‘Estoy aprendiendo yo con los niños, otra vez cómo es el sistema’

[‘I am learning with the children, again, how the system works’]

The schooling experience of Latin American migrant parents

In Chilean schools

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A thesis presented for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy

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Declaration

I, Sara Genoveva Joiko Mujica confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Word count (exclusive of references and appendices): 99,147 words

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Funding

This thesis was funded by CONICYT - BECAS CHILE (No. 72140612).
Abstract

Migration is not only the movement from south-north, but south-south movements have also emerged. In the last 25 years in Chile there has been an increase of people arriving especially from other countries of Latin America. This movement has involved adults but also children of school age. Hence, in a context characterised by a monocultural and neoliberal education field this study aimed to explore how Latin American migrant parents’ experiences of their children’s schooling can act as a form of ex/inclusion into the Chilean education system and wider society. Today there is a lack of information about the experience of migrant families in Chile, which can have implications for the responses of state policies and school practices, especially in the current context of an Educational Reform and a new migration bill. Hence this study aims to contribute to the Chilean academic field, community work and educational policies. Based on qualitative research, interviews with migrant parents and school staff from public and subsidized schools from three regions of Chile were carried out. The study draws on the literature of migration studies and home-school relationship, informed by Bourdieu’s theory of practice and a critical interculturality framework. Additionally an intersectional approach has been considered to understand the heterogeneity of the category of parents’ subject position in the schooling field. Findings show that the home-school relationship in the context of migration has shed light regarding parents’ dispositions beyond the ones commonly recognized as consumer and partner. Moreover, how migrant parents deploy their strategies in the schooling experience can open up a possibility of rethinking other modes of the home-school relation. Additionally some school practices have reinforced symbolically and materially demarcations of otherness. Therefore understanding the schooling experience of migrant parents has shed light on the possibility of (re)thinking a society as intercultural.
Impact statement

This study has focused mainly on the process of ex/inclusion of migrant families in the Chilean educational context. The main reasons to study this topic is that there is a lack of studies intending to place the voice of families in the centre of discussion regarding migration and education in Chile, shedding light on the exclusions faced by them. Therefore one of the contributions of this thesis has been to provide evidence about what is still missing regarding the process of inclusion of migrant families in the Chilean educational field. In this sense, one of the main areas of impact of this thesis has been the knowledge production to guide local and national public policy in the Chilean context.

Additionally this thesis aims to contribute internationally in terms of theory as it highlights how Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of practice is still very pertinent and applicable to making sense of the social experience of migrant parents and their children’s education. It also aims to emphasise that in Latin America there are contemporaneous scholars producing theories to better understand the south-south relationship. This challenges the dominance of theories from the global north. As this thesis is written in English, it bridges the Chilean as well as the Latin American context to a broader audience as a way to understand that the migration phenomenon is a global issue. Today migration is a worldwide phenomenon, with around 244 million international migrants, representing 3.3% of the world population (IOM, 2017b). Many countries that are receiving migration, as well as the communities that decide to migrate, may be facing the same challenges as those seen in Chile. Therefore, I hope that by addressing the main challenges faced by the Latin American families in the Chilean context, this can be a contribution to other contexts.

Regarding future plans, I will develop further some of the findings from this research, which are still missing in the Chilean context. For example, by working towards more collaboration between universities and community-based organisations. Finally, as dissemination is of great importance when doing research, throughout the thesis I have shared my findings not only with an academic audience. But also the findings were shared through a report to all the schools, municipalities and social organizations that participated. I have also become actively involved campaigning against the exclusion faced by migrant parents in Chile.
Acknowledgements

I will like to thank the schools, municipalities and organisations for generously opening their doors so I could do this research. However, my most special thanks is to the mothers and fathers who participated. This thesis is dedicated to them, and all the families who decide to migrate for a better future. *Por un mundo sin fronteras.*

I’m very grateful to my supervisors Professor Carol Vincent and Dr Alice Bradbury who guided me throughout this process. Their expertise in the field and commitment to social justice inspired my work. Also, I will like to thanks Dr Amy Norh who generously agreed to be my internal reader, and Dr Maria Teresa Rojas and Dr Andrea Riedemann who help me to re-located my thesis into the Chilean and Latin American context. Also to my colleagues and friends from *Mujeres Valientes* who had been along this process sharing their knowledge and turning anger into hope. I am also very grateful of staff and students at UCL committed to establishing a different way of doing academia. In this sense, I will like to thank Dr Stuart Tannock for allowing me to teach in his module and the amazing people I meet along the *Refuge in a Moving World* network.

Doing a PhD can sometimes be an isolated experience. Therefore I will like to thank my family and friends in Chile, who have accompanied me in these 5 years with messages of love and support. Also, I’m very grateful to those people that I have met during my migration journey. Friends from different latitudes that made my days at the IOE one of my best memories. Therefore, thank you Cris, Francy, Javi, Jele, Maria, Marina, Romy and Xime. I also want to thanks my Chilean community in London and especially at the IOE. I know that I’m returning to Chile to collaborate with not only excellent professionals but also amazing people. I also want to thanks IRMO and the *Asociación de Madres y Padres Latinos in the UK*. This thesis is also dedicated to them. *For a world without borders.*

And finally but not least, I need to say thank you to my two most important supporters. My mother, who inspired me to carry on this research, when she decided to take the challenge to live our first migration experience. And Felipe, my dear companion who has continued with me in this adventure, and from whom I have realised that one person can become the reflection of love, friendship and family. Thank you to both of you for always encouraging me to keep going.
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Part I. Background of the study

Every time I remember that first day, I feel anxious. She stayed with me as long as she could during those first weeks, but she didn't come in, she just watched from behind the glass-door. A girl was assigned with the duty of interpreting because she spoke English and Spanish. Her helpful services where used for the first time at lunch break.

Photo 1 “Key Elementary School”
(Top row, third from right)

This scene took place almost thirty years ago. It describes my mother, the girl that would become my best friend, and me on my first day at a primary school as a migrant child in the USA. When I ask my mother about her ‘schooling experience’ in this new context, she tells me she was anxious at first. She worried that, as I couldn't speak English, I would feel excluded; so, during the first weeks, she went to my school every day at lunchtime to check on me. She remembers that I looked happy and that my teachers and classmates were very kind to me. That's when she started feeling at peace both with my schooling experience and her own experience as a newly arrived migrant mother.

Thirty years have passed, and now I have the chance of reflecting on those memories. My experience of migration as a child was short-lived, compared to that of people who live their entire lives in their ‘host’ countries. My experience was also a family experience; I was not being separated from my mother. My experience was a privileged one; we were not moving because of war, economic or political issues.

1 'Host’ is signalled through this document to emphasize that a country of destination may not be ‘that welcome to migration and instead it may have restricted laws, such as in the case of the Chile.
As a whole, my experience of migration and those days at "Key School" became an important event for us, and it had an impact on who I am and how I understand the world around me.

Therefore when thinking about my PhD research project I wondered what the schooling experience of migrant families in Chile have been like; and how Chile's society, as well as the school practices and educational policies, have shaped their ex/inclusion processes. Surprisingly and even though migration has increased in Chile since the 1990s, very little research seemed to exist in this regard, which motivated me, even more, to carry out this study.
Chapter 1. Introduction and context

This thesis deals with the relationship between families and schools in a context of south-south migration. It focuses on Latin-American migrant parents and how the process of schooling can act as a form of ex/inclusion not only in the education system, but in wider Chilean society as well. This study draws on the literature of migration studies (Bloemraad et al. 2008; Erel 2010; Novaro 2012; Stefoni & Bonhomme 2014; Thayer & Stang 2017) and home-school relationships (Gubbins 2012; Leyton & Rojas 2017; Reay et al. 2007), informed by Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of practice and by a critical interculturality framework (Diez 2004; Tubino 2004; Walsh 2005). Studies discussing the relationship between families and schools have also argued for the need to engage in an intersectional approach to understand the heterogeneity of the category of ‘parent’ and their role in the field of schooling (Vincent, 2017).

During the last 25 years, there has been an increase in the numbers of people migrating to Chile especially from other countries of Latin America. This movement has not only involved adults in search for better conditions and opportunities but also children of school age. Today there is a lack of information and knowledge about the experience of migrant families in the Chilean education system, which can have implications for the targeted responses of the state policies and school practices regarding their needs and demands, as well more broadly in thinking about how a society can be (re)built politically, ethically and epistemologically as intercultural. Hence, this study aims to contribute to policy, practice and academic scholarship, as what has been said so far regarding the Chilean educational field has excluded the voices of migrant parents.

The aim of this chapter is to provide the context of the study together a historical account of migration in Chile and how it has influenced the configuration of a monocultural society (Section 1). It will then focus on the field of education, exploring the narratives around the idea of educating the ‘other’ (Section 2). The following section will analyse the current educational policies regarding migrant children and adolescents as well some secondary data characterization of migrant students in the Chilean context (Section 3). Later on, this chapter will delve into the neoliberal agenda of the Chilean education field (Section 4), which has set the ‘rules of the game’ for families. After presenting the historical and policy-related background of this study, I will further develop my research questions (Section 5) and present the
outline of the thesis (Section 6) as well some final comments of the main arguments of this first chapter (Section 7).

1. Past, present and future: migration in motion

Migration is not a new phenomenon in Chile. It goes back to the first Spanish expeditions and later occupations of this ‘remote’ land and, later on, to the time in which the Chilean government, in an attempt to improve the Chilean ‘race’ under what is known as the “Selective Immigration Policy” of 1845, supported the settlement of European migrant communities. Today migration is ‘regional’ as migrants come from Latin America and Caribbean countries.

In the last 25 years, more and more people have arrived in Chile searching for new opportunities, with the number increasing from 105,070 in 1992 to 1,251,225 in 2018, representing 0.8% and 6.6% of the total population respectively (INE & DEM, 2019). This increase started with the return to democracy in 1990, when better work conditions and a stable economy attracted migrants mainly from neighbouring countries suffering economic crises. Chile is also a closer destination than the usual United States or Spain, where migration policies have become more restrictive (Stefoni, 2011b).

This ‘recent migration’ (INE & DEM, 2019) consists of more men (51.6%) than women (48.4%), from Latin-American countries which include Venezuela (23%), Peru (18%), Haiti (14%), Colombia (12%), and Bolivia (9%). Most settle in Chile’s metropolitan region and are adults between 20 to 39 years old, which corresponds to the working age. The average years of schooling for the migrant population is 13 years whereas for the non-migrants, it is 11 years; this contradicts the common myth that the migrant population in Chile have less institutionalised cultural capital than the national population. Migrants may experience different dimensions of social mobility (Madero & Mora, 2011). Better job opportunities may translate into upward social mobility compared to their countries of origin. Nevertheless, they might also experience downward mobility, as their academic and professional certifications are not always recognised in the ‘host’ countries. This is highly significant because access to the labour market may affect migrants’ social class positioning and, in turn, they may or may not ‘fit’ into the class classification of Chilean society, which is often

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2 ‘Race’ is signalled through this document by the use of single quotation marks to emphasized that in this study is understood as a social construct as “‘race’ does not exist “out there”, ontologically prior to its production and instantiation in discourses” (Carbado 2002, quoted by Bradbury 2011, p.40). However, it needs to be acknowledged as racism has shapes the lived experience of individuals (Omi and Winant 2004, quoted by Bradbury 2011).
defined by where you live and where your children go to school, among other factors.

Ironically, even though we share commonalities in terms of language, religion and a history of colonization - given that approximately 89% of the migrants are from Latin American countries - the Chilean society has perceived them as a ‘problem’ and has been less welcoming than with people who migrated under the mid-nineteenth century “Selective Immigration Policy”. According to Tijoux, this is mainly because of “their colour, their condition, their nationality” (2016, p.5, Translated From Spanish³), which according to the Chilean sociologist has also influenced the used of the terms of immigrant and foreigner. The former is use mainly to refer to ‘unwanted migration’ coming from poor and non-white countries, whereas the term foreigner is used to distinguish those communities, mainly from the Global North, that are more welcome. In this distinction of the terms, we can find the first hints of the racialization of migration in Chile that I argue is currently having an impact on the ex/inclusion process of schooling of the Latin American migrant communities in the Chilean education system⁴.

Moreover, studies in the field of migration in Chile have shed light on how highly xenophobic and racist towards some migrants the Chilean society is (Gissi-Barbieri & Ghio-Suárez 2017; INDH 2017); a discrimination also experienced in the school field (Stefoni et al. 2010; Riedemann & Stefoni 2016; Tijoux 2013) and built on a monocultural ‘white-mestizo’ discourse, which has “developed and maintained a constant presence of the dialectics of negation of the other until today, under the slogan of national homogenization” (Jensen, 2009, p.118, TFS).

In Latin America, the majority of the population have mixed heritage - mestizaje in Spanish - as a consequence of the colonization process by the Europeans in the 16th century. Therefore the ‘race’/ethnicity identity that predominates in the region with the notion of mestizaje originated during the colonization period given the population mix of the indigenous people, European colonizers and Africans from the slave trade. Thus, as argue by Bello and Rangel “During the long period of the colony, the contact and relationship between indigenous, African slaves and

³ From now on TFS. Throughout this document the references that I have translated from Spanish to English will have this acronym. The purpose of this is to acknowledge how this thesis was built on a continuous exercise of bilingualism. See Chapter 4.5.

⁴ Thus deliberately both terms are not used throughout this study as, in the context of Chile, they have become problematic labels that subscribe to an ethnocentric view that reproduces divisions between ‘us’ and ‘them’. In this sense I prefer the use of the concepts of migrants, as it emphasise a bilateral movement of experiences and understanding of the social world.
European produced a deep process of biological, cultural and social *mestizaje* [in Latin America]" (2000, p.11, TFS).

However, the ruling elites in countries such as in Chile (Roessler, 2018) or Argentina (Guaymás, 2016) in order to distinguish themselves from the rest of the *mestizos* tended to accentuate their White/European heritage. Thus, as a Whitness process, this has denied the Indigenous and Afro-descendant influences in the *mestizaje* (Santos 2018; Wade 2000).

Furthermore, the construction of a monocultural nation in Chile has its origins, as previously mentioned, in the state project of whitening to ‘improve the race’ in the mid-nineteenth century (Stefoni & Stang, 2017). This project can be understood as a form of ‘internal colonialism’ (Grimson & Guizardi, 2015) based on the second process of colonization by the mestizo state, also known as the ‘ideology of mestizaje’: "state ideology that promoted a social pact of inclusion and, at the same time, demanded an assimilation to a mestizo and homogenous ideal as a subject of national identification" (Vera et al. 2018, p.16, TFS). This process of assimilation under the new nation-state - which in the case of Chile is situated in the second half of the 19th century (Ortega Martínez, 2010) - emerged first from the centre of Chile to the south in the “war against indigenous barbarism” (Grimson & Guizardi, 2015, p.21, TFS). Later on it moved to the north with the War of the Pacific (1879-1883) that reproduced “the civilising discourse used in the military campaign to the south, but now projecting Peruvians and Bolivians as the other uncivilised” (Ibid).

After the War of the Pacific and with the annexation of Peruvian and Bolivian lands in the north, a process known as Chilenization emerged impacting both the indigenous and Afro-descendant community living in the north of the country (Araya Hurtado, 2013) as well as having repercussions in the education system (González Miranda, 2002). Furthermore, in the construction of the nation, the state together with the elite:
Played a fundamental role in the process of nationalization or Chilenization of society: they disseminated and imposed through the school, the press and other mechanisms, a "we", a sense of belonging, a kind of unnatural ethnicity, a kind of second nature centred on the idea of being citizens of Chile, an idea that neglects the particularities of ethnic groups, visualizing them as a threat that threatens the construction of a nation of citizens. It is in this perspective that we must situate the immigration policies promoted by Pérez Rosales5 and the liberal governments (Subercaseaux 2006, p.26, TFS).

It could be argued, then, that the processes of ethnicization and racialization in Chile are a combination of historical and political processes of external and internal colonisation of the territory that have installed the idea of a monocultural society. 'Whiteness' has always been at the core of the construction of the Chilean nation-state in the modernity project, and it has translated into an idea of 'racial homogeneity' (Subercaseaux, 1999) replacing “the Indo-Iberian cultural pattern with one of European character” (Larrain 2001 quoted by Tijoux & Palominos 2015, p.256, TFS).

This historical account is not only part of the past, it is also very much embedded in the present and future of Chile. Furthermore, according to a national survey conducted by the Chilean National Institute of Human Rights (INDE, 2017), a third of the Chilean population thinks that the majority of Chileans consider themselves to be "Whiter than the people in other Latin American countries" (p. 23, TFS). Therefore, this new migration – unlike the previous waves- will not perpetuate the Chilean 'Whiteness', a common discourse found on the media, right-wing parties and anti-migration supporters. For example, during a live radio broadcast a Chilean radio presenter - close to the civic-military dictatorship - when referring to the Haitian community in Chile expressed in a worried tone that this migration will change the Chilean ‘race’ (The Economist 2018). Thus, a sense of national-superiority has blossomed (Tijoux 2016).

Moreover, there is a current political debate concerning a new migration bill, since the current legislation is outdated as it was established 40 years ago, during Pinochet's dictatorship. This bill's treatment of migrants is "mainly characterised by their policing and control guidance" (Jensen 2009, p.106, TFS). Therefore, although there is a normative discourse that supports migratory movements through the

5 Pérez Rosales promoted the so called “Selective Immigration Policy” which meant the colonization of the south of Chile by Europeans, mainly Germans, that took place from 1845 to 1910 and was supported by the Chilean liberal governments (1861-1891).
ratification of international treaties⁶, the current Chilean migration law lacks a human rights approach. In this sense the debate about the new bill has taken suggestions from the International Organization for Migration of the Global Compact for Migration pact to make migration safe, orderly and regular (IOM, 2017a). However, Chile together with USA, Australia, Hungary, Italy, among other countries, had finally decided not to sign the pact (Al Jazeera News, 2018). In the case of Chile, the argument of the current government in making this decision is that they do not agree with the human rights approach described in the pact. Moreover, the Chilean Home Office secretary emphasised “If [migrating] were a human right, then we are in a world without borders. We firmly believe in the human rights of migrants, but not that migrating is a human right” (El Mostrador 2018, TFS). The pact has not avoided criticism for its strong emphasis on national security together with an assimilationist approach. However the stated reasons of why the Chilean government pulled out of the agreement illustrates the current position of the government, which has displaced the human rights perspective from the centre of the migration debate.

In this thesis, I will argue that this state view towards migration does not remain outside the educational field since it influences different levels of social interactions and positioning between migrant families and schools. It also generates tension between the growing diversity in the classroom and the monocultural discourse of national identity, all of which create an unfavourable scenario for an education system with an inclusive and intercultural perspective.

2. Educating the ‘other’ in Chile

What has been at stake in educating the ‘other’ in the Chilean education system is the protection of the monocultural and nationalistic Chilean identity (Roessler 2018) which when faced with this ‘other’ has created “processes of alterity and state regulation of that difference” (Diez 2013, p.8, TFS). It is in these regulations that ‘inclusion’ as well ‘managing diversity’ (Jiménez, 2014) emerge as discourses not by questioning why and how exclusion has been produced in the first place, but just by inviting the ‘other’ to join what it is already there (‘it is they who have to adapt’). Thus, when we ask about ‘inclusion’ in the Chilean education context, then, we are intentionally asking about those ‘others’ that have to be included since their presence has not yet been made visible in the school setting. I therefore argue that it is not only about ‘inclusion’ but also about the systematic and historical exclusions,

⁶ The International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families was ratified by the Chilean state in 2005.
which is why I decided to use the wording ex/inclusion, for both need to be acknowledged and questioned regarding the schooling experience of migrant families in the current Chilean context.

However, this ‘othering’ is not new to the Chilean education instruction, as it goes back to colonial times (16th to 18th century) when the Catholic church played a major role as an education provider (Soto Roa 2000) and set out to evangelise the indigenous people (Lepe-Carrión 2016) with the aim of teaching them the Spanish language as well the 'new culture'. Later on, during the Chilean formation of the nation-state and its public education system (19th and mid-20th century), there was a process of acculturation referred before as Chilenization. This had an impact on the schooling of the Peruvian and Bolivian communities as a consequence of the War of the Pacific in the northern country; the indigenous in the south of Chile as well the Rapanui population on Easter Island with the ‘annexation of the island to Chile in 1888’ (Corvalán 2014; González Miranda 2002; Rojas Flores 2010; Williamson 2012). In this sense, within the nation-state, this Chilenization process in schools also shaped the process of ethnicization and racialization in Chile (process explored further in the next chapter).

Nevertheless, not all the communities ‘different from Chileans’ were subject to the assimilation of the values of the nation-state formation, even though that was the main intention. Europeans were the exception. As previously mentioned, during the mid-1800 the government introduced a policy to improve the Chilean ‘race’ mainly in the southern part of the country as it was there that the indigenous population were still fighting for their autonomy and lands, against the mestizo-state (Figueroa 2017). Thus, the ‘schools of foreign colonies’ were established, first with the support of the state and later on maintained economically by the European colonies living in Chile as private institutions (Zavala 2008). Nowadays these schools are private paid institutions and are part of the elite education in Chile. An example of this is the ‘German Institute’, a school founded in 1858:

In addition to the usual transmission of knowledge, the school has another task, restrictive and enriching at the same time: transmitting with the German language, an entire heritage culture, a set of norms, attitudes, behaviours whose value is proven in contact with an almost primitive environment (Blancpain, 1974 quoted by Hermosilla, 2011, p. 52, TFS).

Today, however, the question of educating the ‘other’ has emerged in the debate around the right to/in/through education (Verhellen, 1993) of migrant children in
In this sense this right should not only be understood as providing free access and equal opportunities (known as the right to education), but also that children are able to exercise other important rights; being protected against discrimination; and receive the tools and space to participate. These issues are linked to the dimensions of the right in and through education, where the former is about “the protection of and respect for learners” and the latter about the “development of capacities for exercising human rights” (McCowan 2011, p.289). The present study, therefore, places its focus on the questions about the schooling experience of migrant families.

What follows is a review of the main educational policies and programmes implemented in Chile. This review, together with some statistics that describe the student migrant population in Chile, will provide the context to better understand how migrant children and their families have been experiencing their process of ex/inclusion in the Chilean educational system.

3. Migrant children’s education in Chile

In 2005, migrant students made up 0.3% of the total number of students in the Chilean school system, in 2018 this enrollment rate has increased to 3.2%\(^7\). Consequently, it becomes essential to direct our attention towards the schooling experience of migrant families as, so far, studies on the home-school relationship of migrant communities are scarce and so are educational policies and accurate statistics.

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\(^8\) Section elaborated based on a secondary data analysis (see Appendix 3) together with a review of education policies and programmes (see Appendix 4).

Migrant students are enrolled in all levels of the educational system, but most of them are in primary education (58%) and in municipal schools (57%), a scenario that contrasts with that of Chilean students, who are mostly enrolled in the private sector. Regarding location, most migrant students (59%) are in the metropolitan region and in the northern regions of the country -Antofagasta and Tarapacá- where Chile shares borders with Peru and Bolivia. In contrast, most Chilean students are located in the centre, which includes the metropolitan region, the region of Biobío and Valparaíso. Concerning gender, 54% of migrant students are male, and 46% are female, which is very similar to the non-migrant student proportion where men are still the majority - 51% and 49% respectively.

When the fieldwork for this study was carried out (May to August 2016), private subsidised schools could still charge a fee to families - as explained later in section 4 - and it was observed that 70% of migrant students attended free establishments without a shared fee, which is higher than the 58% of their Chilean-born peers who do so. Regarding the socioeconomic status of the population of the educational institution, according to the indicator established by the national test (SIMCE) on the basis of schooling of parents, household income and social vulnerability of students, it is observed that 6% of migrants students are enrolled in primary schools classified as low socio-economic status, 73% in middle-low and middle, and 21% in middle-upper and upper schools, unlike their Chilean peers, whose distribution is 10%, 62% and 28%, respectively. Concerning specific government policies, 75% of migrant
students attend schools with a Preferential School Subsidy\textsuperscript{10}, in contrast to 68% of their Chilean peers; and 58% are in schools with a School Integration Programme\textsuperscript{11}, similar to 52% of their peers. Finally, it is important to mention that migrant students are present in 46% of the total number of schools in the country.

The above national statistics of migrant students in Chilean schools should be taken with some reservations, as the General Student Information System\textsuperscript{12}, where the data comes from, is not as accurate as expected because it only includes students who have a national identification number (from now on Chilean ID)\textsuperscript{13} and thus renders invisible any student without this number. This discrepancy found in the data should not be taken lightly given that the information of the General Student Information System has an impact on public policies regarding education. Those mainly affected are migrant students in an irregular situation, as those with a provisional school identifier number, given by the Ministry of Education (from now on MINEDUC) – see appendix 4 - were not included in the official statistics. What is more, making use of the Transparency Law on Access to Public Information, it was confirmed that 24,865\textsuperscript{14} migrant children that were in schools were not part of the national statistics. This situation calls into question the exponential increase in school enrollment (mentioned at the beginning of this section), for it does not necessarily mean that more migrant students have arrived, but that more students now have their national number and are officially in the system. This particular technical-administrative aspect entails multiple problems in the elaboration and discussion of public policies aimed at migrant students since it makes some of them invisible to public institutions (which I will discuss later in Chapter 5).

Tomaševski (2009) links the right in/to/through education with her ‘4 As’ conceptual framework regarding the notions of availability, accessibility, acceptability and adaptability. This framework became a useful tool to analyse the current educational policies regarding migrant children in Chile. Figure 2 illustrates this framework taking also in consideration McCowan’s explanation of the right in/to/through education (2010b):

\textsuperscript{10} Extra voucher given to schools with children classifies as ‘vulnerable’ based on different indicators. See Appendix 4.
\textsuperscript{11} Various inclusive strategies as well as economic and professional resources whose main objective is to provide support to students who present Special Educational Needs (SEN), whether transient or permanent. See Appendix 4.
\textsuperscript{12} Equivalent to the National Pupil Database from the UK. See Appendix 4.
\textsuperscript{13} Unique and unrepeatable identification number all Chileans have, whether or not they live in Chile and any migrant who remains, temporarily or permanently, with a visa other than the tourist visa. See Appendix 4.
\textsuperscript{14} See Appendix 10.
Additionally to better understand how the right to education has been exercised in the Chilean context, I created a visual diagram (figure 3) that can be complemented with appendix 4. The idea of a journey is used to represent how migration is not only travelling from one country to another but also, in the Chilean context, a journey to find and fight for the right to education. Also, by using the idea of a journey, I am emphasising that this was not a straightforward path or linear process; it comes with many curves, roads, obstacles, and speeds.

**Figure 2 The right in/to/through education with the ‘4 As’ scheme**  
(Own elaboration based on Tomaševski, 2009 and McCowan, 2010b)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Right TO education</th>
<th>AVAILABILITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| (access and equal opportunities) | - Fiscal allocations matching human rights obligations  
- Schools matching school-aged children (number, diversity)  
- Teachers (education & training, recruitment, labor rights, trade union freedom) |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Right IN education</th>
<th>ACCESSIBILITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| (protection of and respect for learners) | - Elimination of legal and administrative barriers  
- Elimination of financial obstacles  
- Identification and elimination of discriminatory denials of access  
- Elimination of obstacles to compulsory schooling (fees, distance, schedule) |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Right THROUGH education</th>
<th>ACCEPTABILITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| (development of capacities for exercising human rights) | - Parental choice of education for their children (with human rights corrections)  
- Enforcement of minimal standards (quality, safety, environmental health)  
- Language of instruction  
- Freedom from censorship  
- Recognition of children as subjects of rights |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Right THROUGH education</th>
<th>ADAPTABILITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| (development of capacities for exercising human rights) | - Minority children  
- Indigenous children  
- Working children  
- Children with disabilities  
- Child migrant, travelers |

- Concordance of age-determined rights  
- Elimination of child marriage  
- Elimination of child labor  
- Prevention of child soldiering
Figure 3 The journey to education for migrant children in Chile
(Own elaboration with the support of Carolina Arévalo)
From the perspective of these models (figure 2), the education policies put in place to ensure the right to education of migrant children in Chile\(^\text{16}\) have focused primarily on ‘availability’ and ‘accessibility’ (Tomaševski, 2009). Availability is understood as the sufficient human, material and financial resources that should be allocated to ensure education for all. In contrast accessibility means to secure access to education for all children in compulsory education, free of charge; as well as being linked to non-discrimination on any ground, therefore actions should be taken into consideration to include everyone (both physically and economically).

Moreover these educational policies had guaranteed free and accessible education for all regardless of their migration status. Since 2005, for instance, the Chilean state ruled - under what is known as the Bitar Regulation, see appendix 4 - that no migrant child or adolescent could be deprived of being enrolled in a school in spite of not having their migration status resolved. Ten years later, and with the increase in enrolment of migrant students, the We are all the school programme (2014)\(^\text{16}\) was introduced to support the migratory regularisation of those students with an irregular status who were enrolled in the public schools of those municipalities who had joined the programme. This mainly meant helping children and their families get their national identification number, with schools and municipalities being in charge of collecting all the required documentation from families to start the regularisation process. The government celebrated this programme as an improvement (Gobierno Noticias 2014) and yet it is worrisome that no one anticipated the tension that may arise due to the fact that schools -together with municipalities - are expected to ‘act as de facto immigration control officers’ (Coram, 2013). As one school member staff mentioned during the fieldwork:

*This year, 4 or 5 pieces of information were added that are very difficult to find out, as far as I am concerned. Many parents do not want to tell you, unless you (...) reassure them very clearly that it is not to deport them (BVM_Esc1).*

Moreover, when it comes to educational policies created to ensure migrant children’s right to education, two limitations can be identified. First, a migrant student who does not have a national identification number cannot fully access educational benefits and resources such as free meals, extra learning support, special funding schemes or even their end of year school certificate, all of which are components of their rights to education. These migrant students end up becoming second-class citizens,

\(^{15}\) It is important to clarified that in this study the right to education is focus on schooling, even though I recognised that some scholars have argue that this right is more than the ‘institution of school’. In this sense McCowan argues that “school can fulfil the right to education, but it is neither a necessary nor sufficient condition for its fulfillment” (2010b, p. 514).

\(^{16}\) See Appendix 4.
as they comply with their school duties (i.e. taking their exams, going to school every day, participating in the school community) but are not entitled to all their rights as students and are thus only partially included in the school system.

Only after the fieldwork was carried out, did the government acknowledge the invisibility of migrant children in an irregular situation. This acknowledgement was brought about by a campaign launched by one of the leading social organisations that advocates for migrant children’s right to education in Chile”. This led to the creation, in November 2016, of a provisional identification number for students, called Provisional School Identifier, which was implemented officially in January 2017. This was certainly a sign of progress, as it allowed for the recognition of the students' educational trajectory regardless of their migratory situation and it helped highlight the need to adapt the assessment schemes in schools according to the different linguistic varieties. However, this ID number still labels students as 'provisional'; it does not solve the problem of recognition of the students previous studies in the home country; and it continues to put the pressure on schools, neglecting the intersectoral responsibility of this 'inclusion' process.

