a Black person sit, a Black person,' he comes to my face, talking right at my face, 'how does a Black person sit?' there's a disabled person who was on the floor and he says, 'a Black person sits and there's a White person sitting on the floor. And the driver, my God, by the Almighty God, the driver stops the bus and comes and says, 'if you don't stay quiet, you have to get off the bus.' 'Don't bother the Black person, or *negrito* (the little Black guy).'

> Sam, Cultural Mediator. Interview, June 20th, 2019

Situations like this were repeatedly and systematically shared by school community members, EMISAD and others. Educators and students shared how they had to intervene in the street to disrupt anti-Black violence or anti-immigrant racism. Those episodes also occurred within the school walls as Jasmine notes:

> there was a circle of Haitian boys and girls, and the Chilean kids were here, another group that couldn't stand the Haitian children. Out of sheer anger. In front of everyone. There was no disorder. Nothing. The frustration they felt about them [Haitian students] being there was so overwhelming that one Chilean boy or girl, I can't remember, got up and spat at his Haitian classmate to make him leave because he didn't want him there.

> Jasmine, Special Education Teacher. Interview, August, 18th, 2021

Students recounted that in situations where there were extreme levels of anti-Black racism, their teacher usually said, "your vocabulary" and then engaged in a reflection on the "we are all equal" approach, which was embraced by the students and used in their schoolwork around migration and diversity. The following posters designed by 11th-grade students in the context of learning non-fiction text creation show that students incorporate the "We are all equal" as a guiding principle around migration:

139

Figure 18 *Posters to Promote Awareness About Migration Designed by 11th Graders*

Source: Photo Taken by the Author

This dissertation has shown that this race evasiveness approach was ineffective in combating overt anti-Blackness. Still, EMISAD recounted that they thought their classmates were so racist that the teachers had no way of stopping their anti-Black racism.

Dehumanization of EMISAD: A Barrier to Disrupting Racism

Educators acknowledged that the trauma associated with forced migration has affected their perceptions of students who have fled socioeconomic instability, violence, persecution, or all the above, but the same type of analysis does not occur when educators talk about the trauma associated with racism. The lack of institutional interest in anti-Black racism meant that even educators who initially cared about stopping racist violence ended up normalizing behaviors they initially found abhorrent. Furthermore, educators' race-evasive and colorblind responses contrasted with Chilean students' anti-Black violence. On several occasions, I learned of explicit anti-Black behavior that was ignored or downplayed by educators, adding to the students' suffering and dehumanization.

> **Renato:** Let me see. Well, actually, there were insults, racial slurs here and there, calling each other Black. And also, to a greater extent, what struck me as a teacher was that many students had a sort of projected determinism, a determinism towards their Haitian peers, like, 'Hey, why bother studying if you're going to end up sweeping floors or selling chocolate on the street?' In fact, I have this vivid memory of a student saying, 'Hey, in ten years, I'll be driving my car here, and you'll be selling me *Chocman*,' like that, and I'm talking about 11-12-year-old students.

> **María:** So, when you observe a situation like this, what do you do?

> **Renato:** In 2019, I always referred, documented, and called parents, giving it the urgency that I feel it has. […] It surprised me that in those documentations, it was like the protocol to follow - talk to the student, tell them not to do it again, and

that's it. So for me, it was like, 'Hey, but this isn't a punishment. Why aren't we giving it the importance it deserves in the school?' And I also realized that *the Haitian student saw it as just another insult, something insignificant*.

<div align="right">Renato, Teacher. Interview, August 17th, 2021</div>

Renato's testimony shows that educators' social justice principles were at risk of getting coopted by a context that normalizes inhumanity toward black bodies and downplays anti-Black racism and violence. As Renato, other educators also rested on the idea that EMISAD did not care or were not affected by ethnoracial violence. The direct consequence was educators' inability to dismantle the racial oppression and overt anti-Blackness that Afro-descendant students experienced. This notion is rooted in an idea around the "toughness" of EMISAD children in particular which emerged in other contexts in which students were affected by traumatized experiences and did not react as educators expected them to react.

> **Susana:** I think Haitian children are quite strong, because we've had situations where they've experienced really terrible things, and sometimes the children don't cry. So...

> **María:** Things. For example, what situation are you referring to when you say, 'this child doesn't cry'?

> **Susana:** Of course, because once, for example, a Haitian child's father died, and we thought, 'how terrible, his father died,' but the child didn't cry because he said he didn't cry because men in his country don't cry. I mean, it's like that, tough, a different character. And he was a very young child. So that aspect caught our attention. I don't know, we, um, they have. They have a different, another, another, *less emotional upbringing,* I don't know, but there are still things that... How sad and well, that was the one I spoke to. He was a little Haitian boy, but we thought he would start crying and...

<div align="right">Susana, Front Desk Receptionist. Interview, October 7th, 2021</div>

Dumas and Nelson argue that "[w]hile prejudice signifies negative attitudes that can lead to discrimination, dehumanization involves something far more dangerous: a construction of the Other as not human, as less than human, and therefore undeserving of the emotional and moral recognition accorded to those whose shared humanity is understood." (2016, p. 29) Accordingly, to dehumanize is to remove human characteristics to a group of people. This is exactly what Renato and Susana did when they attested that Haitian students had different characters and their emotional system was unlike people who would have cared if were insulted or if were informed that a close relative died. This false and racist image of Haitian students as strong, unbreakable, and tough was a perceived barrier for educators that prevented them from providing the trauma-informed assistance and offering a care-based support (A. Valenzuela, 1999) that acknowledges all dimensions of their identity. I came across several students who said that their educators did not support them when they needed them to interrupt harmful dynamics. Students did not tell these stories to blame educators or hold them accountable for their neglect. In fact, as the following dialog shows, the students justified the

educators' inaction by saying that there was nothing they could do and specifically pointed out that their educators were not racist:

María: Darline, have you experienced any racist situations at school?

Darline: Yes, always.

María: Always?

Darline: But it's not from the teachers, it's from the students.

María: The students are racist?

Darline: Yes.

María: What do they do?

Darline: Well, it's felt because of the difference in skin color and what one does. If they do something different, it's because we're not of the same race. And if I do something and they see it differently, and sometimes I also see it differently, but for me, I don't make divisions based on skin color or anything.

María: I want to try to understand a bit better. For example, if you do something that they also do, do they say something to you because of your skin color or something like that?

Darline: Yes, the first thing that comes out of their mouths is 'f#$% Black.' I remember one day a classmate told me, well, I was doing something in the classroom, but then she got mad and said, 'f#$% Black, go back to your country,' and that was very wrong on her part.

<div align="right">Interview, December 1st, 2021</div>

After acknowledging that it was indeed very wrong and saying that I am sorry she had that experience, I asked Darline if she felt that after coming back to the school in-person anti-Black violence had decreased. To answer my question, she shared an attack that had happened to her earlier that day:

Darline: Everything was calm until a classmate told me today, in class.

María: Today, during class?

Darline: Yes.

María: Wow. I'm sorry, Darline. I'm sorry you have to go through these situations. Did the teacher hear it?

Darline: Yes, we were right in front of the teacher, and he said, 'you f#$% Black girl, get out of there.'

<div align="right">Interview, December 1st, 2021</div>

Being the persistent target of anti-Black racism is an emotionally draining and damaging experience with material physical and mental health consequences (Williams et

al., 2019). An additional layer of distress For EMISAD in particular, is the burden of recognizing and understanding that the people they see as caring and loving, their educators, did not protect them. The defense mechanism that some EMISAD used to deal with the cognitive dissonance of not receiving protection from a caring person was to develop a justification for the educators' inaction. In the SFVS, several students said that their classmates' hostility was so out of control that educators could do nothing to stop the anti-Black violence. The racial formation process (Omi & Winant, 2015) in Chilean society and the development of and ethnoracial identity to resist and confront anti-Black racism require further research. Nevertheless, it is important to point out that Darline is the student who was best able to articulate the impact that anti-Black racism had on her, and she is also the one who identified as a Black woman with the most clarity and conviction. Darline was the only one who had defined boundaries for racist behaviors and who provided disciplinary options for students with racist behaviors. She said that with her friends (whom I could not interview because they had left the country to the U.S.), she was constantly engaging in conversations about racist experiences they had had. Lastly, Darline was also the only student who wore her natural Afro hair every day at school.

To end this section I illuminate instances in which the dehumanization of EMISAD was rooted in good intentions. One of such examples is the efforts for including images that reflect the schools' diversity in open spaces such as school walls. The following mural, illustrated on the walls that are visible on the outside of the school, is a testament of the willingness to embrace diversity as a core characteristic of the SFVS.

Figure 19 *Mural on the SFVS's Wall, Facing the Street*

Source: Photo Taken by the Author

In the mural we see an image of Jesus Christ accompanied by kids that, apparently, represent the diversity of the neighborhood. On the left we see the values of community and hard work represented by the tools. It is also prominent the presence of

the Chilean flag that reminds people in Reloncaví that Chilean patriotic symbols prevail and must be honored. As explained earlier, the process of dehumanization is to detach human characteristics from a person or a group. The previous examples show how that process showed up at an emotional level. This mural engages in that process through symbolic representation: by using the color black to paint the skin of a human being. Human being's skin color are shades of brown; some light brown and some dark brown. But there is not person whose skin color is black or gray and one can learn that by purposefully observing the members of our community. This dehumanizing mural denotes the lack of attention that has been paid to EMISAD. As one participant of a conference where I presented this finding pointed out in tears, the brown color used in the shovel shows that the painting to correctly represent students of African descent was within the reach of the SFVS community, but they chose to use non-human skin tones to portrait the kids.

Anti-Black Discrimination and SES Marginalization Intersecting

> There was an eleventh-grade class; they didn't have a filter, it was like: I hate them for being Black and I hate them even more for being smelly.

<div align="right">Rolando, Teacher. Interview, August 23rd, 2021</div>

The last section around anti-Black violence perpetrated at the SFVS focuses on the intersection (Crenshaw, 1991) with SES marginalization and explores how educators mediated (Welner, 2001) these dynamics when they emerged. The standalone quote by Rolando shows how the intersection of marginalized identities exacerbated the violence against EMISAD.

Marginalized groups in Chile are synonymous with people living in poverty. As mentioned earlier, SFVS educators relate to the economic needs of their students through the different experiences they had growing up. Moreover, learning about the socioeconomic struggles that EMISAD experienced sparked the strongest processes of mobilization and humanization that I was able to observe in the school.

The marginalization that students experienced due to residing in overcrowded living conditions was an area were educators able to act effectively to support EMISAD. Many students lived in precarious conditions and had no access to hot water, for example. They lived in *tomas* or a room in a *cité* where different odors mixed and clung to their clothes. Students' smell triggered violent and racist reactions from Chilean students, but as the following testimony shows, in those cases the school community mobilized to disrupt and end the aggressions:

> The girls were blatantly racist. There was a group of about five girls who were outright racist. For example, I don't know, they would spray deodorant on the Haitian kids and say things like, 'Go take a shower' and they would insult them with profanity, they got into physical fights among themselves. The Haitian group, which was quite large, was always segregated near the door, and the rest of the classmates were far away from them, huddled close to the windows. So, it was very intense.

<div align="right">Cristina, Teacher. Interview, October 20th, 2021</div>

Unlike other forms of racial discrimination discussed in this dissertation, in this case, EMISAD were attacked for something that was rooted in their unstable housing and living arrangements that they had no control over. And in this case, an intervention that was developed and implemented to interrupt violence against EMISAD.

> **Maite:** Yes. I had to intervene several times, especially with the older ones, third and fourth graders, regarding smells. Lack of hygiene. I don't know, at one point, they sprayed Haitian children with disinfectant. Cologne. We can all have hygiene problems; it's not only related to migrants. The intervention was about discussing what was happening. Migrants live in overcrowded conditions.

> **María:** Did you address the whole class?

> **Maite:** No. Separately. I had an intervention where I mainly called the girls who bothered the Haitians because they were women, and I sat them down here and told them, '[pretend that] this is your home, this is the space you have to live in. Where would you put things?' 'In the kitchen over there.' 'And if you cook, do you think the house will get dirty? This is your space, right?' 'Well, they're going to get their clothes dirty, I don't know. And they don't have hot water, how are they going to shower?' I told them, 'Well, this is the reality of your classmates. If you criticize them for not bathing, for smelling bad, for smelling like food. This is how they live.'

> **María:** What did they say?

> **Maite:** Like, yeah, yeah, Auntie is right. My clothes might smell like food too. Maybe I won't shower with cold water every day.

> **María:** Did it help to develop empathy with...?

> **Maite:** Yes, I think they understood. It was a kind of approach to what we often all comment on from the outside.

> Interview, November 9th, 2021

As this activity demonstrates, the school psychologist was able to develop a strategy to dismantle discrimination based on the marginalization that arises due to poor living arrangements. This intervention was solely focused on addressing the SES-based discrimination that EMISAD were experiencing. Still, the anti-Black violence that students suffered when they were told "*I hate them for being Black and I hate them even more for being smelly*" was in no way addressed neither by Maite, nor by other educators.

Finally, the only concrete approach I observed to protect EMISAD from ethnoracial motivated violence that was taken at the institutional level concerned the recruitment and dismissal processes. Even though educators were not expected to disrupt ethnoracial violence, it was a requirement that they did not enforce it. Working with students at SFVS was characterized by the social justice-oriented principles that were to guide the actions of all educators. Along these lines, the school's former principal recalled that in some cases, educators whose morals did not align with the school's values were dismissed:

Even unintentionally, it was in her DNA not to give books to Haitian children because why bother if they won't understand anything; it was completely against what we believed. Or, truly, the 'Haitian kids ruined the school for us.' Or an administrator who at some point tells me, 'I'm tired of the Haitians.' So, you think, emotionally I can receive your message and try to contain it, but ethically, no, I mean, it's for you to question whether you should be here. Because it's not a minor issue; this clashes with fundamental principles. This project is also inspired by Ignatian principles, promoting justice, considering others in their entirety, in... dimming the dignity of others. So, we're going to be very countercultural. And we're willing to take that risk, that cost, of not being popular for the sake of consistency.

<div align="right">Raúl, Former Principal. Interview, June 20th, 2019</div>

This quote shows that racism among educators was strictly penalized. Still, in the case of anti-Black violence perpetrated by students, EMISAD did not have any tool for protection.

While there are not formal accounts at SFVS of the impact that over discrimination had on EMISAD, institutionalized racism that deprived their caregivers from regularizing their migratory status was reported as a reason for leaving the country. Drawing on the transnationalism framework (Schiller et al., 1995), the last section of this chapter explores the exodus of EMISAD that the SFVS experienced in 2021.

The Journey Exiting Chile

As stated earlier, the day of the *Fiestas Patrias* celebrations was an instance of joy and excitements to honor Chile's process of independence and the nation building journey that began in 1810. The SFVS students had been practicing dances and presentations for weeks, and at the end of the day, the week-long spring break would begin. For teacher Camila, the celebratory mood was dampened by the sadness of the departure of one of the most popular students in her class. A few weeks earlier, Esterline had been voted *Mejor Compañera* (best classmate) by her fifth grade classmates, but had been absent on the day of the awards ceremony, which was attended by the whole school. Still, teacher Camila kept her diploma and gave it to Esterline when she and her family came to the school to say goodbye. The following vignette is from my field notes taken in September 2021. Although 3 or 4 students per class had left the school since the beginning of the 2021 school year, saying goodbye was not a common practice. Due to the distrust of the institutions, most families did not disclose their plans to leave the school and in many cases, teachers found out about students moving to another country through the students' social media posts. Camila knew about this fear felt by families that were leaving and for that reason, during the meeting, she offered Esterline a peace of mind by stating "*I am not a police officer. I am a teacher that loves a student and her family.*"

Esterline's family left Chile for the same reason as many other students. According to international organizations, Haitian migrants left Chile because in addition to anti-Black violence, due to anti-immigrant policies "They could not access asylum or regular immigration status, enjoyed few if any social services, and could not obtain dignified work" (Schacher & Schmidtke, 2022, p. 4).

This reality was not different for SFVS families. "*What happens is that I have been here for 7 years, and I do not have the definitive [Chilean residence permit] and that makes it hard to function in this country*", said Esterline's mom when teacher Camila asked them why they were leaving. "*Please stay in touch and if you ever need something, tell me. I know that life in Chile had been hard […] I hope, that in the country you go to, you have a peaceful life,*" Camila responded.

Esterline was taking with her a firm conviction of her teachers' appreciation. "*She says that her teacher loves her so much,*" declared Esterline's mom as the family was getting ready to leave the room. Tears were rolling down teacher Camila's face when she realized that Esterline knew she was loved. Then, in what looked like an impulsive reaction, teacher Camila stood up and said "*I am going to break the [health] protocol. I am going to give you a hug.*"

"*I love you so much. I hope you have a beautiful life*" said Camila while she was hugging Esterline and her family. Expressing those words triggered teacher Camila's emotive response that got her in tears.

Haitian students and their families trusted Camila. She knew specific details about students' journey that had not been documented by the media by the time she shared them with me. For example, she shared that there is one river with strong current called *el paso de la muerte* or the passage of dead, called that way because it is extremely dangerous to cross.

A week after the departure date of Esterline, Camila shared with me that she was exhausting all communication channels with her: WhatsApp, Instagram, phone, etc. The day they said goodbye was a week before the massive deportation of Haitians from the United States-Mexico border began in September 2021. Since this development, Camila began to educate her students about the risk of traveling and to warn families not to leave Chile to attempt to reach the United States-Mexico border by land. Camila's goal was to prevent the families from leaving, because literally "*the life of the students is at stake.*"

But not all teachers at the school agreed with the idea that it was best for the students and their families to stay in Chile. When we talked about the exodus of students, one teacher spoke with frustration and anger.

Camilo: I would have left too.

María: Would you? Why?

Camilo: Because the treatment is horrible. It's undignified.

María: Tell me a little more about that. Is it here in Chile?

Camilo: Yes, right here in the community itself. I mean, they ended up having to defend themselves. The fight is here.

Interview, December 14th, 2021

In a global context dominated by racial capitalism (Scott & Bajaj, 2022), students and their families do not have good options. The socio-political and economic instability inherited from colonial hegemonic logic, rooted in anti-Blackness, nation-building

147

programs and White supremacist projects such as *mestizaje*, threatens their existence in their countries. But anti-immigrant sentiments in more socioeconomically stable nations also pose a threat to their survival. These two phenomena of exclusion lead to a constant and never-ending feeling of not belonging anywhere in the world. Nevertheless, SFVS educators are fighting this phenomenon with the means they have. And the strongest support they can offer their students is their willingness to support them across borders, which they have done as one teacher describes.

> I believe there's a significant connection with the students here. It differentiates this school from the one across the street, even though they are in the same community. There are students who graduate from this school and still reach out to me because they moved to the United States, for example, and they need documents. An example of this migration to another place, they write to me, 'teacher, I need this, can you help me?' So, there's a certain trust and bond that is created, which I think is important and that marks the difference between this school and other schools.