Secondly, as the focus has mainly been on the right to education – the availability and accessibility of education as shown in figures 2 and 3 - less attention has been placed on the right in and through education; that is, pedagogical and social issues that can affect students and families’ participation (acceptability); as well as schools adapting to the needs of children and acting in ‘the best interest of each child’ (which is referred to as adaptability) (Tomaševski, 2009). The adaptability dimension differs from acceptability, for even though it highlights the importance of considering the individualities of each student and not homogenizing the student body, it emphasises the purpose of education rather than education as a pedagogical practice: "It implies that education is transformed as the needs of society change; that contributes to overcoming inequalities and that can be adapted to specific contexts” (Ruiz 2014, p.9, TFS). For example, the teaching and learning methods, as well as the language of instruction are still pending issues in Chile. The government has neglected this discussion so far (PRIEM & FUSUPO, 2017) and the only policy in place is the Intercultural Bilingual Education for the indigenous population. Programme that has been highly criticized by this same population for still using a ‘ monocultural model’ (Curivil 2013). Unfortunately, the state has not been able to meet the needs and demands of the new context, and has perpetuated a monocultural education system. This is an issue that is being challenged today by social organisations and academia

17 See Appendix 4.
with the implementation of the Educational Reform (2014)\textsuperscript{18}, which aims to take in consideration the cultural, ethnic, religious and national diversity of students and families.

In addition to the implementation of the Provisional School identifier on April 2017, on May 2018, the new right-wing government presented the "National Policy for Foreign Students 2018 – 2022" (MINEDUC, 2018). This policy was created in response to an institutional assessment carried out by the previous government and it aims to:

\begin{quote}
Favour the access, permanence and educational trajectories of foreign students in the Chilean educational system, generating devices that respond to the particular needs of this group of special protection (MINEDUC, 2018, p.24, TBS).
\end{quote}

To accomplish this goal, the policy has been organised into three areas of work. The first area concerns the \textbf{institutional and intersectoral articulation}, which means the policy should be developed collaboratively between different ministerial departments, such as the Ministry of Social Development, the Home Office and the MINEDUC. This area of work was created with the purpose of coordinating, at the ministerial level, all the actions needed in order to guarantee the education of migrant students under conditions equal to those of national students, solving critical obstacles that hinder access, permanence and trajectory at all the levels of the education system. This area also intends to bring together different state and civil society sectors in order to ensure the protection of an inclusive and quality education for this group in need of special protection.

The second area is described by the policy as the core work of the MINEDUC, which aims to \textbf{strengthen the educational management of and by schools}, for example, by providing schools with information about the migration procedure and the right of families, as well pedagogical orientation and resources to be used in the classroom. One of the general goals of this area is the promotion of school conviviality that places value on diversity and uses a collaborative approach to integrate migrant students and their families. It also aims to provide the technical and pedagogical support that makes it possible to move towards a comprehensive formation that successfully meets the needs of this group throughout their educational trajectory. Finally, this area of work intends to provide the management

\textsuperscript{18} Educational Reform has been capitalized in this document as it refers to a particular set of laws and policies taking place in Chile since 2014 (MINEDUC, 2016). See Appendix 4.
tools and resources that allow for the inclusion of migrant students in the educational community.

Finally, the last area established to meet the goals of this national policy has to do with the importance of **favouring the relations between formal and informal organizations** in the school’s locality. The activities and specific aims associated with this area are: gathering quantitative and qualitative data that sheds light on the reality of migrant students in the Chilean school system; promoting different forms of participation that lead to analysis and dialogue on the inclusion of migrant students in the Chilean school system; and finally, collecting and disseminating data and information about the networks that are in place in every area and that deal with different migration, refugee and interculturality issues.

Eight strategic actors – units, offices, department – from the MINEDUC will set this highly ambitious plan in motion over a period of four years (2018 to 2022), which requires a high level of communication and coordination, and the beneficiaries range from migrant students to the entire education system. Additionally this new national policy made evident the importance of incorporating the so far invisible legal frameworks, such as the School Inclusion Law (2015) and the Anti-Discrimination Law (2012)\(^\text{19}\), in the discussion about the right to education of migrant children. However, what is still missing in this new policy, is incorporating the families and communities. In the framework of critical interculturality, they form an important dimension to consider if we want to move towards an intercultural school that promotes symmetrical relations among all. For example, there is no reference in the 2018 National Policy on Foreign Students to the new “Policy on the Participation of Families and the Community in Educational Institutions” (MINEDUC 2017), which aims to:

> Contribute to the integral development of the student body and to improve the educational quality, through the generation of conditions for the participation and involvement of families and the community in educational institutions (Ibid p. 31, TFS).

Also, it is interesting to observe that the “National Policy for Foreign Students” was implemented by the current right-wing government that in several occasions has demonstrated its anti-migration discourse - as mention in section 1-. However, I argue that the implementation of this policy can be understood as a form of the principle of ‘interest convergence’, which means that "progressive policies are

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\(^\text{19}\) See Appendix 4.
introduced only where there is some perceived benefit to the White power holders” (Bell 1980 in Vincent et al. 2013a, p. 932). In this case, the right-wing government wanted to show how liberal the MINEDUC was and how aligned their policies were with the so-called ethics of diversity. This means there is the emergence of new narratives that are built under the new processes of diversity in the schooling field which creates policies and discourses that are ‘in favour of non-discrimination and social cohesion’ (Falabella, 2015, p.715). This in turn is an example of what later on I explain as ‘functional interculturality’ (see Chapter 2.3.1). Meaning that:

**When the discourse on interculturality serves - directly or indirectly - to make invisible the growing social asymmetries, the great internal cultural differences and all those problems that derive from an economic and social structure that systematically excludes the subalternized sectors of our societies, then it is possible to say that a functional concept of interculturality is being used because it does not question the current post-colonial system and facilitates its reproduction** (Tubino, 2004, pp.5–6, TFS)

In addition to the “National Policy for Foreign Students 2018 – 2022” it is important to consider the impact of the Educational Reform (2014) taking place in Chile. One of the changes of the Educational Reform has been the implementation of the new School Inclusion Law (MINEDUC, 2015a). This Law has explicitly stated - for the first time - that the education system should **attempt** to be inclusive and non-discriminatory:

**The system will attempt to eliminate all forms of arbitrary discrimination that prevents the learning and participation of all students. It will also encourage educational establishments to be a place of encounter between all students of different socio-economic, cultural and ethnic background, gender, nationality or religion** (MINEDUC, 2015a, TFS).

It is important to notice that the Law intentionally uses the term ‘attempt’ instead of ‘aim’ as might be expected. The decision to use this term implies a focus on the process rather than on purpose, and this process seems to happen gradually rather than immediately. Thus, we can argue it takes some degree of agency from the ‘system’.

I will, therefore, argue in this study, that families and communities are still placed in the margins of school practices and state policies, even though, in theory, they are at the centre. Research about the home-school relationship in the context of migration becomes necessary, then, to explore these marginalised interactions. Moreover, with this complex education reform process in its initial stages of implementation, if the
Chilean educational system is going to promote ‘inclusive’ education, it also needs to identify the exclusions that migrant students and their families could be facing under the Chilean neoliberal education system, as explained in the next section.

4. The Chilean neoliberal agenda in education

This section of this introductory chapter aims to describe the features that make up the Chilean education system been influenced by a neoliberal agenda, as well as how this agenda can shape the schooling experience of migrants in Chile. I argue that it is important to understand this agenda for the purpose of this study as it has influenced the social interactions and relationships in the Chilean schooling field, for example between schools and families (as we will see in Chapter 3.2 and 3.4) as well as in the ex/inclusion migrant students and their families face in Chile.

The neoliberal agenda in the Chilean context is tied to the political configuration that has existed since the civic-military dictatorship (1973-1990) and gave rise to an education system based on neoliberal policies. This has generated marketisation of education with the incorporation of private providers and the decentralisation of public schools from the central state to the local municipality (Raczynski & Serrano, 2001), as well as parents choosing based on the principles of competition, subsidiarity and self-regulation (Flores & Carrasco, 2013). Also, during the 1990s, with what has been called the Chilean period of transition to democracy, there was a reinforcement of these policies through the implementation of a school voucher, the co-payment system - where schools could charge an extra fee to parents on top of the voucher given by the state - and a national measurement test (known as SIMCE), whose results informed parents and the community about the ‘quality of the schools' based on students' performance (Campos-Martínez et al. 2015). All of these neoliberal policies have contributed, during the last 45 years, to establishing a quasi-market model characterised by a strong private sector, low enrolment in the public system, and high levels of segregation among schools based on social class (Bellei, 2007; Falabella, 2015; Valenzuela et al. 2013).

The above scenario has not only influenced the definition of education as a commodity in the Chilean system, but it has also had an impact on social relations and interactions. One example of this is the tendency to understand the inclusion of historically excluded groups – indigenous population, migrant communities, disabled, LGBT, low income, rural – in economic terms as the cost-benefit of that inclusion,
instead of seeing it as an urgent demand for a society that should aim to be pluralistic. Furthermore, as Infante and colleagues emphasised, the production of the discourse around diversity “has emerged in a historical context delineated by social compensation policies based on a neoliberal economic model” (2011, p. 150, TFS). These authors recently argued that:

The production of inclusion policies is done through the identification of particular groups. These, in a segmented manner and at different political and historical moments, have been objective groups of the policy (women, indigenous people, students with other capacities and learning rhythms). It insists on the logic of producing compensation policies parcelled - segmented- for these groups (Matus et al. 2018, p.1, TFS).

In this sense, the scholars argued that this production of policies has created new categories of students that in many cases goes hand in hand with processes of stigmatization, pathologization and segregation. An example of these policies is the Preferential School Subsidy\(^ {20} \) for low-income pupils (Joiko 2011; Rojas & Leyton 2014) and the School Integration Programme\(^ {21} \) for students with different abilities (Infante et al, 2011). We could also add to this cost-benefit idea, the affirmative action policies for the indigenous population introduced during the 1990s with the Intercultural Bilingual Education Programme (IBEP) (Quilaqueo & Torres, 2013).

Nevertheless, this recognition would not be possible if it were not for the principle of ‘interest convergence’ – explained in the previous section. More precisely, what made the creation of the IBEP possible was that the central-left parties needed the vote of the indigenous population to win the first democratic election after the dictatorship. For this reason, during the election campaign an agreement in which the Chilean state recognised ‘ethnic' groups for the first time was signed (Figueroa, 2017).

It could be argued, then, that the neoliberal agenda in the education system has not only been a way of ‘organising' the educational provision, it has also defined the purpose of education, and even more so, it has shaped social relations and interactions. As a consequence of this, and thanks to the demands of the student-led movements that started in 2006 (Cabalin & Bellei, 2013; Garcés Sotomayor & Santa Cruz, 2018; Hernández, 2019), an Educational Reform (that began in 2014) is now in place.

\(^ {20} \) See footnote 10.
\(^ {21} \) See footnote 11.
In this sense, the Chilean education system is going through changes; not only concerning its structure (e.g. the types of schools)\textsuperscript{22}, but also in terms of society’s acknowledgement that education has not been for everyone. For example when it comes to access to the school system and, as part of the Reform, the School Inclusion Law was introduced (MINEDUC 2015a). This Law intends to eliminate three of the core elements of the neoliberal education system: the arbitrary school selection and admission processes, the profit-making from schools, and the co-payment (called ‘shared funding’). Also, together with this Law, the Reform has introduced a demunicipalization policy under what is known as the new Public Education System, which aims to take the control of municipal schools away from the municipalities and create local services. Finally, it is important to highlight that the changes introduced by the Educational Reform have developed more slowly than was expected as the current right-wing government –in power until 2022 –is trying to reverse several of these initiatives (MINEDUC 2019).

5. Focus and research questions

The motivation for this study is rooted in my particular interest in the relationship between families and schools, especially in the context of Chile where, as I argue here, the views of parents are often excluded from the discussion about public policies that talk about but not with parents (Elacqua & Fábrega, 2004; Gubbins, 2012). On top of that, parents’ ‘voice’ as citizens (Vincent, 2000) has been forgotten, and there is a tendency to perceive them mainly as consumers of education (something that I will further develop) as well as a homogenised group. Furthermore, in Chile, the narrative around the family tends to ignore its possible diversity of configurations, representations and practices (Gonzálvez 2015), as well as how it is shaped by the intersectionality of gender, class, ‘race’, ethnicity, nationality and citizenship.

In this context, then, migrant parents are currently doubly excluded. And even though, many studies have examined migration and gender (Acosta, 2013; Gonzálvez, 2013; Stefoni, 2011a), the labour market (Mora & Undurraga, 2013), mental health (Becerra & Altimir, 2013), urban space (Garcés, 2014), different migrant communities such as the Peruvian (Tijoux, 2007), and the experience of migrant children (Colectivo Sin Frontera, 2007; IOM, ACNUR & UNICEF, 2012; Pavez, 2012), the view of migrants as parents, and their tensions, dilemmas, and

\textsuperscript{22} See Appendix 5.
expectations concerning the ‘new’ school system has been neglected. Also, because schools are one of the first institutions where families encounter with their ‘host’ state (Vincent, 2000); the parents-school relationship can become the starting point of the road towards ‘becoming citizens’.

Furthermore, throughout this study I will argue that in the migratory context, the relationship between families and schools becomes crucial. Schools and the schooling experience become important for the realization of the migratory project, both for the children and their parents, in terms of reconfiguration of social networks as well as support for the material conditions of this project. Given that migrant families’ social capital may still be weak in the new setting, the school can become a space for the reconfiguration of bonds between parents and other parents, between children, between their minority community and the Chilean society. Besides, schooling becomes important to the migratory project, as working - one of the main reasons for migrating - would not be possible for parents if access to schools were not guaranteed. The intersectional dimension of the schooling experience and the migratory project, then, becomes inseparable in the lives of the mothers and fathers in the study. Therefore, the home-school relation becomes a field that needs more attention especially today in the Chilean context where we are asking ourselves about the purposes of education in the context of today’s Educational Reform.

Initially, the purpose of this study was to explore the experiences of migrant families when choosing a school as this is their first encounter with the ‘new’ educational system. However, during and after my fieldwork, in the process of recognising the knowledge co-constructed with participants, especially in this exploratory study (something that I further discuss in my methodology chapter), the issues of access and choice became too limiting to understand the relationship between families and schools. Consequently, it made me rethink some assumptions and it challenged me to answer other questions beyond those surrounding the access to schooling for migrant families.

Based on what has been presented so far during this introductory chapter, this study aims to explore how Latin American migrant mothers and fathers experience their children’s schooling, and the way in which that schooling can act as a form of ex/inclusion into the education system and wider society. The research questions that guide this study, then, are as follows:
i. How do migrant parents describe their strategies, and expectations, and the challenges that they face during the schooling process?

ii. What kinds of capitals are activated and how do migrant parents seek to have their capitals validated?

iii. In what ways is the schooling experience of migrant parents shaped by the intersection of ‘race’, ethnicity, nationality and citizenship status?

iv. How do Chilean schools interpret and translate the national educational policies and discourses regarding migrant children and their families into practices of ex/inclusion?

The study hopes to contribute to the debate of whether critical interculturality and intersectionality are appropriate approaches for understanding the migration phenomenon in Chile in the contexts of schooling; as well as to demonstrate the still-current validity of Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of social practice. Also, it aims to contribute to the national literature on the home-school relationship, which has, to date, mainly focused on non-migrants parents, taking class as the main differentiating factor and positioning parents as consumer and partners, and less as citizens with valid knowledge. Finally, this thesis wants to contribute to the discussion about the role of academia when referring to a social phenomenon that has material consequences for those living the experience being study.

6. Thesis outline

This thesis is divided in four parts. Part I presented the background of the study, starting with an introduction and context (Chapter 1) aiming to give the reader an historical account regarding migration in Chile and the field of education, which includes some of the narratives about the idea of educating the ‘other’ together with an overview of contemporary education policies and a characterization of migrant students in Chilean schools today. The chapter ended with the focus of the study and the research questions.

The second chapter of the background introduced the theoretical resources (Chapter 2) that were used to answer the main questions of this study. First Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of practice and the concepts of habitus, field, capital, field of power and hysteresis are explained in the context of the educational field and parental involvement. After this, a review of the critical interculturality perspective is presented as a way to understand the processes of differentiation and reproduction
of sociocultural hierarchies in the context of Latin America and Chile. Finally, to further understand the experience of Latin American migrant mothers and fathers in the Chilean educational field, and as a way to challenge the homogeneity attributed to parental involvement, the intersectionality approach is introduced.

The third chapter provides a literature review (Chapter 3) acknowledging the different ways parents participate in a range of educational issues concerning their children, in and outside the school. By doing this, the aim was to make visible the multiple ways in which parents get involved in their children’s education to better understand the educational strategies migrant parents used in the Chilean educational field. The ‘parents’ subject position’ framework from Carol Vincent guided this chapter as it allowed me to present the multiple ways that families are involved in education in the form of parents as a consumer; parents as partners; parent as citizen; and parent as a source of knowledge.

The last chapter of this first part presents the methodology used in this study (Chapter 4), which presents the research design based on the theories, and conceptual frameworks that guide this thesis, and provide the reasoning behind the selection of interviews as the main method of data collection. It also describes the fieldwork and both the schools and the mothers and fathers interviewed. Also, the thematic processing is explained in detail as part of the analysis and the chapter ends with a reflection on some of the issues regarding the research process and the ethical considerations.

What follows in Part II, is the first part of my discussion chapters that focus on the school in relation to families. The main question that I want to answer was how do Chilean schools interpret and translate the national educational policies and discourses regarding migrant children and their families into practices of ex/inclusion? (RQ iv). To do so I have divided this second part in two chapters. Chapter 5 (Subjectivities around migration) explores the process of production of subjectivities around migration in the school field by addressing how schools’ interpretation of policies has created the migrant subject. Later on Chapter 6 (The multicultural school) discusses how schools have become a space of encounter of cultural diversity, conforming the role of the multicultural school as a response to those practices of ex/inclusion of migrant students and their families.

Part III placed the attention on mothers and fathers, and their schooling experience in regards their children’s education in the context of south-south migration (RQs i-
iii). In order to understand the different aspects of the ex/inclusion process of the schooling experience of migrant parents in the Chilean context, the concept of strategies from a Bourdieusian approach was used. In this sense through this part, three processes are identified to address this experience in a context characterised by a monocultural and neoliberal educational field: accessing (Chapter 7), adjusting (Chapter 8), and transforming (Chapter 9).

The last Part IV of the thesis aims to provide a final discussion where Chapter 10 goes back to the main research questions of the study and based on what has been addressed in Part II and III provides responses to each of them. This final part also addresses the learning during the process of doing the thesis, in terms of the challenges, limitations and further research. Then the contributions of the thesis are addressed together with some practical suggestions.

7. Conclusion

In this first chapter, I have presented three main points from both a historical and a policy-related point of view, in order to better understand the background of this study. First, that migration is not new in the Chilean context. People have migrated in the past and this movement has shaped and will continue to shape the Chilean society. However, today’s migration has been perceived as a problem even though ‘we’ share some commonalities with the migrants, as people are mainly arriving from other Latin American countries.

Secondly, these xenophobic feelings towards the current migration wave can be understood under the construction of a monocultural ‘white-mestizo’ discourse of the Chilean identity, where the current migration flow challenges this monocultural project and the processes of ethnicization and racialization, all of which are translating into different forms of ex/inclusion in social spaces, such as in the current debate of a new migration bill, as well as in school practices.

Consequently, and as a final point, when it comes to the educational field, which is the main focus of this study, the discussion about ex/inclusion has currently been placed within the debate about the rights to education of migrant children. However, the focus should also be on the relation between families and schools, since an understanding of how migrants as parents position themselves in this ‘new’ school system has been left aside.
What follows is the theoretical chapter where I will develop further some ideas presented in this introductory chapter. More precisely, in the next chapter, I introduce the reader to the main ideas and relevance of the critical interculturality framework for my thesis, as well as how this study is understanding education as a field of struggle using Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice. The following chapter also aims to introduce the intersectional approach, to place the heterogeneity of the category of ‘parent’ in the context of migration and education, as the aim of this study is to explore the schooling experience of Latin American fathers and mothers in Chilean schools.
Chapter 2. Theoretical frameworks

1. Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses the theoretical resources that were used to answer the main questions of this study. These frameworks are: Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of practice (Bourdieu, 1986, 1990; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), a critical interculturality perspective (Diez, 2004; Tubino, 2004, Walsh, 2005) and an intersectional approach (Brah & Phoenix 2004; Crenshaw 1991; Magliano 2015; Vincent et al. 2012b).

In this thesis, I argue that during the processes of ex/inclusion, migrant parents’ educational strategies (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) open the possibility for there to be other modes (Walsh, 2009) of understanding the home-school relationship in the Chilean educational field. These other modes emerge as a result of the discrepancy between the habitus and the field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), which results from migrant parents having to decode the ‘new’ Chilean education field. These strategies are influenced by the intersecting dimensions of ‘race’, ethnicity, nationality, and citizenship (Vincent et al. 2012b) that are, in turn, shaped by the educational field of power (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). The field of power is analysed through the lens of the critical interculturality perspective (Diez, 2004; Tubino, 2004, 2005; Walsh, 2005, 2017). Seen through this lens, everyday experiences and social practices are built on asymmetric power relationships, which are a product of the colonial matrix and the nation-state project, which, in turn, have created persistent sociocultural differences and racial/ethnic hierarchies in Latin America societies. This, I argue, has had an impact on the south-south migration experiences in different social spaces for example, in the home-school relationship between migrant families and ‘local’ schools.

Furthermore, the ex/inclusion of migrant families goes hand-to-hand with the ‘host’ society's approach towards sociocultural diversity. In this study, I argue that by exploring other modes of the home-school relationship in the context of migration, results might show this relationship mirrors what happens in the wider Chilean society, not only at the micro level of interactions between schools and families, but also, at a macro level in which the Chilean society has perpetuated the illusion of socio-cultural homogeneity.
What follows is Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of practice and the concepts of *habitus, field, capital, field of power and hysteresis* (Section 2). After this, a review of the critical interculturality perspective will be presented in which I attempt to explain the asymmetric power relationships between the south-south relations in the context of migration experience in Latin America, and the way in which relationships can be transformed (Section 3). Finally, to further understand the experience of Latin American migrant mothers and fathers in the Chilean educational field, and as a way to challenge the homogeneity attributed to parental involvement, I will introduce an intersectional approach (Section 4). The chapter ends with some concluding points (Section 5).

### 2. Theory of practice

The relation between structure and agency is central to Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of practice (Bourdieu, 1986, 1990; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Through his ‘social praxeology’, he seeks to overcome the false antinomy between the objectivism and the subjectivism of social practices. He argues that ‘structural necessity and individual agency’ reinforce each other and explains that:

> The resulting social praxeology weaves together a "structuralist" and a "constructivist" approach. First, we push aside mundane representations to construct the objective structures (spaces of positions), the distribution of socially efficient resources that define the external constraints bearing on interactions and representations. Second, we reintroduce the immediate, lived experience of agents in order to explicate the categories of perception and appreciation (dispositions) that structure their action from inside (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p.11)

To overcome this antinomy in social practices, Bourdieu introduces the concepts of *habitus, capital* and *field*. I will now explain each one of these concepts (section 2.1), together with the concepts of *field of power* (section 2.2) and *hysteresis* (section 2.3). I will then discuss their connection with the experience of Latin American migrant parents in the Chilean education system and the wider society.

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23 I would like to acknowledge that the further development of my understanding of Pierre Bourdieu’s theory was possible thanks to the collective reading organized among doctoral students at the IOE (2016-2018).
2.1 Habitus, field and capitals

The concept of *habitus* is central for understanding Bourdieu’s theory, as it “intends to “transcend a series of deep-seated dichotomies that shape ways of thinking about the social world” (Maton, 2012, p.48). It also helps understand, from a sociological point of view, “how social structure and individual agency can be reconciled, and how the “outer social” and “inner self” help to shape each other” (Ibid p.49). *Habitus* is defined as:

Systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them (Bourdieu 1990, p.53)

The *habitus* is structured by one’s own experience –past and present– in the social world (for the purposes of this study, the migration journey). It is developed through early socialization “via the family, education and, to a lesser extent, the environment” (Burker et al. 2016, p.2). However, it also structures current and future practices (i.e. parents’ relationship with schools) because “it is systematically ordered rather than random or unpatterned” (Maton, 2012, p.50). *Habitus* can be both individual as well as collective (such as social class), and it provides the ‘feel for the game’, which Bourdieu explained as:

What gives the game a subjective sense - a meaning and a raison d’être, but also a direction, an orientation, an impending outcome, for those who take part and therefore acknowledge what is at stake (...) And it also gives the game an objective sense, because the sense of the probable outcome that is given by practical mastery of the specific regularities (Bourdieu 1990, p.66).

It is important to understand that Bourdieu’s *habitus* fulfils the role of intermediary between the structure and the experience; it ’acts’ in relation to a *field* or sometimes different *fields*, considering that agents participate in multiple ‘relatively autonomous’ fields daily. A *field* can be defined as:
A network or a configuration of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (situs) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.) (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p.97)

In the context of this study, for instance, migrant parents can be placed at least in both the economic field and the education field, and both fields interact and shape the ‘practices’ that surround their children’s schooling experience. Agents are, therefore, “equipped with the habitus to make [fields] work” (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 67) and, consequently, social practices cannot be understood only in terms of the agents’ dispositions. The field and its rules have to be taken into consideration as well, since they function “in accordance to rigorous mechanisms capable of imposing their necessity on the agents” (Ibid p. 130). The field, then, becomes a space of struggle in which agents position themselves as best as they can with their resources or capitals (see definition below) in order to achieve the aims of the field. Thus, depending on which capitals have more value in the field, agents will position themselves in dominant or less dominant positions in the field in relation to others.

Capitals can be seen as resources that, in the agents’ possession and in interaction with the habitus, provide access to specific positions in a field and, consequently, affect the resulting social practices. Bourdieu (1986, p.15) defines capitals as:

Accumulated labour (in its materialized form or its “incorporated,” embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labour.

Capitals can be converted according to the rules of the field, and “the hierarchy of the different species of capital varies across the various fields” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p.98). They are not just material resources; they can also be symbolic and work on the relational level of the field and habitus. It is important to understand this ‘relational’ feature of capitals, as Bourdieu wanted “his readers to move beyond a literal economic understanding of capital” (Burker et al., 2016, p.9). This relational level means that capitals influence each other and, therefore, agents differentiate between them, and are differentiated by the accumulation of the different forms of capitals.
Bourdieu distinguishes four forms of capitals: social, cultural, economic and symbolic. The social capital takes the form of lasting social relations and networks. The possession of these durable, social networks has the potential to establish "more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition—or, in other words, membership in a group— which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital" (Bourdieu, 1986, p.21). These relationships can be established between different social institutions but also within the wider society (Reay 2005).

In the context of migration social capital takes the form of the membership that migrants will have in the 'host' country, based on the legal dimension of citizenship established by the state as a field of power. In this sense, citizenship is understood as the "legal status, and set of rights guaranteed by the state" (McCowan, 2010a, p.87), which materializes in having an identification that proves the 'membership' of a state (either be a passport, national number or visa). Also it has been deemed crucial for explaining how migrant communities' access 'new' fields. Word of mouth from those that have migrated before, together with help from social organisations that support migrant communities are considered to be the main forms of social capital and become crucial in the migration journey and the adaptation process in the 'host' country (Carrasco et al. 2009; Erel 2010; Kelly & Lusis 2006; McIlwaine 2012; Raghuram et al. 2010; Ryan et al. 2008).

Cultural capital comprises both material (i.e. books) as well as immaterial (i.e. style of speech) resources that interact with social positioning. Bourdieu began his conceptualisation of cultural capital when he intended to explain how the French educational system had contributed to "the reproduction of the structure of power relationships and symbolic relationships between classes" (Bourdieu, 1973, p.56). He concluded that the reproduction of the school culture cannot be dissociated from social reproduction because what is transmitted in schools “is close to the dominant culture” (Ibid p.57).

Cultural capital can take three forms: embodied “in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body” that can be acquired through socialisation from family and school and are linked to the thinking, being and knowing the social world; objectified “in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.)”; and institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications, such as degrees (Bourdieu, 1986, p.17). Studies regarding sociocultural diversity have engaged in a long debate challenging the idea that cultural capital is ‘raced’, and that
some sociocultural groups have a lack of cultural capital compared to others. Yosso argued that using ‘whites’ “as the standard by which all others are judged” should be ‘called into question’ (2005, p.82). Erel (2012), on her part, has explored how mothers ‘mobilize transnational cultural resources’ from one context to another. Both discussions are relevant for this study and I will further refer to them in Part III.

Economic capital takes the material form of accumulation of assets as a product of work or inheritance. It can be immediately and directly “convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights” (Bourdieu, 1986, p.16). Social and cultural capitals can also be converted into economic capital. Bourdieu explains (Ibid):

> As cultural capital, which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and as social capital, made up of social obligations (“connections”), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility.

In the context of this study, we can argue that the accumulation of economic capital is one of the motivations families have to migrate and pursue a better quality of life, and this is directly linked to work opportunities that were available to them back home due to either economic instability or political crisis. Both of these situations limit job opportunities and, in turn, in accumulation of this capital that allows access to specific fields.

Finally, symbolic capital, perhaps the most complex capital, is defined as:

> The form that one or another of these species [capitals] takes when it is grasped through categories of perception that recognize its specific logic or, if you prefer, misrecognize the arbitrariness of its possession and accumulation (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p.119)

Symbolic capital is the concept that Bourdieu uses to explain how power is embedded in the resources that agents possess and that have value in a specific field. This capital legitimises the value that the other capitals have in one or another field. Legitimation “is the key mechanism in the conversion [of capitals] to power” (Skeggs, 2002, p.8) and depends on “social recognition” (Crossley, 2012, p.85). I argue, in this study, that as migration today has challenged the “long-held notions of citizenship within nation-state borders” (Bloemraad et al. 2008, p.154), the legitimization of citizenship in the context of migration constitutes a form of symbolic capital, which I have referred to as civic capital.
Citizenship is usually understood as a “form of membership in a political and geographic community” which can be “disaggregated into four dimensions: legal status, rights, political and other forms of participation in society, and a sense of belonging” (Ibid). In this sense, we can distinguish between the legal aspects of citizenship, which are established by the state as the field of power, and the personal experience behind the notion of belonging (or not). Regarding this last aspect, one can say that as citizenship is about agents feeling part of a group, those that are positioned as non-citizen by the state are also perceived as not part of the group that constitutes the nation. Thus, as I argue here, this is where civic capital plays a role in the legitimization of citizenship in the migration context.

Therefore civic capital, as a form of symbolic capital, legitimizes the other forms of capital (economic and culture) in the context of migration. In this sense, civic capital potentiates the other capitals as it links to power and legitimation. Therefore civic capital - because of its symbolic nature - allows the conversion of capitals into power, enhancing the amount and form of social capital together with the economic and cultural capitals, and thereby allowing agents to be legitimized in a field. Additionally, this legitimation is granted by the nation-state that “continue[s] to hold substantial power over the formal rules and rights of citizenship and to shape the institutions that provide differentiated access to participation and belonging, with important consequences for immigrants’ incorporation and equality” (Bloemraad et al. 2008, p.154).

To provide an example of how this civic capital works, we can think of the situation of migrants in the labour field. Migrants’ educational degree from their home country may not be recognised in the new labour market field, as he/she does not possess the social membership expected by the ‘host’ country (in terms of nationality or passport). The definition of what is expected in order to gain social membership in the ‘host’ country, I argue, is influenced by civic capital, as it works on the perceptual level of citizenship legitimization, and who is understood to have a claim on national belonging. Another example of how this civic capital works is that in Chile the ‘migration problem’ (mentioned in Chapter 1) it is not an issue with all migrants but mainly with those coming from the region, rather than those holding a European passport. In this sense, as Bloemraad and colleagues highlighted “the relationship between citizenship and immigrants’ gender, race, sexuality, class, legal status, and religion (...) reveals not only the legal borders of nation-states, but also their social boundaries” (Ibid p.155).
Moreover, to better exemplify how *habitus, field and capital* work together, Bourdieu uses the analogy of a football game (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Just as in any game, each *field* has its ‘logic, rules and regularities’ (Ibid p.104) and the players can play in a number of positions. The agents – at least to a certain extent – know the rules and the aim of the game and, so, when they enter the field, they can figure out what is expected. However, just as nothing in this game can be predicted with complete certainty, Bourdieu does not think that social practices are calculable. There is always a degree of uncertainty and misinformation. The position that players have in the game will depend on their resources (e.g. having well-fitting trainers) and will impact on the position that others may have in the *field* (i.e. more or less advantaged in relation to them). This means that players that have good trainers can run faster and get the ball first, leaving the other players in disadvantaged position. Just as in a football game, there is movement and competition, which shows that *fields* are dynamic and every game is different (for example, you can be sent to the bench), which makes the *field* a site of confrontation. However, one thing that differs from the reality of a football game is that Bourdieu’s *field* does not have a defined perimeter (in the case of football, the stadium) because it:

> Constitutes a potentially open space of play whose boundaries are dynamic borders which are the stake of struggles within the field itself. A field is a game devoid of inventor and much more fluid and complex than any game that one might ever design (Ibid).

When entering a *field*, agents use their *capitals* to position themselves in the *field*. This practice, however, is not spontaneous or free; it is actually guided by a sense of familiarity with the rules of the game – the regularities of the *field*. This familiarity is not conscious or intentional, but rather an immanent sense of the social world (*habitus*). Accordingly, what is at stake in a *field* changes and depends on how the players play in their positions or, in Bourdieu’s field, on the agents’ *capitals* and dispositions. In turn, the players’ performance will be driven by their interests in relation to what is or should be at stake in the *field*, and on the *capitals* they possess and that define those interests. In this sense, the more value your *capitals* have the more comfortable and better positioned you will feel in that *field*. Then, as the *field* is a space of struggle, it reproduces an “objective relation towards other positions” which can be of “domination, subordination, homology, etc.” (Ibid p.97). This can be seen as the way in which Bourdieu understands the reproduction of social inequalities.

Now, when it comes to the Chilean *field* of education, which is mainly neoliberal and monocultural (as explained further in section 3), “processes of alterity and state
regulation” of sociocultural differences have been created, (Diez 2013, p.8, TFS), especially towards those who are positioned as the ‘others’, such as migrants students and their parents. It could be said, then, that the Chilean educational field has developed what are actually ‘deficit approaches’ to include the excluded ones. This is done not by questioning why and how this exclusion has been produced in the first place, but just by inviting the ‘other’ to join what it is already there and making it their job to ‘adapt to the educational field’. This translates into exclusions being accepted simply as ‘the way things are’ rather than the result of the educational neoliberal agenda. This agenda has neutralized the idea of power and categories by “not problematising the idea of ‘normalcy’ on the basis of which these differences are constructed” (Matus & Infante 2011, p.293). Furthermore, “neoliberalism has established a way to think of categories and their organization which, translated into educational policies, takes the shape of neutral ways of talking about power and privileges in society” (Ibid p.298).

The reach of this neoliberal discourse in Chile goes beyond the discussion of funding or the privatization of education (Falabella, 2015); it has also become a way of understanding relations and interactions inside the school community. The inclusion of socioculturally diverse families, for instance, has been placed under the umbrella of ‘managing diversity’, in terms of policies and practices (Jiménez 2014; Jiménez & Fardella 2015). This, as I will further explain in section 3, enforces a monocultural educational system. Consequently, the educational neoliberal agenda, together with a monocultural discourse have become examples of ‘doxic practices’ (Morris, 2016) or, in other words, a “pre-verbal taking-for-granted of the world” (Bourdieu, 1990, p.68) that has been internalized as the ‘way things are’ in the current Chilean educational field. Both discourses –neoliberal and monocultural – have “become so common, so taken for granted, that nobody pays any attention to them” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 238). However, I would like to argue throughout this thesis that paying attention to them is precisely what we need to do in order for there to be a social transformation.

2.2 Field of power

Up to this point, we have seen how the three main concepts of Bourdieu’s theory – habitus, field and capitals – interact with each other and are useful to understand social practices. Nevertheless, the “ontological complicity between the former two [habitus and field] and their medium of operation through the latter [capitals]
(Grenfell, 2012, p. 153) cannot be further explored if we underestimate the role power has in this relationship. Bourdieu uses the concept of field of power to address this crucial factor.

The field of power tends to be ignored when addressing Bourdieu’s theory. The French scholar, however, believes this concept is relevant for understanding the symbolic dimension of his theory and the way in which a field is both regulated and socially ordered. Bourdieu defines field of power as:

A field of forces defined by the structure of the existing balance of forces between forms of power, or between different species of capital. It is also simultaneously a field of struggles for power among the holders of different forms of power. It is a space of play and competition in which the social agents and institutions which all possess the determinate quantity of specific capital (economic and cultural capital in particular) sufficient to occupy the dominant positions within their respective fields [the economic field, the field of higher civil service or the state, the university field, and the intellectual field] confront one another” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p.76)

The field of power has all the characteristics of a field: it is a space of struggle where agents use their capitals in interaction with their habitus to position themselves, and yet, it should be considered a ‘kind of meta-field’ (Ibid p.18). In order to analyse particular fields and understand the ‘feel for the game’, it is important to “analyse the position of the field vis-a-vis the field of power” (Ibid p.104), because a particular field is a ‘structural tie’ to the field of power.

The struggle in the field of power defines and legitimises the hierarchies of the field; it is a struggle “over the legitimate principle of legitimation and for the legitimate mode of reproduction of the foundations of domination” (Ibid p.76). In this sense, what is at stake is the monopoly over the power that can be used in the field. Agents compete to monopolise the capitals as well as “the power to decree the hierarchy and conversion rates between all forms of authority in the field of power” (Ibid p.17). The agents that are part of the field of power, consequently, become dominant because they possess the most relevant capitals that ensure them a better position (Ibid p.192).

The state is an empirical example of what Bourdieu refers to as a field of power. In this context, the state constitutes an:
Ensemble of fields that are the site of struggles in which what is at stake is (…) the monopoly of legitimate symbolic violence i.e., the power to constitute and to impose as universal and universally applicable within a given "nation," that is, within the boundaries of a given territory, a common set of coercive norms (Ibid p.112)

The Chilean state, with its capacity to legitimise relations of domination, has had the power to create a discourse of the ‘others of the nation’ (Vera et al. 2018). This discourse has been essential to understand the construction of ‘difference’ from colonial until republican times in Latin America as well as in contemporaneous migration movements in the region. Therefore, in the field of education in the context of migration, privilege, represented by citizenship as a form of symbolic capital, has become the main resource that provides access to education. As a result, “the social positions which guarantee their occupants a quantum of social force” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p.229-230) are those associated to ‘first class citizenship’. However, those arriving in Chile from outside the national borders have begun to challenge the nation-state monocultural project.

In Bourdieu’s terminology, then, we can say that the practices of migrant parents in relation to their children’s education field result from the interaction between their habitus and their capitals, all of which is segmented by the struggle to gain power, represented by the field of power. This can be summarised by the following ‘equation’ where the field of power, as mentioned earlier, is the meta-field:

\[(\text{habitus}) \times (\text{capital}) + (\text{field}) = \text{practice}\]  
\[\text{field of power}\]

It is important to clarify, at this point, that Bourdieu was critical of rational action theory (Ibid p.123). He understood practices to be ‘reasonable’ rather than ‘rational’ because social agents are “not fools, they are much less bizarre or deluded than we would spontaneously believe precisely because they have internalized, through a protracted and multi-sided process of conditioning, the objective chances they face” (Ibid p. 130). Thus, this ‘reasonable’ way of understanding the social world, allows agents to “read the future that fits them, which is made for them and for which they are made for” (Ibid p. 130).

What happens, then, if you encounter a field with which you are not familiar? How would you ‘read’ this ‘new’ field and deploy your capitals? How can this experience be explained using Bourdieu’s theory of practice? As McKenzie (2016) noted,

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24 I have added to the original equation the field of power. Adapted from Bourdieu (1984).
Bourdieu’s theory of practice can be used critically to “understand the agency of those whose positions are not valued because they ‘lack’ access to the various forms of capital that Bourdieu suggests are required within and across a social field” (Ibid p. 28). Reay (2004) has argued that when habitus “encounters a field with which it is not familiar, the resulting disjuncture can generate change and transformation” (Ibid p. 436). This experience is what Bourdieu refers to as hysteresis (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

2.3 Discrepancy between habitus and field

Bourdieu uses the notion of hysteresis to describe the “discrepancy between habitus and field” (Ibid p. 130) as a product of change “in the structures of any particular field where there is, at least for some time, a breakdown in the self-regulation (habitus), which was established to fit an individual to society” (Hardy, 2012, p.129). The world hysteresis comes from the Ancient Greek and it means shortcoming, deficiency, and being behind. It is in this tension between habitus and field, nonetheless, where more space for agency is possible and instead of failing “to meet a certain standard, typically in a person's character, a plan, or a system”, there is a theoretically a greater space for change and transformation. According to Reay (2004, p. 437), it is in this ‘movement of habitus across a new, unfamiliar field’ where:

We begin to get a sense not only of the myriad adaptations, responses, reactions and resistances to ‘the way the world is’, but also of individuals struggling to make the world a different place. There is little evidence of determinism here.

This process of being in an unfamiliar field produces what Bourdieu has referred to as a habitus clivé or, in English, a cleft or a divided habitus. This is when the habitus experiences a discrepancy between different experiences that can sometimes contradict what is ‘naturalized and expected’ as part of the regularities of the field. This discrepancy has been compared to feeling like a “fish out of water”, the opposite to Bourdieu’s metaphor, to explain how habitus and field are inseparable when they are coherent in their production:

When habitus encounters a social world of which it is the product, it is like a “fish in water”: it does not feel the weight of the water, and it takes the world about itself for granted (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 127).

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25 Definition of ‘shortcoming’ from the Oxford dictionary.
Bourdieu has referred to this process in his book *Sketch for a Self-Analysis* (2008) where—in spite of not referring to it as ‘an autobiography’—he actually identifies that his own *habitus* had experienced a discrepancy and had felt divided between his small rural village and the boarding school, and between his working class background and his academic position. He explains:

> This dual experience could only compound the durable effect of a very strong discrepancy between high academic consecration and low social origin, in other words a cleft habitus, inhabited by tensions and contradictions. This kind of ‘coincidence of contraries’ no doubt helped to institute in a lasting way, an ambivalent, contradictory relationship to the academic institution, combining rebellion and submission, rupture and expectation (Bourdieu, 2008, p. 100)

There are also empirical examples of Bourdieu’s use of the concepts, even though he does not explicitly mention the terms *hysteresis* or *cleft habitus*. Hardy (2012) highlights four examples from Bourdieu’s work: his writing of Algeria and colonialism, his work of rural France, the academic field, and his edited book “The Weight of the World” (Bourdieu et al, 1999), where he refers to globalization, de-industrialization and neoliberal policies.

In this section, I will focus on the first example, not only as a way to explain Bourdieu’s understanding of *hysteresis*, but also because it is directly linked to the connection between colonialism and the current migration phenomena worldwide (Erel et al. 2018; Mas Giralt 2017). This, as I will argue later on, has influenced the schooling experience of migrant families in the Chilean context.

Interestingly, Bourdieu’s work on Algeria places him in a different field, one that is not widely studied by scholars, leaving “the colonial and post-colonial textures of his work” (Puwar 2009, p.371) relatively “underexplored” (Go 2013, p.50). This work also allows me to establish a connection with the critical interculturality framework. I will discuss this connection next, as part of the lens that I am using to explore the *field of power* of current Latin American societies, based on the *colonial matrix* and the *nation-state project* that has created sociocultural differences and racial/ethnic hierarchies that are still persistent. This, I argue, has an impact on the *field* of education and the current south-south migration experience.

During Bourdieu’s early work, from 1957 to the early 1960s, he addressed the influence of colonial forces on the structures and everyday practices of colonial subjects (Bourdieu & Sayad 2004). His aim was to understand how it was possible
for the peasants’ *habitus* to avoid paralysis when encountering an unfamiliar *field* with capitalist colonial rules. He intended to show the ability of the *habitus* to be flexible and adapt to the experiences around it. In this sense, based on his study Bourdieu argued that colonialism had produced a subject that lived the contradictions of being born or caught between the ‘clash of civilizations’. And so, “the patterns of behaviour and economic ethos imported by colonization coexist inside of the exiled Algerian peasant with those inherited from ancestral tradition, fostering antinomic conducts, expectations, and aspirations” (Ibid p.445–446).

An example of this is the way in which colonial forces drove peasants to use both traditional and modern methods of farming at the same time, “as if they wanted to cumulate the advantages of the two systems” (Ibid p.466). Even after the end of the colonial period, when Algerian peasants “regained possession of [their] land” (Ibid p.472), they found themselves “confronted with the task of creating the system of patterns of behaviour and thought that will enable [them] to adapt to this new situation” (Ibid). This adaptability of the *habitus* and the *field* is what Bourdieu refers to as ‘coincidence of contraries’ of the *habitus clef* (Bourdieu 2008, p.100). Or, in other words, the fact that even if you experience contradictions and the *habitus* does not initially understand the rules of the game, it will eventually adapt, because it is not eternally fixed and it is influenced by one’s social experiences. As Bourdieu & Sayad note (2004, p.464):

> *The very logic of the colonial situation has produced a new type of men and women, who may be defined negatively, by what they no longer are and by what they are not yet, ‘dispeasanted’ peasants (paysans dépaysannés), self-destructive beings who carry within themselves all the contraries.*

Likewise, Bourdieu argued that it was the peasants in Algeria who had suffered the most with colonization, because it had “taken more than [their] land”, it had also taken their culture (Ibid p.472) and they had to “[regain] possession of [themselves] by elaborating a new coherent culture” (Ibid). Creating this new culture is made difficult by the “lack of the necessary resources [capitals] and of being capable of adopting the system of conducts and attitudes demanded [habitus]” by the new *field* (Ibid). Bourdieu believes that the root of this problem is that the changes are just superficial. In the case of the Algerian society, what changed was just the group of people that made up the ruling class (from colonists to the new state bureaucrats). Power was still the main limitation for peasants’ sovereign freedom to organize and have a sense of ownership over their lands (Ibid p.473), all of which takes us back to
the importance of understanding the intersection between the field of power and the field in question.

If we draw a parallel with Latin America, we could argue that this was the case for the indigenous communities that were assimilated or marginalized, enslaved or killed by the Spanish-Portuguese colonial forces. What happened after the abolition of the colonial system was that contradictions only partially disappeared, because the “colonial system lives on so long as the contradictions that it left behind it are not truly surmounted” (Ibid p.445–446). This, as we will see later in section 3, is what Quijano (2000) refers to as ‘coloniality’, or, in other words, the persistence of colonial structures and relationships in countries that have gained their independence. Ultimately, if the power relations within a field and what makes them reproduce are not continually challenged and understood from the point of view of oppression and exclusion, the possibility of transformation or adaptation that emerges when the habitus encounters an unfamiliar field will be limited and the relations of exclusion will continue to exist in the field.

In Bourdieu’s work, the discrepancy between the field and the habitus tends to be perceived negatively rather than positively, more dispiriting than encouraging. In this study, I view and analyse transformation from a critical perspective using the critical interculturality framework. Under this framework, structures and everyday encounters that racialize, inferiorize and dehumanize should be made visible and lead to transformations (Walsh, 2009). Only through this process “other modes of power, knowing, being and living” can emerge (Ibid p.11, TFS). The critical interculturality perspective, unlike Bourdieu, acknowledges the possibility of systemic change in the process of resistance and interruption.

I argue, in this piece of research, more precisely, that the strategies migrant parents apply in relation to their children’s education can become an example of Bourdieu’s notion of hysteresis but with the potential to generate transformative social change. I used the Bourdieusian concept of strategy which he links to habitus, as actions deployed by agents as a ‘feel for the game’ (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p.129). Moreover Weis and colleagues (2014) usefully explain their interpretation of Bourdieu’s notion of strategy:

One is playing by the rules of the game, and one’s actions (what is viable, what is not) are more or less shaped by habitus and all it entails. Bourdieu understands all action to be informed by logic; the logic undergirding one’s habitus (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, pp. 128–29) (Ibid p.249)
Thus, Weis and colleagues distinguished that Bourdieu’s notion of strategy should be understood as an action, that is less conscious, but rather shaped by one’s habitus and deployment of capitals in a field. In other words, an “action determined by one’s habitus, what appears as the obvious, feasible thing to do, without much explicit reflection” (Vincent, et al. 2018b, p.359). Additionally, I will also take into consideration what Weis and colleagues have referred to as a ‘more traditional interpretations of strategy’, which “often imply conscious and careful planning and action” (Weis et al. 2014, p.249). In this sense, in Part III, we will see how migrant parents' strategies regarding their children’s schooling combine both forms of strategies. Those that are shaped by their habitus, and those that emerge as more ‘conscious and articulated’ (Vincent et al. 2018b). The latter, I argue emerge as practices based on migrant parents' experiences of unfamiliarity in the field of Chilean schooling, and as a way to resist exclusion. In this sense I use the strategy concept from a Bourdieusian approach, in combination with a critical interculturality framework, that highlights mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion, to explore how Latin American migrant parents overcome their ‘newness’ in the Chilean educational field and ‘practise’ their home-school relationships.

3. Critical interculturality

I have so far argued that shedding light on the schooling experience of migrant parents can help understand the working out of discrepancies between field and habitus, which can, in turn, lead to the possible transformation of social practices in the current educational field and home-school relationships. The lack of familiarity between the habitus and field can also be understood as the dominance of the field of power, which in the case of migration movements, is connected to the way in which ‘host’ societies (re)produce mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion that impose social hierarchies among its population. This process of ex/inclusion of the educational field is influenced by the colonial-racialized social order (Walsh, 2005) under the aegis of the modernity projects of nation-states in Latin America (Tubino, 2005), and this will be explored here using a critical interculturality approach.

Before addressing where the critical interculturality perspective comes from and stands for, I will like to acknowledge the influence of Critical Race Theory (CRT) on my thesis process. After my fieldwork, I was looking for a set of theoretical resources that could help me to better address the racism that migrant families encounter in their south-south migration schooling experience, and CRT provided to be a good
first reading about the importance of addressing the issue of ‘race’ and the normalization of racism (Delgado & Stefancic 2000), for example in the educational field (Gillborn, 2008). Thus, the readings of the work of CRT scholars, mainly from the USA and UK (Ladson-Billings 1998; Tate IV 1997; Taylor et al. 2016) have helped me to better understand how ‘race’ and racism is present in everyday experiences as well as in policies, school practices, for the purpose of maintaining White privilege.

Although there is the Latina/o critical race theory (LatCrit) that can be consider a sub-theory of CRT (Yosso, 2005) which is “concerned with a progressive sense of a coalitional Latina/Latino pan-ethnicity and addresses issues often ignored by critical race theorists such as language, immigration, ethnicity, culture, identity, phenotype, and sexuality” (Solorzano & Bernal 2001, p.311); it is has mainly focused on the south-north experience of the Latino community in the global north. In this sense, as the process of racialization is social and historically constructed, both the CRT as well as LatCrit did not exactly ‘match’ with the south-south migration experience of the families from my fieldwork, which pushed me to look for a critical theory within the Latin American context that could better incorporate the discussion about ‘race’ in the region.

In this sense, critical interculturality becomes a perspective that could better help me to understand the complexities of the south-south relations that are embedded in my study. For example regarding the question of why - even though we share (more or less) a common language, religion, and history - these relations have become so problematic. As mentioned in the introduction, by problematic I mean how in Chile the experiences of some communities of migrants from the region, has been shaped by exclusion and otherness, when actually we share many similarities. Furthermore, this tension can be seen in the empirical examples that I include in the discussion chapters, where the home-school relationship in the context of migration has shed lights on the racist, nationalist and bordering practices being reproduced by the Chilean field of education when it encounters migrant families from a Latin American background. This encounter, I argue can be understood as contemporary forms of the racialization process of the south-south relations in the region.

The critical interculturality perspective emerged during the beginning of the 2000s among scholars of the field of education in Latin America (Diez 2004; Tubino 2004; Walsh 2005), mainly with the purpose of studying the reality of Afro-descendant and indigenous communities. More recently, this perspective has been used to analyse
the migration movements in the region (Diez 2013; Novaro 2012; Riedemann et al. in press). This approach has been influenced by scholars who have been critical towards the modernity project in Latin America, the conformation of the nation-state, and the current implications of the persistent colonial order.

This perspective is critical to understand the way in which interculturality has developed in Latin America. It emerged first, as an alternative to the assimilationist educational model of the 20th century that became the "basis for the construction of homogeneity required by modern national states" (Ferrão Candau 2010, p.335, TFS) and, later on, as a functional interculturality (Tubino, 2004) under a state that continued to be monocultural and became neoliberal after the Latin American dictatorships, as in the case of Peru and Chile.

Education and, consequently, schools became one of the main tools and settings for the reproduction of discourses that differentiate and recreate ethnic/racial hierarchies (Walsh, 2010) and a monocultural state in pluricultural Latin American societies (Tubino, 2005). Furthermore, even though during the 1990s there was an increase in the policies and programmes that aimed to recognise the plurality in our societies, there is still "a relativist vision of the different, through the naturalization of cultural differences and a static and a historical view of identities" (Diez, 2004, p.200, TFS). Also, in spite of the fact that education was the field where the critical interculturality perspective emerged, scholars that study this perspective have argued that education:

*In isolation it cannot establish harmonious relationships, because mutual respect between cultures cannot occur independently of the rest of the social conditions. There can be no harmonic recognition from education while structurally living in highly asymmetric and unequal conditions* (Ibid p.201-202, TFS).

The critical interculturality perspective addresses the struggle in the field of education, but it also creates awareness of the fact that, so far, there has not been a transformation in the power relations and structures in Latin American societies. Our current structures and relations continue to racialize, inferiorize and dehumanize (Walsh, 2009) because they are the product of a social matrix of colonial order (Walsh, 2010) and a monocultural-nationalist state (Tubino, 2005). Furthermore, what the critical interculturality perspective does is challenge the narrow view of interculturality due to its multidimensional nature. It is more than just the ‘relation between cultures’ (Walsh, 2010) or an educational model or a state proposal, it is a
"political-social-epistemic-ethical project" (Ibid p.76). Tubino (2004, p.3, TFS) explains that:

Interculturality is not a concept; it is a way of behaving. It is not a theoretical category it is an ethical proposal. More than an idea it is an attitude; a way of being that is necessary, in a world that is paradoxically increasingly interconnected technologically and at the same time more interculturality incommunicado. A world in which the serious social and political conflicts that intercultural confrontations produce, begin to occupy a central place in the public agenda of nations.

Critical interculturality does not argue in favour of “the simple relationship between groups, practices or cultural thoughts, but for the incorporation of those traditionally excluded within the structures” (Walsh, 2010, p.91, TFS). It becomes vital to identify and transform those structures and institutions that create differences between sociocultural groups in the context of a social order that “is still racial, modern-western and colonial” (Ibid p.92, TFS). Nonetheless, Tubino (2005, p.95, TFS) explains that the critical interculturality ‘is not an anti-modern project’:

Do not confuse interculturality with the nostalgic call to an idealized past that never existed (the archaic utopia) nor with the rejection and block to the Western Modernity. What is rejected from the modernization is its homogenizing and westernizing bias. To opt for interculturality is therefore to choose to create new forms of modernity. What is at stake, then, is the possibility of recreating modernity from multiple traditions.

To better understand the multiple dimensions of critical interculturality and how it can serve as a lens to understand the field of power of the field of education in the context of south-south migration in Latin America and Chile, I will first refer to the criticism towards functional interculturality (Section 3.1). Second, the argument about the persistence of the colonial order is explained with regards to what has been referred to as the decolonial turn or decoloniality. Finally, I will discuss the way in which the critical interculturality perspective opens up the possibility of social transformation in relation to the specific aims of this study (Section 3.3)

Before moving on to the next sections, it is important to clarify that there has been an extended debate about the differences between multiculturalism and interculturalism, and one perspective has, at times, been presented as the ‘progression’ of the other (Joppke 2018; Meer & Modood 2012; Modood 2017; Palaiologou & Dietz 2012; Stefoni et al. 2016). However, rather than one approach substituting the other, the problem in understanding both approaches has to do with the relocation of the
concept in different historical-geographical contexts. Dietz (2017, p.196, TFS) refers to this as the problem of 'discursive migration'; he explains that:

*When multiculturalist discourses begin to migrate from one context to another, their original starting points -a particular matrix of politics of identity and their underlying institutional frameworks- often end up mixed, confused and supposedly neutralized in their power to shape educational “solutions” in the new context.*

The following sections present some similarities between the interculturality perspective and the discussions held by scholars from countries with a long standing tradition of multiculturalism (Alibhai-Brown 2000; Banks & McGee Banks 2010; Giroux 1993; Joshee & Sinfield 2010; Kymlicka 1995; May 1999; Parekh 2006). These similarities will not be addressed because they go beyond the scope of this study and also because what is intended is to create a dialogue with critical interculturality as an emerging perspective from and about the Latin American context, rather than to insist in the 'discursive migration' problem of the terms.

### 3.1 Functional interculturality and the monocultural-neoliberal state

The critical interculturality perspective emerged as an ethical-political-social alternative to interculturality, which had become too functional, too subservient, to the neoliberal logic in Latin America (Tubino, 2004). This meant that, to solve the problems of social and cultural injustice, the state implemented focalized, compensatory policies directed towards a specific group of the population that were labelled as 'disadvantaged' (Diez, 2004). For example, policies focalized towards the long-lasting excluded indigenous population in a great majority of Latin American countries. It should be noticed that this focalized policies of redistribution have mainly focus on school but still pending is the issue of access to higher education (Oyarzún et al. 2017). Additionally, in order to recognise the pluricultural societies, a folklorization process emerged. This process ignored the conflict and struggle among different groups and stigmatized the different cultural groups thus creating essentialist ideas about culture (Tubino, 2005). In the case of the indigenous population, for instance, this reproduced "a historical and geographical stigmatization, which usually locates this group as a survivor of the past and outside the urban environment" (Diez, 2004, p.200, TFS).

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26 Regarding how functional the interculturality perspective become to the neoliberal state policies, we can see some similarities with what has been called neoliberal multiculturalism (Hale 2002; Kymlicka 2012; Vera et al. 2018).

27 Also know as affirmative action or positive discrimination policies.
Both political processes –focalization and folklorization– in turn, allowed the maintenance of a monocultural and linguistically homogenous nation-state which, paradoxically, coexisted with "profoundly pluricultural and multilingual" societies (Tubino 2005, p.84, TFS). In other words, they created an apparent "dialogue without touching the causes of cultural asymmetry" (Tubino 2004, p.6, TFS). Functional interculturality, consequently, contributed to this political-economic system based on a model of social differentiation and inequality, that "went from the classical homogenizing discourse of culture, to the recognition of ethnic diversity and the granting of specific rights to certain groups" while not generating a "deep transformation in its structure " (Diez, 2004, p.196, TFS).

It should be noted that the problem with interculturality is not cultural diversity, but the amplification of ‘otherness’ in a model that has created an opposition between the ‘white-mestizo’ and the indigenous and black populations (Walsh 2012a). This has become crucial to understand the current regional migration flows because:

> These stories build the European immigrant as civilized and civilizing and the Latin American migrant, as uncivilized, unwanted and invading. There is an overestimation of the ethnic and racial component: European migration is constructed as beneficial because it is white, Latin American, on the other hand, is seen as harmful because it is not (...) This reveals important aspects to consider about the dynamics of the relations between natives and foreigners in school contexts (Diez, 2013, p.10, TFS).

It is important, at this point, to distinguish between functional and critical interculturality. Dietz (2017, p.194, TFS) explains that:

> While in the first case, intercultural competencies are defined as tools and functional resources to raise tolerance, mutual understanding and empathy with otherness, in the second case these intercultural capacities are interpreted and/or acquired in terms of anti-discrimination, awareness and negotiation of conflicts.

If the neoliberal-monocultural state is not transformed radically, any understanding of our societies as intercultural will only stay “at the functional and individual level, without affecting to a greater extent the coloniality of social structure and, therefore, the monocultural, hegemonic and colonial character of the state” (Walsh, 2012a, p.119, TFS). This coloniality is what I will further explore in the next section.
3.2 Interculturality and decoloniality

Together with the criticism towards the monocultural-neoliberal state, the critical interculturality perspective is influenced by the discussions held by and with Latin American scholars\(^{28}\) who have expressed the need for a *decolonial turn* – also referred to as *decoloniality*. This *decolonial turn* intends to create awareness around the fact that the current social order and hierarchy of Latin American societies is located in terms of *colonial difference* (Walsh et al. 2006) that has been reproduced under what is known as *coloniality*:

> The social classification of the world’s population around the idea of race, a mental construction that expresses the basic experience of colonial domination and pervades the more important dimensions of global power, including its specific rationality: Eurocentrism. The racial axis has a colonial origin and character, but it has proven to be more durable and stable than the colonialism in whose matrix it was established. Therefore, the model of power that is globally hegemonic today presupposes an element of coloniality (Quijano 2000, p.533)

The legacy of the colonial structures and relations of subalternity between different sociocultural groups persists until today in what has also been called ‘internal colonialism’ (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2010). Accordingly, the process of racialization and ethnicization in Latin America has turned *la blanca*ura* (‘whiteness’) into a core element of the nation. This can be seen as another form of *coloniality*, which, in the specific case of the ‘Southern Cone of Latin America’, with Argentina, Uruguay and Chile, meant that:

> The Eurocentric view of the social reality of Latin America led to attempts to build a "nation-state" according to European experience, as an "ethnic" or cultural homogenization of a population enclosed within the borders of a state. That immediately raised the so-called "indigenous problem" and, although unnamed, the "black problem". Under its influence, mass genocides of "Indians" (as well as in the US), in Argentina, Uruguay and Chile have been carried out\(^{29}\) (Quijano 2014, p.769, TFS).