<div align="right">Constanza, Teacher. Interview, November 30th, 2021</div>

Beatrice, the student that wrote her teachers' phone number on a piece of paper as she left Chile, is a testimony of this attachment and the transnational experiences of EMISAD. She remained in contact with her teachers at SFVS because of the emotional connection she had built up with them. She was loved by several teachers at her school. They said she was responsible and hardworking. Consequently, SFVS educators were touched when they learned that Beatrice had left Chile during the winter break of 2021.

As she left for the United States-Mexico border, Beatrice told her teachers that she would repeat the year because she wanted to spend her first months in the United States learning English and would not have time to deal with assignments far away. Her plan was upended when she was arrested in October 2021 and deported back to Haiti. Still, shortly after this mishap, Beatrice's family came up with a new strategy to leave Haiti again. Beatrice had arrived in Chile in 2018 and her sister had been born in Chile. So, the plan was to send her Chilean sister back to Chile and apply for a visa for the rest of the family under the family reunification program. When Beatrice broke the news to her teachers, she also asked them to keep sending her schoolwork so she could catch up on missing work and aim for a promotion. They did, and she was promoted to 11th grade.

Conclusion

It is easy to end the reading of this chapter with the uncomfortable feeling of not being able to identify clear heroes and villains in this narrative. While some educators supported, other excluded. While some peers where friendly, others were openly racist. These conflated complexities are imprinted in our society, which is full of conflicting messages about what social justice and educational equity should look like. Exposing these dilemmas, which are rooted in structural flaws, is not meant to exculpate individuals from anti-Blackness and anti-immigrant sentiments and attitudes. The goal is to shed light on the origins of the disparities and the mechanisms upon which they are based in order to advance effective, justice-oriented remedies. As I argue in the following and final chapter of this dissertation, policy change is necessary, but change in our minds and hearts is also critical. The institutional redesign necessary to achieve the set of social-

justices aspirations embedded in the inclusion law as well as in the Jesuit morals must be accompanied by societal values that depart from the now commonsensical belief that material gain should be the driver (or, in economic terms, the incentive) of all our actions. This shift is important to combat the contradictions between the mind and heart that are triggered by neoliberal values embedded in individuals committed to building a just society.

Chapter 8. Discussion and Conclusion

Chile is well-known for serving as a site for neoliberal experimentation. In the 1980s, the education system was carefully redesigned to the specifications of market advocates: give families choices, attract private actors, and reduce the role of the bureaucratic state. In other words, allow schools to operate like restaurants where the state offers minimum inspection; everything else should rest in the invisible hands of the market. For families, education began to be conceived as a commodity, available only to those who could win the competition for enrollment in "good schools". For schools, the race was on to attract the "best families" in order to reduce all the costs associated with educating students. With the dismantling of the public school system and the exacerbation of socioeconomic segregation came the realization that education was a private good. This notion permeated the minds and hearts of Chileans, and this dissertation shows that moving away from it will require more than policy changes.

This ethnographic case study of a social justice-oriented Chilean school shows that once an education system has suffered from extreme forms of privatization and marketization, reforms aiming to foster inclusion and democratization of schools, face resistance, even from the individuals committed to building an egalitarian system. This research is grounded in 600 hours of participant observation, more than 100 in-depth semi-structured interviews, and includes a critical exploration of policy change, ethnoracial dynamics, and transnational forces. This empirical work illustrates the turbulent journey of a social justice-oriented Jesuit voucher school that formerly pursued a neoliberal model of education but has since evolved into an inclusive and democratic space for the new population of emergent multilingual immigrant students of African descent (EMISAD). I examine how the suspension of the normative components of the neoliberal education system (e.g., vouchers, school choice, and testing) interacted with the values and beliefs of a school community and influenced the ways in which policies intended to democratize access to school were received in the context of the transnational diaspora amidst the disruptions and uncertainties of a global pandemic. To address these research gaps, my dissertation was guided by the following questions:

1. What is the relationship between market-oriented educational policies and educators' practices in the context of trying to build an inclusive and democratic school and with regard to the integration of EMISAD?
2. In what ways have educators responded to the suspension of market-oriented mechanisms (e.g., voucher funding system) during the COVID-19 pandemic and to the new immigration dynamics? What are the implications of these responses for EMISAD? and
3. What is the relationship between educators' notions of intersectional identities (e.g., nationality, ethnicity, race, and language) and their aims of building an inclusive school environment?

Concretely, this research reveals how forces at the micro (school community), meso (Voucher Management Organization), and macro (anti-immigrant and anti-Black racism) level prevented the SFVS from fulfilling its moral obligation, rooted in Jesuit philosophies, to provide high-quality education to the marginalized students it serves. This investigation uncovers the mechanisms of the neoliberal model of education that

continue to guide and influence SFVS ten years after it attempted to move away from the principles of privatization, selection, and exclusion of students. My work contributes to challenging the notion of neoliberalism as a raceless project by disclosing how the neoliberal forces contribute to further excluding students from certain countries, such as Haiti, that have suffered from centuries of intervention, exploitation, and dehumanization.

In other words, this dissertation illustrates the forces rooted in colonial logics that have influenced the school community's response to the rapid demographic changes at the SFVS. Grounded in transnationalism, this research provides an overview of an experience that applies to all newcomers to SFVS and has been overlooked in the academic literature: the student migration journey to Chile. It also conveys routine elements that impact the experiences of all students, such as pedagogical decisions and instructional practices, as well as the financial implications of enrolling immigrant students. Subsequently, I show how the SFVS acts as a site of cultural and social reproduction of nationalist ideology. All of these sections show the school community as a Zone of Mediation in the context of the sudden arrival of EMISAD. In an increasingly polarizing society dominated by social media algorithms that reinforce individual bias, members of the school community are increasingly portrayed as villains or heroes. My research complicates that narrative by uncovering the multiple forces that impact how a school community mediates changes triggered by policy reforms, social shifts, and demographic remake. Still, central to this dissertation are ethnoracial dynamics and myths associated with the White supremacist project of *mestizaje* which are prevalent in the school and prevent educators from disrupting and eradicating anti-Black sentiments and violence present at the SFVS. Continuing with the logic of analyzing the school community's mediation of the demographic change, this dissertation identifies three aspects where educators' efforts to support EMISAD were either absent or primarily inadequate. The first is the experience of failing to educate students with limited or interrupted formal education, a phenomenon that no one in the SFVS community knew about. The second was the miseducation of emergent multilingual students, also an arguably new phenomenon in Chile. The third is the neglectful response the school community deployed to disrupt physical and psychological violence against students of African descent. Drawing on critical race theory and the *mestizaje* frameworks I analyze anti-Black ethnoracial dynamics, which have a long history in places like the United States but are seemingly recent in countries like Chile.

To the best of my knowledge, this is the first attempt to conducting an in-depth exploration of an organization's intent to move away from neoliberal logics while also experiencing a sudden and abrupt increase of enrollment of emergent multilingual immigrant students of African descent.

Sudden and abrupt waves of migration are new in countries like Chile but have a longer history in other communities and are increasingly becoming global trends. The ongoing war in Ukraine, the Palestinian genocide, the disproportionate effects of climate change, the raise of far-right political figures, the proliferation of undemocratic regimes, and the continuity of oppressive economic systems that deepen social inequalities between and within countries are some of the factors contributing to forced migration. As my dissertation shows, academia has not been able to grasp the rapid process that is currently unfolding and the consequences it has triggered. This work joins the academic

discussion and attempts to fill this gap by connecting systems of oppression and their impact on individuals. One approach used was through uncovering the stories of transnational participants like Beatrice, whose family left Haiti in search of better opportunities and arrived in Chile in hopes of realizing this dream, but encountered a fractured and unequal neoliberal society that did not conform to the image of prosperity that its misleading economic indicators marketed. The desperation of being trapped at the bottom of the social ladder pushed Beatrice's family and thousands of others to embark on a deadly journey across the Americas to the United States-Mexico border, where they were apprehended and deported back to Haiti. Amidst the catastrophic scenario of being deported to a place where deadly chaos reigned, Beatrice's relationship with her teachers in Chile was a source of hope and stability at that moment in her life. Thousands of kilometers away, members of the school in Santa Fe supported Beatrice in her efforts to finish the school year. As this vignette shows, a key component of the analysis and descriptions of this complex social phenomenon are participants' histories, values, beliefs, and emotions. While the scholarship that addresses the school experiences of immigrant children is on the rise in Chile, most of it uncritically presents participants in an "us-others" scale, dehumanizing their lives by dismissing the emotional toll of the traumatizing experiences that come with forced migration. This dissertation moves away from the us-them or heroes- villains or victims- perpetrators narratives by focusing on humane relationships and by connecting participants' stories and choices to the colonial histories that help illuminating the anti-Black and anti-immigrant sentiments and attitudes the reign in Chile today.

Schools play a crucial role within this messy land of transformations because for newcomers, formal educational spaces have the potential to serve as a social gateway to opportunity, prosperity and belonging. Nonetheless, research in countries with longer immigration histories have shown that in some cases schools have acted as sites as of cultural extraction and school communities have engaged in actions that have resulted in violent disposition of language, traditions, knowledge, and the general worldviews of newcomers. In other words, this dissertation offers evidence that highlights the social potential of schools as institutions that mediate the social inclusion of transnational students. However, the scale of the phenomenon is such that schools should not be expected to respond in isolation. If we aim to construct solid foundations that could guarantee immigrant students access to opportunities for advancement and social belonging, it is imperative to build an orchestrated effort that involves multiple actors, such as policymakers, NGO's and members of the civil society.

Although researchers have studied the educational dynamics associated with immigrants and refugees in Europe and the United States, fewer scholars are looking at the phenomena that occur in countries outside of these regions. In practice, this lack of scholarly attention means that policymakers and educators in this region have little empirically based knowledge about how to respond to these shifts in the best interest of students; moreover, the academic world has been missing an opportunity to learn from these underexplored experiences. This empirical work addresses that gap.

References

Acosta Matos, E., Bosch Carcuro, M., & Pérez Vargas, A. (2018). *Masacre de 1937. 80 años después: Reconstruyendo la memoria*. CLACSO.

Adamson, F., Åstrand, B., & Darling-Hammond, L. (2016). *Global education reform*. Taylor & Francis.

Aguayo-Fernández, F., Díaz-Vargas, C., Moraga-Henríquez, P., & Mora-Olate, M. L. (2023). Migración en Chile e inclusión educativa: Un estudio documental (1980-2021). *Revista Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Niñez y Juventud*, *21*(2), 1–24. https://doi.org/10.11600/rlcsnj.21.2.5447

Alexander Craft, R. (2008). ' *Una Raza, Dos Etnias* ': The Politics Of Be(com)ing/Performing 'Afropanameño.' *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies*, *3*(2), 123–147. https://doi.org/10.1080/17442220802080519

Alves, F., Elacqua, G., Koslinki, M., Martinez, M., Santos, H., & Urbina, D. (2015). Winners and losers of school choice: Evidence from Rio de Janeiro, Brazil and Santiago, Chile. *International Journal of Educational Development*, *41*, 25–34. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2014.12.004

Andrews, G. R. (2007). *Afro-Latinoamérica, 1800-2000. Traductor: Óscar de la Torre Cueva.* Iberoamericana Editorial.

Andrews, G. R. (2010). *Blackness in the White Nation: A History of Afro-Uruguay*. Univ of North Carolina Press.

Annamma, S. A., Ferri, B. A., & Connor, D. J. (2018). Disability Critical Race Theory: Exploring the Intersectional Lineage, Emergence, and Potential Futures of DisCrit in Education. *Review of Research in Education*, *42*(1), 46–71. https://doi.org/10.3102/0091732X18759041

Anzaldúa, G. (1987). To live in the borderlands. *The Multicultural Southwest: A Reader*, 139–140.

Anzaldúa, G. (2001). To live in the borderlands. In A. G. Meléndez, J. Young, P. Moore, & P. Pynes (Eds.), *The Multicultural Southwest: A Reader* (pp. 139–140). University of Arizona Press.

Aravena Reyes, A., & Alt Álvarez, C. (2012). Juventud, migración y discriminación en el Chile contemporáneo. *Ultima década*, *20*(36), 127–140. https://doi.org/10.4067/S0718-22362012000100006

Assaél Budnik, J. A., Cornejo Chávez, R. C., González López, J. G., Redondo Rojo, J. R., Sánchez Edmonson, R. S., & Sobarzo Morales, M. S. (2011). La empresa educativa Chilena. *Educação & Sociedade*, *32*(115), 305–322. https://doi.org/10.1590/S0101-73302011000200004

Assaél, J., Cornejo, R., Albornoz, N., Etcheberrigaray, G., Hidalgo, F., Ligueño, S., & Palacios, D. (2015). La crisis del modelo educativo mercantil chileno: Un complejo escenario. *Currículo Sem Fronteiras*, *15*(2), 334–335.

Audebert, C. (2020). Caribbean Migration Spaces and Transnational Networks: The Case of the Haitian Diaspora. In M. Moïse & F. Réno (Eds.), *Border Transgression and Reconfiguration of Caribbean Spaces* (pp. 71–93). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-45939-0_4

Avalos, B., & Assaél Budnik, J. (2006). Moving from resistance to agreement: The case of the Chilean teacher performance evaluation. *International Journal of Educational Research*, *45*(4), 254–266. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijer.2007.02.004

Ayala, M. C., Webb, A., Maldonado, L., Canales, A., & Cascallar, E. (2024). Teacher's

    social desirability bias and Migrant students: A study on explicit and implicit

    prejudices with a list experiment. *Social Science Research*, *119*, 102990.

    https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2024.102990

Bailey, S. R., & Telles, E. E. (2006). Multiracial versus Collective Black Categories:

    Examining Census Classification Debates in Brazil. *Ethnicities*, *6*(1), 74–101.

    https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796806061080

Bajaj, M., Walsh, D., Bartlett, L., & Martínez, G. (2022). *Humanizing education for*

    immigrant and refugee youth: 20 strategies for the classroom and beyond.

    Teachers College Press.

Ball, A. F. (2009). Toward a theory of generative change in culturally and linguistically

    complex classrooms. *American Educational Research Journal*, *46*(1), 45–72.

Becerra-Lubies, R., Mayo, S., & Fones, A. (2021). Revitalization of indigenous

    languages and cultures: Critical review of preschool bilingual educational policies

    in Chile (2007–2016). *International Journal of Bilingual Education and*

    Bilingualism, *24*(8), 1147–1162. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2018.1563584

Belfield, C. R., & Levin, H. M. (with International Institute for Educational Planning, &

    International Institute for Educational Planning). (2002). *Education privatization:*

    Causes, consequences and planning implications. UNESCO: International

    Institute for Educational Planning.

Bell, D. (2018). *Faces at the bottom of the well: The permanence of racism*. Hachette

    UK.

Bellei, C. (2008). The Public-Private School Controversy in Chile. In R. Chakrabarti & P.

E. Peterson (Eds.), *School Choice International* (pp. 165–192). The MIT Press.

https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/9780262033763.003.0008

Bellei, C. (2015). *El gran experimento: Mercado y privatización de la educación chilena*.

LOM Ediciones.

Bellei, C., & Contreras, M. (2024). Post-Pandemic Crisis in Chilean Education.

The Challenge of Re-institutionalizing School Education. In F. M. Reimers (Ed.),

Schools and Society During the COVID-19 Pandemic: How Education Systems

Changed and the Road Ahead. Springer Nature Switzerland.

https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-42671-1

Bellei, C., Contreras, M., Ponce, T., Yañez, I., Díaz, R., & Vielma, C. (2022). The

Fragility of the School-in-Pandemic in Chile. In F. M. Reimers (Ed.), *Primary*

and Secondary Education During Covid-19: Disruptions to Educational

Opportunity During a Pandemic. Springer International Publishing.

https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-81500-4

Bellei, C., & Munoz, G. (2021). Models of regulation, education policies, and changes in

the education system: A long-term analysis of the Chilean case. *Journal of*

Educational Change. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-021-09435-1

Bellei, C., & Munoz, G. (2023). Models of regulation, education policies, and changes in

the education system: A long-term analysis of the Chilean case. *Journal of*

Educational Change, *24*(1), 49–76. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-021-09435-1

Bellei, C., & Villalobos, C. (2024). Chapter 19: The Construction of a Political Actor in a

Post-Dictatorship and Neoliberal Context. Persistence, Success and Challenges of

the Chilean Student Movement (1990-2020). In M. Klemenčič (Ed.), *The Handbook of Student Representation in Higher Education*. Bloomsbury Publishing Plc.

Bellei Carvacho, C. I., Alzamora Muñoz, G. A., Rubio, X., Alcaíno, M., Donoso, M. P., Martínez, J., Pozo, F. del, & Díaz, R. (2018). *Nueva Educación Pública: Contexto, contenidos y perspectivas de la desmunicipalización*.

Bertoni, E., Elacqua, G., Marotta, L., Martínez, M., Santos, H., & Soares, S. (2023). Is School Funding Unequal in Latin America? A Cross-Country Analysis of Interregional Disparities in Public Spending. *Comparative Education Review*, *67*(1), 100–122. https://doi.org/10.1086/722831

Bonal, X., & Bellei, C. (Eds.). (2019). *Understanding School Segregation: Patterns, Causes and Consequences of Spatial Inequalities in Education* (1st ed.). Bloomsbury Publishing Plc. https://doi.org/10.5040/9781350033542

Bonhomme, M. (2023). 'We're a bit browner but we still belong to the white race': Making whiteness in the context of South-South migration in Chile. *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies*, *18*(2), 227–243. https://doi.org/10.1080/17442222.2022.2099170

Bonilla-Silva, E. (1997). Rethinking Racism: Toward a Structural Interpretation. *American Sociological Review*, *62*(3), 465–480. https://doi.org/10.2307/2657316

Bonilla-Silva, E. (2006). *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in America*. Rowman & Littlefield.

Bonilla-Silva, E. (2015). The Structure of Racism in Color-Blind, "Post-Racial" America. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *59*(11), 1358–1376. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764215586826

Booher-Jennings, J. (2005). Below the Bubble: "Educational Triage" and the Texas Accountability System. *American Educational Research Journal*, *42*(2), 231–268. https://doi.org/10.3102/00028312042002231

Bourdieu, P. (1986). Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education. *The Forms of Capital*, *241*, 258.

Brown v. Board of Education (U.S. Supreme Court 1954). https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/347/483

Bureau of International Labor Affairs. (2021). *2021 Findings on the Worst Forms of Child Labor: Chile*.

Carbado, D. W. (2015). Blue-on-Black violence: A provisional model of some of the causes. *Geo. LJ*, *104*, 1479.

Carnoy, M. (1998). National Voucher Plans in Chile and Sweden: Did Privatization Reforms Make for Better Education? *Comparative Education Review*, *42*(3), 309–337. https://doi.org/10.1086/447510

Carrasco, A., & Fromm, G. (2016). How local market pressures shape leadership practices: Evidence from Chile. *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, *48*(4), 290–308.

Casimir, J. (with Dubois, L., & Mignolo, W.). (2020). *The Haitians: A decolonial history / Jean Casimir ; translated by Laurent Dubois ; with a foreword by Walter D. Mignolo.* University of North Carolina Press.

Chubb, J. E., & Moe, T. M. (1990). *Politics, Markets, and America's Schools*. Brookings Institution Press.