In the Chilean context, this has translated into what has been referred to as a *Chilenization*. This is a process embedded in a monocultural discourse that has

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28 Scholar that are part of the research group of modernity/coloniality such as Dussel, Quijano, Mignolo, Grosfoguel, Walsh, Maldonado-Torres, Escoba, among others. The work develop by the Epistemologies of the South at the University of Coimbra (Portugal) lead by Santos is also consider relevant for the dialogue of the group, specially recognised by Grosfoguel and Walsh.

29 The genocides discussed here by Quijano where carried out by these countries after their independencies (beginning XIX century) in the time of the configuration of their nation-state. In Chile, this genocides were during the years 1881 and 1895 (Durston 2012), which as mentioned earlier is the same time when the Chilean liberal governments (1861-1891) implemented the “Selective Immigration Policy” to colonized the south of Chile.
developed and maintained “a constant presence of the ‘dialectic of the negation of the ‘other’, under the slogan of national homogenization” (Jensen, 2009, p.118, TFS), and an ‘unnatural ethnicity’ and the configuration of a national identity based on a ‘racial homogeneity’ (Subercaseaux, 1999). We can also see how Subercaseaux’s argument regarding the construction of the Chilean nation-state since the 19th century follows a form of *coloniality* in which:

*The state together with the elite, play a fundamental role in the process of nationalization or chilenization of society: they disseminate and impose through the school, the press and other mechanisms, a “we”, a sense of belonging, a kind of unnatural ethnicity* (Subercaseaux, 2006, p.26, TFS).

In this sense, Tijoux (2016) sees ‘whiteness’ and this *Chilenization* process as the main reasons for there to be so many Chileans against the current regional migration wave. What has emerged is a discourse in which the Chilean population tends to feel ‘whiter’ than the rest of Latin America³⁰, and this ‘whiteness’, which is at the heart of the nation-superiority over the rest of the region, is threatened by this new migration. Tijoux has argued that the dehumanization of migrants is a reminder “of a colonial history and the configuration of a nation-state that sought progress in a ‘white-European’ enclave” (Tijoux, 2017, p.1, TFS). Hence, I will argue throughout this study that the Chilean education *field* is playing —once again— the ‘neoliberal-monoculture card’ when it comes to migration and the school-family relationships.

The notion of interculturality is used critically, in this analysis, to understand how the processes of differentiation have been reproduced in Latin America. Critical interculturality therefore, does not simply take a relational –between individuals– perspective, it is also structural. It understands the social experience of the world as asymmetric power relationships: socially (‘developed’ and ‘undeveloped’), economically (transaction of markets and extraction of resources) and in knowledge (schools vs. community) (Walsh, 2005). *Critical interculturality* is not only a perspective to better understand the *field of power* that alters the educational *field* and the schooling experience of migrant parents in Chile today, it is also an insurgent and proactive project and process which places other horizons of possibility, creativity and construction as “*modos otros* (other modes) of power, knowing, being and living”(Walsh 2009, p.11, TFS).

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³⁰ According to a national survey a third of the population thinks that the majority of Chileans consider themselves to be “whiter than other people in Latin American countries” (INHD, 2017, p. 23, TFS).
3.3 Modos otros

**Critical interculturality** is a project in constant (re)construction (Diez, 2004; Walsh, 2009). It is not closed around a single mode of 'power, being, knowing, living', but to multiple possibilities, as societies become more reflective about why and how sociocultural differences and inequalities are reproduced. In this sense, Walsh's notion of *modos otros* refers to the “different ways of being, thinking, knowing, feeling, perceiving, doing and living (...) that challenges the hegemony and universality of capitalism, Eurocentric modernity and Western civilizational logic” (Walsh 2014, p.20, TFS). Moreover, the scholar-activist emphasised that these *modos otros* “exist in the borders, edges, fissures and cracks of the modern/colonial order, that continues to be (re)modelled, (re)constituted and (re)shaped both against and in spite of coloniality” (Ibid).

It is from this perspective that this study asks questions about other modes of the relationship between schools and families in the south-south migratory context and takes into account the field of power described above. For example, how can a community's knowledge be repositioned, if it has not been valued in the school, where the dominant culture has made these 'other' ways of knowing invisible? Also, is it possible to practice other ways of citizenship in societies that are socioculturally diverse but structurally determined by a monocultural-neoliberal state? These topics will be further explored in the next chapter that covers the literature review, as well as throughout my discussion.

In order to recognize the knowledge a community possesses, and the other modes of citizenship in the educational *field* and between families and schools, critical interculturality—as a proactive and transformative perspective—highlights the notions of conflict, dialogue and communication (Diez, 2004). These elements allow us to understand that what is at stake is the struggle over power in the *field*. They allow for there to be "an action that expresses forms of active resistance through the generation of spaces and instances in which interculturality is understood as a possibility of change in a context of social inequality" (Ibid p197, TFS).

Conflict, dialogue and communication between agents are crucial tools in *fields* that build our day-to-day experiences. In the view of interculturality that prevails in Latin America, with programmes of focalization and folklorization of sociocultural diversity, these three elements have been non-existent. There has also been a political decision from the nation-states to not make visible the asymmetric power relations
—embedded in racism, nationalism, sexism, among other forms of symbolic violence— but to create top-down programme without the community. This, as I have already mentioned, has not led to any social transformations. Tubino believes this is a key factor for critical interculturality and he argues that it is necessary to:

Require that the dialogue of cultures is from the beginning a dialogue about the economic, political, military, etc. factors that currently condition the truthful exchange between the cultures of humanity. This demand is now essential to avoid falling into the ideology of a decontextualized dialogue that would favour only the vested interests of the dominant civilization, by not taking into account the asymmetry of power that reigns in the world today. To make the dialogue real, we must start by visualizing the causes of non-dialogue (Fornet 2000 quoted Tubino, 2005, p.91, TFS).

In order for this dialogue to emerge, spaces of communication to confront and transform the current inequalities have to be created (Arroyo, 2016). In the education field, the interculturality perspective cannot be just a statement of principles; it must also influence schools practices to “recover different attitudes of appreciation for the knowledge of the communities (...) that favours the exchange of ideas and opinions “(Diez, 2004, p.204, TFS). At the same time, it should also recover other ways of knowing and being, and not fall into the coloniality (Walsh, 2014) in which schools have been remained immersed.

Consequently, in order to explore other modes in which families and schools can relate in the context of migration, this thesis is located in the space in conflict between the ‘border areas’ (Di Caudo et al., 2016) and ‘cracks’ (Walsh, 2017). ‘Borders’ that are produced by schools’ practices and the state policies, and ‘cracks’ that "reveal the irruption, the beginning, the emergence, the possibility and also the existence of the very other" (Ibid p.32, TFS). In this case, this potential space is represented by placing the voices of migrant mothers and fathers and their schooling strategies at the centre of this research.

The critical interculturality perspective, ultimately, is not only an important lens to understand and unveil the current field of power of the educational field, it is also as a transformative perspective that aims to question and challenge the current social order that racializes, inferiorizes and dehumanizes (Walsh, 2009). To better understand the social order, I will now present and discuss the intersectional dimensions of ‘race’, ethnicity, nationality and citizenship status, all of which, I argue, have influenced the schooling strategies of migrant parents.

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4. Intersectionality

Together with the critical interculturality framework, it is also important to acknowledge the way in which the intersecting dimensions of ‘race’, ethnicity, nationality and citizenship status have influenced the strategies of migrant parents.

The concept of intersectionality was first coined by the African-American feminist professor Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991). She used this concept "to denote the various ways in which race and gender interact to shape the multiple dimensions of Black women's employment experience" (Ibid p.1244). She believes that "Black women's lives cannot be captured wholly by looking at the race and gender dimensions of those experiences separately" (Ibid). Nevertheless, she explicitly stated that, by using the concept, she has no intention of creating a ‘totalizing theory of identity'; more specifically, she believes that "the intersection of race and gender only highlights the need to account for multiple grounds of identity when considering how the social world is constructed" (Ibid p.1295). Then, it becomes evident that “‘race’, ethnicity and gender are socially constructed, constituting not only individual identities but also principles of organization of the social system" (Magliano, 2015, p.692, TFS).

Three are the main ideas that can better help us to understand the concept of intersectionality. First, that the intersection of gender, class and ‘race’, among other social dimensions, ‘operate at multiple levels of social life’ (Magliano, 2015). According to this view, the “different dimensions of social life cannot be separated out into discrete and pure strands” (Brah & Phoenix, 2004, p.76). Intersectionality highlights the dynamic ways in which people construct their perceptions of the social world and how social structures and personal experiences are both embedded in this process of construction. What is more, intersectionality should be understood as a process. As Anthias (2012, p.107) puts it:

> It is important to locate the discussion in terms of structures on the one hand (broader economic and political institutional frameworks) and processes on the other hand (broader social relations in all their complexity including discourses and representations). Intersectionality is a social process related to practices and arrangements, giving rise to particular forms of positionality for social actors.

Second, intersectionality emerged mainly focusing on the experiences of subordinate groups and the power relations that structure societies according to
certain social categories. Moreover Nash argues also for the need to described how “privilege and oppression intersect, informing each subject’s experiences” (2008, p.12). In this sense, the positionality of the subject in the different dimensions of intersectionality, while the focus has “been on marginality, rather than privilege” (Vincent et al. 2012b, p.261) may mean that sometimes he/she becomes subordinator and sometimes dominator (Magliano, 2015), and this should also be acknowledge. For example, when empirically addressing relationships under intersectionality, we may have the case that the same agent in one field might be experiencing a relation of subordination (e.g. worker-employer in the labour field) whereas in another field the same agent could occupy a position of domination in the asymmetric relationship (e.g. parent-children in the home field).

Finally, intersectionality challenges academia “to consider the positions and social classifications in a relational manner, making approaches that try to reduce the experiences of the subjects under the lens of a single category more complex” (Magliano, 2015, p.695, TFS). The concept intends to challenge the homogenization of experiences of gender, ‘race’ and class, among other social dimensions, in order to “unmask the false universalisms” (Ibid TFS) that have “served to maintain the status quo” (Brah & Phoenix, 2004, p.82). Intersectionality can be understood, therefore, as the “complex, irreducible, varied, and variable effects which ensue when multiple axes of differentiation – economic, political, cultural, psychic, subjective and experiential – intersect in historically specific contexts” (Ibid p. 76).

For the purposes of this study, it is important to address this intersectionality in relation to parent and parental involvement, and the migration processes. With regards to parental involvement, tensions may arise if parents do not ‘fit’ into the mould of what schools consider the appropriate ‘type of family’ and are thus targeted as ‘problem families’ (Ribbens McCarthy & Edwards 2010) and ‘hard to reach families’, which sets them apart “as different and implies a sense of inadequacy” (Crozier & Reay 2005, p.x). González (2013, 2015) claims that in the Chilean academic field during the 1970s and 1980s there was a “predominance of essentialist and conservative views in studies on the family” (2013, p.94, TFS), which was influenced by the Catholic Church. During the 1990s the academic field together with the political situation, according to the author, allowed the country to look for radical ideas coming from abroad, especially from feminist theory. However, the author concludes that Chile still did not have the ‘critical maturity’ to change the paradigm about the family and only just recently has a critical approach emerged in family studies. In this sense, and concerning home-school relationships in Chile,
Santana & Reininger (2017) noted that schools tend to hold on to the ‘ideal family parameter’, conceived as a family “from a marriage of mature adults, made up of a father and a mother, affectively stable” (Ibid p.70, TFS). This vision of ‘the family’ is problematic and has become decontextualized from today's reality, which has had an impact on “the way of relating, in the expectations towards them and in the place that is given to them in the learning processes of the children” (Ibid TFS).

Therefore, in the case of Chile, I argue that irregular, transnational, indigenous, bilingual families are considered to not fit the definition of ‘the family’ that (should) enrol in our schools. Because of this, these families become social actors rarely mentioned in the literature of the home-school relation. One way of challenging this invisibilisation and homogenisation is referring to ‘families’, in plural, instead of talking about ‘the family’, as a way of acknowledging the multiple types of families that exist today. Moreover, Morgan (2011) argues for the need to turn to the use of the notion of ‘family practices’ over just ‘the family’ as a way to resist to “the ever-present danger of giving the idea of ‘The Family’ some kind of normative status” (Ibid p.3). Meaning that the normative idea might reproduce a ‘standard model of the family’, which excludes other forms of being family, for example, the ‘idea of heteronormativity’ in the notions of ‘the family’. In this sense, the author argues that the term “The Family’ not only oversimplified a large range of practices, statuses and experiences but it also carried some strong normative baggage that disadvantaged certain groups in society” (Ibid p.4).

There is a growing body of literature that explores the reality of families in the context of migration using an intersectional approach. Through this lens, the migration process can be made up of various axes of inequalities and social differentiation as:

*The classifications of gender, class, national origin, ‘race’, ethnicity, age, migratory status and religion can directly affect the daily life of women and men and have a decisive influence on their access to rights and opportunities, as well as in situations of privilege or exclusion that derive from them (Magliano 2015, p.700, TFS).*

The intersectional approach reminds us that migration is not a homogeneous experience; it has nuances and differences that should not be overlooked in the current historical-political context. One of the main challenges of this approach is its "unlimited number of categories of analysis" (Ibid p.698, TFS). Yuval-Davis (2006) refers to this as ‘the irreducibility of social divisions’ (Ibid p. 200). The scholar argues that to solve this multiplicity of positionality, the social dimensions that affect the
social experience studied and that are historically and contextually embedded should be the ones included in the analysis. In the context of this study, the intersection of 'race', ethnicity, nationality and citizenship status is deemed relevant to understand the process of ex/inclusion of migrant families into the education system and the wider society. Class, gender, and other social dimensions are also acknowledged as part of the complexity of identity configuration, and they will be recognised when necessary in the discussion of these experiences.

5. Conclusion

Bourdieu’s theory provided me with the tools to make sense of the social experience of migrant parents and their children’s education. Therefore it became the core theoretical resource of Part III of my analysis, as it was particularly useful when it came to understanding how, during the processes of ex/inclusion, migrant parents’ schooling strategies may open the possibility for there to be other forms and ways of understanding the home-school relationship. This occurs as a result of the ‘discomfort’ between the habitus and the field – understood in terms of tension, conflict and struggle. Migrant parents, then, have to decode the internal dynamics of the ‘new’ education field, particularly the Chilean monocultural and marketised education system. The critical interculturality perspective makes it possible to understand this discomfort and highlight how everyday experiences and social practices are built on asymmetric power relations that are a product of the persistent colonial matrix and the nation-state project. This, I argue, has had an impact on the south-south migration experience, which in turn has shaped the strategies deploy by parents in the educational field. Critical interculturality becomes important, then, if we want to move towards other modes of the home-school relationship in the aim to promote symmetrical relations among migrant parents and schools. In this sense, the analysis on Part II - which focuses on Chilean schools practices regarding migrant children and their families - will draw mainly on this theory.

Together with Bourdieu’s theory and the critical interculturality perspective, an intersectional approach is also relevant, as it sheds light on the fact that parents’ identities “are not reducible to just one dimension” (Crenshaw, 1991 quoted by Vincent, 2017). They are, instead, a result of the intersecting dimensions of ‘race’, ethnicity, nationality, citizenship status; all of which, I argue, shape migrant parents schooling experience. This approach also seeks to "reflect on the multiple positionality of subjects" (Magliano 2015, pp.692, TFS) and how it has become
increasingly central in migration studies (Anthias 2012; Stefoni & Stang 2017). Therefore, this approach is present in this thesis in the research design (Chapter 4) as I decided to interview parents from different socio-cultural backgrounds to identify the possible heterogeneity of the schooling experiences in the context of migration. Additionally, it has been important for my analysis chapters (Part II and III) as well as guiding my literature review - as it reminds us the different social dimensions that need to be acknowledged when discussing parental involvement.

These three theoretical set of resources have an important role in denouncing social inequalities, even though Bourdieusian theory tends to be perceived as deterministic (Jenkins 2002; Yang 2014). This is something that this thesis wants to challenge, considering that when we explore the discrepancy between the habitus and the field, vis-à-vis the field of power from a critical perspective, it is possible to identify other modes of the home-school relationship, which can be present in today’s Chilean schools under the context of south-south migration. In the context of this study, intersectionality goes hand-in-hand with the critical interculturality perspective, because they make visible the social experiences of agents that have faced unequal power relations. These two perspectives argue for the need to transform the current situations of exclusions of those subordinate groups (Sánchez-Melero & Gil-Jaurena 2015), distancing themselves from the ‘sometimes pessimistic’ view of Bourdieu’s theory.

In the next chapter, I will turn to the main topic of this study: the relationship between families and their children’s’ education.
Chapter 3. Literature review

1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to acknowledge the different ways in which parents participate in a range of educational contexts. By doing this, I not only seek to make visible the multiple ways in which parents get involved in their children’s education; I also attempt to better understand the educational strategies migrant parents use in the Chilean educational field. To guide this review I have decided to use the ‘parents’ subject position’ framework, developed by Vincent (1996, 2000). This conceptual framework - which can be linked to a Bourdieusian approach regarding the disposition of parents towards the different forms of educational involvement - makes it possible to highlight, from an intersectional approach, the heterogeneity of the category of ‘parent’. In an early study, Vincent (1996) identified four ‘parents’ subject positions’: parent as consumer; parent as partner; independent parent and parent as a participant. From this last positioning, Vincent (2000) developed, in a second book, the notion of parent as citizen. To these four positionings, I have added a fifth one, the notion of parent as a source of knowledge, which mainly draws on the critical interculturality framework. It should be noted that parents may be positioned in more than one of these dimensions and certain features may overlap. Also, some of these positionings may be linked to certain levels of involvement outside rather than inside the school.

The main argument of why this literature review has focused on the parents’ subject position is that in order to create more spaces of participation for families and allow them to be key actors in education, the focus needs to be on their experiences. This is in line with the context that the current Educational Reform in Chile seeks to create, as a new “Policy on the Participation of Families and the Community in Educational Institutions” (MINEDUC 2017) has been implemented. Within the context of this policy, the participation of families has been placed as a key role in order to promote a school system based on equity and social justice. It is important to note as well that, in the case of migrant parents; their experiences regarding the ‘new’ educational field are crucial for their process of ex/inclusion. Finally, it is important to emphasise that this review mainly focuses on Chilean studies, however, when appropriate, some international studies are included too, as a way to show where are the current gaps in the Chilean academic field. In this sense, this exercise
allows highlighting the potential contribution of my study to the national literature on home-school research.

2. Parent as consumer

Parents become consumers as a way "to encourage school accountability and high standards" (Vincent, 2000, p.2) in the context of the neoliberal policies established during the 1980s and 1990s in countries such as Chile and the UK. The main way of understanding this parent positioning is through the policy of school choice, which was introduced believing that school competition against each other, offers parents a diversity of provision from which they then choose the most appropriate setting for their child. Thereby education would improve (Burgess et al, 2009).

The matter of school choice has been heavily discussed around the globe over the last three decades and from different disciplinary perspectives. Parental choice is thus considered to be a rational, informed choice driven by the market forces around education, and this 'right' to choose has led parents to adjust to the new role of 'consumer of the education service' (Munn, 1993, p2).

In the case of Chile31, the school choice policy was informed by Milton Friedman's theory (Madero, 2018). The emphasis was placed both on the importance of getting parents and non-state providers involved in education, throughout the principle of freedom of education (Zamora, 2013), as a way of improving school accountability and quality, and on decentralising education by taking the responsibility for schools away from the state's hands. In this way, the state goes from being the central provider to being a subsidiser, which has strongly affected the nature of public education through enforcing a "market schema through new technologies of control, differentiation and competition" (Falabella, 2015, p. 700). This market schema was then 'reinforced' by the left-centre wing governments that took over after the civic-military dictatorship (Donoso 2005), with the implementation of a voucher programme and a co-payment system that allows schools to charge an extra fee to parents on top of the voucher given by the state.

For almost 45 years, school choice policy has heavily shaped the Chilean home-school relationship; turning parents into consumers and making researchers see them as consumers as well. The first study that addressed this role was conducted

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31 See also Chapter 1.4.

In Chile, the strategies parents apply to choose a school have been mainly linked to their class positioning, and, because of this, social class has been at the heart of studies on this topic. As Kosunen and Carrasco (2016, p.180) noted, “the school choice space itself was strongly segregated between social classes: each social class had their own school choice space with certain schools only”. Consequently, school choice has become an important part of the ‘process of formation and reproduction of class’ in Chile (Orellana, et. al 2018).

Educational research in Chile tends to classify parents class positioning (Gubbins 2014; Hernández & Raczyński 2015) using the socioeconomic classification criteria elaborated by the MINEDUC (2013). This is based on a self-administered questionnaire that it is sent to all parents when their children are been tested by the national standardization test (SIMCE). The aim is to correlate the test results with this socioeconomic indicator. This indicator includes the following variables based on the average parents’ responses: education level of both parents and monthly home-income. Also, a social vulnerability index of the school elaborated by another agency from the MINEDUC32 is added. After the information is collected, the Ministry conducts a cluster analysis to group the variables. From this analysis, five groups are created that represent the different socioeconomic levels from which the Ministry labels schools:

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32 This index is elaborated by the Junta Nacional de Auxilio Escolar y Becas (JUNAEB), agency from the MINEDUC, which provides school-aid to students (i.e. scholarship, transport, school meals, among other). The index is based on a set of criteria that provides each school with a percentage based on identifying among the student population their level of social vulnerability (e.g. how many students of the school received social benefits). Thus those schools closer to 100% are those that have a larger population of students in a vulnerable situation.
Furthermore, the five levels of socioeconomic status identified by the MINEDUC have been used to assign a class-origin label to the different type of schools (Canales et al. 2016) showing how segregated is the educational system even at its organisation level (see Table 1, type of school). This class-origin label of schools is relevant to mentioned, as some studies in Chile tend to use the type of school to assign the social class positioning of parents. Therefore instead of asking parents their educational level or income, they assume that the type of school where they send their children can be a good class-indicator (Orellana et al. 2018; Rivera & Milicic 2006; Santana & Reininger 2017). Additionally to the type of school that parents choose, some studies (Ramos 2017; Stillerman 2016) have added the variable of where families lived, in terms of municipality, as there is a high correlation between educational and residential segregation (as I further explained); that has also shed light on the construction of the class positioning in Chilean society.

### Table 1: Socio-Economic of the School

(Own elaboration based on MINEDUC 2013 and Canales et al. 2016)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class-group</th>
<th>Mothers education (in years)</th>
<th>Father education (in years)</th>
<th>Household income$^a$</th>
<th>School social vulnerability</th>
<th>Type of school</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upper</td>
<td>More than 14 years</td>
<td>More than 15 years</td>
<td>More than £1,475</td>
<td>Less than 6.01%</td>
<td>Private paid school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle-upper</td>
<td>13 and 14 years</td>
<td>13 to 15 years</td>
<td>£658 – £1,475</td>
<td>6.01% – 36%</td>
<td>Co-paid private subsidised schools / Private paid School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>11 and 12 years</td>
<td>11 and 12 years</td>
<td>£363– £657</td>
<td>36.01% – 61%</td>
<td>Private subsidised school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle-low</td>
<td>9 and 10 years</td>
<td>9 and 10 years</td>
<td>£227 – £362</td>
<td>60.01% – 81%</td>
<td>Municipal school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Less than 9 years</td>
<td>Less than 9 years</td>
<td>Less than £227</td>
<td>More than 81%</td>
<td>Municipal school</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$^a$ See Appendix 1.

$^b$ The minimum salary in Chile is $301,000 equivalent to £347.
Other studies focusing on social class and education in Chile, have decided to use a broader classification of social class than the one elaborated by the MINEDUC. For example, the research from Flores and Carrasco (2013) about school choice inequalities, prefer to use the socio-economic classification elaborated by a market research organisation (ADIMARK 2004). This organization elaborated also five groups referred to as ABC1, C2, C3, D and E; based on the national census. This classification is estimated based on a combination of the educational level of the main house-provider with the quantity of goods that the family possess (such as TV, car, computer, internet, etc.). Finally, more recently, Gayo and colleagues (2019) had adapted the UK Standard Occupational Classification elaborated by the National Statistics Socio-Economic Classification, to group Chilean parents according to their profession. Therefore, we can see how the social positioning of parents, in Chilean studies, have used a variety of dimensions, from the level of education and income variables to the possession of goods, housing, geographical segregation, profession, among others. Showing the high complexity of understanding class in any research on education.

But, what forms of capitals do parents need to possess in order to make this ‘choice’? What makes a ‘good choice’ in the Chilean schooling market? Before answering these questions, it is important to once again mention that there is a new School Inclusion Law (MINEDUC, 2015a) in place in Chile. This Law is part of the Education Reform, and it is being implemented gradually so by the end of 2019 it should be fully implemented in the entire country35. With this law schools –both municipal and private subsidised – are not allowed to select students or charge an extra fee anymore, however parents can still choose freely in terms of location, as there is no catchment policy in place.

The research that was produced before the Law – as it is too soon to assess its influence on parental choice - contributed with evidence to show how highly dependent on the economic capital of parents the choice was, in terms of parents’ ability to pay for both an extra fee and housing nearby the chosen school. We must keep in mind that educational segregation cannot be detached from residential segregation in Chile, particularly in cities like Santiago (Stillerman 2016; Flores & Carrasco 2013). This has mainly affected low-income families (Córdoba 2014; Gubbins 2013) and newly arrived migrant families (Castillo et al. 2018; Mardones 2006; Stefoni et al. 2010), because their limited economic capital translates into fewer chances of choosing schools, according to Zamora (2013). Furthermore, Flores

35 During my fieldwork (May – August 2016), this Law had still not been implemented in the cities where my study took place.
and Carrasco (2013) stated there is enough evidence “to argue that the budgetary restrictions of families and the inequity in the local education offer are responsible and explain to a high degree the school segregation while limiting the deployment of the preferences of parents” (Ibid p.35, TFS). This inequality in the ‘choice landscape’ has also become an emotional issue for some parents. As Gubbins (2013) notes, working-class families value private education and would like their children to attend a private school; however, as they cannot afford it, it becomes ‘painful’ to see that their children’s education is so tightly linked to their economic capital. This ultimately makes them feel that they cannot “exercise their right to choose freely” (Ibid p.173, TFS).

Educational and residential segregation also lead to what has been referred recently in the Chilean context in terms of migrant families as *ghettification* (Castillo et al. 2018; Poblete et al. 2016), which means that migrant students are concentrated in specific schools and therefore “such establishments are transformed into ‘schools for migrants’, preventing the necessary relationship with Chilean children, and this ultimately does not contribute to the inclusion processes” (Poblete et al. 2016, p.22, TFS). The same educational and residential segregation has addressed with students from low-income families – however interestingly these argument is not applied to the concentration of upper-class families in some schools/boroughs in Chile. A problematic aspect of some of the studies that address this phenomenon is that, instead of tackling the everyday practices of exclusion and segregation, they urge authorities to regulate the concentration of students, which, to some extent, individualises the problem on students and their families. For example, the study by Castillo and colleagues (2018) about migrant students and families in the Chilean public education system concluded that schools with a high enrolment of migrant children should be regulated in terms of their enrolment process. Furthermore, according to them:

*The school policy should intervene in the distribution of students, to address the effects of segregation that are occurring in many institutions. All of the above requires that public policy in education actively enters and regulates the construction of "ghettos" (p. 46, TFS).*

What the authors suggest becomes highly problematic in a country where residential segregation is an unquestionable reality. Therefore, if recently arrived migrant parents who have just started working and have a low income decide to live in an area with a high concentration of migrant or working-class families, they may have fewer chances of finding a school next to their home if the ‘quota rule’ is established.
They will, then, have to look for a school in a different area, making their economic situation even more challenging.

Segregation is so prominent that, depending on the type of school parents choose (see table 1), it is possible to draw a direct line to their class background – as noted by Canales and colleagues (2016). Consequently, in spite of the fact that studies have shown enough evidence to question the meritocracy narrative of those supporting the ‘old school choice policy’, the current right-wing government has brought it back to the table in the Chilean educational debate and they intend to withdraw the new law and replace it with a new bill, which they ironically refer to as “Fair Admission Law” (MINEDUC 2019).

Together with their economic capital, parents’ social capital plays an important role as well, since both schools and parents select each other based on social demographics (Carrasco et al, 2015). Chilean studies have concluded that there is a tendency in the choices, of mainly middle and upper-class families, to reproduce exclusionary practices of socioeconomic segregation (Falabella et al. 2009; Gubbins 2014). Elacqua and colleagues pointed out “while few parents cite class as a choice factor, most parents include only schools with similar student demographics in their choice set” (2006, p. 596). In the case of upper-class families, Gubbins (2014) noted that choosing a school becomes instrumental, as “it is governed (…) by the need of belonging to social groups perceived as having a higher status and whose integration helps their children remain in the social and economic elite of the country” (p. 1084, TFS). This logic would not be possible if it were not for the educational policy that promotes the right to freely choose. In this sense, the reproduction of class can be considered “a strategy legitimized and encouraged by the educational system itself” (Ibid TFS).

Choosing a school based on class, for middle and upper-class Chilean families, can enhance their social networks and, consequently, their accumulation of social capital. However, Stillerman (2016) argues that what matters the most to these families is the cultural capital as they do not want to interact with families with a lower cultural capital. Furthermore, he highlights that there is an ambivalent attitude towards inequality in "different fractions of the middle class", as they "look for different ways to isolate their children from members of 'the emerging middle class', who value competition and success, and also from the poor and the elites" (Ibid p.184, TFS). Raveaud and Van Zanten (2007) reached similar conclusions regarding middle-class parents’ choice of schools in Paris and London, but they also raised the
question of the *good citizen/parent*. They acknowledge the ‘tensions and dilemmas’ of “being a good citizen, which implies in these parents’ perspective sending [their children] to the socially and ethnically mixed local school, and being a good parent, which for them implies that they should provide their children with the best education for individual development and success” (p.122). This dilemma of social mixing has also been acknowledged by the study of Reay and colleagues (2011) regarding white middle-class parents in three cities of England, who have chosen an urban comprehensive secondary school for their children. The study emphasised how the choice of these parents has shown to be against what is typically considered a middle-class parents’ school choice. In this sense, they have not chosen to play the market game of education, as well as they have shown some commitment to the welfare state and the common good.