Cole, M. (2009). Critical Race Theory comes to the UK: A Marxist response. *Ethnicities*, *9*(2), 246–269. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796809103462

Contreras, D., & Gallardo, S. (2022). The effects of mass migration on the academic performance of native students. Evidence from Chile. *Economics of Education Review*, *91*, 102314. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econedurev.2022.102314

Conversi, D. (2008). 'We are all equals!' Militarism, homogenization and 'egalitarianism' in nationalist state-building (1789–1945). *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *31*(7), 1286–1314. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870701625450

Córdoba, C., & Miranda, P. (2018). Incorporación de estudiantes migrantes en el sistema escolar chileno:¿ una nueva forma de segregación escolar? *CONTRIBUCIONES CIENTÍFICAS Y TECNOLÓGICAS*, *43*(1), 43–54.

Córdoba-Calquin, C. A., Rojas-Patuelli, K. R., & González-Lagos, R. E. G. (2022). Segregación escolar de estudiantes migrantes en escuelas de Santiago, Chile. *Magis: Revista Internacional de Investigación En Educación*, *15*, 1–31.

Cox, C. (2011). Currículo escolar de Chile: Génesis, implementación y desarrollo. *Revue International de Education de Sevres*.

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color. *Stanford Law Review*, *43*(6), 1241. https://doi.org/10.2307/1229039

Crenshaw, K., Gotanda, N., Peller, G., & Thomas, K. (1995). *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings that Formed the Movement*. The New Press.

Cuban, L. (2013). *Inside the black box of classroom practice: Change without reform in American education*. Harvard Education Press.

Cussen, C. (2016). Raza y calidad de vida en el reino de Chile. Antecedentes coloniales de la discriminacion. In M. E. Tijoux, *Racismo en Chile: La piel como marca de la inmigración*. Editorial Universitaria de Chile.

Cussen, C., Llorca-Jaña, M., & Droller, F. (2016). THE DYNAMICS AND DETERMINANTS OF SLAVE PRICES IN AN URBAN SETTING: SANTIAGO DE CHILE, *c* . 1773-1822. *Revista de Historia Económica / Journal of Iberian and Latin American Economic History*, *34*(3), 449–477. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0212610915000361

Cutler, D. M., Fryer, R. G., & Glaeser, E. L. (2005). *Racial Differences in Life Expectancy: The Impact of Salt, Slavery, and Selection*.

D'Agostino, T. J., & Madero, C. (2023). The Machuca experience: A retrospective case study of school-based socio-economic integration. *International Journal of Educational Development*, *100*, 102790. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2023.102790

Darling-Hammond, L., Hyler, M., & Gardner, M. (2017). *Effective Teacher Professional Development*. Learning Policy Institute. https://doi.org/10.54300/122.311

Delpit, L. D. (2006). *Other People's Children: Cultural Conflict in the Classroom*. The New Press.

Diamond, J. B., & Lewis, A. E. (2015). *Despite the Best Intentions: Making School Integration Work in Integrated Schools*. 20.

Dickar, M. (2008). Hearing the silenced dialogue: An examination of the impact of
teacher race on their experiences. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, *11*(2), 115–132.
https://doi.org/10.1080/13613320802110233

Dixon, A. R., & Telles, E. E. (2017). Skin Color and Colorism: Global Research,
Concepts, and Measurement. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *43*(1), 405–424.
https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-060116-053315

Dixson, A. D., & Rousseau, C. K. (2005). And we are still not saved: Critical race theory
in education ten years later. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, *8*(1), 7–27.
https://doi.org/10.1080/1361332052000340971

Dominguez, P., & Ruffini, K. (2023). Long-term gains from longer school days. *Journal
of Human Resources*, *58*(4), 1385–1427.

Donoso, S. (2013). Dynamics of change in Chile: Explaining the emergence of the 2006
Pingüino movement. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, *45*(1), 1–29.

Donoso, S. (2016). When social movements become a democratizing force: The political
impact of the student movement in Chile. In *Protest, social movements and global
democracy since 2011: New perspectives* (pp. 167–196). Emerald Group
Publishing Limited.

Drake, C., & Clayton, H. (1945). *Black metropolis: A study of Negro northern city*. New
York: Macmillan.

Dubois, L. (2004). *Avengers of the new world*. Harvard University Press.

Dulitzky, A. E. (2005). A Region in Denial: Racial Discrimination and Racism in Latin
America. In A. Dzidzienyo & S. Oboler (Eds.), *Neither Enemies nor Friends* (pp.
39–59). Palgrave Macmillan US. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781403982636_2

Dumas, M. J. (2014). 'Losing an arm': Schooling as a site of black suffering. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, *17*(1), 1–29. https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2013.850412

Dumas, M. J., & Nelson, J. D. (2016). (Re)Imagining Black Boyhood: Toward a Critical Framework for Educational Research. *Harvard Educational Review*, *86*(1), 27–47. https://doi.org/10.17763/0017-8055.86.1.27

Dweck, C. S. (2006). *Mindset: The New Psychology of Success*. Random House Publishing Group.

Edwards, S. (2023). *The Chile Project: The Story of the Chicago Boys and the Downfall of Neoliberalism*. Princeton University Press.

Elacqua, G. (2012). The impact of school choice and public policy on segregation: Evidence from Chile. *International Journal of Educational Development*, *32*(3), 444–453. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2011.08.003

Estefane Jaramillo, A. (2004). " Un alto en el camino para saber cuántos somos": Los censos de población y la construcción de lealtades nacionales. Chile, siglo XIX. *Historia (Santiago)*, *37*(1), 33–59.

Falabella, A. (2015). El mercado escolar en Chile y el surgimiento de la nueva gestión pública: El tejido de la política entre la dictadura neoliberal y los gobiernos de la centroizquierda (1979 a 2009). *Educação & Sociedade*, *36*(132), 699–722. https://doi.org/10.1590/ES0101-73302015152420

Fanon, F. (2021). *Black Skin, White Masks*. Penguin. https://www.penguin.co.uk/books/313127/black-skin-white-masks-by-fanon-frantz/9780241396667

Ferrer, G. (2006). *Sistemas de evaluación de aprendizajes en América Latina: Balance y desafíos.* PREAL.

Fredrickson, G. M. (2016). Religion and the invention of racism. In *Readings in the Theory of Religion* (pp. 88–106). Routledge.

Friedman, M., & Friedman, R. (1990). *Free to Choose: A Personal Statement*. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.

Fryer, R. G. (2005). *Racial differences in life expectancy: The impact of salt, slavery, and selection.* Malcom Wiener Inequality and Social Policy Seminar Series.

Fullan, M. (1993). *Change Forces: Probing the Depths of Educational Reform*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203059005

Gallego, F. (2002). COMPETENCIA Y RESULTADOS EDUCATIVOS: TEORIA Y EVIDENCIA PARA CHILE. *Cuadernos de Economía*, *39*(118), 309–352.

Gallego, F. (2006). *Voucher-School Competition, Incentives, and Outcomes: Evidence from Chile*. 54.

García, O. (2008). Spanish and Globalization: Shedding Its Armor and Baring Its Undulating Rhythms. *International Multilingual Research Journal*, *2*(1–2), 1–4. https://doi.org/10.1080/19313150701766946

García, O. (2009a). Education, multilingualism and translanguaging in the 21st century. *Social Justice through Multilingual Education*, *143*, 158.

García, O. (2009b). Emergent Bilinguals and TESOL: What's in a Name? *TESOL Quarterly*, *43*(2), 322–326. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1545-7249.2009.tb00172.x

Gavin, J. (2011). " True charity begins where justice ends": The life and teachings of St. Alberto Hurtado, SJ. *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*, *43*(4).

Gillborn*, D. (2005). Education policy as an act of white supremacy: Whiteness, critical race theory and education reform. *Journal of Education Policy*, *20*(4), 485–505. https://doi.org/10.1080/02680930500132346

Glesne, C. (2011). Becoming Qualitative Researchers: An Introduction, 4th Edition. In *Pearson*. Pearson.

Gould, S. J. (1996). *The Mismeasure of Man*. W. W. Norton & Company.

Grant-Thomas, A., & powell, john A. (2006). Toward a Structural Racism Framework. In *Poverty & Race* (Vol. 15, Issue 6, pp. 3–6). Poverty & Race Research Action Council. https://www.proquest.com/docview/210363915/abstract/8286FA4EC8E4E47PQ/1

Graves Jr, J. (2003). *The Emperor's New Clothes: Biological Theories of Race at the Millennium*. Rutgers University Press.

Guerrettaz, A. M. (2020). "We are the *mayas*": Indigenous language revitalization, identification, and postcolonialism in the Yucatan, Mexico. *Linguistics and Education*, *58*, 100765. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.linged.2019.100765

Gustafson, B., Julca Guerrero, F., & Jiménez, A. (2016). Policy and Politics of Language Revitalization in Latin America and the Caribbean. In S. M. Coronel-Molina & T. L. McCarty (Eds.), *Indigenous Language Revitalization in the Americas* (0 ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203070673

Gutiérrez, G., Jerrim, J., & Torres, R. (2020). School Segregation Across the World: Has Any Progress Been Made in Reducing the Separation of the Rich from the Poor?

The Journal of Economic Inequality, *18*(2), 157–179.

https://doi.org/10.1007/s10888-019-09437-3

Gutiérrez, H. (2010). Exaltación del mestizo: La invención del Roto Chileno. *Universum (Talca)*, *25*(1), 122–139.

Gutmann, A. (1999). *Democratic Education: Revised Edition*. Greenwood Publishing Group.

Guzmán-Concha, C. (2017). Undoing the neoliberal higher education system? Student protests and the Bachelet reforms in Chile. *World Social and Economic Review of Contemporary Policy Issues*, *8*, 32–43.

Handler, J. S., & Reilly, M. C. (2017). Contesting "White Slavery" in the Caribbean. *New West Indian Guide*, *91*(1–2), 30–55. https://doi.org/10.1163/22134360-09101056

Harris, C. I. (1993). Whiteness as property. *Harvard Law Review*, *106*(8), 1707–1791.

Harvey, D. (2007). *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford University Press.

Hattie, J., & Yates, G. C. R. (2013). *Visible Learning and the Science of How We Learn*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315885025

Henochsberg, S. (2016). Public debt and slavery: The case of Haiti (1760–1915). *Paris School of Economics, Paris, France*.

Hernández, M., & Carrasco, A. (2020). The transition from a deregulated market to a centralised school admission system in Chile: Mapping middle-class responses to new school choice rules. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 1–18. https://doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2020.1851592

Hernández, T. K. (2022). *Racial Innocence: Unmasking Latino Anti-Black Bias and the Struggle for Equality*. Beacon Press.

Hochschild, A. (2012). *HAITI The Aftershocks of History*. NEW YORK TIMES 620 8TH
AVE, NEW YORK, NY 10018 USA.

Hochschild, J. L., & Weaver, V. (2007). Policies of Racial Classification and the Politics
of Racial Inequality. In *Remaking America: Democracy and Public Policy in an
Age of Inequality* (edited by Joe Soss, Jacob Hacker, and Suzanne Mettler, pp.
159–182). Russell Sage Foundation.

Honey, N., & Carrasco, A. (2023). A New Admission System in Chile and Its Foreseen
Moderate Impact on Access for Low-Income Students. *Educational Evaluation
and Policy Analysis*, *45*(1), 108–133.
https://doi.org/10.3102/01623737221093374

Horsford, S. D., Scott, J. T., & Anderson, G. L. (2018). *The Politics of Education Policy
in an Era of Inequality: Possibilities for Democratic Schooling*. Routledge.

Human Rights Watch. (2021). Chile: Events of 2021. In *World Report 2022*.
https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2022/country-chapters/chile

ILO, I. L. O., & UNICEF, U. N. C. F. (2021). *Child Labour. Global Estimate 2021,
Trends and the Road Forward*.

INE, I. N. de E. de C. (2024). *Cuestionario Viviendas Particulares Censo de Población y
Vivienda 2024*. https://censo2024.inechile.cl/file/cuestionario-censal-2024.pdf

Joiko, S. (2019). 'Estoy aprendiendo yo con los niños otra vez cómo es el sistema'Modos
otros de la experiencia educativa de madres y padres en escuelas chilenas en
contextos migratorios. *Estudios Pedagógicos (Valdivia)*, *45*(3), 93–113.

Joseph, C. L. (2012). *"The Haitian Turn": An Appraisal of Recent Literary and
Historiographical Works on the Haitian Revolution*. *5*.

Klein, N. (2007). *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*. Alfred A. Knopf Canada.

Kubal, M. R., & Fisher, E. (2016). The Politics of Student Protest and Education Reform in Chile: Challenging the Neoliberal State. *The Latin Americanist*, *60*(2), 217–241. https://doi.org/10.1353/tla.2016.a705829

Labaree, D. F. (1997). Public Goods, Private Goods: The American Struggle Over Educational Goals. *American Educational Research Journal*, *34*(1), 39–81. https://doi.org/10.3102/00028312034001039

Ladson-Billings, G. (1995). But That's Just Good Teaching! The Case for Culturally Relevant Pedagogy. *Theory Into Practice*, *34*(3), 159–165.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1998). Just what is critical race theory and what's it doing in a nice field like education? *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 11*, 7–24. https://doi.org/10.1080/095183998236863

Ladson-Billings, G., & Tate, W. F. (1995). Toward a Critical Race Theory of Education. *Teachers College Record*, *97*(1), 22.

Latinobarómetro. (2020). *Informe Chile 2020*. Corporación Latinobarómetro. https://www.latinobarometro.org/latdocs/INFORME_LATINOBAROMETRO_CHILE_1995_2020.pdf

Leihy, P., & Martini, H. A. (2023). To educate is to include: A Baghdadi Palestinian refugee's school days in Chile. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, *27*(12), 1304–1318. https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2021.1889050

Leonardo, Z., Scott, J., & Bajaj, M. (2022). Racialization, Whiteness, and Education. In J. Scott & M. Bajaj, *World Yearbook of Education 2023* (1st ed., pp. 35–49). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003241393-4

Lincoln, Y., Lynham, S., & Guba, E. (2011). Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions, and emerging confluences, revisited. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln, *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research. (4th ed.)* (pp. 97–128). SAGE Publications, Inc. http://methods.sagepub.com/reference/sage-encyc-qualitative-research-methods

Loveman, M. (2014). *National Colors: Racial Classification and the State in Latin America*. Oxford University Press.

Lutz, J., & Yayboke, E. (2021). *Haitian Migration: Food Insecurity, Fragility, and a Better Way Forward*. https://www.csis.org/analysis/haitian-migration-food-insecurity-fragility-and-better-way-forward

Madero, C. (2018). Milton Friedman: How Responsible Is He? A Required Preamble to Understanding His Influence on the Chilean Educational System 1950–2010. *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Research*, *24*(2), 172–188. https://doi.org/10.1080/13260219.2018.1536221

Marolla-Gajardo, J., & Saavedra Solís, C. (2021). América Latina en el currículo chileno de Historia: Análisis desde la literacidad crítica. *Revista Colombiana de Educación*, *1*(82). https://doi.org/10.17227/rce.num82-10499

McDonnell, L. M., & Elmore, R. F. (1987). Getting the Job Done: Alternative Policy Instruments. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, *9*(2), 133–152. https://doi.org/10.3102/01623737009002133

Meckes, L., & Carrasco, R. (2010). Two decades of SIMCE: An overview of the National Assessment System in Chile. *Assessment in Education: Principles, Policy & Practice*, *17*(2), 233–248. https://doi.org/10.1080/09695941003696214

Melamed, J. (2006). The Spirit of Neoliberalism. *Social Text*, *24*(4), 1–24. https://doi.org/10.1215/01642472-2006-009

Melamed, J. (2014). *Diversity*.

Melamed, J. (2015). Racial capitalism. *Critical Ethnic Studies*, *1*(1), 76–85.

Merino, M. E., & Mellor, D. J. (2009). Perceived discrimination in Mapuche discourse: Contemporary racism in Chilean society1. *Critical Discourse Studies*, *6*(3), 215–226. https://doi.org/10.1080/17405900902974902

Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldana, J. (2018). *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook*. SAGE Publications.

MINEDUC. (2021). *Apuntes 16: Variación de la matrícula preliminar 2021*. Centro de Estudios MINEDUC. https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12365/19173

MINEDUC. (2023, November 11). *Mineduc presenta las cifras oficiales de asistencia y desvinculación 2023*. Ministerio de Educación. https://www.mineduc.cl/mineduc-presenta-las-cifras-oficiales-de-asistencia-y-desvinculacion-2023-y-avances-en-las-medidas-para-la-reactivacion-educativa/

Mitnick, G. W. (2004). *Chile: Indígenas y mestizos negados*. 14.

Montecino, S. (1999). Mestizajes y espejeos de las identidades en Chile. *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, *23*(3), 445–454.

Montecinos, C., Ahumada, L., Galdames, S., Campos, F., & Leiva, M. V. (2015). Targets, threats and (dis)trust: The managerial troika for public school principals

in Chile. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, *23*, 87.

https://doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v23.2083

Moyano Dávila, C., Joiko, S., & Oyarzún, J. de D. (2020). Searching for an educational

shelter: Classification, racialisation and genderisation during migrant families'

school-choice experiences in Chile. *International Studies in Sociology of*

Education, *29*(3), 293–318. https://doi.org/10.1080/09620214.2020.1771748

Muñoz, G., & Weinstein, J. (2019). The difficult process in Chile: Redefining the rules of

the game for subsidized private education. In *Politics of education in Latin*

America (pp. 72–100). Brill.

Nuñez, I., & Urrieta Jr, L. (2021). Transfronterizo children's literacies of surveillance and

the cultural production of border crossing identities on the US–Mexico border.

Anthropology & Education Quarterly, *52*(1), 21–41.

Oakes, J. (2005). *Keeping Track: How Schools Structure Inequality*. Yale University

Press.

Oakes, J., Welner, K., Yonezawa, S., & Allen, R. L. (1998). Norms and Politics of

Equity-Minded Change: Researching the "Zone of Mediation." *International*

Handbook of Educational Change: Part One, 952–975.

Obasogie, O. K., Harris-Wai, J. N., Darling, K., & Keagy, C. (2015). Race in the Life

Sciences: An Empirical Assessment, 1950-2000. *FORDHAM LAW REVIEW*, *83*.

Obregón, L. (2018). Empire, racial capitalism and international law: The case of

manumitted Haiti and the recognition debt. *Leiden Journal of International Law*,

31(3), 597–615.

OECD. (2021). *Enrolment rates by age*.

https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=EAG_ENRL_RATE_AGE

OECD. (2022). *Education at a Glance 2022*. https://www.oecd-

ilibrary.org/content/publication/3197152b-en

OECD. (2024). *Income inequality (indicator)*. OECD. https://doi.org/10.1787/459aa7f1-

en

Oliva, M. A. (2010). Política educativa chilena 1965-2009: ¿Qué oculta esa trama?

Revista Brasileira de Educação, *15*(44), 311–328. https://doi.org/10.1590/S1413-

24782010000200008

Omi, M., & Winant, H. (2015). *Racial formation in the United States* (Third edition).

Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group.

Ong, A., Dominguez, V. R., Friedman, J., Schiller, N. G., Stolcke, V., & Ying, H. (1996).

Cultural Citizenship as Subject-Making: Immigrants Negotiate Racial and

Cultural Boundaries in the United States [and Comments and Reply]. *Current

Anthropology*, *37*(5), 737–762. https://doi.org/10.1086/204560

Orfield, G., Ee, J., Frankenberg, E., & Siegel-Hawley, G. (2016). *Brown at 62: School

segregation by race, poverty and state*. 9.

Parcerisa, L., & Falabella, A. (2017). La consolidación del Estado evaluador a través de

políticas de rendición de cuentas: Trayectoria, producción y tensiones en el

sistema educativo. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, *25*, 89.

https://doi.org/10.14507/epaa.25.3177

Paredes, R. (2015). Sistema de voucher en la educación chilena. In J. Corvalán, A. Carrasco, & J. E. Garcia-Huidobro, *Mercado escolar: Libertad, diversidad y desigualdad*.

Paris, D. (2012). Culturally sustaining pedagogy: A needed change in stance, terminology, and practice. *Educational Researcher*, *41*(3), 93–97.

Paschel, T. S. (2016). *Becoming Black Political Subjects: Movements and Ethno-Racial Rights in Colombia and Brazil*. Princeton University Press.

Patel, L. (2015). *Decolonizing Educational Research: From Ownership to Answerability*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315658551

Pavez Soto, I. (2012). INMIGRACIÓN Y RACISMO: EXPERIENCIAS DE LA NIÑEZ PERUANA EN SANTIAGO DE CHILE. *Si Somos Americanos*, *12*(1), 75–99. https://doi.org/10.4067/S0719-09482012000100004

Pavez Soto, I. (2013). Los significados de "ser niña y niño migrante": Conceptualizaciones desde la infancia peruana en Chile. *Polis (Santiago)*, *12*(35), 183–210. https://doi.org/10.4067/S0718-65682013000200009

Pedemonte, N., Madero, C., & Lobos, C. (2023). Migration in the Classroom to the light of Multicultural Beliefs and Constructivist Teaching Practices. *International Journal of Instruction*, *16*(3), 855–876.

Pérez Vargas, A. (2018). El Estado Trujillista, la Matanza del 37 y la Cuestión Racial. In M. Bosch Carcuro, E. Acosta Matos, & A. Pérez Vargas (Eds.), *Masacre de 1937. 80 años después: Reconstruyendo la memoria*. CLACSO.

Phillipson, R. (2017). Myths and realities of 'global' English. *Language Policy*, *16*(3), 313–331. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993-016-9409-z

Pineda, E. (2018). Las heridas del racismo: Efectos psicosociales de la discriminación racial en las personas afrodescendientes en América Latina. *Iberoamérica Social: Revista-Red de Estudios Sociales*, *XI*, 46–64.

Quijano, A. (2000). Coloniality of Power and Eurocentrism in Latin America. In *International Sociology* (Vol. 15, Issue 2, pp. 215–232).

Rambla, X., Valiente, Ó., & Frías, C. (2011). The politics of school choice in two countries with large private-dependent sectors (Spain and Chile): Family strategies, collective action and lobbying. *Journal of Education Policy*, *26*(3), 431–447. https://doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2010.540675

Ramos, M., Guajardo, F., Orellana, V., Bellei, C., Canales, M., & Contreras, M. (2022). *Educación: La promesa incumplida: Esfuerzo, miedos y esperanzas de familias chilenas en el mercado escolar*. Editorial Catalonia.

Ravitch, S. M., & Riggan, M. (2016). *Reason & rigor: How conceptual frameworks guide research*. Sage Publications.

República de Chile. (2009, September 12). *Ley n° 20 370. Ley general de educación.* https://www.bcn.cl/leychile

República de Chile. (2016). *Decreto 1264 Extento. Aprueba Plan de Estudiode Primero y Segundo año de Educación Media.* https://www.bcn.cl/leychile/navegar?idNorma=1096481&idVersion=2018-03-17&idParte=

República de Chile. (2021). *Ley n° 21.325. Ley de migración y extranjería*.

Richards, P. (2013). *Race and the Chilean Miracle: Neoliberalism, Democracy, and Indigenous Rights*. University of Pittsburgh Pre.

Rivero, M. del R. (2015). The link of teacher career paths on the distribution of high qualified teachers: A Chilean case study. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, *23*, 73–73.

Rodrigues Pinto, S. (2018). Antihaitianismo en República Dominicana: De Sánchez Valverde a Balaguer. In M. Bosch Carcuro, E. Acosta Matos, & A. Pérez Vargas (Eds.), *Masacre de 1937. 80 años después: Reconstruyendo la memoria*. CLACSO.

Rojas Fabris, M. T., Salas, N., & Rodríguez, J. I. (2021). Directoras y directores escolares frente a la Ley de Inclusión Escolar en Chile: Entre compromiso, conformismo y resistencia. *Pensamiento Educativo*, *58*(1), 1–12.

Rojas, M. T., Hernández, M., & Falabella, A. (2023). School Desegregation Policies in Chile: Tension Between the Market and Non-selection Regulation. In *Educational Markets and Segregation: Global Trends and Singular Experiences From Belgium and Chile* (pp. 189–207). Springer.

Rosa, J., & Burdick, C. (2017). Language ideologies. In O. García, N. Flores, & M. Spotti (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of language and society* (pp. 103–123). Oxford University Press.

Roth, W. D. (2012). *Race migrations: Latinos and the cultural transformation of race*. Stanford University Press.

Sacerdote, B. (2011). Peer Effects in Education: How Might They Work, How Big Are They and How Much Do We Know Thus Far? In *Handbook of the Economics of Education* (Vol. 3, pp. 249–277). Elsevier. https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-444-53429-3.00004-1

Salas, N., Castillo, D., San Martín, C., Kong, F., Thayer, L. E., & Huepe, D. (2018). Inmigración en la escuela: Caracterización del prejuicio hacia escolares migrantes en Chile. *Universitas Psychologica*, *16*(5), 1–15. https://doi.org/10.11144/Javeriana.upsy16-5.iecp

Saldaña, J. (2021). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers* (4th ed.). Sage publications.

Sánchez, P. (2007). Urban Immigrant Students: How Transnationalism Shapes Their World Learning. *The Urban Review*, *39*(5), 489–517. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11256-007-0064-8

Saura, G., & Mateluna, H. (2020). Política educativa en Chile para eliminar las lógicas neoliberales del mercado escolar. *Educar Em Revista*, *36*, e75918.

Schacher, Y., & Schmidtke, R. (2022). Pushed into the Shadows: Mexico's Reception of Haitian Migrants. *Refugees International, April*, *28*.

Schiller, N. G., Basch, L., & Blanc, C. S. (1995). From immigrant to transmigrant: Theorizing transnational migration. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 48–63.

Scott, J., & Bajaj, M. (2022). *World Yearbook of Education 2023: Racialization and Educational Inequality in Global Perspective*. Taylor & Francis.

Scott, J., & Quinn, R. (2014). The Politics of Education in the Post- *Brown* Era: Race, Markets, and the Struggle for Equitable Schooling. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *50*(5), 749–763. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X14551983

Scribner, S., & Cole, M. (1978). Unpackaging literacy. *Social Science Information*, *17*(1), 19–40.

Seidman, I. (2019). *Interviewing as Qualitative Research: A Guide for Researchers in Education and the Social Sciences*. Teachers College Press.

SERMIG, S. N. de M. (2024). *Minuta población migrante en la comuna de EstaciónCentral*. Departamento de Estudios. chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/https://serviciomigraciones.cl/wp-content/uploads/estudios/Minutas-Comuna/RM/Estacion-Central.pdf

Servicio Nacional de Migración. (2022). *MIGRACIÓN - Irregulares en tránsito por Darién por país 2022—Datos Abiertos de Panamá*. https://www.datosabiertos.gob.pa/dataset/migracion-irregulares-en-transito-por-darien-por-pais-2022

Shange, S. (2019). *Progressive Dystopia: Abolition, Antiblackness, and Schooling in San Francisco*. Duke University Press.

Sillard, M., Garay, M., & Troncoso, I. (2018). Análisis al nuevo sistema de admisión escolar en Chile: La Región de Magallanes como experiencia piloto. *Calidad en la Educación*, *49*, 112. https://doi.org/10.31619/caledu.n49.578

SJM, S. J. a M., & Educación 2020. (2021). *Casen y Migración: Educación, Formación y Acceso a oportunidades: Desafíos aún pendientes (Informe N°2)*. https://www.migracionenchile.cl/publicaciones

Skerrett, A. (2015). *Teaching transnational youth—Literacy and education in a changing world*. Teachers College Press.

Small, M. L. (2009). `How many cases do I need?': On science and the logic of case selection in field-based research. *Ethnography*, *10*(1), 5–38. https://doi.org/10.1177/1466138108099586

Spencer, H. (1872). *The Survival of the Fittest*. 263–264.

Stevenson, H. P. (2007). A case study in leading schools for social justice: When morals and markets collide. *Journal of Educational Administration*, *45*(6), 769–781. https://doi.org/10.1108/09578230710829937

Sue, C. A. (2013). *Land of the Cosmic Race: Race Mixture, Racism, and Blackness in Mexico*. Oxford University Press.

Telles, E., & Paschel, T. (2014). Who Is Black, White, or Mixed Race? How Skin Color, Status, and Nation Shape Racial Classification in Latin America. *American Journal of Sociology*, *120*(3), 864–907. https://doi.org/10.1086/679252

Thayer Correa, L. E., Stang Alva, F., & Dilla Rodríguez, C. (2020). política del estado de ánimo. La debilidad de las políticas migratorias locales en Santiago de Chile. *Perfiles Latinoamericanos*, *28*(55). https://doi.org/10.18504/pl2855-007-2020

Tijoux, M. E. (Ed.). (2016). *Racismo en Chile: La piel como marca de la inmigración* (Primera edición). Editorial Universitaria.

Toledo Vega, G., Cerda-Oñate, K., & Lizasoain, A. (2022). El rol de la lengua meta en la inmersión social de los inmigrantes haitianos en Chile y las creencias de los educadores acerca de la enseñanza y el aprendizaje. *Literatura y Lingüística*, *46*, 427–442.

Torche, F. (2005). Privatization Reform and Inequality of Educational Opportunity: The Case of Chile. *Sociology of Education*, *78*(4), 316–343. https://doi.org/10.1177/003804070507800403

Treviño, E., Valenzuela, J. P., Villalobos, C., Béjares, C., Wyman, I., & Allende, C. (2018). Agrupamiento por habilidad académica en el sistema escolar. Nueva

evidencia para comprender las desigualdades del sistema educativo chileno. *Revista Mexicana de Investigación Educativa*, *23*(76), 45–71.

Turkewitz, J. (2022). How the Darién Gap Is Reshaping Migrant Journeys. *The New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/09/world/americas/migrants-darien-gap.html?action=click&pgtype=Article&state=default&module=styln-darien-gap&variant=show&region=BELOW_MAIN_CONTENT&block=storyline_flex_guide_recirc

UNESCO. (2023). *Literacy rate, adult total (% of people ages 15 and above)*. https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.ADT.LITR.ZS

UNICEF, & INE. (2023). *Niñez y adolescencia migrante en Chile Estimación de población*. https://www.ine.gob.cl/docs/default-source/demografia-y-migracion/publicaciones-y-anuarios/migración-internacional/estimación-población-extranjera-en-chile-2018/informe-estimacion-ninez-y-adolescencia-migrante.pdf?sfvrsn=8cac1976_7

United States Department of State. (n.d.). *Milestones: 1914–1920—Office of the Historian*. Retrieved April 23, 2024, from https://history.state.gov/milestones/1914-1920/haiti

Urquiola, M. (2016). Competition Among Schools. In *Handbook of the Economics of Education* (Vol. 5, pp. 209–237). Elsevier. https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-444-63459-7.00004-X

Valenzuela, A. (1999). *Subtractive Schooling: U.S. - Mexican Youth and the Politics of Caring*. SUNY Press.

Valenzuela, J. P., & Allende, C. (2023). School segregation in Chile. In *Educational Markets and Segregation: Global Trends and Singular Experiences From Belgium and Chile* (pp. 167–187). Springer.

Valenzuela, J. P., Bellei, C., & Ríos, D. de los. (2014). Socioeconomic school segregation in a market-oriented educational system. The case of Chile. *Journal of Education Policy*, *29*(2), 217–241. https://doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2013.806995

Valenzuela, J. P., & Montecinos, C. (2017). Structural Reforms and Equity in Chilean Schools. In J. P. Valenzuela & C. Montecinos, *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Education*. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190264093.013.108

Valenzuela-Vergara, E. M. (2023). The good, the bad, and the invisible: The role of educators in reinforcing national-origin-based stereotypes. *Multicultural Education Review*, *15*(3), 161–184. https://doi.org/10.1080/2005615X.2023.2287692

Valledor, L., Garcés, L., & Whipple, P. (2020). Interculturalidad y prácticas docentes en clases de historia, geografía y ciencias sociales, en escuelas con alto porcentaje de alumnos migrantes de la comuna de Santiago. *Calidad En La Educación*, *52*, 49–80.

Valoyes-Chávez, L., Andrade-Molina, M., & Montecino, A. (2023). Beyond language: Conceptualizing epistemic violence against Black immigrant students in mathematics education. *ZDM–Mathematics Education*, *55*(6), 1125–1137.

Verger, A., Fontdevila, C., & Zancajo, A. (2016). *The privatization of education: A political economy of global education reform*. Teachers College Press.

Veronelli, G. A. (2015). The coloniality of language: Race, expressivity, power, and the darker side of modernity. *Wagadu: A Journal of Transnational Women's & Gender Studies*, *13*(1), 5.

Wacquant, L. (2013). A Janus-faced institution of ethnoracial closure. *Mainz Historical Cultural Sciences| Volume 17*, 15.

Wacquant, L. (2022). *Body & Soul: Notebooks of an Apprentice Boxer*. Oxford University Press.

Welner, K. G. (2001). *Legal rights, local wrongs: When community control collides with educational equity*. SUNY Press.

WHO. (2022). *Immunization Coverage*.

https://www.who.int/data/gho/data/themes/topics/immunization-coverage

Williams, D. R., Lawrence, J. A., & Davis, B. A. (2019). *Racism and Health: Evidence and Needed Research*.

World Bank. (2023). *In Haiti, Access to Water and Sanitation is Vital, and the World Bank Is Making This Possible*. World Bank.

https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2023/03/22/in-haiti-access-to-water-and-sanitation-is-vital-and-the-world-bank-is-making-this-possible

Yin, R. K. (2017). *Case Study Research and Applications: Design and Methods*. SAGE Publications.

Zane, S. N., Cochran, J. C., & Mears, D. P. (2022). Deservingness and punishment in juvenile justice: Do Black youth grow up "faster" in the eyes of the court? *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, *20*(1), 41–62.

Zegers, M., & Reynolds, S. A. (2022). Mothers' and grandmothers' caregiving for young children in Chile: Roles and responsibilities. *Journal of Family Psychology*, *36*(8), 1285–1295. https://doi.org/10.1037/fam0000984

Zuberi, T., & Bonilla-Silva, E. (2008). *White Logic, White Methods: Racism and Methodology*. Rowman & Littlefield.

Appendices

Appendix A
Codebook

Code Name	Description	Explanation and examples
Educators.Childhood	Educators describe their childhood	The element focuses on educators' experiences during their childhood and include the place where they grew up and their family history
Educators.K12.Education	Educators describe their K-12 educational experiences	This element focuses on the characteristics of the schooling experiences of educators and includes descriptions of the school they attended
Educators.College	Educators describe the university they attended	This element focuses on the experiences in undergraduate as well as graduate education. It includes issues related to curriculum, preparation to work in the SFVS context, and philosophy of their program
Educators.Calling	Educators narrate their reasons to become educators	This element focuses on the reasons that educators describe for pursuing a teaching career. They describe the path toward becoming a teacher
Educators.Hiring	Educators narrate how they came to work to SFVS	This element focuses on describing the path to becoming a staff member of the SFVS from how they found out about the offer to the questions they were asked during the job interview
Motivation.Working.SFVS	Participants describe their reasons for working at SFVS.	This element focuses on educators' motives and beliefs around working in a marginalized context
High.Expectations	Participant denotate high expectations about students	This element focuses on participants descriptions that show they have high expectations about students' outcomes.
Deficit.Thinking	Participants denotate deficit thinking about students	This element focuses on participants descriptions that show low expectations and deficit thinking about students

Religious.Influence	Participants narrate their perceptions about	This element focuses on how participants experience religion and other spiritual traditions, and how that had influenced them personally, as well as their impressions about religion
Staff.Turnover	Participants talk about the reasons for educators leaving SFVS	This element focuses on participants interpretations about the reason for the high levels of staff turn-over at the SFVS
Curriculum.Multicultural.Ed	Participants narrate the curricular opportunities for multicultural ed	This element focuses on participants' perceptions about the opportunities to teach around issues related to multicultural education
Teaching.Strategies	Educators describe the strategies used to teach all students	This element focuses on educators' strategies to ensure that all students learn and reach their potential
Wellbeing.Strategies	Participants describe actions to ensure students' wellbeing	This element focuses on participants efforts, commitments and actions that transcend their contractual responsibilities and focus on ensuring students' holistic wellbeing, from access to food to mental health support
Connection.With.Students	Educators describe elements that connect them to students	This element focuses on elements or instances that educators have in common with the students they educate and that help them to empathize with their reality and connect with them
Knowledge.Students.Context	Educators share information that shows their knowledge about students	This element focuses on the extent to which educators know the students' reality beyond the school boundaries. Includes knowledge about students' past, family, work, hobbies, and interests
Students.Families	Participants talk about the influence of families	This element focuses on the influence of families on students' beliefs and behavior
Educators.Burnout	Participants describes emotional burnout	This element focuses on descriptions of educators burn out due to the high pressure of working in marginalized context

Childhood.Student	Students describe their childhood experiences	This element focuses on students' experiences when they were younger, in elementary or middle school and covers descriptions in different settings such as home or school
Comparison.Schools	Students compare their educational experiences	This element focuses on the comparison that immigrant students make between their school in Chile and their school in their country or origin or Chilean students compare their educational experiences
Campuses.Trasition	Students describe their transition from the campus of young students to the other on	This element focuses on the experience of moving from the one campus to the other campus when they began 5th grade
Educators.Treatment	Participants describe how educators treat students	This element focuses on participants impressions regarding educators' treatment toward students. Participants narrate if they perceive that students receive differentiate or the same treatment
Power.Dynamics	Participants describe power conflicts	This element focuses on participants perceptions around power conflicts among people in different positions in the hierarchical power structure
Educators.Appreciation	Students describe their impressions about educators	This element focuses on students' descriptions of the educators and why they do or do not appreciate them
TP	Participants reflect about the vocational training	This element focuses on narratives around the vocational specialty of Telecommunications
Higher.Ed	Participants reflect on higher ed	This element focuses on the opportunities to pursue higher education
Formal.Work	Participants reflect about student's formal work	This element focuses on reflection about students that have formal employment outside school
ESEL	Participants describe the Spanish as a Second Language Program	This element focuses on descriptions around the

		implementation of the Spanish as a Second Language Program
Languagagism	Participants describe situations in which language had been a barrier	This element focuses on participants descriptions of language or lack of Spanish knowledge as a barrier
PIE	Participants talk about support for students with special needs	This element focuses on participants descriptions of the program to support students with special needs
SES	Participants reflect on Socioeconomic status	This element focuses on participants reflections about socioeconomic status
Gender	Participants reflect on gender issues	This element focuses on participants reflections about gender issues
Colonialism	Participants reflects on colonialism	This element focuses on ideas related to colonialism or decolonial principles
Appreciation.Diversity	Participants talk about diversity	This element focuses on participants perceptions about having a diverse student body in terms of race, ethnicity, nationalities, SES, gender, etc.
Differences.Immigrants	Participants describe differences based on country of origin	This element focuses on participants perceptions about the impact of the country of origin on students
Migration.Journey	Students narrate their migration experiences	This element focuses on students' journey coming to Chile. From how and when they arrived, to journeys leaving Chile
Immigration.Status	Participants describe the challenges of not having legal migratory status	This element focuses on descriptions of challenges that students face when they or their caregivers do not have their immigrant documentation up to date
Folklorization.Immigrants	Participants narrate experiences of folklorization of immigrants	This element focuses on description of activities that contribute to the folklorization of immigrants such as to focus on traditional dances and food once a year