We can see that there is a displacement of the citizen role by the consumer one in societies where neoliberalism has not only defined the market but also shaped state policies and social relationships. Additionally, this form of consumer-citizen shows how the “political sphere appears to be subordinated to the economic, with the free market becoming the model system of public services [such as education]” (McCowan & Gandin 2009, p.717). In the case of the UK, Wilkins (2012) has argued that the distinction between citizen and consumer should not even be made because parents, as neoliberal subjects “are called upon to fulfil certain duties and responsibilities when choosing” a school which emphasised both their consumer and citizen role (Ibid p.69).

When it comes to working-class families in Santiago (Chile), Córdoba (2014) has focused her research on working-class mothers and on their choice of primary schools. Her findings revealed that mothers are ‘active choosers’, something also acknowledged more recently by the study of Bonal and colleagues (2017) where the scholars concluded that parents interviewed from low socioeconomic status in Chile “reveal high levels of reflexivity” in their school choice. This differs from Hernández and Raczynski’s results (2010) and the early study by Ball and colleagues (1996) in the context of England, both of which predominantly labelled working-class parents as ‘disconnected choosers’. In terms of preferences, Córdoba’s study concluded that the respondents were restrained by their financial resources and proximity to schools, and that the SIMCE test results were not the main reason for their selections. Instead, the type of student that attends a particular school was strongly associated with the family perceptions of quality. Interestingly, the study does not
make reference to gender, even though the pool of participants was entirely made up of mothers.

In a comparative study of working and middle-class parents in Chile, Hernández and Raczynski (2010) identified six types of school choice processes among parents: passive, by familiarity, by self-exclusion, seeking protection and safety, social distinction and mobility, and customising school choice. According to the study, the passive and self-exclusion choices are more frequently associated with the process described by working-class families (which contradicts Córdoba’s findings), whereas the choice based on social distinction, mobility and customisation were more common among middle-class parents. Another interesting finding is that middle-class families are less keen on municipal schools and tend to prefer private subsidised establishments because they associate the former with students from deprived areas who may have behavioural issues. This means there is a tendency to avoid mixing and social homogeneity is preferred. Whereas parents from municipal schools believe they do not have the right to complain because they are not paying for their children’s education. The study concluded that “the limits of the ‘free’ choice of school and (...) the positions occupied by families inside the social structure and the associated possession of more or less cultural capital had an impact and manifested in their choice of one or another educational institution” (Hernández & Raczynski, 2010, p.8, TFS).

Up to this point, class has been addressed as the main factor that leads to exclusionary practices in Chilean school choice. With these practices, parents intend to either protect their cultural capital or increase their social capital; however, other social dimensions, such as gender, ‘race’, ethnicity, nationality, and their intersection are not usually addressed. This differs from other contexts, such as the UK, where there is an on-going discussion about the ways in which not only social class, but also the intersection of gender and ‘race’, contributes to the understanding of parents and school interaction and influence parents’ strategies and expectations (Byrne & De Tona 2012; Reay et al. 2007; Vincent et al. 2012a).

We can hypothesise that, in the case of Chile, this may be explained by the fact that these other dimensions are deemed non-existent and class is the main factor that differentiates, or that these dimensions are invisible in current studies in the Chilean field of school choice. I am more inclined towards the latter explanation, given the

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36 See Mendoza 2019.
apparent strength of the cultural homogeneity discourse in the Chilean educational system.

Only recently, Chilean scholars’ Gubbins (2014) and Leyton and Rojas (2017) have addressed the intersection between class and gender. Gubbins (2014) in her study of elite families noted that the choice of the mothers she interviewed was fuelled by the motivation to maintain their prestige and social position. Also the study highlights the role of mothers as the main family member responsible for the care and education of children, whereas fathers fulfil the role of economic providers. In this regards, Leyton and Rojas followed a “feminist understanding of school choice as gendered, affective and labour” (2017, pp. 559) in their study about middle-class mothers in Chile. Therefore they argue that by paying attention to these factors it is possible to understand that, for these mothers choice becomes an example of ‘the intensifications [and] exploitations’ of the educational market. They concluded that by understanding school choice as “a mode of gendered and classed subjectification” it allows understanding school choice in Chile as an ‘affective technology’. Meaning that school choice operates as a form of inequality “that shape middle-class mothers’ subjectivities, and as a structure perpetuating gender and class inequalities” (Ibid pp.571).

However regarding nationality or ‘race’, it seems interesting that such little attention has been given in the Chilean context to the experience of migrant families when choosing a school considering the complexity of balancing and negotiating between their own expectations and perceptions, and the ‘new’ school choice setting. From a Bourdieusian perspective, the experience of migrant families is defined by their individual dispositions (habitus) and resources (capitals). In this sense, “this choice is actualised in assonance with migrants' specific dispositions but often in dissonance with wider structures and discourses that legitimise and allow choice” (Byrne & De Tona, 2012, p. 26). Migrant families can thus face challenges when they position themselves in the new field if their capitals are not recognised.

In their exploration of school choice in England, Gewirtz and colleagues (1995) argued that migrant families’ cultural capital may be in the 'wrong currency', when choosing a school. They identified three types of choosers, and, under this classification, the experience of migrant families ‘fits better’ with the type they have called ‘semi-skilled chooser’. This group of parents “have strong inclinations but limited capacity to engage 'effectively' with the market: their cultural capital is in the wrong currency and they are less able to accumulate the right sort” (Ibid p.40). This
may lead them to feel 'out of place' because they are moving to a new field where they may not fulfil the requirements (Bourdieu et al, 1999) and they may end up struggling to navigate the education system. Byrne and De Tona (2012) examined migrant parents’ secondary school choice process in Greater Manchester. They note that for parents "the decision to migrate is often dictated by the desire/necessity to secure a better future for their children" and, consequently, "education is central to migrants' investment in future generations" (Ibid p. 26).

In Chile, the only study that has somewhat touched on this issue is Stefoni and colleagues' (2010) qualitative examination of migrant children’s right to education. The authors concluded that, even though there has been some progress, there are still “informal mechanisms that impede the entry of immigrants into educational establishments” (Ibid p. 88, TFS). These informal mechanisms are mainly linked to the socioeconomic status of migrant families, which means that low-class migrant families will encounter more difficulties and a restricted ‘choice’ of schools. For upper-class migrants, on the other hand, ‘access is quite unobstructed’. Socioeconomic status and not nationality, 'race' or migration status, then, would be the determining factor, according to these scholars (Ibid).

It seems somewhat odd, then, that this reality remains relatively unexplored in Chile, considering that having to choose a school actually becomes the first encounter with state/public institutions for many migrant parents (Vincent, 2000). Furthermore, in her review of studies addressing school choice in Chile, Beniscelli (2018) concluded that there is a need to acknowledge the "nationality and ethnic-racial origin" of families and students as important social dimensions that have been so far absent in this field of study. Moreover, it should not be ignored that for migrant families it is not simply about ‘choice’ or playing the role of consumers; it is also about exercising a basic human right that is not always guaranteed in a marketised education system. I will argue later on in this chapter that, when it comes to education, this may place migrant parents in a position of parents as non-citizens.

3. Parent as partners

*Partners* is the ‘common term’ “to describe the actual, intended or, more often, ideal relationship between parents and teachers” (Vincent, 2000, p, 7). When parents support their children in their learning process at school they are, at the same time, supporting the schools’ learning aims and acting as *partners* (Ibid).
This form of participation, together with the idea of *parents as consumers* has dominated the home-school research field in Chile and has been analysed in studies with families from different contexts (rural and urban), regions (north, capital, south), types of schools (private elite schools, subsidies schools, municipal schools and multicentre), and from different sociocultural backgrounds (in terms of class and nationality) (Bustos & Gairín 2017; Cárcamo-Vásquez & Rodríguez-Garcés 2015; Gubbins 2014; Gubbins & Otero 2018; Maso & Terrazas, 2016; Ortega-Arias & Cárcamo-Vásquez 2018; Ramos 2017; Reininger & Santana 2017; Santana 2010).

Maso & Terrazas (2016), for instance, analysed the experience of parents from a private subsidised school in the north of Chile and concluded that parents recognised themselves as support for the academic success of their children and acknowledged the relevance of the *parent-teacher alliance* for the success of their children. However, it was noted that, due to their lack of time, parents support their children mainly at home, and to a lesser extent in school activities. The authors suggest that schools should work with parents in order to find "more optimal ways to increase their attendance" to school activities (Ibid p.244, TFS). Even though the study mentions “differences in the socioeconomic level of the groups” included in the analysis (Ibid p.242, TFS), it does not further address the ways in which the social dimension might be influencing the participation of parents. The study does mention, however, that mothers are usually the ones that support their children in their learning process, given the “absence of the father at home” (Ibid p.243, TFS).

Ortega-Arias & Cárcamo-Vásquez (2018) interviewed families from schools that were part of rural microcentres, in the south of Chile. Microcentres are pedagogical instances that began operating in Chile in 1992, that grouped rural schools with multigrade classrooms that have students of different ages. The authors reached similar conclusions regarding the importance of teachers for parents. They also concluded that parents do make the distinction between the support they provide internally and externally. This means that parents support their children’s learning process in the school (what the authors called *intra-walls*, which includes all the activities inside the school) and outside the school (referred to as *extra-wall*, which is mainly helping with homework). The relationship is based, according to the authors, on *reciprocity*, as both parts – parents and teachers - need each other to make learning possible. However, this reciprocity can only exist, according to these parents, if teachers assume “the leading role to guide this relationship” (Ibid p.115, TFS).
It could be argued, then, that instead of referring to the passive or active attitude of parents when it comes to this kind of support, the main issue is actually the configuration of an asymmetric exchange, one in which the school – and not the family – ‘controls the exchange’ and has the power to define the rules (Vincent, 2000, p.7). Additionally, this shows the asymmetric power relationship between teachers and families. Where, if any change wants to be done to establish a more collaborative school-family relationship, teachers need to become actively involved in this partnership, if not any change would only be superficial (Beneyto et al, 2018).

Gubbins (2014), like Maso & Terrazas (2016), also highlights the role of mothers in supporting children. Nevertheless, instead of seeing the relationship between schools and families as an alliance (Maso & Terrazas, 2016) or reciprocal (Ortega-Arias & Cárcamo-Vásquez, 2018), the study characterises this relationship as instrumental. The findings revealed that upper-class mothers see schooling simply as “one more link in a broader strategy to ensure social success and future happiness” (Gubbins, 2014, p.1084, TFS). This implies that the school becomes only partially part of the ‘cognitive development’ of their children.

In addition to what has been mentioned so far regarding how parents enhance their children’s learning, we should also add Lareau’s concept of ‘concerted cultivation’. Term that highlights how parents cultivate their children's' learning in school by looking for extra support outside the school. Furthermore, the term refers to enrolling children “in numerous age-specific, organised activities that dominate family life and create enormous labour, particularly for mothers. The parents view these activities as transmitting life skills to children” (Lareau 2002, p.748). The US scholar has meanly attribute this attitude to middle- and upper-class families. This concept has been used to understand parental strategies in different contexts, such as in Chile (Gubbins, 2014) and the British educational field (Vincent et al. 2013b; Vincent & Maxwell 2016). In the case of Chile, Gubbins argued that today, it is not only about paying for education in the school choice model that will ensure a better social position, but that it is also about the amount of money families are willing to spend for "a range of educational and cultural services" (Gubbins, 2014, p.1084, TFS). Moreover, in her study of the educational strategies of upper-class mothers from the richest boroughs in the city of Santiago, she claims that “they do not seem to consider that the educational system can contribute on its own to developing the tools they consider minimal and necessary for the realization of their aspirations for the future of their children” (Ibid p. 1079). Meaning that for these upper-class mothers, the education system only provides the minimum, thus this leads mothers
to look for a range of extra-curricular activities to enhance areas that they might feel schools are not giving priority to, such as sports, arts and cultural and cognitive development activities.

This form of educational engagement shares some commonalities with the parents as consumer perspective, since it involves a kind of transaction conducted in order to find the extra cultural capital that the school may not be giving to their children. This transactional practice, in terms of paying for activities to enhance their children's learning, carry on by Chilean upper-class mothers can also be understood as a form of parents as consultant described by Collet-Sabé (2013) in his study on the processes of socialization of upper-class families in Catalonia. For the scholar, the socialization practices of these families "quantitatively represents a very powerful investment in education" which leads families to become managers of "their children from the logic and rationality of a business" (Ibid p.274, TFS).

As studies have shown, parents care about the ways in which they can support their children’s learning process and they ‘accept the rules of the game’ imposed by schools (Ortega-Arias & Cárcamo-Vásquez, 2018). Now, a group of studies conducted in Chile and elsewhere have focused on the barriers that migrant families may face when they want to support their children’s schooling and they are ‘new’ to the educational field. These barriers can exist either “due to language” or because of a “lack of familiarity with the host country school system” (Antony-Newman 2019, p.369). In order to overcome this disparity, some studies have argued for the need to implement supporting programmes for students and their families. Both in the context of Chile (Poblete, 2006), and the US (Rivera & Lavan 2012), research has concluded that these programmes are successful because migrant parents are deeply concerned about the performance of their children and they are very much engaged in supporting their educational aspirations (Langenkamp 2017). This form of partnership is also crucial for challenging the deficit approach that affects migrant students, as parents want to prove that their children can perform well and neutralise any bias concerning low expectations of a particular national/ethnic group.

However, even though there is a positive assessment of these educational support programmes, they do not necessarily translate into changes in the school practices towards migrant students and families. They end up becoming what Beneyto and colleagues from Catalonia (2018) have called ‘pills’ as they are programme for a "brief period or express training" that do not take in account the highly “difficult and complex” relationship between families and schools. Bustos & Garin (2017), in their
study of schools with high enrolment of migrant children in the north of Chile, concluded that these programmes present limited benefits because schools work on the premise that it is the student and parents that must adapt to the school system.

There is also a group of studies in the Chilean home-school field that, in spite of including the perspective of parents, aim to contribute to school effectiveness and improvement using models of parental involvement (Cárcamo-Vásquez & Rodríguez-Garcés 2015; Gubbins and Otero, 2018; Santana & Reininger, 2017). Parents are, then, labelled as either ‘good’ or in deficit when it comes to supporting their children’s learning in order to comply with the schools’ outcomes. Thus, under this premise, if for any reason this aim is not accomplished, parents are the ones to blame. Therefore these groups of studies have “focus exclusively on promoting family education from the schools’ perspective (...) to promote children’s performance at school” (Beneyto et al. 2018, p.212).

Reininger & Santana’s (2017) quantitative study, for example, explored the factors that promote parental involvement in low-income families from a municipal school. They concluded that some of the parents perceived that they were not able to support their children’s schooling at home; in other words, they had a poor self-efficacy perception. Defined “as the beliefs of parents or guardians about how their skills and knowledge can contribute to the success of their children’s education” (Hoover-Dempsey et al. 2005, quoted by Gubbins and Otero, 2018, p.5). This self-efficacy perception can be linked, according to the scholars, with low-income parents’ difficulties in their early school experiences. Furthermore, the authors argue that class can be a relevant factor because ‘middle-class values’ are dominant in school and, therefore, working-class parents can become mismatched with the field of schooling, as they are lacking the form and volume of the capitals —cultural and economic— that are valued in the field. In this sense as part of the deficit approach imposed on these families, in the Chilean context, a whole range of experts has emerged to ‘help’ parents succeed in the context of the so-called ‘psy’ discourses that “judge families as able or unable” (Leyton & Rojas, 2017, p.559). In this sense:

*To be successful in this task, good mothers and good fathers are expected to listen and obey the many childhood experts, particularly those belonging to the psy spectrum (psychologists, neurologists, educators, educational psychologists), social workers and all kinds of experts in rearing (Precht, 2018, p.124, TFS).*

Furthermore Collet-Sabé argues that as parents today are held responsible for “the results at all levels of the children's socialization process” they are left in a state of
‘confusion’ since they are “without the practical tools to carry it out” and for that reason they “eagerly look for recipes, tools, supports and answers” ‘in a context increasingly “pluralistic and with an easy access to the information of expert” that at the same time is divergent (Collet-Sabé 2013, p.56, TFS). Moreover the author highlights that this ‘confusion’ also becomes part of the growing discomfort of families around the socialization of children that today is linked to an increasingly individualized society in the context of a capitalism that demands flexibility in terms of the socialization of “self-regulation, self-interaction, updated knowledge, affiliated competences, relational capital, autonomy, creativity, talent, capacity for innovation” (Ibid p.60, TFS).

Another essential element of this partnership is communication, which has been used as the formula of intervention for school improvement when the ‘dialogue’ between schools and families is not ‘working as expected’. Gubbins & Otero (2018) and Reininger & Santana (2017) pointed out that it is crucial that teachers and children ‘invite’ parents to participate. In this sense, the activities organised by schools should aim to create communication and, therefore, a dialogue between families and schools. Unfortunately, these invitations can contribute to reproducing the passive role of audience of the ‘school show’. This could happen because the activities that parents are invited to participate and collaborate in, are only “activities oriented to the fulfilment of certain objectives, not necessarily agreed with the families" (Gubbins et. al., 2017, p.112, TFS). In other words, even though schools highly appreciate parental involvement, the space for parents to participate is constrained.

One of the most traditional spaces of communication between parents and schools are parents’ meetings and they are also affected by this situation. According to Zamora (2013), this space “replicates the same student-teacher model” (p.114, TFS) where communication is unidirectional and where teachers/schools are the ones providing the information with no space for parents to provide feedback. It seems that there is not an appreciation of these instances and the “possibility that the family can be in itself a contribution for the school” (Santana & Reininger, 2017, p.70, TFS). This is something that was also acknowledged in Precht’s (2015) study that included rural mothers from the south of Chile. These mothers referred to these instances as being ‘very little participatory and therefore very authoritarian’.

The argument for the need for more communication and dialogue with parents, and especially with those that may not feel confident in their own ability to support their
children becomes, to a certain extent, another way of *school control*. In this sense, even though there is a persistent emphasis on the idea that providing parents with information and spaces for dialogue is essential, the communication process actually becomes a notification process in which parents are just expected to *perform as the receiver*. This shows once again how the family-school relationship is embedded in an asymmetric power relation.

Parental participation, from the position of parents as partners, is functional to the education system in the form of performance and accountability. In educational systems such as the Chilean system, then, parents become accountable-partners. This home-school partnership has also been identified in the UK, where Crozier (1998) has argued that this relationship has become an essential aspect of the ‘marketisation of education’. Consequently, this partnership becomes *instrumental* for both schools and parents. Schools that deem parents’ involvement necessary to increase their performance at times put pressure on parents and believe they are *in deficit* when they do not comply with what is expected of them as supportive parents. For parents, the instrumentalness of this partnership is linked to a trade-off of capitals.

Some studies in Chile however, have been critical of this perspective where parental participation is understood through the lens of school improvement. Therefore parents are seen as partners within a performative system. As Ramos (2017) argues, this instrumental relationship is built on the ‘profound spreading of a logic of economics into education’, in which “knowledge and learning are ‘transformed into credentials’” (Robertson & Dale 2013, quote by Ramos, 2017, p.937). Furthermore, the researcher argues that this perspective needs to be challenged from a social justice point of view “because by promoting certain forms of participation in children’s education – namely tasks associated with ‘good’ involvement – certain groups of parents may be favoured and legitimised” (Ibid p.927). Baquedano and colleagues (2013), from the US, and Collet-Sabé and colleagues (2014), from Spain, have also been critical of the emphasis on this framework, as it still leaves the responsibility of academic achievement in the hands of parents. Furthermore, their position is that:

*We share the evidence that the more aligned the activities that families do with children and school activities are (reading, games, communication, monitoring, homework ...), the better the academic results will be (the perspective of social capital). But something we disagree with is that research and proposals in this regard always end up burdening parents, almost exclusively, with the need and the responsibility of changing and improving (Ibid p.22, TFS).*
This perspective therefore, can still foster an ‘individualistic and school-centric approach’ (Baquedano et al., 2013) as well as a neutral-discourse of power that ignores that "school goals are largely based on White and middle-class values and expectations" (Ibid p.150). Consequently, anyone that ‘falls out’ of the White and middle-class ‘category’ is looked at with suspicion and as being in deficit with regards to what is expected of ‘good parents’.

4. Parent as citizen

Vincent introduces this parent subject positioning as a way to acknowledge another form of parent participation in education beyond the consumer and partner roles. These two positionings, she argues, “allow the individuals involved little agency” and have “limited [the] modes of action” (2000, p.20). She argues that “an understanding of home-school relations as an example of citizen interaction with public section institutions provides (...) a mode of analysis which highlights some of the complexities involved in encouraging a closer relationship between parent and school” (Ibid).

As mentioned earlier (see Chapter 2.2.1) citizenship links to four dimensions “legal status, rights, political and other forms of participation in society, and a sense of belonging” (Bloemraad et al. 2008, p.154). Additionally citizenship can either be passive “relating to the set of rights that the state guarantees to uphold for the individual” or active “relating to the participation of the individual in the functioning of the state” (McCowan & Gandin, 2009, p.46). The former links to the liberal paradigm of citizenship, and the latter to civic republicanism as emphasises by the authors.

In this section, I will analyse the role of parents as citizens in relation to education both inside and outside the school by exploring parents’ advocacy towards their children’s right to education as part of the rights and political citizenship dimensions, and their involvement in school governance as a form of citizenship participation. It is important to notice, though, that migration movements have challenge the definition of citizenship that tends to place that “citizens are essentially or potentially the same in significant ways” (McCowan & Unterhalter 2013, p.137), therefore not given space for the recognition of difference between particular groups (McCowan & Gandin, 2009). Therefore:
Homogenising forms of citizenship are dangerous in that they can suppress forms of difference that may be valued by the individuals or groups in question, but also because they may ignore disparities in people's ability to exercise the formal rights granted to them (McCowan & Unterhalter 2013, p.139).

Because of this, I also want to explore the ways in which parents with experiences of migration relate to their children’s education.

School governance is, in theory, the opportunity for parents and schools to make decisions together. In the case of Chile, Reca & López (2002) identified that parents’ participation in school governance, in the form of the Parent Teacher Associations (PTA), for example, becomes not only a mechanism that improves the management and quality of education, but also a way in which citizen rights are exercised. In this regard, the scholars characterise the school:

As a privileged place to learn the principles of respect, equality and tolerance, and the participation of parents in it, as a way to ensure the defence of the right to education of children, especially those who are affected by problematic situations (arbitrary sanctions, discriminations, repeated school failure, etc.) (Ibid p.28, TFS).

According to the MINEDUC (1990), parents and schools should “share and collaborate in the educational and social purposes of the educational establishments of which they are a part” (Ibid, TFS). We should notice, however, that the above-quoted document, which regulates the PTA, dates back to 1990, the year that saw the end of the dictatorship period in Chile. It is surprising that, to this date, and in the context of the Educational Reform and a new “Policy on the Participation of Families and the Community in Educational Institutions” (MINEDUC 2017), this regulation has not been updated. In the end, then, as more recent studies about PTAs in Chile have concluded, these spaces of participation are actually “merely advisory”, its participants are “unable to make decisions” (Zamora, 2013, p.112, TFS), and they are 'not self-managed' and follow the schools’ demands (Santana & Reiningger 2017).

It is also important to notice that when the emphasis has been placed on giving parents a ‘voice’ in the decision-making process in schools, that ‘voice’ does not necessarily come from a communitarian perspective in which the relationship between families and schools is horizontally constructed, but from the relation of control and inspection that parents exercise over schools through the PTA. As Gubbins notes, parents should become "legitimate educational agents in the processes of decision making and inspection of the service" (Gubbins, 2001, quoted by Zamora, 2013, p.113, TFS). Consequently, "citizen participation emerges as a
strategy to enhance, improve and control the quality of educational processes" (Ibid) which, according to the same author, becomes a ‘threat’ to the functioning of schools.

As previously mentioned, in the case of Chile, Reca and López (2002) consider the participation of parents in the school governance as a way for them to exercise, inside the school, their rights as citizens in matters that concern their children’s right to education. Ten years later, López and colleagues (2012) updated this view of parents as citizens, identifying the civil-human rights movements in education as an essential space for parental participation, one that is conceived “as a way of exercising citizenry rights, particularly the rights of children and youth to education” (Ibid p.50, TFS). They expanded the idea of parents as citizens to the organized forms of participation that emerged outside the school. One example they provided was the social organisations of parents who supported the Chilean student-led movement, against the market education system.

The manifestation of parents against the neoliberal model of education had gain attention in other parts of the globe. For example in the US, a recent study from Abraham and colleagues (2019) analysed the participation of New Jersey parents against the increasing standardization of US public school. What has been referred to as Opt-Out Movement, that started on 2014 when “families began crafting and sending opt-out and refusal letters to principals and superintendents, and according to state test participation data, an estimated 135,000 students did not take the exam” (Ibid p.524). The scholars concluded that most of the participants where White middle-class and their actions show how “parents engage in extensive advocacy work in myriad and often ‘invisible’ ways” (Ibid p.540). These forms of participation, the scholars argued, need to better be acknowledged by policymakers and school as a way to reframe “different forms of family engagement in schools, particularly when it related to discussions and debates about high stakes testing” (Ibid).

In Spain, parents started to support the social movement that was in favour of public education and against the state cuts on education, area that was most affected “by the adjustments of neoliberal policies applied to face the crisis [of 2008]” (Giró & Cabello 2014, p.640, TFS). This movement becomes known as the “Marea Verde” - Green Tide - of 2013. In this sense, the study of Giró and Cabello (2014) aimed to understand the relationships between the different members of the educational community in the mobilizations in favour of public school, placing special emphasis on the participation of families. The ethnographic study was carried on in the
autonomous community of La Rioja, and the scholars concluded, "families have been a key element in mobilizations" (Ibid p.641, TFS) however the lack of communication and organization between the different actors, including teachers and families, can easily trigger a demobilization. Therefore, both elements must be considered if sustained changes are to be achieved.

This form of parents’ participation can be linked to radical approaches to citizenship, where parents’ perspective towards education "can begin to account for collective actions among a population marked by heterogeneity and difference" (Vincent, 2000, p.2). Inspired by Fraser’s (1997) idea of ‘subaltern counterpublics’, which describes the “subordinated social groups who form an alternative public in the face of dominance by groups who do not recognise their particular interest” (Vincent, 2000, p.17), Vincent argues that these counterpublics or alternative public arenas can assist parents who are marginalised and ignored by the educational system. In this sense, parents’ organisations that advocate for children’s right to education and that, for instance, fight for public education or against anti-migration policies, could be considered an example of a radical form of citizenship of parents.

Now, not all the spaces to exercise citizenship in education are available for all parents. Although López (et al., 2012) refers to parents as citizens based on the logic of civil and human rights, migration policies that undoubtedly affect education are often “redesigned on the logic of denying the incorporation of new migrants. This is how all countries have specific mechanisms to restrict the rights of those who are considered non-citizens” (Mardones, 2006, p.3, TFS). Therefore, because this study focuses on the lived experiences of migration, I also want to argue for the need to acknowledge how migrant parents act upon citizenship.

Stefoni and her colleagues (2010) examined migrant children’s right to education in Chile. Their main contribution was to create awareness of this reality and stress the need to give more attention to the policies that can help guarantee migrant children’s access to education regardless of their parents’ citizen status. Almost ten years later, Pavez and Galaz (2018) still insist that there is an urgent need to "generate universal and focused social policies that also take into consideration the needs of migrant families as new political subjects and citizens" (Ibid p.78, TFS). The Chilean scholars argue as well that, to make this possible, Tubino’s (2005) proposal of rethinking a new state model becomes urgent, for it questions whether “the state we have is what is needed considering the contextual changes and the diversity of citizens that our

37 Madres y Padres Movilizados en Defensa de la Educación Pública (Chile).
38 Against Border for Children (UK).
countries are building and the interculturality that is lived daily” (Pavez & Galaz, 2018, p.78, TFS).

Leaving their migration status aside, we should also view parents as transnational citizens and explore how this may influence the educational field. Migrants do not become the subject of social life only when they step into the country of destination; migration is a movement that is built both here and there (Stefoni & Bonhomme 2014). This means that migrant parents are not ‘new’ to the educational field because they carry with them experience from their home countries that may influence the way they view their children’s education in the ‘host’ country. This transnational citizenship may also entail a certain amount of physical movement between different locations, which, according Tijoux and colleagues (2018), can sometimes be perceived as a barrier in the schooling process of children. The scholars argued that, in general, there is a difficulty for schools and the educational system to recognise “the diversity that the students bring” and accept families “that are constantly mobilized between neighbouring countries” (Tijoux et al, 2018, p.51, TFS) as part of their migration experience. Even though it is possible to understand the challenges that schools may face when there is an interruption in a child's school year, this should not keep schools and the educational system from finding ways to adapt their practices to benefit transnational families.

All of these ways of positioning parents as citizens in terms of school governance, advocacy, citizenship and migration, allow us to recognise that parents' participation goes beyond the consumer and partner roles. In terms of the symmetry, we can see that when parents exercise their citizenship through participation in the school governance, the relationship is unequal, and that when they participate as advocates of the right to education, this gives them a greater ‘voice’. We should, consequently, wonder whether other forms of citizenship are possible, especially in socioculturally diverse societies. Finally, it is important to highlight that, in the Chilean studies cited here, it was very difficult to identify which social dimensions (such as gender, class, and ‘race’, among other) or capitals were influencing this form of participation, and authors presented a rather homogenised view of parents. Because of this, more research that explores parental participation from the perspective of heterogeneous families in Chile is needed.
5. Parent as a source of knowledge

This positioning emerges from the idea that knowledge can also come from outside the boundaries of school; it can come from the community as well as the family and it can be transferred to the school. Furthermore, this parents’ subject position becomes an example of how the right to education, as argue by McCowan (2010b) also takes place outside schooling and therefore linking this right only to the school setting becomes a limitation on the comprehension of this right. To analyse this positioning, I am taking into consideration the studies that have argued for the need to bring the knowledge of parents and the communities into the schools in order to challenge the deficit approach. This is what the critical interculturality perspective refers to as decolonizing knowledge, since “other modes of power, knowing, being and living” (Walsh 2009, p.11, TFS) should be recognised in order to transform the structures and everyday encounters that racialise, inferiorise and dehumanise (Walsh, 2009). In this case, I argue that within the encounter between schools and socioculturally diverse families, it is possible to see parents as a valid source of knowledge and not simply as observers who comply and accept the knowledge that the school transmits to their children.