Explicit.AntiBlack.Racism	Participants describe explicit racism	This element focuses on narratives of explicit racism either at the school or outside
Colorblind.AntiBlack.Racism	Participants make descriptions that denote colorblidness	This element focuses on descriptions in which participants express colorblind ideas around race such as not seeing race or denying racism
Host.Country	Participants describe Chile as a host nation	This element focuses on participants impressions of the way Chile welcomes (or not) its recent immigrant population
Myths.Stereotypes.Immigrants	Participants describe stereotypes	This element focuses on participants descriptions of myths and stereotypes around immigrants. It could be the ones they hold or what they have seen
Racial.identity	Participants reflect around racial identity	This element focuses on participants' reflection around their own or others' racial identification
Race.Reflextions	Participants share ideas and beliefs around race	This element focuses on participants' perceptions, definition, and beliefs around race and its significance
Enrollment	Participants reflect about enrollment at SFVS	This element focuses on participants' thoughts around the reasons that contributed to students leaving SFVS and also the reasons for enrolling at SFV
School.Finance	Participants describe the current financial state at SFVS	This element focuses on participants descriptions of the current economic status and financial situation of SFVS
Scarce.Resources	Participants talk about shortages in resources	This element focuses on participants' impressions and descriptions around shortages in human resources, lack of time, and lack of supplies at SFVS
Outside.Organizations	Participants describe relationship with outside organizations	This element focuses on the influence (or lack thereof) of outside organization. It could be NGO's or governmental entities.
Inclusion.Law	Participants' impressions about the inclusion law	This element focuses on participants thought around the inclusion law and what it means

		for the school. It also captures the values and beliefs around inclusion and diversity.
Standarization	Participants' impressions around standardized tests and other standardized measures	This element focuses on impressions and descriptions about standardized tests like SIMCE, PSU, and the APTUS tests.
Copayment	Participants narrate their impressions about co-payment	This element focuses on participants' thought around the requirement for families to pay monthly school fees.
Voucher.V.Public	Participants describe differences around schools	This element focuses on participants perceptions around publicly and privately operated schools.
Neoliberalism.Market.Ed	Participants describe or reflect around Chilean ed model	This element focuses on participants descriptions or beliefs around the education model with respect to competition, funding, high-stake testing, and democracy.
Systemic.Barriers	Participants describe structural obstacles	This element focuses on the descriptions of forces or barriers that impede students' academic success.
Perception.About.Foundation	Participants share their perceptions about the Loyola Foundation	This element focuses on participants thoughts about the relationship between the Loyola Foundation and the SFVS and how participants perceive the involvement of the foundation
PD	Participants describe PD opportunities	This element focuses on participants descriptions and evaluation of the PD opportunities they have had.
Padre.Vicente	Participants talk about Padre Vicente	This element focuses on participants descriptions of the life of Padre Vicente and his impact in the Reloncaví Neighborhood and the SFVS
Jesuit.Morale	Participants describe ideas around Jesuit morale	This element focuses on participants' perceptions around the values and beliefs that feed Jesuits worldview

Moral.Contradiction	Participants talk about contradictions between discourses and actions	This element focuses on participants' interpretations and perceptions around the moral contradictions of the Jesuits' fight to build a more equitable society
Reloncaví	Participants describe the school's neighborhood	This element focuses on participants descriptions and impressions of the neighborhood where the school is located as well as historical events that have happened
Covid	Participants describe the adjustments due to the pandemic	This element focuses on descriptions of adjustments, opportunities and disruptions the school had had to implement due to the Covid-19 Pandemic
School.Discipline	Participants describe issues related to students' behavior	This element focuses on participants' descriptions of matters related to discipline and students' behavior, from descriptions of disrupting behavior to the protocols to act in those situations
School.Coexistence	Participants describe the school environment	This element focuses on participants description of the relationships among all members of the school community and how school environments is perceived
Diversification.Process	Participants describe becoming a diverse school	This element focuses on participants descriptions of the arrival of immigrant students
Campuses.Tension	Participants describe the tension between the two campuses	This element focuses on the differences and tensions between the two campuses, since they merged to today's environment
Education.Aim	Participants describe the aims of education and schools	This element focuses on participants descriptions and beliefs around the role of education in society
Contradictions	Participants engage in contradicting beliefs	This element focuses on participants contradicting ideas around education, immigrant students or democracy
HIGHLIGHT	Quotes rich in content	This element captures quotes that stand up because they are rich in content

Appendix B
Interview protocol for the Head of Pedagogy and Academic Support

Personal trajectory

1. Please tell me about your personal story of schooling. How was the school that you attended?

2. Did you have immigrant classmates?

3. Why did you decide to enter the teaching profession?

4. Why did you decide to work in an administrative role?

5. A couple of weeks ago, you mentioned that this voucher school was different to the one where you worked before. Can you elaborate on that?

Integration of Immigrant Students

6. I noticed that most of the teachers have been in the school since 2019. Why was there a big replacement of teachers then?

7. Last week you interviewed (Haitian students' name) regarding her academic situation and the possibility of failing a grade. Can you describe what the situation of the student is? Do you usually take the time to talk to students in her situation in one-on-one meetings?

8. How do Chilean student's welcome immigrant students?

9. How have Chilean families reacted to the increase in enrollment of immigrant students?

10. What are the resources available at the school to better integrate immigrant students and where do those resources come from?

11. Are there differences in treatment (from the school community) to Black immigrant students compared to non-black immigrant students?

Academics

12. How have the teachers at your school reacted with the enrollment of more immigrant students?

13. Have you or the school community received training on how to guide and support the learning experiences of non-Spanish speaking students?

14. I have noticed that only a few students attend the Spanish as a second language classes. Why is that, considering that many students don't speak Spanish as a first language?

15. Recently, the best students from each class were recognized. Many of them were immigrants or first-generation Chileans. Have immigrant students always had good grades and a high determination to succeed?

16. Tell me about how this school's relationship with SIMCE. What are the implications of the test and of its suspension?

17. Do immigrant students take the SIMCE?

18. Why is this school labeled as "insufficient"? Is the high enrollment of immigrant students related to that?

19. Tell me about teaching and learning during the pandemic. How was 2020?

20. What have been the challenges and opportunities of going back to in-person classes?

Migration Dynamics

21. What is the biggest challenge and advantage of having immigrant students at the school?

22. What has been the impact of the recent exodus of students from Haiti?

23. What do families say about their reasons for leaving?

Administrative Roles

24. I have seen that some students are advised to withdraw from the school and get enrolled at the beginning of the next academic year. Please tell me about the rationale behind that advice. What are the limits imposed by the Ministry of Education regarding how many students can fail a grade?

25. I have noticed that many immigrant students are not allowed to take the PDT (Chilean version of the SAT). Why is that and what can the school do to reverse that situation?

26. I also noticed that immigrant students have to be in the country for at least two years to receive support through the program for students with special needs. What is the reason behind that norm? Does it make sense?

27. What other barriers do immigrant students face to succeed academically or continue with higher education?

Appendix C
Traducción de las Citas Presentadas en los Capítulos 5, 6 y 7.

La gran mayoría de los participantes de esta investigación hablan español. Para algunos de ellos, español no es su primera lengua, pero sí hablan este idioma de manera fluida. Por esta razón, decidí traducir los capítulos de esta tesis que fueron construidos en base a la información que ellos y ellas me proporcionaron y compartirla con ellos. Está decisión busca democratizar el acceso a los hallazgos de esta investigación y poner a disposición de los participantes.

Además, con el objetivo de transparentar el proceso de traducción de los testimonios de participantes, en esta sección presento las citas originales usadas en los capítulos de hallazgos. Agregué a esta traducción los títulos y subtítulos para facilitar la búsqueda de las citas.

Capítulo 5. Diez Años Después: El Neoliberalismo Aún Reina
Introducción
El Rol del Contexto Neoliberal

Como tres niños o cuatro, que salieron a vacunarse, se volvieron porque no alcanzaron a tomar dosis. Van a llegar a la casa, va a estar el discurso de ellos, 'oye pero si están vacunando los negros, están vacunando a los extranjeros, están llevándose la vacuna' como que ellos no lo merecen, y eso en general y es verdad, porque en este contexto realmente sí se pelean los cupos para todo, para el jardín, y no es porque sean extranjeros, porque hay más gente pobre en un contexto que ya era pobre, eso es todo.

Miguel, Encargado de Convivencia Escolar. Entrevista, 2 de agosto de 2021

Reputación de las Escuelas

Del 2014 en adelante y después ya cuando empezaron a llegar más migrantes, muchos muchos apoderados, decían que el colegio se había echado a perder porque había recibido mucho extranjero desde como de esa parte en adelante he escuchado yo decir que como que el colegio bajó el perfil, porque como que ya no, no se paga mensualidad, es como gratuito o como que te dejan entrar a todos los que quieran entrar, entran al colegio, como que está la puerta abierta para todos los niños que quieran ingresar. Y las personas dicen que eso fue como la que le bajó la imagen al colegio.

Susana, Auxiliar de Aseo. Entrevista, 7 de octubre de 2021

Copago

Para mí fue muy fuerte llegar a trabajar, como te decía, de un contexto que es casi idílico en un preuniversitario, donde los chiquillos pagaban por ir a aprender algo y tú enseñas ese algo. Entonces como que no vuela una mosca en la sala si haces la clase, a llegar a trabajar acá donde tienes que como motivar.

Cristina, Profesora. Entrevista, 20 de octubre de 2021

Tú Me invitas a pensar en cosas malas porque; A ver, mira, el día que se dejó de cobrar creo que pasó algo psicológicamente que dañó a la familia y que en

espíritu, este colegio Santa Fe, vinculado a un padre que fundó el Hogar de Cristo, Y pensando en los más pobres, fíjate que existe dentro de la obra del hogar de Cristo, de la obra del Padre Hurtado. Existe la hospedería en donde las personas de calle que no tienen donde dormir, que no tienen un lugar donde vivir. Bueno, a eso de las 7, 6 de la tarde llegan a la hospedería, hacen una fila en la calle y entran y lo primero que hacen es pasar al baño, se bañan, después se toman un plato de comida y después se van a acostar. Pero lo que te quería decir es que esa persona de calle para poder entrar al hogar de Cristo le cobraban 100 pesos, una miseria, pero era muy simbólico el que pagara esos 100 pesos, porque en el fondo era, me cobran 100 pesos a un pobre, que a lo mejor no tenía plata, pero que le daba dignidad en termino de entrar al hogar de Cristo y sentir que estoy pagando, aquí no me están regalando nada. Entonces como sentirse que no era una cosa gratuita ni era completamente caridad porque yo tenía que pagar. Y yo creo que en el colegio cuando pagaban, porque además lo que pagaban era una miseria. No, no, no, no era mucho dinero. Y también les daba como ese legítimo derecho a exigirle al colegio porque estaban pagando. Pero cuando dejan de pagar como que inconscientemente están mirando la cosa de otra manera algo ahí se dañó

<div align="right">Hugo, Profesor. Entrevista, 29 de septiembre de 2021</div>

Hugo: A principios del 2000, finales del siglo 20 se construyó este edificio porque en el colegio anterior ya estábamos perdiendo la matrícula de los niños y los niños generalmente venían de este lado la población, de Los Robles. Entonces lo que se hizo fue construir el colegio más cerca de la vida de los niños. Ahora, efectivamente, este colegio se transformó en una elite dentro de los colegios de la población. Aquí costaba mucho que ingresaran, que entraran y eso nos obligó muchas veces a hacer un colegio selectivo de alumnos. Como era tanta la demanda de niños que querían estudiar en el colegio que de una manera inentendible nos vimos seleccionando a los niños, quiénes entraban y quiénes no.

María: Y qué métodos de selección se ocupaban? Por ejemplo, prueba?

Hugo: Pruebas. Usaban pruebas construida por los mismos profesores del colegio y dejaban a los que tenían como mejores puntajes..

María: ¿Y entrevista también con la familia?

Hugo: también y también se cayó en el tema de que ojalá fueran familias cristianas. O sea, ni siquiera pensábamos que era para todos y eso que podía hablar muy bien del colegio. Yo creo que hablo muy mal porque como que se perdió un poco la mística de lo que había sido creado, para la gente más pobre, para la gente más necesitada, para la gente que tenía más dificultad. Esa misma gente que es rechazada en muchas partes y bueno, 'llegue a un colegio en un barrio popular y más encima en mi barrio popular me rechazan', o sea, entonces era inentendible.

<div align="right">Entrevista, 29 de septiembre de 2021</div>

Pruebas Estandarizadas y Competencia Desigual

En Chile generosamente se le abrió las puertas al migrante, pero no crearon la política suficiente para hacer un trabajo efectivo con la gente migrante. O sea, se dedicó a recibir, a recibir, a recibir, pero se olvidó y yo creo que hasta el día de hoy, de que tenían que estar en un sistema y competir de igual a igual con el resto de los niños que sí manejan el idioma

Hugo, Profesor. Entrevista, 29 de septiembre de 2021

Escasez y la Narrativa de Crisis a Nivel Macro

Félix: Por ejemplo, lo que pasa en el norte, en el norte hay escasez en muchas comunas, escasez de cupo, porque un ejemplo de repente, por ejemplo en un mes entraron 40.000 venezolanos, en un mes. Eso es como que entrara Melipilla y Talagante en un mes. Uno llegaba a Antofa o Calama. Y ¿sabes qué? Que no había. No había cupos para niños migrantes o para niños chilenos.

María: O para niños en general.

Félix: Y ahí creaste ese conflicto de intereses, porque dicen: '¿Por que un niño migrante tiene preferencia sobre un niño chileno?' Y ahí quedó embarrada.

María: Sí, pero al final no es que tiene preferencia, es que cada niño tiene

Félix: No. claro. O sea, no, no, pero míralo como un chileno promedio. Un chileno promedio dice como... 'Un migrante me cagó.' Eso es lo que dicen. O sea que no lo ve más allá de eso, ¿Cachai? La gente en general, en el momento de crisis, mucha gente se volvió egoísta. Se vuelve muy egoísta.

Entrevista, 13 de diciembre de 2021

La narrativa de la crisis a nivel micro

No todo pueda estar supeditado a la matrícula. Yo creo que este colegio necesita una inyección de recursos […] si quiero cambiar el colegio yo necesito una inyección de recursos. O sea, después de esa inyección de recursos pídanme cuentas de todo lo que quiera, pero pónganme un piso donde partir.

Inés, Directora. Entrevista, 17 de diciembre de 2021

Inclusión Restringida

Con la Ley de Inclusión que hoy firmamos, empezamos a cumplir con aquello que ha exigido la ciudadanía desde hace largos años: que la educación deje de ser un bien de consumo y pase a ser un bien público, abierto a todos y que nos convoca a todos. Al fin ha quedado establecido que la educación es un derecho social en torno al cual se organiza nuestra comunidad. En el pasado empieza a quedar el sistema educativo creado en dictadura, que amplifica las enormes desigualdades que ya existen en nuestra sociedad y que fragmentan la cohesión. Atrás queda la escuela que deja a nuestros hijos e hijas fuera de un recinto educacional, por la exigencia de un pago o por un angustioso proceso de selección.

No, yo creo que no, yo creo que el carácter como estructural de las reformas que se empujaron en el periodo anterior, la complejidad que tenían si bien se posaban sobre un conjunto como de procesos más específicos, procesos sociales y educativos más específicos que están pasando en la sociedad chilena, ninguno de ellos está específicamente referido, o con, creo yo con suficiente foco en el tema de los migrantes o de la interculturalidad más general incluso

Rodolfo, Político. Entrevista, 28 de mayo de 2019

Disposiciones contingentes de funcionarios que por iniciativa personal, en respuesta a una demanda de hecho de la población migrante y muchas veces en contra de las resistencias institucionales, impulsan de manera intuitiva y en una casi completa escasez de recursos, líneas de acción dirigidas a resolver los problemas más urgentes de los migrantes. (Thayer Correa et al., 2020, p. 184).

Humanos como Números

Veo que la productividad es más importante que el productor [...] Tengo una hija con una profunda depresión e intentos de suicidio diarios. Me armo de valor para venir al colegio porque me gusta mi trabajo y me gusta estar con los niños, pero me cansa sentir que uno [una persona] es un número.

Luz, Profesora. Notas de campo, octubre de 2021

La Fundación: Reproducción a Nivel Meso de Barreras Sistémicas
Los expertos que dirigen la Fundación

Mira, yo creo que tengo que responder tu pregunta con un desafío como estructural de Chile. O sea, Chile, el Estado de Chile abandonó el desarrollo profesional del docente desde la dictadura, por una parte, pero además, incluso desde el inicio de la democracia sobre-liberalizó la formación de profesores y creo que no se ha hecho responsable, el Estado de Chile, de responder con justicia a un desafío tan importante como es educar, regulando adecuadamente la formación de profesores, ofreciendo condiciones adecuadas, ofreciendo tiempo. Entonces, yo creo que históricamente, la profesión docente ha estado bastante precarizada. […] Por lo tanto, con este contexto previo, las escuelas más vulnerables en Chile han tenido que lidiar con esa realidad precaria de la profesión docente en Chile. Dicho eso, como con todas esas dificultades, creo que hay un elemento valioso de los profesores que están en el SFVS, que creo que hay un elemento vocacional grande. Creo que hay una inquietud genuina de contribuir a una sociedad más justa, ofreciendo oportunidades a personas históricamente excluidas como en este caso son los migrantes, y creo que hay un sentido de propósito importante y de justicia en eso, creo que es una característica. Sin embargo, también te lo mencionaba antes, creo que ese sentido de justicia se ha visto agotado y ese sentido de justicia se ha visto, que se satisface a través de elementos muy básicos de la inclusión […] nos hemos conformado con poco. Hemos sido autocomplaciente y en palabras de que, ya que estamos en el foco jesuita, del

194

Padre Hurtado, él decía que el católico socialmente comprometido es un perpetuo y total inconformista. Y creo que ese perpetuo y total inconformismo tenemos que traducirlo con más sentido y urgencia también en nuestros profesores, que no basta con ofrecer una sala con un techo, con un espacio digno, por supuesto, sino que tenemos que lograr, para una verdadera justicia, aprendizajes efectivos para que los estudiantes que están en el colegio efectivamente aprendan a leer y escribir, aprendan operaciones matemáticas elementales para su mejor desenvolvimiento social.