Community-knowledge has become a crucial part on studies on migration, family and education. During the 1990s in the US, studies that explored the Mexican migrant communities (Moll et al. 1992; Gonzalez et al. 1995) noted that, because education is very much oriented to the socialisation of the dominant culture, the role of families becomes extremely relevant for bringing the knowledge of the community into the school. This is what the scholars refer to as funds of knowledge, which becomes a transformative notion that allows to acknowledge that cultural capital is largely acquired at home and in the everyday experience of students. More recently, Poza and colleagues study (2014) of parental involvement of the Latin community in the US concluded that what needs to be adopted is a “mindset that engages parents as equal collaborators in their children’s education” (Ibid p.145). This has become a big topic in studies that address parental involvement of minorities. For instance, migrant families “have rich resources to offer, but because of language barriers, lack of information on the school system available for parents, and inadequate preparation of teachers working with immigrant parents, these resources are often under-utilized” (Antony-Newman 2019, p.373).

Diez (2013) and Novaro (2012, 2014), incorporating a critical interculturality perspective in their studies with migrants and indigenous families, have argued that
because school nationalism and educational inclusion discourses coexist in the Argentinean educational field, it is vital to engage critically in “the processes of cultural differentiation in the school field” (Diez 2013, p.13, TFS). This involves giving “greater visibility to elements that have been historically ignored in the formative processes, which account for the diversity [in the school space] (...) and the unequal way in which they are represented in school narratives and practices” (Ibid TFS). For this reason, they have acknowledged the tension that has arisen when school-disciplinary knowledge has been placed in opposition to social-community knowledge39. In this regard, the scholars argued that, as some migrant communities have previously been devalued, when schools create projects that aim to democratise education and reclaim the ethnic-cultural diversity among their students, they end by assuming a “valorisation of diversity associated with strategies of hyper-visibility of identity references through the folkloric and festive style, from which the alleged knowledge and traditional references of these groups are invoked” (Novaro 2014, p.170, TFS). This creates a paradox in which there is a devaluation of the communities and their knowledge and this leads to a feeling of ambivalence among children who do not want to identify with cultural manifestations that have apparently been diminished by schools (Novaro 2012, 2014).

In the Chilean context, studies of migrants and indigenous communities have also addressed the issue of community knowledge in the Chilean educational field. Cornejo and Rosales (2015), in their case study of two municipal schools, interviewed parents from Peru, Ecuador, Colombia and Haiti and used a Bourdieusian approach to conclude that, because the Chilean school system "makes diversity invisible, and wastes the previous learning processes that students and families have", there is a conflicted relationship between families and schools built on ‘forms of symbolic violence’ (Ibid p.1265). Meaning that the school field is dominated by discriminating dispositions, which, according to the authors “deny or oppose the cultural diversity present in schools” (Ibid p.1264). Finally, they stress the importance of “taking into account families’ expectations and, from there, generating strategies fostering intercultural understanding” (Ibid p.1265).

In the case of the indigenous communities, scholars from the south of Chile have been working closely regarding the relationship between the school knowledge and the Mapuche knowledge. For example Quilaqueo and colleagues (2016) in a recent study had interviewed parents identified as kimches, which in the Mapuche culture

39 In Spanish we distinguished between saberes y conocimientos, which in English is just translated as knowledge. Traditionally in Spanish saberes is about what we learn in our community and social environment, where conocimientos is linked to what we learned at school. Additionally, Diez and Novaro (2011) distinguish between saberes sociales y saberes escolares.
means that they are men and women considered wise in their communities for their social, cultural and educational knowledge. They concluded that these *kimches-parents* have reproduced a ‘double educational rationality’ “understood as the capacity to integrate educational knowledge -sometimes contradictory- from different cultural rationalities” (Ibid p.1053, TFS). In this sense, they have come with strategies to bridge together both “the monocultural-monolingual school curriculum and the Mapuche education” (Ibid p.1066, TFS). This, as acknowledge by the authors, has always been considered as a cultural problem, the gap between the social and school fields. However, they argued for the need to consider an intercultural approach “understood as an educational project that considers all educational rationalities” (Ibid).

Luna’s study (2015), although not a study of families, presents an empirical example of how a rural southern school in Chile has promoted the learning of the Mapuche language and culture by recreating, in the classroom, everyday situations and ways of interacting of a typical Mapuche community. This is what has been referred to as *situated learning* (Lave and Wenger, 1991; quoted by Luna, 2015). The authors concluded that these practices coexist with non-situated and standardised learning of the curricular subjects. In this sense:

*Teachers naturalise these practices in the context of teaching traditional disciplines and do not consider the possibility of reviewing them to adopt an approach closer to what they call ‘Mapuche pedagogy’. The recognition of the existence of two epistemologies, Western and Mapuche, seems to support the principle of ‘cultural non-interventionism’ and the maintenance of a ‘bicultural pedagogy’ in school, since every knowledge must be culturally situated in the transmission practices employed in each culture for that goal* (Luna et al, 2018, p.213).

Luna and colleagues’ study can be considered a very unique case, since other studies of southern rural municipal education in Chile tend to highlight the little recognition of “the family cultural heritage of students” (Muñoz et al. 2013, p.145, TFS) as well as the failure to “recognize or name the culturally biased curricula” (Webb et al. 2018, p.716).

We have seen, so far, how in different countries and social contexts, the school-disciplinary knowledge has been placed in opposition to social-community knowledge. This opposition between families and schools, nonetheless, has some exceptions; for instance, according to Bourdieu’s concept of *cultural capital*, the knowledge transmitted in schools “is close to the dominant culture” (Bourdieu 1973,
For this reason, White middle-class families tend to see their values and knowledge represented in schools (Baquedano et al. 2013, Gillies, 2005, Lareau, 2003, Reay et al., 2007) and, as we have discussed, the dominant culture in Chile is represented by the ‘white-mestizo’ elite class (Fernández 2017; Roessler 2018). This representation of cultural capital shows how racialized the concept can be.

Moreover, studies such as Yosso’s (2005) and Rios-Aguilar and colleagues’ (2011) have actually argued for the need to question the reasoning behind making a distinction between cultural capital and community-knowledge. Yosso (2005) was one of the first scholars that addressed the way in which Bourdieu’s concept of capital has “been used to discuss social and racial inequalities” (Ibid p.76) and yet, it has not been used in a transformative way to challenge the power relationships that he highlights. In order to challenge the notion of cultural capital, Yosso uses a critical race theory perspective and she emphasises that:

While Bourdieu’s work sought to provide a structural critique of social and cultural reproduction, his theory of cultural capital has been used to assert that some communities are culturally wealthy while others are culturally poor. This interpretation of Bourdieu exposes White, middle class culture as the standard, and therefore all other forms and expressions of ‘culture’ are judged in comparison to this ‘norm’ (Ibid).

The author proposed the concept of community cultural wealth, as an alternative to Bourdieu’s cultural capital. She also refers to familial capital as one of the dimensions of this alternative conceptualization and identifies it as “those cultural knowledges nurtured among familiar (kin) that carry a sense of community history, memory and cultural intuition” (Ibid p.79).

On the other hand, Rios-Aguilar and colleagues (2011) have argued for the need to combine the fund of knowledge framework– or community knowledge – which tends to be addressed only regarding lower income and migrant communities, with Bourdieu’s cultural capital concept that “is based primarily on social class and the privileges associated with [it]” (Ibid p.179). They argue that, by combining these theoretical approaches, it is possible for researchers to better understand the “power dynamics across individual and institutionalized processes that influence the (mis)recognition, transmission, conversion and activation/mobilization mechanisms” (Ibid p.178-179). The authors also note that:
There are underlying assumptions with the idea of activating capital and funds of knowledge and these invite one to question whether or not individuals, communities, and particularly under-represented students and families know they should be activating funds of knowledge, social, and cultural capital in order to attain their academic and occupational goals (Ibid).

I do not intend to argue, in this section, that community-knowledge should replace school-knowledge. However, as argue by Collet-Sabé & Martori (2018) “the way in which knowledge is defined in different fields and how these fields are distinguished and insulated from each other” can influence the “school success of children with ‘non-school’ pedagogic identities” (Ibid p.1129). In this sense, the authors’ distinguished between two forms of knowledge: everyday and school knowledge. Thus, the relationship between them should be a topic of debate, especially in the Chilean context in which one of the main challenges of the current Educational Reform is increasing the participation of families and communities and promoting a school system based on equity and social justice.

It is also vital to understand that educational practices should not only seek the “efficiency of the transmission of knowledge and the proper management of the educational system”, they should be “immersed in the family and social environment in which day after day, each member of the local community is building their ways of being, living and coexisting” (MINEDUC 2017, p.17, TFS). The claim could be made, consequently, that taking into consideration the positioning of parents as a source of knowledge can help challenge the asymmetric relation between schools (as the quintessential possessors of knowledge) and families, and generate a collaborative participation to transform the school into “a truly equitable and inclusive common place for all students, teachers and families” (Beneyto et al. 2018, p. 212).

6. Conclusion

The main aim of this literature review was to explore the multiple ways in which parents from different sociocultural backgrounds participate in their children's education. By addressing the different modes of parental involvement –the consumer, partner, citizen, and knowledgeable parent roles- I intended to challenge those approaches that see families as being in deficit and passive with regards to education.
In relation to the Chilean context, I started this chapter by highlighting that, in spite of the fact that the Educational Reform has placed families and their communities as key actors, the relationship between families and schools exists surrounded by discourses of clientelism and collaboration. The reality is that, if the way in which the relationship is constructed does not change, the promotion of equity, and social justice becomes nothing but a distant aim. This also means that, in terms of research in the Chilean field of education, we should start producing knowledge that highlights other forms of relationship that go beyond the consumer and partner view of parents. From an intersectional perspective, we also need to “[re]consider the positions and social classifications (...) that try to reduce the experiences of the subjects under the lens of a single category” (Magliano, 2015, p.695, TFS). Throughout the chapter, we can see that when studies have referred to the different social positionings of parents in the Chilean context, they have mainly made reference to class. This translates into a rather narrow and homogenised view of who parents actually are and of their educational strategies, which I argue are influenced by the intersecting dimensions of gender, ‘race’, ethnicity, nationality, and citizenship, among others. This narrow view has, in turn, influenced school practices and state policies.

Finally, apart from understanding the multiple forms of parental participation and involvement in education, and the intersectional dimensions that influence them, it is equally important to not underestimate the economic and social conditions of families (Tijoux et al. 2018; Vincent 2017). In this sense as highlighted by Beneyto and colleagues to critically engaged in the family-school relationship is important that teachers (and we could also add the school staff members) are aware of the backgrounds of the families as if they are “not sensitive to the diverse and unequal backgrounds of their pupils’ families, any proposals to enhance all family–school relationships would likely result in reproducing inequality” (2018, p.212). Thus the education system needs to be more open to the social realities of their students and families, and recognise their diversity in order to break “the family-school duality” (Rivera & Milicic, 2006). In this regard, Baquedano-López (2013, p. 169) proposed a decolonial view of parental participation that:
Recognizes the need for a change in the economic structures that limit parents’ participation and decision making on behalf of their children (...) As such, educational reform efforts operating from a decolonial perspective must also seek to identify the location and redistribution of economic wealth. Above all, decolonising approaches to parental inclusion in schools by necessity must point out and end all forms of epistemic, psychological, and physical violence as are experienced through silencing, linguicism, segregation, tracking, and the dehumanising effects of the stunted academic potentials of youth of colour.

I would also like to emphasise the viewpoint of migrant parents as social actors – as they have been historically marginalised in the education debate. In this sense, by using a critical interculturality perspective, this study wants to emphasize that transforming the current relationship between schools and migrant families does “not only imply empowering, but also altering the perceptions of the majority and promoting the reciprocal processes of identification between groups that have been privileged and those that have been historically excluded” (Dietz 2017, p.193, TFS). This would make it possible to transform the structures and encounters that racialise, inferiorise and dehumanise (Walsh, 2009).

What follows is my methodological chapter, in which I will present the research design and fieldwork process of this study, together with my analysis and some reflections and ethical considerations.
Chapter 4. Methodology

1. Introduction

The focus of this study is on the relationship between migrant families and schools in Chile, in the context of the south-south migration and a monocultural and neoliberal education system. The research questions that guide this study are:

I. How do Latin American migrant mothers and fathers experience their children’s schooling, and how does that schooling act as a form of ex/inclusion into the education system and the wider society?

i. How do migrant parents describe their strategies, and expectations, and the challenges that they face during the schooling process?

ii. What kinds of capitals are activated and how do migrant parents seek to have their capitals validated?

iii. In what ways is the schooling experience of migrant parents shaped by the intersection of ‘race’, ethnicity, nationality and citizenship status?

iv. How do Chilean schools interpret and translate the national educational policies and discourses regarding migrant children and their families into practices of ex/inclusion?

This chapter aims to present the research design based on the theories and conceptual frameworks that guide this thesis, and provide the reasoning behind the selection of interviews as the main method of data collection (Section 2). In Section 3, the fieldwork process is described and detailed information about the schools and the mothers and fathers interviewed is provided. What follows, in Section 4, is the data analysis, which was conducted using thematic processing which became crucial for the elaboration of parts II and III of my discussion chapters. Finally, a reflection on some of the issues regarding the research process (Section 5), as well as some ethical considerations (Section 6), are presented and followed by some conclusions (Section 7).
2. Research design

Given that this study is guided by Pierre Bourdieu’s ‘social praxeology’ (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) and the research questions are located in the ‘border areas’ of the home-school relationship as understood by the critical interculturality framework (Di Cau do et al. 2016; Walsh, 2017), together with taking in consideration an intersectional approach in order to highlight the heterogeneity of parents and their migration experience (Anthias, 2012; Magliano, 2015; Stefoni & Stang, 2017); a qualitative approach was considered as the most appropriate research design. In this sense, epistemologically, qualitative methods, and especially the use of semi-structured interviews enabled me to collect in-depth data about the different experiences of the participants, as I argue that the reality is actively constructed by the interpretation of the social world of the participants (Lapan, et al, 2012).

Furthermore, this exploratory qualitative research rests on both interpretative as well as critical approaches. This means that, from an interpretative approach, it is assumed that "people create their own meanings in interaction with the world around them" (Lapan et al. 2012, p.8). Furthermore, because my research is grounded in critical theory, its focus is on “the ways power is embedded in the structure of society”, and it is “informed by principles of social justice, in terms of both working with and affecting outcomes in community” (Ibid p.9). Within both approaches, interpretative and critical, my role as a researcher cannot be ignored and this will be explored in the reflexivity section of this chapter.

As this study’s epistemological position is that the construction of ‘reality’ is based on the participants' interpretations of their social world rather than ‘reality’ consisting of objective facts, the study combined in-depth, semi-structured individual and group interviews with Latin American migrant mothers, fathers and school staff members. Thus, this research is framed within an epistemology that distances itself from the positivist tradition, challenging the existence of an objective reality. Therefore the interview was the method of choice as "it places more emphasis on the study of the phenomena from the perspective of insiders" (Ibid p.3) and therefore allows me to position the experiences of participants at the centre of this research. I decided to conduct semi-structured interviews in order to “identify commonalities and differences across individual respondents on one or more topics”, while covering “a common list of topics with corresponding open-ended questions” (Ibid p.94). As there are not many studies about migrant families and schools in the Chilean context
and the field has been somewhat ignored, this can be considered an exploratory study.

Interviews provided an in-depth understanding of the particularities, complexities and everyday meaning-making behind school practices and the schooling experiences of families. Dimensions of interviewing such as space, time, sequence and events are inevitably embedded in these narratives and become essential dimensions of this account. Also, when I asked parents about their expectations towards education, their own previous experience was inevitably included in the discussion. The idea of past, present and future is embedded in the process of interviewing; a process that brings to light how interconnected the schooling experience and the migration experience are. A semi-structured interview scheme was used to ask parents about school access and choice, spaces of participation, resources for families, and their migration journey. In the case of school staff members, the questions that guided the interview were about the participation of families and the local as well as national resources and programmes that support the inclusion of migrant families (see appendix 2).

In addition, I conducted supplementary interviews with municipality officers, professionals from social organizations (from the local area where schools were located), and three government officers. Open-ended non-participatory observations were also used (Lapan et al. 2012, p.93) with the aim of compiling a record of the setting (i.e. the use of fieldnotes and photographs), as well as some activities and interactions that would help me complement the analysis of the interviews. I used this method to observe and record two school celebrations (which I will discuss further in part II) as well. These non-participatory observations involved taking fieldnotes as well as pictures in which no school or person could be identified, to ensure anonymity (issue that I will refer later in section 6).
Figure 4 Methods of data collection  
(Own elaboration)

Finally I will like to add a reflection about the interviews themselves, as this was the main method used in this thesis. As I explain further in the next section about my fieldwork, some parents were interviewed outside the school premises. This was the case with four mothers and two fathers. After the interviews took place I realised that during those interviews, the conversation was more fluent and open, as opposed to those interviews in the school. In other words, it makes me think that the schools can sometimes become a 'space' that constrains families, and a place where they do not feel free to talk unreservedly.

Also, I will like to highlight the experience that I had interviewing Ester, Walter and Loreto, which went very well and actually become part of the Section 4 of Chapter 9. I think that the reason behind why with them the interviews worked better was because they were very active within their communities. Hence they had a very clear perspective about the schooling experience and the challenges faced by them and other migrant parents, so they were very keen to share their knowledge with me. Additionally, they felt that my research aims made sense to them and they wanted to get involved.

However not all interviews were that fluent, and the reason behind this is that what was been addressed by this study regarding parents experiences of schooling in the context of migrating, for some, was not an easy topic. Among all the parents I interviewed I felt that the narratives of Venezuelan parents were many times loaded with sadness and nostalgia. As they explained me, Venezuela has not been
characterized for being a country of emigration, but quite the opposite. For many years they have been recipients of migrants from the region, therefore migration has been very new for them and not very much in their family plans.

I realised how sensitive this topic could be for the Venezuelan parents, especially when I interviewed Liana⁴⁰, who had just arrived in Chile with her son and husband. But what was difficult about this interview? The issue was not Liana but myself, as my role as a researcher had to be left aside and I had to engage in a more personal conversation (something that sometimes we totally forget at the moment when we are doing interviews when researching). I decided to share my own experience of migration, which of course, cannot be compared to what the Venezuelans are facing today, but I thought that to respect the trust of Liana in sharing with me an emotional moment of her life I could not just continue with the interview as nothing had happened. In this sense when doing interviews within the context of a research, we, as researchers should always be attentive of these moments and never ignore them.

3. Fieldwork

Before I started my fieldwork – which took place from May to August 2016 – and because of the lack of information in this topic, a secondary data analysis to characterized migrants students in the Chilean education system according to variables such as type of school, location, gender, nationality, among others (see appendix 3), and a review of national and local education policies (see appendix 4) were carried out. Both reviews informed the fieldwork and the selection of the municipalities and school that would be invited to participate.

Six municipalities were selected, two in the north part of the country (Antofagasta and Iquique) and four in the metropolitan region (Estación Central, Independencia, Recoleta and Santiago). All of them were among the top twenty municipalities in the country⁴¹ for the highest enrolment of migrant students. Unfortunately, studies on home-school relations conducted in Chile tend to focus on the metropolitan region, centralising the parents’ experience but ignoring that locality might be a differentiating factor. In the case of the two municipalities of the northern part of the country, for instance, some tensions with the Peruvian and Bolivian communities may emerge, considering there was a war that involved the three countries⁴² and that

⁴⁰ See section 5 of this chapter and Chapter 7.
⁴¹ In Chile the total number of municipalities is 346.
⁴² The Pacific War (1879-1883)
ended up with the annexation of both municipalities to Chile bringing an end to Bolivia’s access to the sea (Marín, 2014, Vicuña & Rojas, 2015).

The participants in this study were fathers and mothers of Latin American origin. A criterion sampling strategy was used (Creswell 2013) in order to identify primary schools with high enrolment of migrant students, and covering different types of schools. In this sense both municipal as well as private subsidised institutions were contacted, because most studies conducted so far on migration and education in the Chilean context have focused only on the former, even though almost four in every ten migrant students are enrolled in private subsidised schools. In this sense, the final 16 schools chosen for my fieldwork had an enrolment of migrant students representing 15% or more of their total pupil population, as well as be located in one of the six municipalities mentioned before.

Originally, I had planned that participants would be parents that had just arrived in the country; however, the concept of ‘old-comers’ emerged as an interesting contrast with the ‘recent’ migrants (which is mentioned in the next section). I finally interviewed a total of 36 parents, and, to protect their confidentiality, pseudonyms were used. I will refer to them in more detail in section 3.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipality</th>
<th>Municipal school</th>
<th>Private subsidised school</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iquique</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antofagasta</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recoleta</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independencia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santiago</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estación Central</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>19</strong></td>
<td><strong>17</strong></td>
<td><strong>36</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

My original plan was to contact parents through the Parent Teacher Associations (PTA) as this is the formal space inside the schools for parents. I emailed all 16 PTAs from the chosen schools, however only one replied to my request. Therefore, this proved to be an ineffective strategy because I found out that PTAs did not use

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*Municipalities organized from north to south.*
that much their email accounts. This can be considered a limitation of my study given that, a critical interculturality approach would argue that taking the asymmetric power relations into consideration is crucial, particularly in the case of communities that have been systematically ignored. And to some extent, this was not possible because mostly of the families were contacted by the schools itself, and only a few families were reached by social organisations and municipalities.

Therefore, when I realised that my strategy of working with the PTAs was not working to contact families, I had to decide on a new way to contact families. Therefore, as I was going to interview school staff anyway, I decided to ask them if they could help me to contact families. If the interview was with the head teacher or someone from the management team, they authorised me immediately. However, if the interview was with someone from the psychosocial team, normally they had to ask the head teacher first. In this sense, the majority of schools of my fieldwork decided to invite specific parents themselves so I could interview them. Whereas only a few suggested me to just contact parents when they were dropping or picking their children from school. Only one send my invitation and the parents that voluntary reply with their details, I contact them later to arrange the interview.

With regards to the interviews arranged by schools, most of them were individual but group interviews were also conducted (two to five parents in a group), mainly because some schools believed it was easier to set up appointments with parents during the mornings, when they dropped their children off. These schools authorised me to spend time in their premises just once, arguing they were very busy. As I will explain in my reflexivity section, the ‘over-researched’ phenomenon could explain this attitude.

As previously mentioned, some of the interviews took place in spaces other than the schools (the municipality, coffee places, the parent's workplace or their building’s hall or function room). In these cases, parents authorised the municipality or social organisations to give me their contact details and we met in a location suggested by them. The individual interviews took, on average, 30 minutes, whereas the group interviews took 58 minutes. Only on two occasions did I have the opportunity of talking with both parents.

In addition to the parents, nineteen school staff members were interviewed. These educational actors were either from the management team (such as the head teacher, deputy head, general inspector, head of curriculum) or from the
psychosocial team of the school (such as the social worker or psychologist). I originally wanted to interview the management team only, because they are the ones in charge of making the decisions inside schools. However, during the fieldwork, I realised that in some schools the staff members from the psychosocial team were the ones ‘in charge’ of migrant students and their families. Consequently, they were also included in the study and became key participants. In this sense part of the research has follow a responsive research design\textsuperscript{44}, as the methodology has been adapted to the specific context.

Table 3 School staff members interviewed
(Own elaboration)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N</th>
<th>Interview identification</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Type of school</th>
<th>School socioeconomic classification</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>BVM_Esc1</td>
<td>Psychologist</td>
<td>Free municipal school</td>
<td>Middle-upper families</td>
<td>Metropolitan region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>CE_Esc1</td>
<td>Head teacher</td>
<td>Non-free private subsided school</td>
<td>Middle-low families</td>
<td>North region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>CJJ_Esc1</td>
<td>Head teacher</td>
<td>Free private subsided school</td>
<td>Middle-class families</td>
<td>Metropolitan region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>CMM_Esc1</td>
<td>Head teacher</td>
<td>Free private subsided school</td>
<td>Middle-class families</td>
<td>Metropolitan region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>CVP_Esc1</td>
<td>Head teacher</td>
<td>Free private subsided school</td>
<td>Middle-class families</td>
<td>Metropolitan region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>CVP_Esc2</td>
<td>Psychologist</td>
<td>Free private subsided school</td>
<td>Middle-class families</td>
<td>Metropolitan region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>EAPL_Esc1</td>
<td>Head teacher</td>
<td>Free municipal school</td>
<td>Middle-low families</td>
<td>North region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>EC_Esc1</td>
<td>Head teacher</td>
<td>Free municipal</td>
<td>Middle-low families</td>
<td>North region</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{44} This responsive design when doing research has been mainly addressed by scholars using critical theory and a decolonial approach. See for example Berryman et al. (2013).
<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>GW_Esc1</td>
<td>Head teacher</td>
<td>Free private subsided school</td>
<td>Middle-class families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>LMBS_Esc1</td>
<td>Head teacher</td>
<td>Free municipal school</td>
<td>Middle-low families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>LMBS_Esc2</td>
<td>Head of curriculum</td>
<td>Free municipal school</td>
<td>Middle-low families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>PSA_Esc1</td>
<td>Head teacher</td>
<td>Free private subsided school</td>
<td>Middle-class families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>PSA_Esc2</td>
<td>Head of curriculum</td>
<td>Free private subsided school</td>
<td>Middle-class families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>PSA_Esc3</td>
<td>Social worker</td>
<td>Free private subsided school</td>
<td>Middle-class families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>PSA_Esc4</td>
<td>General inspector</td>
<td>Free private subsided school</td>
<td>Middle-class families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>RC_Esc1</td>
<td>Head teacher</td>
<td>Free municipal school</td>
<td>Middle-low families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>SM_Esc1</td>
<td>Head teacher</td>
<td>Non-free private subsided school</td>
<td>Middle-low families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>SM_Esc2</td>
<td>Deputy head</td>
<td>Non-free private subsided school</td>
<td>Middle-low families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>ULA_Esc1</td>
<td>Social worker</td>
<td>Free municipal school</td>
<td>Middle-low families</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Before interviewing families and school members, I also collected data from almost the entire pool of schools (15 out of the 16 schools), from the MINEDUC and the
Institutional Educational Project (IEP). The IEP was first introduced in 1991 as an important internal document that each school should have, and it was then reintroduced in 2009 with the new Educational Act (2009). It is a document that should be created through a participatory approach with the school community, and it is meant to provide information to the general public about the school organisation, principles, values and other relevant information. This document helped me understand the schools' context and add specific questions relating to this information in each interview.

Due to the exploratory nature of this study, I decided to conduct interviews with 'key informants' at the beginning of my fieldwork. I interviewed ten municipality officers, nine professionals from both community-based organisations and non-governmental organisations from the municipalities where schools were located, and three public officers. One of these officers was from the Department of Immigration (which is part of the Home Office) and the other two were from the MINEDUC. These interviews are not explicitly included in the discussion chapters of the thesis, as the aim of the study was to highlight the schooling experience of migrant families. Therefore the focus of this study has been to centre the voices of migrant mothers and father and discussed their views towards the Chilean educational field, rather than setting a top-down view of the educational experience of families in the migration context from policy-makers. However, as this was an exploratory research and little had been said so far regarding the schooling experience of migrant families, the interviews with the officers allow me to have a better picture to understand both the local context where families and schools were located, as well as the current state of policies regarding this matter.

It is important to acknowledge that, during the process of interviewing, there is a co-construction of knowledge with participants, which, is crucial in exploratory studies when there is a lack of research on the topic. This co-construction of knowledge has been mainly discussed in relation to studies using an action research (Beneyto et al, 2018; Colmenares & Piñero 2008; Lapan et al. 2012). For example, during the interview process, the questions parents and schools staff members were posing made me turn my attention to other elements that had previously escaped my notice. As I explained in the first chapter, this study was initially about school choice; parents were seen as consumers and access to education as the first point of contact between school and migrant families. This initial understanding of the home-school relationship did not allow me to appreciate the fact that the schooling experience for migrant families was more than just having a school place. It was also
about the tensions that emerged between them and a Chilean monocultural educational field.

As a researcher, I am aware of possible sensitive issues that may arise when working with migrant communities. This is something I kept in mind since day one, especially considering the current context of hostility towards migrants in Chile and elsewhere. Because of this, an essential section of this chapter is about reflexivity and the researcher-participant relationship. I would like to add, at this point, that this study has been partly influenced by my involvement with a community-based organisation from London that supports Latin American families and their children’s access to education\(^45\). Even though the migration experiences in the UK and Chile are different, working with the organisation has been crucial to me. In preparing for the interviews, for instance, many of the questions on my schedule where influenced by the informal conversations that I had with migrant parents in London.

The following figure shows an overview of the settings, informants and participants of this study. The total number of interviews to participants was 55 (excluding key informants).

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\(^{45}\)I started volunteering on April 2015 and was responsible for drop-in advice sessions on education. More information: http://irmo.org.uk/social-projects-2/families-and-children/
3.1 Information on the settings

Sixteen schools distributed along the centre and north of the country were included in the fieldwork (see appendix 6); eight of them were municipal schools and the rest, private subsided\(^4\). The migrant enrolment in these schools ranged from 15% to 50%. Apart from a notable presence of migrant students in relation to the national average, which is 2%, these sixteen schools share other features. All of them are located in urban areas and most of them: do not charge extra fees to families, do receive the Preferential School Subsidy\(^7\), do not subscribe to the Intercultural Bilingual Education Programme; and are co-educational schools.

At the same time, these schools had differences. Out of the eight private subsided schools, three of them were run by a Catholic congregation or foundation. One of these religious entities runs ten schools, where only one was part of this study. The other five private subsided schools were private profit-making entities, as they were establishes as limited liability companies running a single-school. This is something that is gradually changing with the Educational Reform. Concerning faith\(^4\), there was a mix between secular (8), Catholic (7), and only one of them was Evangelical\(^9\). Regarding the MINEDUC socioeconomic classification\(^5\), two schools were attended by a majority of middle-upper families, eight schools were grouped as middle class and six schools were middle-low families. Regarding the socioeconomic classification of the school, it is interesting to notice that one of the middle-upper classified schools is a public/municipal school. Type of school, which it is not, generally associated with this class-positioning according to Canales and colleagues (2016), and as previously highlighted in Chapter 2. One explanation may be that this public school is very well located in the city-centre, which is very close to government offices as well as well-known private companies. Therefore parents choosing this school could be public officers or working in some managerial positions.

When it comes to other social dimensions, most schools brought up the multicultural context in connection to their high enrolment rate of migrant students and students

\(^{4}\) As a reference, municipal schools could be compared to community schools in England. The private subsidised schools are a mix between the English equivalents of faith schools; foundation/trust schools, academies and free schools, and they are managed privately but receive state funding through the voucher system, and can charge top up fees to parents.

\(^{7}\) See footnote 10.

\(^{9}\) In Chile you can be a municipal school with a faith orientation

\(^{5}\) The Evangelical Pentecostal Church was founded in Chile in 1932 after separating from the Pentecostal Methodist Church of Chile. It has its roots from the Protestant Church with the European migration, mainly from Germany and England, in the nineteenth century. Today it is among the most conservative Churches in Chile and strongly linked to right-wing parties.

\(^{10}\) See Chapter 3.2 and table 1.
with special educational needs. Only three schools mentioned ethnicity as a way to characterised their pupils and their families and two of them have the Bilingual Education Programme as part of their pedagogical proposal and curriculum. The programme is not compulsory but is implemented in schools that want to promote interculturality and in those that have an enrolment equal to or higher than 20% of indigenous students, with the support of the MINEDUC.