Mateo, Miembro del Directorio de la Fundación. Entrevista, 20 de enero de 2022

Acá entregamos vida. O sea, más de tus horas de trabajo, si tienes que venir un sábado, vienes un sábado. Si tienes que ir a la casa de una mercadería porque está en CVOID, vas. Si vive en el campamento tienes que ir a visitarlo. Y eso no lo ve demasiado la Fundación, porque cuando alegamos los profes por ciertas cosas, o por un sindicato o por algo, siempre es la negativa.

Constanza, Profesora. Entrevista, 30 de noviembre de 2021

> Aquí nadie entra a verte una clase. Yo por eso digo que estamos como abandonado igual acá. Siento que yo puedo hacer lo que quiera. Nadie me va a decir nada porque nadie tiene idea de lo que estoy enseñando.

Camilo, Profesor. Entrevista, 14 de diciembre de 2021

El profe se preocupa menos de preparar su clase y mucho más de acompañar. Mira la metáfora que ponía José [otro miembro del directorio] en su despedida cuando le dijo a los profesores 'Miren, con todo respeto, no somos asistentes sociales, somos profes y lo que tenemos que lograr es que en la sala de clase, el chiquillo, en el fondo, experimente como apertura al mundo del aprendizaje que evidentemente nos ayude irlo acompañando en dimensiones mucho más integrales, amplias de la vida'. Pero finalmente, en el fondo, nuestra creencia está en que en el fondo esto es un lugar donde el aprendizaje es muy difícil y que nos toca contener a los estudiantes para trabajar su autoestima, lo que sea. Hay un problema muy serio.

Antonio, Miembro del Directorio de la Fundación. Entrevista, 11 de noviembre de 2021

José: yo tenía los dos cursos. Dos alumnos haitianos que me era imposible hacerlos entrar. Tenían la mayoría de los haitianos que sí entraban en la clase y podías conversar y más grandes. Pero otros que llegaban ahí, muertos de sueño Llegan a dormir.

María: ¿Y qué hacías en esos casos?

José: yo personalmente como que llegué a un límite. dije 'Yo no tengo la herramienta, el colegio no tiene la herramienta' y es como ya que esté acá adentro, le metía conversa al salir en el recreo por si le pasaba algo.

José, Miembro del Directorio de la Fundación. Entrevista, 12 de octubre de 2021

El Modelo de Talla Única

> Yo llegué y ya habían empezado una capacitación que se llama Nazareth global, que eran unas monjitas que venían de España, y nos juntaban a todos, así como en un gran salón que hay ahí en el Colegio San Mateo, y a todos los colegios de la fundación y todo el día de 8 a 5, sentados y escuchando a las monjas mostrándonos ideas bacanes, pero no estaban contextualizados. Me mostraban un video con la monjita usando sus tablets. Los chiquillos trabajando todos con unas tablets, en el medio colegio, en el pasto. Yo miraba y decía 'yo, a ver? no tengo ni data'. Inaceptable. A eso voy como un abandono. Estamos en el 2021, No puede ser que los chiquillos no tengan data.

> <div align="right">Camilo, Profesor. Entrevista, 14 de diciembre de 2021</div>

"Aquí no hay ni Justicia ni Caridad; Solo hay Supervivencia"

> Se decía que este [SFVS] era el hijo, el hijo olvidado, de los jesuitas. Es más, voy a decir una expresión mucho más fea. Este era el hijo huacho como el hijo abandonado, el hijo olvidado, el que no.... Porque no se entiende.

> <div align="right">René, Miembro de la Comunidad Escolar. Entrevista, 15 de diciembre de 2021</div>

> Mandan todo el deshecho para acá, inclusive yo recibí una camionada de sillas malas. Cojas. Con partes menos y yo decía 'pero ¿por qué mandan si no somos basurero?' siento que es como 'si ellos no tienen nada, que reciban la mitad de la silla va a estar bien'. Eso siento. Entonces siento que sí hacen caridad, aunque crean que no. Lo hacen, entonces creo que es lavarse las manos. Y con eso limpio mi conciencia de que mandé algo, una cosa así..

> <div align="right">Carolina, Encargada de UTP. 20 de octubre de 2021</div>

> **Tamara**: uno de mis estudiantes de PIE fue a esta visita al colegio de Vitacura, y yo le pregunté a él sobre esa experiencia y le dije 'cuéntame, cómo te fue, que te pareció, que te gustó o que no te gustó, etcétera.' Y él me decía 'me encantó. Súper bonito, los compañeros me acogieron super bien, así como que en general fue una súper bonita experiencia'. Y yo le digo '¿Y qué te gustó ese colegio para este colegio? Qué te gustaría de ese colegio?' Me dijo 'todo. Pero hay algo distinto, hay algo. Si, ese colegio tiene todo lo que este no tiene, tiene el patio. Es un jardín lleno de áreas verdes, árboles, donde uno se relaja, puede conversar, puede mirar un entorno bonito, tiene cancha olímpica, tiene...' Es un colegio con muchos recursos que les da, eso les da muchas oportunidades a los chiquillos. Si tú miras este colegio, acá las áreas verdes no existen. Acá las paredes son cemento. Son cemento, son color concreto.. [...] Imagínate tú en tu casa, tú cuando estás en tu casa y la pones linda, ¿cómo te sientes?

> **María**: Claro, pues mucho mejor.

> **Tamara**: En cambio, si tú llegas a tu casa y tu casa está todo con las paredes, con cemento, todo feo, todo escaso. Ves esa escasez, naces en la escasez y te educas en la escasez. Y los niños que están acá se educan en la escasez. [...] Esta es tu vida, esta es tu realidad. Yo siento que este colegio reafirma eso. Yo creo que me

matarían de la Fundación si escucharan esto. Pero me gustaría algún día poder decírselos igual. [...] Yo creo que este colegio perpetúa todo lo que tenemos, o sea, todo el sistema, toda la escasez, todo. Los chiquillos que salen sin posibilidad de entrar a la universidad y todo, o sin posibilidad de proyectarse más allá del entorno que conocen acá. Un entorno violento. Un entorno con drogas. Un entorno hostil.

<div align="center">Tamara, Educadora del PIE. Entrevista, 12 de noviembre de 2021</div>

Hay muchos que están dispuestos a ejercer la caridad, pero no se resignan a cumplir con la justicia; están dispuestos a dar limosna, pero no a pagar un salario justo. Aunque parezca extraño, es mucho más fácil ser caritativo (obviamente solo en apariencia) que ser justo. Tal 'caridad' aparente no es auténtica, porque la verdadera caridad comienza donde termina la justicia. La caridad sin justicia no nos salvará de los males sociales, sino que solo crea un resentimiento profundo. La injusticia causa males mucho mayores de los que la caridad puede reparar.

<div align="center">San Alberto Hurtado, citado en Gavin (2011).</div>

Es que no están ni ahí con que los cabros tiren para arriba yo creo, En este sector. no les interesa yo creo. ¿Has visto las palomas? La caca de palomas y las palomas. Son indignantes. Subir una escalera y pisar pura caca de paloma para llegar a una sala. Que los cabros estén ahí sentados en la escalera llena de caca de palomas, eso es horrible.

<div align="center">Camilo, Profesor. Entrevista, 14 de diciembre de 2021</div>

Entendiendo la Resistencia: ¿Quién Medió las Dinámicas de Cambio?
Educando desde la experiencia

Hay muchas cosas que entiendo rápido, pero por mi origen. Yo tenía compañeros que trabajaban y estudiaban en ese tiempo. Para mí era muy común y acá apareció todo lo que para mí era muy común, que a mí me generó siempre ruido en San Mateo, porque yo también lo hice, así como con mi familia cuando era estudiante. Eso se puede sobrellevar porque pasa. Pero la pandemia generó que mucha gente empezara a trabajar, muchos estudiantes empezaron a trabajar de manera más regular, o sea, dentro de la informalidad de siempre, pero de manera muy regular, así como todos los días a tal hora o dependiendo, de ese estudiante, el ingreso familiar. Y la cuestión saltó con más fuerza cuando aparecieron casos como Wesley que se fue del país; como Domingo Pérez que no está viniendo y de quien hablamos en el consejo de profesores […] Me di cuenta de que Domingo tenía un trabajo mucho más de tiempo completo porque me lo dijo, y así me enteré, ya que íbamos a las casas para ver su situación particular, para tratar de que volvieran y dejarles canastas de alimentos.

<div align="center">Miguel, Encargado de Convivencia Escolar. Entrevista, 15 de noviembre de 2021</div>

Miguel: hay otros casos donde hay familias que son disfuncionales, así como el desorden, donde están conviviendo con abuelos.

María: ¿Por qué usaste comillas con la palabra disfuncional? ¿No te gusta esa palabra?

Miguel: Es que me complica porque siento que es muy drástico el juicio, considerando que las familias en muchos contextos no cumplen con todos los cuidados que tiene que tener un menor, independiente del contexto donde estés. Solo que acá se ocupa disfuncional.

María: Ah, claro, en otra contexto cuando te cuida la nana y no conoces...

Miguel: Y el niño lo pasa horrible. Entonces, se habla de la familia bien constituida que están los apoyos, pero en realidad no ven al niño nunca. Eso me pasaba mucho en San Mateo. Luego, los estudiantes, especialmente los mayores, ven que son una piedra angular del ingreso y también se dan cuenta de que la vida cambia. Esto es lo que pasa con Domingo. Cuando lo entrevisté, le dije: 'Domingo, esto no puede ser, no es normal y no está bien que tú dejes el colegio por esto, así que empieza a venir'. Él también me dice que 'ya venir para mí no es lo mismo' y ¿por qué no es lo mismo? Porque se sentía más grande, porque las bromas no le daban risa, porque esto que está pasando no es importante. Lo que está pasando en el trabajo es importante. Lo que aprendo ahí es importante. Entonces empezó a hacer el trabajo también como un espacio de formación.

Miguel, Encargado de Convivencia Escolar. Entrevista, 15 de noviembre de 2021

Cuidado Multidimensional
María: ¿De qué manera crees tú que te sirve tu experiencia personal para trabajar en este contexto? ¿Te sirve?

Pilar: Sí. O sea, primero, es la cercanía, porque 'chiquillos, yo pasé lo mismo de ustedes' O sea, yo no, nunca tuve vacaciones de chicas. Yo vine a conocer Santiago y el resto, un poco de Chile que conozco después de que salí de la universidad, porque para atrás nada', [...] Pero yo creo que la cercanía es como las vivencias, el haberte bañado con un jarrito con agua, el haberte bañado por presa y todos pasamos por lo mismo. Yo tengo la gracia de que ahora claro, tengo mi ducha, tengo mi casa, pero porque vi unos años de sacrificio, entonces eso por lo general les converso yo 'chiquillos están en la media. Sáquense la cresta ahora. Después entren a la universidad y pueden tener sus platas, sus cosas o todo lo que ustedes quieran lo pueden tener'

Entrevista, 23 de septiembre de 2021

Diferentes Formas de Exclusión, Sufrimiento Similar
María: ¿Has conversado con algunos de los que se están devolviendo?

Denise: Sí y tenemos una fuga súper dolorosa. Mira, yo diría que alrededor de dos o tres niños por curso se están yendo o de vuelta o a México para llegar a Estados Unidos. [...] y se fueron a pata, o sea, en un bus para acá, caminar, cruzar la frontera a pata. O sea, antes de irse les digo ya, pero corazón, acuérdate que aquí hay una profesora que te quiere mucho en Chile para que no te olvides, 'Sí, profesora yo sé y yo voy a guardar su teléfono en un papel. Porque nos pueden robar o matar en el camino'.

María: O sea, sí tenía absolutamente claro lo que....

Denise: Qué terrible, porque entendía perfecto en lo que se estaba exponiendo. Y cuando llegó me escribió 'profesora, llegamos a México no sé qué. No, no nos mataron y no nos robaron el teléfono' porque me escribió del mismo número, pero se lo había llevado en un papel para poder escribirme desde allá. Entonces siento que es responsabilidad nuestra. Todos los que perdemos en este camino porque no pudimos.

Entrevista, 18 de agosto de 2021

María: ¿Alguien te ha capacitado? ¿Alguien te ha apoyado? ¿Alguien ha trabajado contigo específicamente, como alguien que está en contacto directo con los niños? Desde la fundación, desde el Municipio, desde no sé dónde. ¿Cómo has logrado aprender?

Denise: Porque yo he sido discriminada toda la vida. Estoy preparada para que me discriminen. Entonces uno busca todo lo contrario.

María: ¿Por qué dices que has sido discriminada toda tu vida?

Denise: Yo soy judía, gringa, blanca, más blanca. en un mundo antisemita, en un mundo racista, en un mundo clasista. […] a nosotros nos prepararon para defendernos. Pero no de golpe. Jamás físicamente. Pero sí porque estamos en un mundo que no es el nuestro. Nosotros vivimos en un país que no es el mío. Desde el fondo es lo mismo que ellos. La diferencia es que yo tengo el idioma. Por eso no me voy. Porque tengo el idioma.

Entrevista, 18 de agosto de 2021

Represión Política

Es que de verdad, es que a mí me da pena. Sí, porque yo pienso... Me gusta tener el baño limpio porque digo, pues mis cabros no entraban al baño de los colegios. No entraban. ¿Tendrán la sala limpia? ¿Habrán comido? Porque ellos también comían en el colegio. [...] Entonces yo de verdad que siempre digo, yo trabajo como pensando que pa mis cabros. De verdad que sí, pensando que es para mis cabros y siempre pienso 'pucha, porque yo me fui sin desayuno al colegio'. Mi comida era en el colegio y si el fin de semana no tenía, yo me iba a las ollas comunes. Yo sé lo que es tener hambre.

Pilar, Auxiliar de Aseo. Entrevista, 9 de noviembre de 2021

Ellos el día anterior, ahí en mi población hicieron una olla común hicieron juegos y todo. Y al otro día nos enteramos de que los quemaron. Antes no había como distribución de gas, uno tenía que ir a gasco a comprar el gas. Y esto fue un domingo en la mañana y mi mamá me manda a comprar un gas con un vecino y yo veo todo, toda la ropa. Yo me acuerdo, yo vi todo eso.

Pilar, Personal de Limpieza. Entrevista, 9 de noviembre de 2021

Hoy, cuando me iba, Susana me dijo que tenía que tener cuidado con los niños porque podían transmitir enfermedades extrañas como la lepra. Los niños haitianos que no se vacunan, por ejemplo, podrían transmitir cosas. Dijo que alguien se lo dijo.

<div align="right">Notas de Campo, 13 de noviembre de 2021</div>

Capítulo 6. Fuerzas Estructurales: Los Límites del Compromiso, el Trabajo Duro y las Mejores Intenciones

Introducción

Los Límites de la Inclusión, Personalizados por Camila

Siempre sentí un llamado con trabajar en los lugares que hay necesidad, siempre. Y como que daba lo mismo, adultos, niños, mujeres, hombres. Es como... claro, tengo una vocación de servicio, como que define mi vida, lo determina, como que a mí lo que me mueve en la vida es eso

<div align="right">Camila, Profesora. Entrevista, 17 de diciembre de 2021</div>

Llevé camas, refrigeradores, cocinas, cajas de mercadería. Todo el mes de marzo estuve encargándome de mi curso, como desde ese punto de vista, como yo con mi familia, mis papás. 'Se necesita una cama, ya. necesito esto, necesito conseguir....' Y todo eso lo hice en el mes de marzo, pero eso fue algo anexo, personal, que nadie lo sabe acá en el colegio, porque tampoco lo quería compartir desde ese aspecto, pero ese fue el trabajo que yo hice, porque sabía que ese trabajo me iba a asegurar que los apoderados y los estudiantes tuviesen un compromiso, no conmigo, sino un compromiso con su aprendizaje. Porque veían que su profesora estaba interesada en ellos de manera integral y no solo que vinieran al colegio se conectaran, sino de verdad de la vida de ellos. Y eso sabía que iba a ser totalmente producente y productivo para el aprendizaje de mis estudiantes

<div align="right">Camila, Profesora. Entrevista, 17 de diciembre de 2021</div>

Con Catalina, nosotras planificamos semanalmente todas las clases de lenguaje en función de las distintas necesidades de los estudiantes, considerando a los estudiantes PIE, que tenía un trabajo ahí y considerando a los estudiantes que tenían... estaban adquiriendo el español como segunda lengua. Así que nosotros teníamos reuniones semanalmente para elaborar el material. Nos juntábamos, conversábamos, íbamos revisando contenidos, hacíamos propuestas y luego de que levantábamos propuesta, armamos un material. Yo nunca lo armé sola

<div align="right">Camila, Profesora. Entrevista, 17 de diciembre de 2021</div>

Presenté [la noticia], y expliqué la situación. Luego salimos al patio, y se trataba de escribir: ¿Cuáles eran los sentimientos que esto nos generaba, y cuáles eran los deseos que teníamos para que esta situación cambiara? ¿O cómo podíamos también contribuir? [...] algunos me dijeron que no era justo, que no era apropiado, que se estaban violando derechos. Pudieron identificar eso porque

<div align="right">200</div>

también trabajamos con un enfoque basado en derechos. Justo en la primera unidad del año en 5° básico, en historia, que integraba historia, lengua inglesa, Aprendizaje Basado en Proyectos (ABP), nos enfocamos en los derechos de los niños.

<div align="right">Camila, Profesora. 17 de diciembre de 2021</div>

Entonces, me acerco y le pregunto por qué hizo esta actividad que no tenía ningún sentido. Y él me dice que él no es el Papa, como que él no tiene por qué hacerse cargo de lo que le pasa a la gente, así que no le interesa y que él desea otras cosas. Que no tienen que ver con el bienestar de otros, porque a él no le incumbe y como no le incumbe, no tiene por qué andar deseando cosas. Ese nivel de apatía....

<div align="right">Camila, Profesora. Entrevista, 17 de diciembre de 2021</div>

El Viaje a Chile y la Llegada al SFVS

Siento que las personas migrantes en general como que ya pierden el miedo, ya salieron como del umbral de la comodidad. Salieron de la zona de confort y yo admiro mucho a los chiquillos, los veo muy valientes, siempre pensando 'no es que quizás me vaya para allá o para acá o vuelva a República [Dominicana]'. Como que hablan de adaptarse, tienen un nivel de adaptación que de verdad me sorprende y lo digo honestamente, como una versatilidad impresionante, una resiliencia. No sé. Todo, todo lo que implique eso. A ver, a mi igual me gusta ver cuando se generan vínculos porque siento que les cuesta y se ponen una coraza para no sufrir, para no extrañar, [...] Y está muy normalizado, pero es porque les ha tocado vivir eso ¿Qué más van a hacer? Tengo muchos estudiantes que por Covid se le murieron sus familiares afuera o que sus abuelos se murieron y nunca han podido vivir un luto como corresponde. O sea, no vieron más a su abuelo ¿cachai? [...] mucha fortaleza, no hay tiempo para llorar.

<div align="right">Alicia, Profesora. Entrevista, 19 de octubre de 2021</div>

María: ¿Y cuando tú te viniste a Chile hace tres años, te viniste con toda tu familia?
Lovelie: No, no vine con toda mi familia porque mi mamá se quedó en mi país, y yo vine aquí a Chile con mi papá y mi madrastra.

María: ¿Tu mamá sigue en Haití?

Lovelie: Sí.

María: ¿Hablas con ella?

Lovelie: Sí.

María: ¿La extrañas?

Lovelie: Sí.

María: ¿Por qué viniste aquí?

Lovelie: Vine aquí para comenzar una nueva vida, aprender cosas nuevas y también para trabajar duro y traer a mi mamá aquí a Chile y compartir una nueva vida con ella.

<div align="right">Entrevista, 1 de diciembre de 2021</div>

La Carga Económica de Matricular a Estudiantes Inmigrantes

Sí, es una discriminación estructural al final del día. Es cierto que es como la discriminación sobre la discriminación y vamos sumando discriminaciones. Este grupo que tú me dices, porque vamos a ser súper precisas con el lenguaje. Este es el grupo prioritario, preferente o pro-retención y a todos les llega fondos. Este grupo, [estudiantes indocumentados], nosotras dos sabemos que es súper precario, pero no es un grupo calificado como prioritario y preferente. No existe para el Estado, no existe.

<div align="right">Karen, Funcionaria de Alto Rango, Ministerio de Educación. Entrevista, 3 de noviembre de 2021</div>

María: en esa época [cuando los estudiantes accedían un estatus migratorio regular], Chile también era nuevo en temas migratorios, pero existía como, no sé, como una voluntad, se dispusieron los recursos, se pusieron las energías, era una campaña.

Félix: ¿Te puedo decir algo? La migración no vende, la inclusión no vende […] Es verdad. Esta no es una opinión personal mía. La inclusión de migrantes no vende. Lo que vende son las expulsiones.

María: ¿Vende como en qué sentido 'vende'?

Félix: Opinión pública. La opinión pública. […] Porque finalmente ser duro con los migrantes es lo que es bien visto.

María: ¿Y esa será la razón de fondo de por qué hay tantas trabas que no se destraban?

Félix: Sípo. A ver, por ejemplo, una visa se demora, permanencia definitiva, 14 meses.

María: ¿Se demora en promedio eso?

Félix: Una permanencia definitiva. sí, 14 meses. ¿Tú ves a un chileno esperando por una cédula de identidad por 14 meses? Te incendian el registro civil, te lo incendian. Pero los migrantes también entienden que son derechos y deberes. […] es una cuestión muy rara con migrantes, porque ellos vienen de países que están políticamente, la gran mayoría, políticamente inestable. En Venezuela ni siquiera hacen cedula de identidad y en Haití menos hay infraestructura, ¿Cachai? Entonces, ¿Qué es lo que pasa? En una cuestión muy rara, porque dicen '¿Sabes qué? si se demora, 14 meses sabes que no es tan malo, porque en 14 meses a mí en Venezuela jamás me darían una cédula de identidad en 14 meses'. Y el haitiano para qué decirlo, ¿Cachai? Pero por otra parte, también va relacionado de

que si alguien se queja yo podría darte esto, abogado del diablo, nuevamente. '¿Sabes qué? es un beneficio migratorio ¿Lo tomas? Si no te gusta, ándate'. Es una mirada súper fea. Entonces, ¿Qué es lo que pasa? Si tú te das cuenta y Extranjería ha contratado a gente, ha hecho modernización y a pesar de todo todavía sigue más o malo, pero sumando y restando si los migrantes se levantaran por reclamar, ahí podrías hacer cambios reales. O de repente, si partieras de abajo o partes de arriba, ¿Cachái? Pero ni acá arriba ni acá abajo se mueven, ¿Cachai? ¿Y porque no se mueve acá? Porque las condiciones del migrante, o sea, en Haití o en Venezuela, los niños ni siquiera van al colegio, ¿Cachái? Entonces acá, el niño tiene IP, listo, por lo menos va al colegio ¿cachái? Y acá, la migración, inclusión y migración. No, no, no vende.

Félix, Funcionario de Alto Rango, Servicio Nacional de Migración. Entrevista, 13 de diciembre de 2021

Currículo para la Educación Multicultural

Ella explica bien cuando yo no habla español. Así pasa, hace poco a poco va, vamos y me explica me hace señas para entender cosas. Yo siempre sacaba un siete en matemáticas. [...] Porque ella explica bien. Siempre paso la clase. No sé cómo se hace eso. No hablo el idioma y paso la clase.

Farah, Estudiante. Entrevista, 3 de noviembre de 2021

Ella parte de la base que ella le enseñaba a todos los niños distintos, esa es su base. Entonces, al ser todos distinto, hay muchas formas de enseñar. Un profesor, cuando yo estaba en la universidad en primer año, nos dijo 'Si un niño no aprende como yo le enseño, es porque yo no le enseñé como él aprende'. [...] Creo que ella es un ejemplo del concepto de inclusión. Ella enseña a todos, enseña para todos.

Denise, Educadora del PIE. Entrevista, 18 de agosto de 2021

Están preparados para enseñar a los que ya saben. Entonces, esos [profesores] son los que no lo hacen bien aquí. Si fuiste, hasta hace unos cinco o seis años, profesor en el Instituto Nacional [una escuela pública tradicional selectiva y de alto rendimiento a la que asistieron 17 expresidentes chilenos], y dices: 'No, los profesores son muy buenos porque los estudiantes tienen excelentes puntajes'. Bueno, es como ir sano al hospital y que te digan que es el mejor hospital y salir sano. Bueno, no es mucho logro es un colegio que selecciona a la elite intelectual y te sentí buen profesor porque le enseñas a ellos. Entonces qué pasa cuando te llega un profe así acá, se va todo a las pailas. Aquí no resulta así. Aquí tú tienes que cambiar, ellos [estudiantes] no tienen que cambiar. Tú tienes que buscar la forma de que ellos aprendan como sea y si tienes que pararte de cabeza, o tienes que apagar la luz y vestirte de fluor para que te miren, apagas la luz y te vistes de fluor, ¿Cachai?

Denise, Educadora del PIE. Entrevista, 18 de agosto de 2021

Primero que todo, recoge los cuadernos porque los va a revisar. Y si no has hecho nada, ella toma tu cuaderno y te da tareas. 'Tarea uno, para el 20. Cinco ejercicios del material, para ser completados en dos clases.' 'Tarea dos, para el 23.' y así.

Tareas escritas a mano, con su propia letra. Los cuadernos de los estudiantes tienen su letra. Durante su hora de consejo de curso con su clase, se sentaba en su escritorio. Con hojas, ni siquiera cuadernos. Y tenía a cada estudiante de su clase listado con sus nombres, materias y notas, todo escrito a mano, y rápidamente, sobre la marcha, durante esa hora, llamaba a los estudiantes. 'Claudio, ven aquí.' Y hacía una entrevista corta. Tres minutos. '¿Qué está pasando aquí? ¿Por qué esta nota aquí? ¿Por qué esta nota?' 'No sé.' 'ya, compromiso para la próxima semana. Y necesito que me muestres esta tarea que no entregaste antes de dársela al profesor.' Y hacía esto cada semana. No hay una súper estrategia, ¿me entiendes? No hay una estrategia monumental o entrenamiento. Es ella, es ella.

<div align="right">Denise, Educadora del PIE. Entrevista, 18 de agosto de 2021</div>

Siempre buscaba como la manera de ayudarte. O sea, tú le podéis preguntar 20 veces lo mismo, y ella te lo va a responder y siempre busca como manera más fácil de resolver los ejercicios o algo que te acomode a ti.

<div align="right">Florencia, Estudiante. Entrevista, 22 de agosto de 2021</div>

Y ahora en el tercer trimestre hicimos el recetario latinoamericano. que es un recetario que también incluía los ocho países de los estudiantes y era mezclado con el... Bueno, inglés, lenguaje, historia y la asignatura medular era historia. Entonces, en el currículo, era el proceso de conquista y colonización de América, pero particularmente de Chile. […] Y es imposible, o sea, imposible que se aprendan Cristóbal Colón, Napoleón Bonaparte... No. No puedo, tienen que conocerlo, tienen que conocer el proceso, pero no puedo hacer eso. Así que ahí propuse un trabajo con Catalina. Le propusimos al profesor poder vincular el proceso de conquista en América, no solo en Chile, que sí lo aborda, lo especificará a la cultura en Chile, virreinato, bla, pero que después lo extrapolamos a América, porque la mayoría de los países América Latina, la mayoría de los países fueron conquistados por los españoles, o sea invadidos pero conquistados por los españoles […] Entonces estábamos viendo tipos de texto instructivo y no literario. Seguíamos trabajando esto y vamos a hacer un recetario. Entonces el recetario va a ser en base al contenido visto en historia y el de lenguaje que es ver cómo la conquista de América influye hasta la actualidad en la alimentación de todos los países de América Latina.

<div align="right">Camila, Profesora. Entrevista, 17 de diciembre de 2021</div>

[SFVS no es una] realmente multicultural, donde estén las instancias que los estudiantes puedan compartir su historia, sus vivencias, porque hasta el momento no ha sido así o muy poco en realidad. Que se den instancias donde estudiantes, profesores podamos aprender el idioma del creole, aprender aspectos de la vida de los estudiantes

<div align="right">Renato, Profesor. Entrevista, 17 de agosto de 2021</div>

Puede que esté muy equivocada, pero me parece que muchas veces caemos en el cliché pensando en los mecanismos, dinámicas en donde supuestamente se valoriza la diversidad, pero no se aplica en el quehacer cotidiano, y el quehacer

cotidiano es el que va marcando el sentido de permanencia. […] A mí me parece que no podemos determinar que este es un colegio inclusivo si no están las prácticas instaladas. Por eso digo que muchas veces quedan como en el cliché, en el papel, que parece ser que solo basta con incluir diversidad en la misión y visión del colegio y ya estamos. Pero eso no es el trabajo real.

<div align="right">Maite, Psicóloga Escolar. Entrevista, 2 de diciembre de 2021.</div>

Renato: También creo que ellos [EMISAD] anteponen y le dan un valor al idioma chileno, a la cultura chilena, y es lo que ves también en realidad, mientras más tú te asemejas a tu cultura como hegemónica vas a tener menos problemas y mayores beneficios. Si constantemente te dice que aprende español, te vas a poder comunicar mejor para tener un mejor futuro. Y en ningún lado hay un valor, por ejemplo, a resguardar las raíces de tu identidad, de tu comida, de tu historia, de tu legado cultural.

María: ¿Aquí en la escuela?

Renato: Es que es difícil. En realidad, uno lo intenta, pero pasa lo mismo que dice que explica el profesor Camilo. Por ejemplo, yo al buscar historias o cosas hay una cierta resistencia por parte de ellos de volver hacia atrás, porque creo yo que lo encuentran como una especie de retroceso en realidad, y tampoco hay un apoyo desde casa, porque imagino yo que los papás también, muy en la línea de lo que plantea Josefa, intentan avanzar, avanzar como la Chilenización o algo así y olvidando las raíces. Y eso tiene que ver con un acto como netamente político de cómo se ha abordado la multiculturalidad, no solamente acá en el colegio, sino como a nivel nacional. Y con los haitianos, con los mapuches, con todos los grupos que han sido marginados históricamente, porque todo apunta hacia una interculturalidad que incluyamos. Pero en realidad eso no debe implicar el abandono de tu cultura, de tu idioma, de tus raíces.

<div align="right">Grupo Focal, 16 de diciembre de 2021</div>

Participar en el Nacionalismo y Resistirlo al Mismo Tiempo

Camilo: tenía que buscar una canción que estuviera acorde aquí, al colegio y sí, 'Somos Americanos'.

María: ¿Y conversaron?

Camilo: Sí, leímos la canción. Hubo una clase donde nos dedicamos a leer la canción y les dije, 'Ya chiquillos, ¿A qué nos invita, cuál es el mensaje?'

María: ¿Y qué te decían?

Camilo: 'Somos todos hermanos, profe, tenemos que tratarnos bien'. Les dije 'Sí, ¿Por qué tendría que pelear? 'No , profe. Aquí antes peleaban porque uno era haitiano, otro chileno.' O sea, le di un rato, pero por lo menos la mitad en una clase a leer Qué mensaje tiene la letra. Con la Violeta Parra también hago lo mismo

<div align="right">Entrevista, 14 de diciembre de 2021</div>

Hay una belleza única en esta comunidad y, por lo tanto, un dato importante. 3%. Es decir, 3 de cada 100 escuelas. Solo el 3% de las escuelas en todo Chile tienen

el nivel de diversidad cultural que tenemos aquí en la Escuela Santa Fe. En otras palabras, 3 de cada 100 escuelas tienen esta diversidad, esta riqueza cultural. Tienen la oportunidad de interactuar con estudiantes y compañeros que vienen de diferentes orígenes, diferentes culturas, aquellos que vienen del extranjero, aquellos que han estado aquí por un tiempo y aquellos que han sido recientemente recibidos por ellos. Tienen el lujo y el privilegio de ser parte de una de esas escuelas en el 3% que poseen esta riqueza de la cual pueden aprender día a día, haciéndote más tolerante, más empático y más generoso.

> Miguel, Encargado de Convivencia Escolar. Acto escolar, 14 de octubre de 2021

Capítulo 7. Identidades Interseccionales y los Sistemas de Opresión que los Individuos no Pueden Contestar

Introducción

Estudiantes con Educación Formal Limitada o Interrumpida: SLIFE

Evens tiene un problema con la inclusión. Evens es como muchos Peterson's. Hay varios estudiantes que han enfrentado problemas significativos porque el problema de su inclusión no está resuelto. Estos estudiantes aún no han aprendido a leer o escribir. Entonces, terminan simplemente deambulando por la sala. [...] Estamos solos viendo El tema de España y no lo estamos viendo de manera efectiva porque los chiquillos no avanzan. Entonces yo creo que sí hay efectivamente una deuda en general, pero tanto del colegio como del sistema. Esos son los chicos que terminan desertando porque nosotros los sacamos por un formato de trabajo que los deja afuera. No tenemos a nadie que los pueda acompañar, hacerse cargo.

> Miguel, Encargado de Convivencia Escolar. 28 de octubre de 2021

Mediando la Diversidad Lingüística

Modo de Supervivencia

Respecto a los migrantes que no hablan el mismo idioma, nunca había leído nada de ningún autor sobre eso, ¿Cachai? Y el foco de la cato igual es como, la teoría siempre se lleva a la práctica y sobre ella se va revitalizando, revisando, ¿Cachai? Entonces para mí, era súper complejo, porque yo estaba acostumbrada a tener como ya, esto es lo teórico y yo lo llevo a la práctica, y voy viendo qué se acomoda y qué no, según la realidad pero acá no tenía ningún parámetro teórico al cual acudir. Entonces fue así como muy, muy angustiante como el primer semestre, pero las primeras semanas sobre todo, el primer mes

> Tatiana, Profesora. Entrevista, 31 de mayo de 2019.

Creo que llegó la población migrante, en su mayoría haitiana, y no sabíamos qué hacer. Los profesores de ese tiempo aquí solían ponerle a los niños, a todos un dos. Todos recibían un dos, 'no saben, un dos.' 'Pero si no hablan español, ¿cómo puedes ponerle un dos?'

> Inés, Directora. Entrevista, 17 de diciembre de 2021.

Trabajábamos con señales y escritura. Hubo un tiempo en que llegaron muchas personas que no estaban escolarizadas en Haití, por lo tanto, no sabían tampoco, por más que quisieran comunicarse, no sabían escribir. […] Después, cuando empezó a llegar más gente, claro, ahí había un niño con más nivel de español. Era el traductor de los otros, pero también era agotador para el niño, porque ya le costaba entonces siempre estar ocupándolo. De hecho, hubo un año que había solo un chico haitiano que ya estaba hace tiempo y lo usaban de traductor para todo el colegio; un niño.

<div align="right">Constanza, Profesora. Entrevista, 30 de noviembre de 2021.</div>

Nosotros nos movemos en gran parte por la matrícula y por eso es la tensión o la petición que yo hago el directorio de decir que yo entiendo que nosotros nos movemos por la matrícula, pero también pónganse ustedes en el lugar de un colegio como este, que yo no le puedo exigir a la gente más resultados si veo que siempre estamos con el fantasma de la matrícula encima. Por ejemplo, ESEL, es un proyecto que sale ahora. Hoy desvinculé a Tatiana [la coordinadora del proyecto]. Sale del colegio, porque no lo podemos sostener, no lo podemos sostener porque yo no le puedo poner carga horaria a los profesores para que trabajen con la profesora ESEL, no me da, no tengo las lucas para eso. Entonces, ¿qué tengo que hacer ahí?

<div align="right">Inés, Directora. Entrevista, 17 de noviembre de 2021.</div>

Barreras Institucionales Basadas en Mitos

Jasmine: Dijimos, pero para eso [incluir a estudiantes migrantes en PIE], tenemos que pasar por un proceso y esperar porque hay requisitos legales que deben cumplirse para que el niño migrante ingrese al programa.

María: ¿Puedes contarme un poco más? yo no conozco la burocracia detrás de todo.

Jasmine: Bueno, primero, el niño tiene que haber estado matriculado en la escuela aquí por más de dos años.

María: ¿Para entrar al programa PIE?

Jasmine: En Chile, digamos, tienen que estar aquí por más de dos años, tienen que tener un RUN chileno.

<div align="right">Jasmine, Educadora del PIE. Entrevista, 18 de agosto de 2021.</div>

Teresa: Sí, porque siempre hay esa barrera del idioma que dificulta una buena comunicación. Creo que ese es el principal problema. Entonces, recibir a estudiantes que hablan otro idioma es un problema para llegar a ellos. No puedo asistirlos cuando sé que no han estado en Chile durante dos años y no manejan el idioma perfectamente bien. Hay una limitación en términos de intervención.

María: Con respecto a eso, esto es más técnico, pero ¿de dónde proviene esta limitación? Que no pueden ser parte de PIE si no han estado en Chile durante dos años.

Teresa: Es porque el Ministerio de Educación no nos permite evaluar, por ejemplo, con estas pruebas que estoy revisando ahora, a un estudiante migrante que no... tiene que ser un requisito: estar en Chile por más de dos años y también dominar el idioma perfectamente.

María: Sí, pero ¿dónde aparece eso? ¿Como en un...?

Teresa: Sí, en las pautas del Ministerio de Educación, que están en el sitio web.

María: ¿Las tienes?

Teresa: Ya no las tengo, pero habría que buscarlas. Las revisamos aquí hace bastante tiempo en la escuela, de hecho, en 2019 cuando estábamos una vez en una reunión de PIE, con todos los colegas donde había una fonoaudióloga que ya no está aquí. Ella estaba muy preocupada, diciendo: '¿Cómo vamos a ayudar a todos estos niños haitianos que necesitan apoyo de PIE pero que no pueden ser evaluados porque no cumplen con los requisitos que el Ministerio de Educación exige?' Y dice allí en las pautas del Ministerio de Educación. Podría buscarlas para enviártelas.

Karen: Yo no podría... Tendría que meterme en la normativa. O sea, necesito más detalles. O sea, necesito más detalles para poder dilucidar. Yo te podría dar listado de niños, niñas con unos 100 millones perteneciente a PIE.