Concerning location, all the schools are located in urban areas and the majority in residential areas (see photo 2 and 3), very close to main streets with public transportation (see photo 4 and 5). Consequently, there were commercial shops as well as offices close by, which meant that some parents were workers from the area and others lived close by. Some schools also located in areas where many migrant communities have settled due to the availability of housing and social networks. Other schools were located in newly gentrified areas of the city, especially in the metropolitan region (see photo 6). Only two of the schools described their location as a 'dangerous neighbourhood' due to the high levels of delinquency, drug addiction and alcoholism that become a threat for the school community. There is not, then, only 'one type' of school that is ‘welcoming’ migrant students and their families; the pool of schools in this study was quite heterogeneous.
Photo 3 Nearby housing (2)

Photo 4 Street view from the main entrance (1)
Photo 5 Street view from the main entrance (2)

Photo 6 New gentrification
3.2. Mothers and fathers interviewed

3.2.1 The social dimensions

In order to not homogenise the voices of mothers and fathers, it is critical to incorporate an intersectional approach (Anthias, 2012; Magliano, 2015; Stefoni & Stang, 2017). Thus, in this study, the intersection of ‘race’, ethnicity, nationality and citizenship status becomes relevant for understanding the schooling experience of migrant Latin American parents in the Chilean school system. Class, gender, and other social dimensions should also be acknowledged as part of the complexity of identity configuration, and they will be recognised when necessary in the discussion of these experiences.

This section is based on the information provided by thirty mothers and six fathers during the interviews, as well as from their responses from a self-administered questionnaire that I designed (see appendix 7). It is important to present this information before the discussion chapters in order to give the reader an overview of the participants, particularly because generalising the schooling experience and homogenising families is something I clearly want to avoid.

Table 4 Socio-demographics of mothers and fathers
(Own elaboration)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N</th>
<th>Interview identification</th>
<th>Name 51</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>‘Race’/Ethnicity</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Citizenship status</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>EAPL_Fam2</td>
<td>Armelia</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>‘I do not identify with any ‘race’/ethnicity’</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>RC_Fam1</td>
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<td>Mestizo</td>
<td>Bolivian</td>
<td>Temporary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>BVM_Fam1</td>
<td>Patricia</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>‘I do not identify with any ‘race’/ethnicity’</td>
<td>Colombian</td>
<td>Temporary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

51 Names have been changed to protect confidentiality.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Race/Ethnicity</th>
<th>Status</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ULA_Fam4</td>
<td>Claudina</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Mestizo</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>LMBS_Fam1</td>
<td>Diego</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>I do not identify with any 'race'/ethnicity</td>
<td>Colombian</td>
<td>Temporary</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>CJJ_Fam4</td>
<td>Gloria</td>
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<td>Mulatto</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>CJJ_Fam1.2</td>
<td>Vania</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>All of them</td>
<td>Peruvian</td>
<td>Temporary</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
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<td>Female</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>EAPL_Fam4</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
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<td>Yanet</td>
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<td>I do not identify with any 'race'/ethnicity</td>
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<td>Temporary</td>
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<td>15</td>
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<td>Sandra</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>I do not identify with any 'race'/ethnicity</td>
<td>Venezuelan</td>
<td>Temporary</td>
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<td>Family</td>
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<td>Status</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>CMM_Fam1</td>
<td>Marisa</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>All of them</td>
<td>Venezuelan</td>
<td>Temporary</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>ULA_Fam1</td>
<td>Susi</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>I do not identify with any race/ethnicity</td>
<td>Venezuelan</td>
<td>Temporary</td>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>ULA_Fam3</td>
<td>Liana</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>I do not identify with any race/ethnicity</td>
<td>Venezuelan</td>
<td>Temporary</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>BC_Fam2</td>
<td>Walter</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>I do not identify with any race/ethnicity</td>
<td>Venezuelan</td>
<td>Temporary</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>BC_Fam3</td>
<td>Wilmer</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Mestizo</td>
<td>Venezuelan</td>
<td>Temporary</td>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>PSA_Fam1.2</td>
<td>Susana</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Black</td>
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<td>Permanent</td>
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<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>PSA_Fam1.1</td>
<td>Juan</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Black</td>
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<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>CJJ_Fam3</td>
<td>Melissa</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>I do not identify with any race/ethnicity</td>
<td>Dominican</td>
<td>Permanent</td>
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<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>EC_Fam1</td>
<td>Loreto</td>
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<td>Zambo</td>
<td>Ecuadorian</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>CE_Fam1</td>
<td>Soraya</td>
<td>Female</td>
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<td>Peruvian</td>
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<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>CJJ_Fam2</td>
<td>Abril</td>
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<td>I do not identify with any race/ethnicity</td>
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<td>Permanent</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>CO_Fam1</td>
<td>Marta</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>EAPL_Fam3</td>
<td>Felicia</td>
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<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>GW_Fam1</td>
<td>Diana</td>
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<td>32</td>
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<td>35</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td>SM_Fam1</td>
<td>Teresa</td>
<td>Female</td>
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<td>Peruvian</td>
<td>Permanent</td>
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</table>

As it was mentioned in the literature chapter, there is a tendency to conceive education as a ‘women’s issue’ and mothers were, in fact, the majority. However, to challenge this notion, I deliberately sought to include the ‘voice’ of fathers, and succeeded in interviewing six: Diego, Lucio, Eduardo, Walter and Wilmer, who had arrived recently from Colombia, Peru and Venezuela, and Juan, a Colombian father who has been in Chile for almost seven years.
The ‘race’ and ethnicity dimension was based on the responses given by parents and the categories included in the questionnaire were based on the Latinobarómetro survey, which is an annual public opinion survey regarding democracy, economy and social issues in 18 Latin American countries, conducted by a non-profit organisation. No parent identified as Asian, and the Zambo category was included because Loreto, an Ecuadorian mother, explained that she was Zambo because her father was indigenous and her mother was Black. Gloria, also from Ecuador, identified as Mulata, which means that one of her parents, was Black and the other White. Eight parents from Bolivia, Peru, Colombia and Venezuela identified as Mestizos (meaning that they are descendant from an Indigenous and White couple); two Peruvian mothers, Antonia and Rosario, identified as White, and Diana and Ester, also from Peru, as Indigenous. Two Colombian parents identified as Black. Additionally, Vania and Lucio, a couple from Peru, as well Marisa, a Venezuelan mother, mentioned that they identified with “all of them”. Contrary to what these last parents manifested, as the above table shows, there is also a group of parents (representing 47% of the participants) that stated they do not identify with a ‘race’ or ethnicity.

The ‘race’ and ethnicity category brought up some interesting and debate-worthy responses. Why can Latin Americans easily identify with a nationality but not with an ethnicity or ‘race’, even though these concepts exist and are relevant for the processes of ex/inclusion? One possible explanation, further discussed in the theoretical chapter, is that the non-self recognition of this social dimension is not a coincidence. From a critical interculturality framework, the racialization and ethnicization process of Latin America is complex and cannot be detached from the colonial matrix. As Walsh (2010) puts it:

*The difference is built within a structure and colonial matrix of racialized and hierarchical power, with Whites and “whiten” at the top and indigenous and afro-descendant peoples on the lower rungs (p.78, TFS)*

In this sense, the self who does not identify with an ethnic / racial group does not want to be placed in an inferior level in the social hierarchy and, yet, it does identify the ‘other’ with it. This example of the construction of 'otherness', in relation to ‘race’ and ethnicity in the Latin American context, unveils an explicit experience of something implicitly noted. The racialised /ethnicised experience is lived, but it is not

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52 More information at: http://www.latinobarometro.org/lat.jsp
named. I will further address this in part III, in connection to the experience of migrant families in Chilean schools.

Another interesting lesson is the fact that people with the same nationality do not necessarily identify with the same ‘race’ or ethnicity. It is a mistake to homogenise racial and ethnic identification in Latin America, given that it is a complex construction. Let us consider the Peruvian mothers and fathers. Diana and Ester identified as indigenous, whereas Beti, Martha, Mina, Milly and Nelsy as Mestizas, and Antonia and Rosario as White. However, not all Peruvian parents manifestly identified with a racial/ethnic group. Eight of them mentioned that they do not identify with any, whereas Lucio and Vania “identified with all” of them.

Nationality is “the first dimension that seems to group and differentiate between different migrants” (2010, p. 46, TFS) in the Chilean context, according to Stefoni and colleagues, and it can also be intersected by the colonial matrix as a form of ‘coloniality of power’ (Quijano, 2000). As discussed in the introductory chapter, there is a social imaginary around people who come from European countries and the USA, mostly. These people tend to be perceived more positively, are welcome to contribute to the Chilean Whiteness, and are referred to as foreigners. Immigrant is the term used to refer to people from nationalities that are less welcome and who are, paradoxically, from other Latin American countries, with the exception of Argentineans, who are considered White (Stefoni et al, 2010). In the context of this study, Peruvian parents were the majority (total 19), which makes sense considering they were the first and most numerous migrant community in Chile at the time of the fieldwork53. Venezuelans are the second group (total 7), and they are part of the new migration flow sparked by their current economic and political crisis. Five Colombian parents make up the third largest group and they are followed by two mothers from Ecuador, two from Bolivia, and one from the Dominican Republic.

As I previously mentioned, I had initially intended to interview parents who had recently arrived in the country. However, the temporality of the migratory flow emerged as an interesting differentiation, and I identified what I refer to as ‘citizenship status’ based on two migration elements: time spent in Chile and the type of visa held by parents. As a result, 20 mothers and fathers from different nationalities (including all the Venezuelan parents) ended up being grouped under the temporary citizen status, as they had recently migrated to Chile (less than four years and over a month) and had either a visa subject to contract (based on an

53 This has changed, as from 2018 the Venezuelans have become the largest migrant community in Chile. See Chapter 1.1
employment contract), a temporary visa (granted mainly because of international agreements\textsuperscript{54}, family links\textsuperscript{55}, or economic activity) or they are waiting for one of them (meaning that they cannot work until they get one). Parents with a temporary citizen status, according to the Department of Immigration, have a residence permit with a validity that fluctuates between one and two years and that has to be renewed (DEM, 2016). This citizen status allows to access public education and health, a fact sometimes is unknown by the same public services and schools – something I further explore in Part II and III. However it has some limitations; for instance, it can expire if the employment contract ends, and it is not possible to leave the country for more than 180 days a year, otherwise the visa loses its validity. Additionally other social rights like housing as well as accessing public funding to study at higher education are not available for temporary citizen (Fundación Instituto de la Mujer 2018).

Only after having had this temporary citizen visa for two years, can migrants apply for a permanent one. The second group of parent holds this type of visa. This group comprises 15 mothers and 1 father who have resided in Chile between five and twenty years and have a permanent residence permit. This permanent citizen status means that holders are living in the country indefinitely, with full access to the labour market (DEM, 2016) and “without limitations other than the legal ones” and the fact they are not able to be out of the country for more than a year, since this would imply losing the permanent residence authorization (Fundación Instituto de la Mujer 2018). In Chile, you can also be ‘nationalized’. To do so, you have to: be 18 years old, have at least 5 years of residence in Chile, hold a permanent residence permit, never have been convicted of a crime and prove economic solvency. According to the Department of Immigration, the Chilean nationality “not only confers the same legal status as a [Chilean] citizen, but also constitutes the acceptance of a social and cultural link with Chile” (DEM 2016, p.180, TFS). None of the parents who were interviewed had this citizen status, although some mentioned that their children were Chilean nationalized because they had been born in the country, a status known as 	extit{jus soli} that is granted to anyone born in the territory (the same way it works in the US and unlike the UK).

At this point, I want to emphasize that I am aware that categories and labels can reproduce stereotypes and specific subjectivities (further discussed in part II). And yet, it is important to address these two types of residence in order to draw attention

\textsuperscript{54} Such as the Mercosur. Country members: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay. Venezuela is currently suspended.

\textsuperscript{55} It is granted when you have a Chilean relative or you have family links with someone holding a permanent residence permit.
to the often-invisible influence that the ‘migratory regime’ – in terms of citizenship and rights- has in the schooling experiences of migrant families in Chile. I argue that the social dimension of migrants’ citizenship status should be addressed, because understanding it allows for a better, more accurate identification of the difficulties, tensions and dilemmas that each group faces and that need to be further acknowledged by policies, practices and academia.

One of the most complex social dimensions to define in the migration journey is class. As mentioned in Chapter 3, educational research in the Chilean context, mainly position people in terms of class based on variables such as years of schooling, income, neighborhood, and profession. Additionally we would also add the subjective variable such in the sense how we position people socially by how they dress, speak, among others. In migration studies, trying to classify parents according to only their current income or job position in the ‘host’ country, for example, becomes problematic given that it denies the possibility of viewing migration as a double process, one that takes place here and there (Stefoni & Bonhomme 2014).

In other words, if we consider education and income we will see that the ‘classification’ of class becomes complex. Some parents have high levels of education that do not count as a valid form of cultural capital in the new country, and this can potentially hinder their chances of working and having an income and, in turn, this can result in downward mobility. It is not uncommon for parents with lower levels of education to have higher or similar incomes to those of parents with high levels of education. Let us consider the case of those parents from the study that declare earning between £375- £625, which represent almost a third of the participants (see figure 6). We can see that their level of education varies: two parents declared having only primary or incomplete primary education, one parent had an unfinished secondary degree, three parents completed their secondary education, six parents mentioned having some vocational degree (complete/incomplete), and two parents had a university degree.
Interestingly, some parents who mentioned having higher levels of education are not in the same socioeconomic group as most of the other parents in their children’s school. In other words, some migrant parents have higher levels of education compared to ‘local’ parents. This situation has influenced their children’s education possibilities, especially in a segregated school context, as it is the case of Chile (something I discuss later in part III). As we can see in the graph below, for example, from the five parents who mentioned having a university degree (thus 17 years of schooling according to appendix 1), three enrolled their children in a school where the majority of families are labelled as middle-upper class and two in schools classifies as middle-low. However according to table 1, and based on their degrees, they should have been in schools classifies as upper. In the case of the 12 parents with secondary education, half of them are in schools with mostly middle-class families (which is expected, based on table 1) however the other half, are in schools with mostly middle-low families.
3.2.2 The migration experience

The migration experience is not only about the *here* (how to start a ‘new life’ and what the ‘host’ country can offer), but also about the *there* (the relationship that families still have with their home countries and the reasons for migrating). I argue throughout this study that this experience intertwines with the schooling experience in different ways. Education, for instance, becomes crucial for it allows parents to go to work at ease knowing their children are safe in school, or to rebuild a stable routine they were not able to have back home. In this section the objective is to give the reader an overview of the reasons these families had for migrating, the different pathways for arriving in Chile, as well as migrants’ thoughts on Chile and their future. This, can help better understand the next discussion chapters (Part II and Part III).

With regards to the reasons to migrate, a better quality of life was the one parents mentioned the most. They said that the economic and political crisis back home and the work opportunities in Chile were their main reasons. A political and economic crisis was mainly mentioned by Venezuelan parents, who are part of the new migration wave to Chile. They mentioned more than once, that, as a society, they were not used to migrating; on the contrary, they were the ones welcoming migrants from neighbouring countries such as Colombia. Thus, going deeper into the
motivation to migrate, for Venezuelan parents it could be said that the decision was ‘forced’ upon them by the conditions of their country rather than actually being an individual choice.

With regards to the better job opportunities, parents from different nationalities, regardless of their citizen status, mentioned this as their main reason to migrate. So prevalent was this reason, that none of the interviewees had arrived in Chile with a work agreement. For some, the first days after their arrival had been dedicated to looking for accommodation and a job, and later on, a school for their children. In other cases, finding a school was the priority so later on parents could focus on finding a job. From the total number of mothers and fathers interviewed that mentioned that they were working (25 out of 36), seven explicitly mentioned that they were not working in the area in which they had studied or where they had previous experience, as either their past experiences or their credentials were not recognised in the new labour field. From the parents that did not work, all - except one father that actually did not mentioned anything of his work- where mothers that had recently arrived in Chile. Some of the reasons given by them for unemployment was that they did not have the Chilean ID hence a visa to work, or because they were still looking for a job or were in charge of taking care of the children after they arrived from school or that they had a newborn. One of the features of the current migration bill is that it allows some nationalities to arrive with a tourist visa and when finding a job, change their migration status in the country, instead of going back home. The right-wing government wants to change this feature.

Social networks were mentioned many times as another motivation for migrating. Many migrants decided to move to Chile because they had relatives there or people they knew had migrated to Chile. The people who had migrated before were, therefore, able to help the new migrants understand how the Chilean culture works (i.e. in terms of finding a job, the visa process, and school admission, among others) and became an important capital for the migration journey and the schooling experience (further discussed in Part III).

Another reason for migration that was mentioned by mothers Armelia, Claudina and Diana was the search for independence. The three women came from what they describe as conservative and over-protective families and migrated as a way of gaining freedom. Finally, Walter and Liana, both Venezuelans who had recently arrived in Chile, mentioned they chose it as a destination because of the possibilities to apply for ‘legal citizenship’. Liana explained that many of her relatives had decided
to migrate to Panama, as it is closer and cheaper. However, this country had decided to ‘close its doors’ and stop giving visas to Venezuelans. It is important to notice that during the fieldwork, the chances of this happening in Chile seemed remote; however, by the time this thesis was submitted, the current right-wing Chilean government had established a new visa procedure for Venezuelans and now they cannot arrive in the country without a visa.

Only seven out of the 20 parents that had just arrived mentioned that they had travelled with their families. From the 13 participants whose families that had arrived separately, the father was usually the first to arrive, followed by the mother and children. Fathers tend to migrate first so that they can find a job and accommodation, or get a feel of the place before their children finish their academic year back home and are able to migrate too. Single mothers or in some cases both parents said they had arrived first and their children had stayed with relatives, normally grandparents, before migrating to Chile. It is interesting to note that none of the fathers who were interviewed mentioned being single dads; however, eight mothers out of the thirty that were interviewed were single mothers and the head of their households. Finally, from the group of 16 parents who had arrived to Chile a long time ago, ten pointed out that their children had actually been born in Chile. We can see, then, that there is no single path for the migration journey.

Now, when it comes to their future in Chile, some newly arrived parents viewed it with uncertainty. The idea of returning home is still alive for some but for others, especially for Venezuelan parents, going back is not possible yet due to the political situation back home. For some of the parents who are permanent residents, Chile is their present and also their future, and even though they have gone back home to visit relatives (especially Peruvian and Bolivian parents as it is not a long or expensive trip from Chile), they do not feel they could ‘get used to their countries again’. They say that the work conditions continue to be better in Chile and that because their children have grown up in this new country, their country of origin seems like a very distant place now. Their children’s future is also a very important factor; many parents feel their children will have a better future in Chile and they want them to be able to finish school. Newly arrived Yanet from Venezuela, together with long-term residents Loreto and Ester (from Ecuador and Peru, respectively), however, feel that it would be better for their children to go to higher education in their home countries, mainly because of the cost of higher education in Chile and because there is a perception among the mothers that I interviewed it is not of good quality.
A final issue that was mentioned by half of the mothers and fathers, regardless of their nationality and citizenship status, was racism and discrimination towards migrants. Interestingly, none of the parents who identified as White or “all ‘race’/ethnicity” brought up discrimination in their interviews. Two mothers from Peru, who have been in Chile for a long time, noted that there have been some positive changes compared to when they first arrived. Although they agreed that racism and discrimination is not completely eradicated, they do think the situation it is better than in the ‘old days’. Loreto, also a long-term resident from Ecuador, pointed out that perceptions of change may be because migrants have adapted to Chile, rather than any effort being made by the Chilean society.

In terms of actual episodes of discrimination and racism, most of the parents that addressed this issue said they had been victims. Vania, for example, mentioned that her Peruvian husband had not been paid at work because his employer was taking advantage of the fact he was a migrant and that he might not know his rights or where to ask for help. Susana and Juan, a Colombian couple, also mentioned a racist incident their daughter was involved in at school because she is Black. Three Peruvian interviewees said they had never personally been victims of racism or discrimination, but they did feel their community had been targeted. It is also interesting to observe that the only Venezuelan father that touched on this topic explained to me that he knew there was racism and discrimination towards migrants, and yet, he felt that the Venezuelan community was not targeted as much because they were perceived by Chileans as being ‘good people’. A Peruvian mother that had a Chilean-born child actually pointed out that Chileans had perhaps also been discriminated against by migrants. The main point she was making was that racism and discrimination exist nowadays in Chile in different forms and towards different communities, which, can have an impact on the schooling experience of families in Chilean schools.

What follows is the description of the data analysis used, which became crucial for the elaboration of parts II and III of my discussion chapters.

4. Data analysis process

The interviews were conducted, transcribed and analysed in Spanish, and I only translated into English the excerpts that would be included in this document. They were analysed using a hybrid approach of inductive and deductive coding (Fereday
& Muir-Cochrane 2006), followed by a thematic processing (Braun & Clarke 2006) using the NVivo version 11.0 qualitative software. This software made it possible for me to organise the data, code and, create 'mind maps' that allowed me to review the coding and themes development process.

Two main concepts are crucial for understanding of how thematic analysis (TA) works: codes and themes. The use of codes is not only a particular feature of TA, it is also essential for most of the qualitative analysis procedures. In practical terms, in qualitative inquiry "a code is most often a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence capturing, and/or evocative attribute to a portion of language-based or visual data" (Saldaña 2013, p.3). The data can come from interviews, participant observations, and field notes, among other methods of data collection. The coding process itself can be likened to the act of linking. In other words, the coding process links all those data fragments to a particular idea or concept (Coffey & Atkinson 1996), as it is illustrated in the below figure:

**Figure 8 Codes-to-theory model for qualitative inquiry**
(Saldaña, 2013)

A deductive coding analysis was conducted first, using the questions that were created for each interview on the basis of the theoretical and conceptual framework. Then, inductively from the data, new themes that had not been considered initially came up and informed new discussions and topics. This inductive process was very relevant even though the design of this study was not framed under an action
research, during the interview process, as well during the coding itself; the different social actors that participated became co-constructors of knowledge.

Themes are another relevant element in TA. A theme "captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set" (Braun & Clarke 2006, p.82).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase</th>
<th>Description of the process</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Familiarizing yourself with your data</td>
<td>Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Generating initial codes</td>
<td>Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Searching for themes</td>
<td>Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Reviewing themes</td>
<td>Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic ‘map’ of the analysis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Defining and naming themes</td>
<td>Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Producing the report</td>
<td>The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table above, by Braun and Clarke, shows a linear process; however, in this study –and I am sure in many other cases too– the process was much more complex, not straightforward, but with diversions, bumps and obstacles, such as in figure 9.
The TA process for this study began with me becoming familiar with the data by reading each of the transcriptions and generating initial codes by using an open coding system with a total of 23 interviews (12 from families, and 11 from school staff members) in order to highlight possible themes and ideas (see figure 10).
This first step allowed me to start searching for themes and sub-themes that emerged from my main questions and for those that had not been taken into consideration during the planning of my fieldwork. Two examples of the latter are: the importance of taking into consideration the school practices created in response to the educational policies that affect migrant students and their families, and the incorporation of an intercultural approach to better address the school–family relationship. Also, during this familiarisation process, I revisited my fieldnotes and pictures. The school gate become a relevant object that stimulated some possible
lines of interpretation regarding the ‘cracks’ in the ‘borders’ between the home-
school relation (se photos 7 and 8). In this sense as Beneyto and colleagues have
argued in their own study about family-school relationship in Catalonia “families have
been considered as external to the school not only symbolically but also
architecturally and physically” which has become a “keystone of all barriers to better

I was shocked by the fact that schools had big gates that I felt separated the
‘inside/outside worlds’ or, in other words, the world of the schools and the world of
the families. Later on, I realised that this ‘border’ was also a way to protect the
school practices from the ‘uncontrolled’ outside word. This line of analysis was
included in part II when referring to the school practices as (un)making borders.

Photo 7 Main school gate (1)
After this initial coding process and with a better understanding of the family-school relationship and the school practices that are connected to the ‘outside’ world, I started reviewing the themes and decided to go back to my main theoretical framework from Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of practice and link it to the new conceptual frameworks of critical interculturality. By using these different conceptual frameworks, I was able to highlight the ‘plural, multi-situated, contextual’ features of the social practices among “heterogeneous actors in hybrid spaces” (Dietz, 2017, 195, TFS).

The following mindmaps present the themes based on the participants’ interviews as well as my theoretical frameworks. Mindmap 2 (see figure 11) is about the parents’ schooling and migration experiences and mindmap 3 (see figure 12) is about schools’ practices.
Figure 11 Mindmap 2 Parents’ schooling and migration experiences (NVivo)

From parents interviews

Schooling strategies based on processes
- Accessing
- Adjusting
- Transforming

Capitals
- Cultural
- Economic
- Social
- Civic
- Validation of capitals

Migration journey
- Reasons for migrating
- Projecting the future
- Transnational identities
- Racism in Chile
The last stages of *defining and naming the themes* as well as *producing the report* are presented in the next sections of the thesis under the school practices (Part II) and the parents' strategies (Part III). The quotes cited in those chapters (which have been translated from Spanish to English) were chosen because they are the ones that are more representative of the final themes. In this sense, the quotes from the interviews are supporting each of the different issues addressed as a way to provide support to my argument of each section.
5. Reflections on the research process

Pierre Bourdieu’s work invites us to consider the ‘need for a reflexive return of the sociologist’, because “there are many intellectuals who call the world into question, but there are very few intellectuals who call the intellectual world into question” (Bourdieu, 2008, p.23). I hope that in this following section, then, I am able to achieve this.

Because I had been living abroad for five years by the time I collected my data, this study became a personal process of reunion with my own country. I encountered a different Chile, a ‘new Chile’, one that migration is clearly a part of, even though there is still the need to fight against racism and discrimination (Riedemann & Stefoni 2016). I believe we are also challenged to ask about the position of the insider/outsider that a researcher faces when she or he ‘belongs to the ‘host’ society’ that is reproducing the practices of exclusion that are being studied. This issue needs to be acknowledged because, even though participants shared some episodes of discrimination and racism, perhaps they did not speak as freely as they would have if they had not been interviewed by a Chilean person. Additionally, the fact I did not previously know the interviewees may have also affected how open they were with me, as I could only introduce myself very briefly:

Soraya: Yeah, but tell me who are you?

Me: I am from the Alberto Hurtado University from Santiago and I am doing a study of how parents choose schools. For example, how did you find this school; did a friend tell you or do you have relatives in the school? Also, what do you expect from the school? How can you participate in the school? (Extract interview with Soraya a Peruvian mother_CE_Fam1)

This, I think, is something that needs to be acknowledged and should be discussed when conducting research of this nature. I am certain that it is not that parents do not want to share their experiences with researchers that are from the ‘host’ country, but perhaps they do not believe how their participation will eventually translate into benefits for the community or actual changes in their lives, when they have experienced exclusions. Also the emotive aspect of discussing this with a relative stranger, however sympathetic that stranger is! Therefore, the academic field, which I also argue later, does not take the time to properly share the results of research with the participating communities.
Two elements helped me establish a rapport with the participants. Language was the first point of encounter, in this case, Spanish, our first language. The second element was my own experience of migration to the UK and the fact I was somewhat able to relate to their experiences.

_Me:_ It's always difficult. I also live abroad. I live in Europe in a place where I speak a different language. I can't even speak Spanish and I have to learn how to speak English. It has been difficult, but I have learned a lot. And I come to Chile, and I feel different, but I have learned a lot and, above all, I have met very nice people too, who had helped me. (Extract interview with Liana a recently arrived Venezuelan mother_ULA_Fam3)

The above is an extract of me sharing my personal migration experience in response to Liana sharing hers in an emotional way (something that I expand more in Part III). I believe that the researcher should always be attentive of moments such as these and remember that, even though it is an interview, what is taking place is still a social interaction (Bourdieu, et al. 1999). These two elements – language and shared experience of migration - remind us that we are never positioned only in one field, and that different aspects of ourselves can intersect and have an impact on our practices and, in this case, in the ‘interview relationship’.

One way to be aware of this positionality is to recognise that there are different ways in which the academic field may contribute to the reproduction of asymmetrical power relationships. So, even though exercising power over the other is not always intentional, it is still symbolic. During interviews, the interaction between the researcher and the participants cannot be called ‘neutral’ because there is a communication process different from all others due to its ‘objective of pure knowledge’ and yet, it still counts as ‘a social relationship’ (Bourdieu et al, 1999, p.608). We can refer to research relationships as ‘arbitrary intrusion relationships’ (Ibid p. 607), where one side (the researcher) pushes the other (the participants) to communicate in a specific social space (the interview).

The literal translation process is also an instance that can reflect the asymmetrical power relationships between researchers and participants. This thesis has been conducted both in English and Spanish, and I have acted as the intermediary. This could contribute to this asymmetric power relation since I am the one in charge of making communication possible between the ‘senders’ (father –mother - school staff) and the ‘receivers (the readers) and, at the same time, I participate as ‘another voice in the interaction’ (Warren & Vincent, 2001, p.47). Because of this, the translation process has been neither something light nor superficial; quite the
opposite, I have had to carefully find the words and expressions to ‘translate’ as accurately as possible. This entire piece of research was constructed as a continuous exercise of bilingualism, which, in this document, is only minimally represented by the Spanish words included in the footnotes. It has to be acknowledged, therefore, that there is an almost inevitable loss of some of the subtleties of language, which is an inherent complexity of conducting research in cross-linguistic and cultural contexts (Mas Giralt 2016). This has become a challenge because, although the study was produced in the context of my doctoral studies at UCL, it also aims to be a contribution to Chile and Latin America. For this reason, in parallel to the thesis writing process, I have also produced and disseminated some of the findings in Spanish.

Another aspect related to the translation process that needs to be examined is the fact that researchers cannot pretend they –us– are embodying the voices of the participants when translating. Research is about placing the accounts of the interviewees “on the table”. And yet, my voice as a PhD student trying to understand the participants’ experiences inevitably becomes present. And by my voice, I mean the way in which I am using the theory and method to recreate a coherent ‘co-story’, a story narrated by two sides: the participants and the researcher. Additionally I cannot ignore my own researcher biography. As Warren & Vincent argued regarding the process of data analysis: “how the researcher does this is influenced by his or her values, priorities, and beliefs, which means that the researcher’s presence in the research process should be clear; should, moreover, be a subject for analysis (2001, p.49). In my case not only I have ten years of experience researching in education, but also the volunteer work that I have done in different organisations have influenced my voice and where do I stand regarding this research.

The concept of ‘over-researched communities’ (Sukarieh & Tannock 2013) is another example of the asymmetric power relationship between academia and communities. It refers to the individuals or communities that been the subjects of an excessive number of studies, which makes them feel they are being used or/and that the results will never translate into a contribution for them. This issue was addressed several times by the municipalities and schools and it initially created some difficulties to proceed with the fieldwork plan.