María: Claro, porque lleva más de dos años en el sistema escolar. ¿No?

Karen: Es que, no. Por eso te digo, no estoy segura de que se requieran más de dos años para ingresar. Déjame hacer la consulta porque tal vez este grupo de personas...

[salió de la sala]

Karen: Tengo que averiguar qué está pasando en la escuela porque según lo que me dicen los chiquillos, no hay un condicionante respecto al tiempo que lleva en el sistema para incorporarse a PIE.

María: Qué raro. ¿Qué podrá ser? O sea, yo sé que un condicionante es hablar español. Pero mira esta pregunta dejémosla.

Karen: ¿Hablar español? Es completamente... No. No hay ninguna condición para hablar español para ingresar. Si hay complejidad, tiene que ver con el diagnóstico porque las pruebas que se hacen para diagnosticar, por supuesto, están en... pero hay escuelas que lo han resuelto de otras maneras, como alguien leyendo una prueba, que sabemos que no es la mejor prueba porque también tiene elementos culturales, entonces un niño podría puntuar más bajo. No necesariamente porque no puedan, sino porque... ¿Entiendes? Es como explicar la nieve a un niño que nunca la ha visto y no... Pero ese es otro punto.

Entrevista, 3 de noviembre de 2021.

Discriminación Camuflada

Josefa: La escuela no está preparada para recibir a todos los cursos [...] De hecho, eso es lo que estábamos hablando el otro día, sacaban a los estudiantes haitianos de la sala y los mandaban a tomar el taller de ESEL solo para poder mantener el aforo dentro de la sala.

Renato: Eso es una discriminación.

Josefa: Sí.

Camilo: Eso no puede ser.

Renato: Pero claro, estaba bien argumentado, en realidad. La idea es apoyar lo que estamos haciendo, pero al mismo tiempo, los estás privando de su ámbito, su aula, su entorno.

<div align="right">Grupo Focal, 16 de diciembre de 2021</div>

Bueno, honestamente, sí, si me preguntas cómo me sentí, me sentí pésimo toda la semana pasada porque, primero, eres consciente de que estás segregando a alguien, y es como, ¿por qué ese niño tiene que salir? ¿Por qué no puedes completar el aforo sacando a otro niño por otra cosa? ¿O por qué no pueden encontrar una solución donde no tengan que sacar a los niños y separarlos?

<div align="right">Catalina, Coordinadora de Español como Segundo Idioma. Entrevista, 6 de octubre de 2021</div>

Aniquilación Lingüística

Renato: Hubo algunas situaciones muy peculiares que me llamaron la atención. Una de ellas fue la prohibición del idioma en el aula.

María: ¿No podían hablar creole?

Renato: Exactamente, no podían hablar creole porque el argumento era que los estudiantes haitianos estaban insultando en creole, y como los profesores no sabían creole, no podían identificar cuándo estaban insultando y cuándo no […] Yo creo que es una violencia en realidad despojar a alguien del idioma o no darle la instancia para que pueda desarrollarlo.

<div align="right">Entrevista, 17 de agosto de 2021</div>

Renato: Entonces, creo que despojar a una persona de su identidad para convertirla en un chileno promedio es un error. Es un error porque la sociedad así no avanza.

María: ¿Y ocurre eso?

Renato: Sí, ocurre, ocurre. De hecho uno de los aspectos es la valoración de los estudiantes Cuando empiezan a hablar el español, los mismos haitianos. Ya después no hablan creole, prefieren siempre hablar en español. Y bueno, el profesor acá. Duele porque es una práctica, pero también asumo que es mucho más cómodo para nosotros, más fácil que el estudiante hable español y no creole, porque pueden entender la materia y hay un beneficio para ellos que se están

insertando. Entonces, ante eso creo que es importante que manejen el español, pero siempre como segunda lengua, no como una primera lengua.

María: Claro, como manteniendo sus raíces.

Renato: Que mantengan su lengua materna. Pero siento que el colegio no se hace cargo de esa realidad, no da instancias para que ellos también valoren su idioma y su identidad como tal.

María: ¿Cómo lo harías tú?

Renato: Generando espacio, celebrando el Día de la Independencia de Haití, o realizando actividades donde los chilenos conocieran o nos educaran en torno a que existen diferentes culturas en el colegio y convivimos no solo con chilenos, que convivimos con personas que vienen de otros países y siendo un colegio multicultural, igual uno ve por ejemplo a los trabajadores de la comunidad de acá y también la mayoría son chilenos, entonces eso igual te dice algo.

María: ¿Que no representa la diversidad de los estudiantes?

Renato: Exacto, no está representada la diversidad de los Estudiantes En realidad de nadie. Entonces ante eso es un problema porque uno puede pregonar eso, pero el colegio en realidad te dice otra cosa, no literalmente, pero si uno observa te das cuenta que no hay un proyecto intercultural o multicultural real.

<div align="right">Entrevista, 17 de agosto de 2021</div>

Nestor: No. No quiero ser racista ni nada, pero me siento cómodo porque la mayoría son venezolanos. Como le digo, si fuesen haitianos sería un poco más extraño, porque les suele costar más hablar el idioma y no se entiende uno tanto con ellos. Pero como la mayoría son venezolanos, claramente hablan en español. Como que todo en más fácil y menos extraño.

<div align="center">Estudiantes Monolingües. Grupo Focal, 25 de noviembre de 2021</div>

María: Y en sus casas, sus papás, ¿Que piensan? ¿Como hablan sobre estos temas?

Nestor: A mis papás le cargan los haitianos...

Gonzalo: A mí mamá le cargan los haitianos.

Elisa: Mi mamá también.

María: ¿Qué dicen?

Elisa: Bueno, mi mamá... no sé... Es que pueden ser muy agresivos.

María: Entiendo, pero ¿Qué dicen? Más que lo que son, cómo son, ¿Qué dicen?

Gonzalo: Son racistas, son racistas.

Nestor: ¿Quieres que te diga las palabras específicas?

María: Sí, las palabras específicas, ¿qué dicen?

Gonzalo: Negros de $&/%#.

Nestor: La cosa es que dicen garabatos 'Estos negros %&($ tienen que irse'.

Gonzalo: Mira, a veces trato de enseñarle a mi abuela que no todos son así. Mi abuela está aprendiendo lentamente... Pero, hasta cierto punto, tiene razón.

<div align="right">Estudiantes Monolingües. Grupo Focal, 25 de noviembre de 2021</div>

Antinegritud y el Mestizaje Entrelazados

En realidad, yo veo en la identidad chilena una identidad que históricamente ha sido mezcla. En realidad, nosotros somos mezcla de sangre mapuche con sangre andaluz. En el norte hay Aymara, en el sur ha, no sé, diferentes grupos. Entonces me parece como un poco contradictorio buscar una única identidad donde históricamente hemos sido una mezcla, si Latinoamérica ha sido una mezcla.

<div align="right">Renato, Grupo Focal de Profesores. 16 de diciembre de 2021</div>

Andrés: ¿Qué es una escuela chilena? ¿Cómo es un estudiante de tercero básico en Chile? La verdad es que te das cuenta de que hay muchos tipos de estudiantes de terceo básico, pero el sistema no está diseñado para eso, y eso tiene mucho que ver con, si quieres profundizar, la construcción de nuestro estado: es la idea de una nación, una raza homogénea, castellana, mestiza, pero esencialmente castellana.

María: ¿Mestiza, pero con raíces españolas?

Andrés: Exactamente, mezclado. Pero café con leche. No café oscuro. Y homogéneo. Castellana.

<div align="right">Entrevista. 16 de diciembre de 2021</div>

Evadir el Tema Racial

He oído 'negro' y 'negro aquí,' 'negro allá' en el aula y nunca fue en un tono de compañerismo, siempre ha sido ofensivo. Incluso he escuchado decir entre ellos, 'oye, no me digas negro.' Nunca lo he oído usado como, 'Oye, negro, amigo,' no. Siempre se ha usado para ofender.

<div align="right">Camilo, Grupo Focal de Profesores. Diciembre, 16 de 2021</div>

Nosotros creemos que falta mucho con respecto al tema de integrar a los estudiantes migrantes, porque no tenemos los protocolos, no tenemos las formas. Un profesor nuevo llega, se encuentra con niños migrantes, quizá nunca ha trabajado con niños migrantes. Igual es un choque, es algo que tenemos que aprender. O sea, el colegio se podría potenciar muy bien si supiera abordar eso. O sea, es algo que no todos los profesores tienen la instancia de trabajar con chicos de diferentes países.

<div align="right">Paulina, Grupo Focal de Profesores. Diciembre, 16 de 2021</div>

Catalina: Nunca olvidaré esto [...] un niño me dice, 'Tía, mire, a esta le decimos 'carbonara',' y la niña era igual de negra que él. Y le pregunto, '¿Pero por qué le dices así?' 'Porque mírela, ella es negra.' Pero tú también eres negro, le digo. 'No, pero es que esta es más negra.' Se molestan por cosas así.

María: ¿Un estudiante haitiano te dijo eso?

Catalina: Entre haitiano y haitiana, uno haitiano llamaba a otra 'carbona'. Otra vez se molestaban 'oye africano' y se molestaban diciendo 'ese africano'. Entonces yo les digo '¿Pero por qué? Si son todos africanos y todos venimos de África' 'Tía, ¿tú también vienes de África?' 'Y bueno, sí, porque el mundo originalmente era una masa, se empezó a separar y ese centro era África. Así que yo creo que también vengo de allá', pero de alguna manera me he dado cuenta con los chiquillos haitianos de acá el tema como del color de piel, del origen africano, todo tiene una carga más negativa

<div align="right">Catalina, Coordinadora de Español como Segunda Lengua. Entrevista, 1 de septiembre de 2021</div>

Racismo Explícito

Yo sé cómo está la cosa, yo sufrí mucho para estar aquí. Yo me acuerdo, la primera semana, yo estaba en una micro y una persona chilena, dice '¿Cómo es que una persona negra se sienta, una persona negra?', viene a mi cara, hablando directamente a mi cara, '¿Cómo es que una persona negra se sienta?' hay una persona discapacitada que estaba en el suelo y él dice, 'una persona negra se sienta y hay una persona blanca que está al suelo.' Y el chofer por Dios, el poderoso de Dios, el chofer apagar el micro, y viene y dice 'si no quieres quedarte callado usted tiene que bajar la micro. No le molesta al negro' o al negrito.

<div align="right">Sam, Mediador Cultural. Entrevista, 20 de junio de 2019.</div>

Había un círculo de niños y niñas haitianas, y los niños chilenos estaban aquí, otro grupo que no soportaba a los niños haitianos. De la pura rabia. En presencia de todos. No había desorden alguno. Nada. Era tanta la impotencia que les daba de que ellos estuvieran que se levantó. No me acuerdo si fue hombre o mujer el niño chileno que se levantó y le tiró un escupo a su compañero haitiano para que se fuera porque no lo quería allí.

<div align="right">Jasmine, Educadora del PIE. Entrevista, 18 de agosto de 2021.</div>

Deshumanización de EMISAD: Una Barrera que Impide Desmantelar el Racismo

Renato: A ver. Bueno, en realidad, improperio, garabato 'negro allá, negro acá'. Y también lo que más a mí como profe me impactó fue que había muchos estudiantes que ya tenían un determinismo casi proyectado, un determinismo hacia el compañero haitiano, así como 'oye, ¿para qué estudiar si vas a terminar barriendo o para qué haces esto si vas a terminar vendiendo a chocolate?'. De hecho, tengo el recuerdo como latente de un estudiante que dijo 'oye, en diez años más yo a pasar acá con mi auto y tú vas a estar vendiéndome Chocman' así, y estoy hablando de estudiantes de 11 - 12 años.

María: Cuando observas una situación así, ¿qué haces?

Renato: El 2019 siempre derivaba, anotaba, citaba apoderado, dándole el sentido de urgencia que para mí tiene. […] Me llamó mucho la atención que esa anotación, esa cosa era como el protocolo a seguir. Era hablar con el estudiante, decir que no lo hiciera más y se acabó. Entonces para mí era como 'oye, pero esto no es una sanción. En realidad, ¿Cómo no le damos la importancia que tiene en el colegio?' Y también me di cuenta que el estudiante haitiano lo veía como un insulto más, como que no, sin importancia.

Renato, Profesor. Entrevista, 17 de agosto de 2021

Susana: Yo creo que igual los niños haitianos, son como bien fuertes ellos, porque igual hemos tenido situaciones en que ellos han vivido cosas tan terribles y los niños no lloran. En cambio uno...

María: Cosas, por ejemplo ¿Como que en qué situación usted dice '¿Cómo este niño ni llora?'

Susana: Claro, porque una vez por ejemplo a un niño haitiano se le murió su papá y nosotros, decimos 'qué atrós, se le murió su papá del niño' y él no lloraba porque él dijo que él no lloraba porque en su país los hombres no lloran. O sea, es así, rudo, otro carácter, otro. Y era un niño muy pequeño. Entonces esa cosa llama la atención. No sé yo. Ellos tienen como otra, otra, otra crianza menos afectiva, no sé. Qué triste y bueno, ese era un niñito haitiano. Nosotros pensamos que les iba a poner a llorar y..

Susana, Recepcionista. Entrevista, 7 de octubre de 2021

María: Darline, ¿Has experimentado alguna situación racista en la escuela?

Darline: Sí, siempre.

María: ¿Siempre?

Darline: Pero no es de los profesores, es de los estudiantes.

María: ¿Los estudiantes son racistas?

Darline: Sí.

María: ¿Qué hacen?

Darline: Bueno, se siente por la diferencia en el color y lo que uno hace. Si hacen algo diferente, es porque no somos de la misma raza. Y si hago algo y ellos lo ven diferente, y a veces yo también lo veo diferente, pero para mí, no hago divisiones basadas en el color de piel ni nada.

María: Quiero tratar de entender un poco mejor. Por ejemplo, si haces algo que ellos también hacen, ¿te dicen algo por tu color de piel o algo así?

Darline: Sí, lo primero que sale de sus bocas es 'negra $%&/'. Recuerdo un día que una compañera me dijo, bueno, estaba haciendo algo en el aula, pero luego se enojó y dijo, 'negra &/(&$, váyanse a su país', y eso estuvo muy mal de su parte.

Entrevista, 1 de diciembre de 2021

Darline: Todo estaba tranquilo hasta que un compañero me lo dice hoy mismo en clase.

María: ¿ Hoy día mismo en clase?

Darline: Sí.

María: Wow. Lo siento, Darline. Lo siento que tengas que pasar por estas situaciones. ¿Y el profesor o la profesora escuchó?

Darline: Sí, estábamos justo enfrente del profesor, y él dijo, 'negra, #$%& sale de ahí.'

Entrevista, 1 de diciembre de 2021

Intersección Entre Discriminación Antinegra y Marginalización SES

Tuvimos un caso de un tercero donde no había filtro. Era como: los odio por ser negros y más los odio por ser hediondos.

Rolando, Profesor. Entrevista, 23 de agosto de 2021

Había un grupo de chiquillas; eran como cinco niñas, que eran derechamente racistas. Por ejemplo, no sé, les le tiraban desodorante a los chiquillos haitianos y les decían, así como 'báñate, negro'. Y los agarraban a garabatos, se agarraban a combos entre ellos. El grupo de haitianos que era grande también estaba siempre como segregado al lado de la puerta y el resto de los compañeros muy lejos de ellos y muy pegado a las ventanas. Entonces era súper fuerte.

Cristina, Profesora. Entrevista, 20 de octubre de 2021

Maite: Sí. Tuve que hacer varias intervenciones respecto a los olores o poca higiene. Sobre todo, con las más grandes, tercero y cuarto. No sé, en un momento les echaban Lysoform a los niños haitianos o colonia. Entonces todos podemos tener problemas de higiene como que no remite solamente a los migrantes. Y la intervención fue eso, 'hablemos de lo que está pasando. Los migrantes viven hacinados'.

María: ¿Hiciste la intervención con todo el curso o como con...?

Maite: No. Por separado. Hice una intervención en donde llamé sobre todo a las niñas que molestaban a los haitianos porque eran mujeres y las senté acá y les dije: 'esta es su casa, este es el espacio que ustedes tienen para vivir, ¿Donde colocarían las cosas?' 'La cocina allá'. 'Y si ustedes cocinan, ¿Ustedes creen que la casa se va a pasar, si este es su espacio'. 'Sí. Pues se va a ensuciar la ropa, no sé qué'. 'Y si no tienen agua caliente, ¿Cómo se van a duchar?' Ya les dije, 'bueno,

esta es la realidad de sus compañeros. Si ustedes critican que no se bañan, que están hediondos, que huelen a comida. Así viven ellos'.

María: ¿Qué dijeron?

Maite: Como, 'sí, sí, la tía tiene razón. Igual se me va a pasar la ropa a comida. Quizá no me voy a bañar con agua fría todos los días.

María: ¿Ayudó a desarrollar empatía...?

Maite: Sí, creo que entendieron. Fue como una especie de acercamiento a lo que a lo que muchas veces todos opinamos desde afuera.

<div align="right">Entrevista, 9 de noviembre de 2021</div>

Incluso sin intención, pero estaba en el ADN, no repartirles libros a los niños haitianos porque 'pa' qué si no van a entender nada'. Eso iba súper en contra como de lo que nosotros creíamos. O 'en verdad, los cabros haitianos echaron a perder el colegio'. O un directivo que en algún momento me dice, 'estoy aburrida de los haitianos'. Entonces, tú dices mira, emocionalmente puedo recibir tu mensaje y tratar de contenerlo pero éticamente no, o sea, es pa' que te cuestiones si teni' que estar aquí. Porque no es una cuestión menor, esto choca con principios fundamentales. Y es que este proyecto también está inspirado en principios ignacianos, de promoción de la justicia, de la consideración del otro en todo su valor, de sacarle el brillo a la dignidad del otro entonces, vamos a ser súper contra culturales. Y, estamos dispuestos a asumir ese riesgo, ese costo, de no tener popularidad por tener coherencia.

<div align="right">Raúl, Exdirector. Entrevista, 20 de junio de 2019</div>

El Viaje Saliendo de Chile

Camilo: Yo Igual me hubiese ido.

María: ¿Sí? ¿Por qué?

Camilo: Es que es horrible el trato. Es indigno.

María: Cuéntame un poco más sobre eso. ¿Aquí en Chile?

Camilo: Sí, aquí en la población misma, o sea llegaron a puro tener que defenderse. La pelea aquí.

<div align="right">Entrevista, 14 de diciembre de 2021</div>

Yo creo que hay un marco importante del vínculo, que una forma con los estudiantes acá. Que diferencia el colegio del de enfrente estando en la misma población. Hay estudiantes que salen del colegio y siguen escribiéndome porque se fueron a Estados Unidos, por ejemplo, y necesitan documentos. Creo que hay una conexión significativa con los estudiantes aquí. Me escriben, 'Profesora, necesito esto, ¿Puedes ayudarme?' Entonces hay una cierta confianza y un vínculo que se crea que creo que es importante y eso marca la diferencia entre este y otro colegio.

Constanza, Profesora. Entrevista, 30 de noviembre de 2021