*My reluctance that you came was not for personal reasons but because we are tired of being a little laboratory because, in the end, you know what happens is that many come here but then do not deliver anything (Social worker from a free middle low municipal school of the metropolitan region_ULA_Esc1)*
This reaction and the call for academia to do more than just ‘observe’, led me to look for tools and examples of academic work that transcended the question of neutrality and objectivism in research. The tools of critical pedagogy and Paulo Freire guided this process (1996; 2012); his writings and his way of seeing theory and praxis helped me see academia as a political actor. This closeness to Freire’s work was complemented by the critical interculturality framework, which is strongly influenced by the critical pedagogy of the Brazilian scholar. Catherine Walsh, one of the main exponents of critical interculturality highlights that, in Freirean terms, “there is no social practice more political than the educational practice” (Freire, 2003 quoted by Walsh, 2013, p.38, TFS). The challenge is, then, to understand pedagogy in the broader sense of the word, beyond the teacher-student interactions in schools. Meaning that when doing research or talking about your academic interests, you are also part of these educational practices, as you are ‘teaching others’ about what you have learned.

Along this journey, I also joined academic groups that advocate for stronger work with community-based organisations, such as the ALICE, a project based in the Center for Social Studies (University of Coimbra, Portugal) that follows the work of Epistemologies of the South. Additionally, I became an active member of Refuge in a Moving World, an initiative by UCL staff and students. One of the aims of this network is to explore what is and what should be the role of universities in support of refugees and forced migrants.

What was done, then, to address these tensions in the context of this study? First of all, explicitly acknowledging them in my thesis was key. Second, during the fieldwork, I found out about some social organisations that support migrant children’s right to education and together we started a campaign – Infancia Sin Condiciones (El Ciudadano, 2017) - to raise awareness and hopefully end with the exclusion of undocumented migrant students. This issue was brought up by families and schools during the fieldwork as the main obstacle to guarantee the right to education in the Chilean context. Third, after the fieldwork was completed, one of my main tasks was to produce a report to give back to the schools, municipalities and organisations. In this process, I became aware of the different genres and styles (see figure 13) that academic research needs to adopt in order to communicate beyond the traditional academic platforms (journals and conference presentations, mostly) and thus create awareness and open a dialogue with the communities. Each one of these different genres should inform the other and be in line with the ethical responsibilities for publication and dissemination. In other words, “researchers have a responsibility to
share the findings with participants and their wider social groups as fully as possible, while maintaining confidentiality” (BERA, 2018, p. 35).

Figure 13 Different genre uses for the dissemination of this research

To access the different resources created on the bases of this research as a way of dissemination see appendix 8.
6. Ethics

This study has gone through the UCL Ethics approval process. The following section is based on the "Ethical guidelines for educational research" by BERA (2018), as well as the ethics training course “Forum on Emerging Ethical issues when undertaking doctoral research”, I attended during the autumn term of 2015/16, before my upgrade and fieldwork.

In this study, the ethical considerations were accounted for from the beginning, when the secondary data was used to characterize the context of the study as well to select the schools approached during the fieldwork. We might think that, because we did not produce this data, there is no need to worry about any possible ethical implications. However, according to the BERA guidelines:

*When working with secondary or documentary data, the sensitivity of the data, who created it, the intended audience of its creators, its original purpose and its intended uses in the research are all important considerations (2018, p.11)*

Some of the secondary data used in this study was available publicly on the MINEDUC data centre website and, therefore, no extra consent from this institution was needed. Nevertheless, I also used some data from the General Information System of Students (similar to the National Pupil Database from the UK). This dataset provides personal information of all students enrolled in Chilean schools and in order to get access to it, MINEDUC requires a special form to be filled out, which was successfully processed and approved in the case of this study. This is done to ensure that the researcher commits to both using this data ethically and recognising ownership of the information. Every time some of this data is presented in this document, its origin has been acknowledged and no personal information that could reveal the students' identities has been used.

Later on, during the preparation for my fieldwork, and in order for this study to comply with the ethical requirements associated to it, it was necessary to fill out a form and wait for approval from UCL. In this form, I referred to the use of interviews as my main method of data collection and I also introduced the setting for this study (discussed in detail in section 3).

Regarding the ‘responsibilities to participants’ (BERA, 2018), in the form I stated that all of them are adults and I explained how they were selected and approached
(discussed in detail in section 2). During the process of conducting my research I ’operated within an ethic of respect for any persons’ involved, understanding that all participants, including myself:

Should be treated fairly, sensitively, and with dignity and freedom from prejudice, in recognition of both their rights and of differences arising from age, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, class, nationality, cultural identity, partnership status, faith, disability, political belief or any other significant characteristic (Ibid p.6).

To ensure the fieldwork process was ethical and ‘transparent’ (Ibid p.16), when inviting schools to participate and before the start of each interview, an information sheet was distributed. In it, I explained who I was, the nature of the study, why they had been invited to participate, what would happen if they chose (or not) to be involved, who would know about their involvement and what would be done with the results of the research (see appendix 9).

After each participant read the information sheet and before they decided whether to take part or not, I asked if they had any further questions and immediately answered them. Then, I verbally asked them for their voluntary participation. All participants agreed and completed a consent form (see appendix 9). I also explicitly (verbally before the interview started and in writing in the consent form) mentioned that if, at any point, they did not want to continue with the interview or did not want to answer a question, they were free to do so (which is known as 'right to withdraw').

Similarly, concerning consent, "particularly when researching in more than one language or culture, researchers should consider the effects of translation and/or interpretation on the participants' understandings of what is involved" (Ibid p. 10). Due to the fact that this thesis was conducted using two languages, I had to produce some documents both in English and Spanish, so that participants and institutions could understand the purpose of the study and their participation. I specifically translated the information sheet, consent form and interview scheme. The interviews were transcribed in Spanish and only the quotes presented in this document and in other dissemination formats in which English was the main language, were translated. Along this document, you will find words in *italics* and footnotes explaining the meaning and expressions that I have translated into English from Spanish. Also each time I have translated from Spanish, has been marked with the initial TFS (see footnote 3).
Confidentiality, that is, the privacy and anonymity of the participants, was also part of the ethical considerations of this piece of work. Due to the fact that textual quotes have been used, I had to omit details that could give away the participants’ identities. Pseudonyms were used to refer to them and no personal piece of information is revealed in any of the different dissemination formats of this study (i.e. academic papers, report, conference presentation, thesis document). Participants were informed—through the consent form—that if any of their words were used, these would not reveal their personal data under any circumstances. They were informed as well that their interview materials (such as the audio record and transcript) would only be accessed by those directly involved with the study (i.e. transcribers, supervisors).

Schools were also kept anonymous. The pictures that are presented in this document, that were taken to be used for my non-participatory observations, were carefully selected to maintain and protect the institutions’ anonymity. However, the municipalities were not kept anonymous, as I deem it relevant for public policy purposes to create awareness of what has (and has not) been done at the local level.

The confidentiality of sensitive topics mentioned by parents during the interviews was also a vital issue. These topics, such as their citizenship status, their personal journey of migration, or difficult encounters of racism inside and outside the school, were treated with absolute privacy and I made an effort to minimise any harm talking about them may cause. When talking about racist experiences they or their children may have suffered, I ensured participants that they could stop at any time if reliving these episodes made them feel too emotional. Thankfully, all the parents seemed willing to share their experiences, which is extremely valuable considering that one of the aims of this study is to make visible racist encounters that migrant parents have experienced in Chilean schools.

The fact that parents were willing to touch on sensitive topics does not mean it was easy for them to do so. One of the interviewees became upset when she started taking about her migration journey (something that I will discuss in Part III of this study). This encounter reminded me that it is quite improbable for researchers to stay completely ‘neutral’ or ‘objective’, considering that with the kind of questions we ask, we are inviting interviewees to relive experiences that may be sensitive for them and we cannot simply sit there and ignore their emotional reactions. Because of this,
social research should take into consideration that it may be dealing ‘with difficult narratives’ (Squire et al., 2014) and that any ‘harm’ has to be avoided at any cost.

Additionally, this issue of feeling distressed when dealing with exclusionary practices or in this case racist comments, is also something that as researchers one may also experience. As mentioned in Chapter 6, this was very much present in one specific interviewed with a head teacher that was making racist and machistas comments towards Colombian women migrating to Chile. I felt my role as researcher in contradiction with my personal views as even though I could have questioned his narrative, I decided to let him speak freely to understand how deeply embedded were his prejudices towards the Colombian community and how this had influenced his view towards migrant families in the school. Thus, as a post fieldwork decision, and as way now to challenge this situation, I deliberately decided to include this episode to make visible the level of prejudices that exists in some Chilean schools.

Even though I spent a lot of time reviewing the confidentiality issues in my research, I should also make clear that there are limits to this. In this case, because schools acted as a link for me to get in touch with staff members, mothers and fathers (explained in detail in section 3), and because there was more than one participant in every school, they might have found out who the other participants were. Anonymity within the boundaries of the schools was, therefore, difficult to ensure considering that the majority of the interviews took place in the school premises.

After the fieldwork, I sent a report in Spanish to the schools, municipalities and organizations that were involved. I wrote these reports keeping in mind that, as educational researchers, we should ‘communicate our findings’ and the ‘practical significance of the research’ “in a clear, straightforward fashion, and in language judged appropriate to the intended audience(s)” (BERA, 2018, p.32). Parts of the report, and especially figure 3 (see introduction chapter), have started to be used by schools to provide information to new migrant families, and one organization has created a Creole version of it for the Haitian families residing in Chile (see appendix 11). I have also published this report so that it can be downloaded publicly (Joiko & Vásquez, 2017), with the purpose of sharing it with other institutions or individuals. This is something I consider relevant because today there are many relevant academic documents for which ‘open access’ is not provided (BERA, 2018, p.27).

Finally, when it comes to data storage, only the transcribers and I had access to the interviews. It was agreed with them that after finishing the transcription process they
were to delete the audio file and the word document from their personal storage device, so as to protect the confidentiality of participants. I stored all personal information of the participants in my external hard drive and my PC. The data will be retained for a period of five years, after my PhD is completed, for further analysis and publications in line with UCL data storage guidelines. After those five years, the audio records will be destroyed.

7. Conclusion

The aim of this last chapter of the background of the study, before moving to the discussion has been to present the research design, fieldwork, data analysis and ethical considerations in detail. In addition, I have highlighted three points that are relevant for this study. First, that the focus on social practices and interactions is what guides this exploratory qualitative research and justifies the use of interviews. Second, that it is important to be an ‘open observer’ during the fieldwork, as new themes can emerge that could potentially be of relevance to the study. Finally, that the interaction between participants is not the only relevant aspect of the study but also the relationship that the participants may establish with the researcher. From this relationship what is known as co-production of knowledge emerges, and academia should always be ready to acknowledge its existence and value.

What follows is Part II of my thesis, which focuses on my first discussion chapters regarding schools in relation to families, which I have named School practices: (un)making borders. The main question that I want to answer in this Part is: how do Chilean schools interpret and translate the national educational policies and discourses around migrant children and their families into practices of ex/inclusion?
Part II. School practices: *(Un)*making borders

Part II is my first discussion section regarding the field of Chilean schools and migrant families, therefore the chapters’ focuses mainly on the responses given by school staff from the schools involved in the fieldwork. Thus, it included members from the management team and from the psychosocial team.

The two chapters in this part focus on the border areas (Di Caudo et al., 2016) in the relationship between schools and families in the context of south-south migration. It is important to understand that the notion of borders is more than just the geographical frontiers between countries. Borders are “present in everyday discourses and in the practices of different social agents” (Yuval-Davis et al, 2019, p.23). Thus, by using the notion of borders I want to highlight two things that emerged from my analysis regarding the home-school relationship in the context of migration on Chilean schools.

First, in the school and family relationship studies, there has been a long debate about if families should get involved (or not) in the schools. In some cases, scholars will argue for the need of boundaries between home and school (Ribbens McCarthy & Kirkpatrick 2005), whereas others will question the power that arises in this relationship that may produce divisions between home and school (Vincent 1996). Therefore in any study about home-school relationships, there is a potential for the construction of borders in terms of whether schools are willing (or not) to let ‘in’ families. This letting in, I argue, is what makes school practices count as bordering practices.

Second, and this is directly linked to the context of my study regarding migration, the notion of borders can help us to better address how nationalist discourses have influenced the school practices regarding the inclusion of migrant families. As we will see during Part II, nationalism has been present in school practices in two ways. Either by producing bordering practices with migrant students and families where they are placed as the ‘other’, as I exemplified with the construction of the subjectivities around migration in Chapter 5. However, I also point to the existence of some participatory events by schools that create spaces of encounter and thereby the possibility of unmaking national borders emerged (for example with the multicultural manifestations explained in Chapter 6). Thus, in this *(un)*making
borders of school practices we can observe the tension between the ethics of embracing diversity vs the increasing nationalism.

Moreover the main question that I intend to answer in this Part is: how do Chilean schools interpret and translate the national educational policies and discourses around migrant children and their families into practices of ex/inclusion? By answering this question my aim is to provide the reader a sense of the field in which migrant families are currently placed. Therefore the theoretical resources from the critical interculturality framework together with the intersectional approach guided this part. Whereas Part III discusses the dispositions of migrant parents regarding their children's schooling from a Bourdieuian approach.

Additionally, as more than once, school respondents mentioned that no guidelines were given to them by the MINEDUC, I used the notion of 'enactment' in response to the above question as a useful way of exploring how schools created their own narratives and practices around what it means to have culturally diverse families in today’s Chilean schools, how to comply with the right to education of migrant children and adolescents and how to support their ex/inclusion process. In this sense, the term ‘enactment’ refers to:

An understanding that policies are interpreted and 'translated' by diverse policy actors in the school environment, rather than simply implemented. It is based on the related premise that 'policies do not normally tell you what to do, they create circumstances in which the range of options available in deciding what to do are narrowed or changed, or particular goals or outcomes are set' (Ball 1994, 19). As such, putting policies into practice is a creative, sophisticated and complex process that is always also located in a particular context and place (Braun et al. 2010, p. 547).

Thus to answer the question that guides Part II, I have divided it into two chapters. Chapter 5 explores the process of production of subjectivities around migration in the school field by addressing how schools staff’s interpretation of educational policies has created the migrant subject. Next, in Chapter 6, I discuss how schools have become a space of encounter for sociocultural diversity with the conformation of the so-called ‘multicultural school’ as a way to answer to those practices of ex/inclusion of migrant students and their families. By the end of Part II, I conclude that school practices of ex/inclusion are based on a monocultural and neoliberal educational field, that influences families’ schooling experiences in the context of south-south migration in Chilean schools, with the latter developed further in Part III.
Chapter 5. Subjectivities around migration in the school

1. Introduction

In the introductory chapter, I explored how the Chilean education system has dealt with the inclusion of those historically excluded and positioned as ‘others’, in terms of educational policies and programmes. Also, I introduced that today that ‘other’ is represented by migrant students and their families in Chilean schools. However, this ‘othering’ is not any migrant, but those that make Chileans question their Whiteness in relation to the region (Tijoux 2013; Tijoux et al. 2018).

In this sense, and following Bourdieu’s understanding about the state as a field of power, which through specific laws, regulations, policies, and programme has the power to define the ‘boundaries’ of what is in/out a specific ‘territory’ as well as the “common set of coercive norms” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p.112); I argued that the schools’ practices have reproduced a migrant subject excluded from the current Chilean educational field. However, as mentioned before this does not apply to every migrant, but those whose lower social class positioning together with their Latin American background, as well as marginal citizenship status, intersect and lead to them being positioned as ‘others’ in Chilean schools. Thus, this production of subjectivities becomes a form of symbolic power of ‘naming and classifying’ (Ibid p.167) those that are not considered ‘us’ within the state boundaries.

The issue of boundaries and classification as a political act from the state, and therefore creating specific categories of subjects, is not a new idea among the field of migration studies. As Crawley and Skleparis (2018) highlighted, categories serve a ‘political purpose’, especially under ‘migration regimes’ that as “all other ordering systems, create hierarchical systems of rights” (Crawley & Skleparis 2018, p.51). Additionally Tijoux (2013) argues that this categorization and classification of migrant students by schools becomes a subtle form of discrimination.

Hence, I aim to present how school practices framed under a neoliberal and monocultural educational field have reproduced specific narratives among school staff about migrant students. I distinguished three subjectivities, which I will discuss

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56 See Chapter 1.2.
in the following sections: the non-citizen (Section 2); unmarketable (Section 3); and ideal learner/parent (Section 4).

2. The non-citizen

The first issue mentioned by more than half of the schools staff interviewed (either those in a managerial position as well as from the psychosocial team) about the inclusion of migrant students and their families was related to the identification number. This number has become the symbol of belonging to the society (as a form of social capital), which through what I refer to as the civic capital; it establishes a legitimization in the eyes of the state and schools. This membership is materialized by having a National Single Role Number (commonly called Chilean RUT), meaning a national identification ID granted by the Chilean civil registration (from now on Chilean ID).

During the fieldwork, respondent staff mentioned this issue constantly, as they wanted to find ways to “better guide families in getting the RUT” (fieldnotes, PSA, May 2016) as it had a direct influence on the school benefits that the child was entitled to as well as on the child’s educational trajectory. This was addressed as a big obstacle for the inclusion of migrant students, however, little was done to pressurize the MINEDUC although it holds the power to revert this situation, especially, as mentioned in Chapter 1, with the introduction of the School Inclusion Law (MINEDUC, 2015a). Moreover, during the interviews with school staff, I realized that for them this new bill did not mean a great change, as it did not show immediate connections to their daily practices regarding the inclusion of migrant children and their families. As one social worker from a municipal school at the metropolitan region mentioned, she was very critical about the people at the Ministry who created the law. According to her, they do not have any real experience of what schools and families are facing in terms of their rights:

*Those who make laws should work in schools like these ones. I know it's a cliché what I just told you but it's so true, because then I go to meetings in the provincial [Provincial Department of Education]* and they do not have any idea what is the daily reality and the level of violation of rights that exists in migrant families (ULA_Esc1)

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57 See Chapter 2.2.1
58 Institution inside the MINEDUC that support schools based on geographical areas.
By the end of my fieldwork, a campaign started by one of the leading social organizations supporting the migrant community in Chile, challenging the state about this issue and using as an argument the School Inclusion Law. The final outcome was the institutionalization of this situation through an administrative document, which established a provisional identification number given to students, called Provisional School Identifier⁵⁹; meanwhile they are waiting for their visa.

This whole issue of the Chilean ID has created a strong social imaginary among schools staff, where they start to address that migrant children as non-existent/invisible/illega, which I argue are different ways of referring to migrant students as non-citizens, as it denies their sense of belonging, participation and rights. In practice, this non-citizen status has had an impact on migrant children and adolescents who are placed in a parallel system regarding their peers. They are not included in the General Student Information System⁶⁰ and, therefore, do not appear in the national statistics despite being students who attend school and fulfil their school duties. Therefore we could argue they are fulfilling the expectations associated with being a member of a social institution, in this case the school, which McCowan (2010a) identifies with the question of citizenship. Regrading this parallel system, this means that there is no official recognition of the student who has passed through a Chilean school, thus marking them as ‘non-existent’ in the Chilean educational field. For example, the head teacher from a free private subsided school of the metropolitan region used the expression ‘no engrosan las filas’, meaning that migrant students do not add to the ranks, which illustrates how without the Chilean ID students can become non-existent even when they are enrolled:

As they do not enter into the system [the General Student Information System], because at the end you remember that I told you that in the record they did not appear, those children did not exist, [even though] they were here (CJJ_Esc1).

Furthermore, the same head teacher continued explaining that this situation, caused by not having the Chilean ID, has impacted on the national statistics – something that I also mentioned in the introduction - as children are not ‘counted’ by the MINEDUC:

⁵⁹ See Appendix 4.
⁶⁰ See footnote 12.
So what happens? I gave him/her the certificate, the state paid a subsidy for that child, that child came to classes, but by the end of the year that child does not appear on the record. Why? Because he/she had a RUT 100 million [Provisional School Identifier]. Then, statistically (…) the data is less than the real total (CJJ_Esc1).

This administrative failure has created invisible subjects for policies, producing an ambivalence among schools staff about the participation of migrant students that come to school every day, interact with their peers, comply with their school duties; while they are marginalised by the state as non-existent in the Chilean educational field.

This invisibilization and non-existence of migrant students does not come only from the MINEDUC but also from the Home Office, which can influence schools’ bordering practices of their pupils. By this, I mean that as staff become worried about the migration status of their students, it can position them—figuratively— as agents of border control. For example, the head teacher from a free low-middle municipal school of the north region explained that to revert the situation of not being recognised by the system, parents need to regularise their migration status. However, as in Chile we are still very centralised in terms of procedures, all documents must be sent to the capital to be legalized by the competent authority. He is very concerned that this means a big cost for the families from his school, as not only do they have to send the documents to Santiago and pay for that process, but also the legalization process has its own cost. Thus, for him this ‘translates’ that not all children have access to this procedure; therefore, they will continue to be unrecognised by the education system:

100% of the children who arrived with a provisional permission [Provisional School Identifier], I believe that 10% regularize the situation in the year. And the rest, it drags on for next year … and the year passes …[there] are very few, very few children, 10% … this year from around 250, no more than 25 are going to be the ones who bring their [visa] (EC_Esc1).

One of the main consequences of the invisibilization of students is that as Chilean education is very much data-driven in terms of the implementation of policies and programme, not all migrants’ students are ‘counted’. As explained by the same head teacher:
For example, in the first year we have 90% of foreign children, in kindergarten the same. Then it means that I have 35 children, but at the end of the year, when I make the official document, the record, I only have 15 children, the other 20 are not there because they do not have the ID number. Then at the end, if one reviews the data of the school, there will be a class with 18 children, another with 10, with 12, but they all have [more] (EC_Esc1).

Therefore, the MINEDUC has reacted very slowly to providing better resources for schools. However, this can become a double-edged sword. In order to resolve the 'numbers', that is to make visible all currents students that are part of the education, migrant children need to go through a process of regularization of their migration status, as mentioned before. Failing to do so, as it involves the Home Office, might trigger situations of expulsion. During the fieldwork, I did not encounter this specific situation with the Home Office, but as I will explain in Part III61, one mother mentioned that the MINEDUC had expelled children from schools, as they did not have their migration situations worked out. This is something that as researchers and activists we have to be attentive to, especially in the current hostile environment towards migration in Chile and elsewhere62.

Moreover, this situation reproduces the idea of the 'illegal' subject. In migration studies, the use of the term 'legal' and, therefore, 'legal/illegal person', as pointed out by Stefoni (2001) in the case of Chile, is incorrect and, instead, one must speak of situations of irregularity or undocumented person because 'no human can be illegal'. For the Chilean scholar Pavez, this is an adjective that is charged with symbolic assumptions of what it means to be 'legal', since it generates "parameters of belonging and/or exclusion in the host society" (2012, p. 91, TFS). Therefore, as the 'illegal' subject emerges in almost a third of the school staff narratives when referring to those students with unresolved migration situation, I argue this results in widespread exclusionary practices towards students and their families that will influence the school-family relationship in the context of migration.

This non-citizen issue for families, on the other hand, has meant in practice that their children’s grades are not recorded, so they are not listed as having completed a school year and they are not entitled to all school benefits. Thus, instead of worrying about pedagogical and socialization issues, all the efforts of the schools are placed on the bureaucracy of solving the citizen status of the children to become entitled to education. This, I argue, acts against the idea of inclusion to which the current

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61 See Chapter 9.4
62 For example in the UK there is national campaign called ABC – against borders for children - that it is trying to increase public awareness of how the information from the students census of the Department of Education is given to the Home Office to identify irregular migrant children and families.
system aspires, since it uses categories of distinction to segregate and differentiate, influencing the identity of the child and their families which by the mere fact of crossing borders are stigmatized as non-citizen.

Furthermore by labelling students as non-citizen, schools are tying the idea of citizenship only to the legal dimension, ignoring that citizenship is also about rights, participation and a sense of belonging, which shows how in the current context of migration in the Chilean educational field, the legal membership has dominated the discussion on citizenship. In this sense:

*Citizenship debates today continue to reflect tensions between citizenship as participation, political or otherwise, and citizenship as legal status, with or without accompanying rights and obligations. These debates also reflect a continuing struggle with the exclusionary aspects of citizenship, particularly those based on gender, sexuality, class, race, ethnicity, and religion* (Bloemraad et al. 2008, p.155).

3. The unmarketable

A second subjectivity around migrant students and their families’ that has been reproduced with the current state of policies, and is reflected in school staff practices and discourses, is linked to the neoliberal subject given the Chilean educational field63. In this sense, there is a calculation of cost-benefit of what it means for the schools to have migrant children enrolled. Therefore, throughout this section, I first refer to the tendency identified by half of the school staff interviewed during the fieldwork that migrant students do not ‘arrive’ with enough economic capital as they are not eligible for the Preferential School Subsidy64 as a consequence of not having the Chilean ID. Secondly, I refer to how some staff perceive that some ethnic/racial minorities groups of students from specific nationalities are not helping to improve the school score in the national standardized test - which has become the main expression of promoting the school - as they ‘lack the necessary’ cultural capital. Thus reinforcing what it is known as a ‘model minority’ discourse (Bradbury 2013b).

Both issues under a neoliberal model make migrant students unmarketable.

Regarding the funding issue, some schools staff feel forced to receive migrant children, erasing completely the fact that education is a public good under the principle of social justice, and going against the best interests of the child, according

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63 See Chapter 1.3
64 See footnote 10.
to the Convention on the Rights of the Children. Additionally, as children in an irregular situation may not have their Chilean ID, schools could be fined by the MINEDUC (what a contradiction!), which becomes problematic for schools, as these students are not reporting ‘profits’ but ‘losses’ for the institution, thus becoming **unprofitable subjects.** This was mentioned as a concern by a head teacher from the few private subsided schools in the fieldwork who charged an extra fee to families under the ‘shared funding scheme’:

*We are forced by the Ministry to give a place to those students who are not legalised as Chileans yet. Now, if there is a foreign child who does not have a RUT, we are forced to remove him/her because of two issues: it would be illegal for me to have children without RUT and I cannot enrol someone who does not have a RUT. If I have someone without a RUT, and I’m caught, I’m going to be fined* (CE_Esc1).

Furthermore, the head teacher gets worried that as he is giving a school place to a child in an irregular situation, he is then neglecting another child that has a Chilean ID. Placing one child as more deserving than another goes against the Chilean legislation⁶⁵ that establishes that both children have the same right to a school place; therefore, reproducing hierarchies between children, which becomes an exclusionary practice towards migrant children who are in an irregular situation. Moreover, he bases this hierarchy in terms of money, reinforcing once again a neoliberal educational regime, since children in an irregular migrant situation do not bring to the school enough economic resources:

*This is a money issue. I stop giving a chance to a child that does have a RUT [Chilean ID] and that generates me a subsidy. To the child who does not have a RUT, I cannot even have him/her as a humanitarian, because I get a fine and also [the child] does not generate money* (CE_Esc1).

Moreover, as the Chilean education system is funded with a voucher system, as explained in the introduction, the idea that the ‘child comes with the money in the pocket’ has diminished the relationship between the families and schools. Instead of challenging the state for its discriminatory voucher policies, families are being held responsible for the underfunding of schools, and the fact that education is a right is forgotten.

As mentioned already, even though migrant children have an irregular status, by law they are entitled to a school place; however, this does not mean that they will receive

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⁶⁵ See Chapter 1.3
all school benefits. This is especially true with the Preferential School Subsidy, which is a voucher introduced in Chile in 2008, aiming to provide extra funding to those schools with vulnerable children. The classification of vulnerability is based on different indicators (Joiko, 2011). One of these indicators is that the family of the student should be registered in the Social Protection Record, which in the case of migrant children and families without a Chilean ID is not possible. Thus, schools that should receive this extra voucher as some of their migrant students are ‘classified’ as priority, are not receiving it. This has happened in a municipal school in the metropolitan region, as the social worker explained to me:

*The more foreigners we have in school, less priority we have, we are running out of money. Moreover, there is no psychologist because there is no money, our social worker is paid for by another school otherwise I would be alone (ULA_Esc1).*

The second feature of the Chilean neoliberal education field is the standardized test “SIMCE” (the acronym stands for System of Measurement of the Quality of Education). Among some staff, there was a narrative, which links migrant students with bad performance (as described by the social worker in the below quote). Nevertheless, there is no evidence to support the above statement, and in fact, as we will see later on this study**, it seems that the opposite is happening, as migrant parents and school members recognised that migrant students are sometimes in the top performance band of schools. What is problematic is that first, the migrant student body is homogenized; and second, the discussion focuses on results rather than thinking about why the performance is not as good as expected. One answer to this question is that, as mentioned in the introduction, the Chilean educational field focuses on availability and accessibility rather than on acceptability, meaning that less attention has been placed on the pedagogical and social issues that can affect migrant students (Tomaševski, 2009). Therefore, the curriculum taught and later tested does not recognise the sociocultural reality of today´s schools.

The only thing that has been implemented so far is that students whose first language is not Spanish or students who have been in a Chilean school less than a year, or those students whose Spanish was limited can be exempted from taking the SIMCE (this was first introduced on 2012). This was already implemented with students with special needs. In both situations, the solution from the Ministry for those students who do not ‘fit the norm’ is exclusion. Which shows, once more, that the purpose of the SIMCE is simply to measure and create an indicator of

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** See Section 4 of this chapter and Chapter 8.3
competence among schools, rather than a tool to help to improve education. This exception nowadays has been used mainly for Haitian students. All of these tensions about the SIMCE were very well known by the social workers that I interviewed from a municipal school:

*I have some colleagues who think that foreigners have a worse educational quality, I do not think so. Haitian possibly, not only because of the language, but also because of the weak educational structures in Haiti, but a Peruvian has a lower level than a Chilean? I do not think so, or at least he has better spelling or better reading comprehension. We should diagnose it, but we don't do it. So when they gave us the results of the SIMCE, that are terribly bad, it does not consider that we have 80 Haitians. The Haitians or those who come from non-Spanish-speaking countries can be exempt from taking the SIMCE during the first year, there is a decree, but the rest has to do it as it is (ULA_Esc1).*

Also in the above statement from the social worker, we see some hints of what has been referred to as a ‘model minority’ discourse (Bradbury, 2013b). The term is used to indicate that ethnical/racial minorities groups are compared, placing one over the others. The aim is to reproduce a hierarchy between groups and to identify those who are ‘better models’ depending on the purpose, which in this case is performance. As argued by Bradbury, where this model becomes problematic is that “these ideas work powerfully to maintain a White idealised norm and deflect attention from race disparities in attainment” (Ibid p.558). In this case, the social worker places Peruvian students in a better position than Haitian students. For her this difference is due to the language barrier and the quality of education in Haiti, but also the process of adaptation is a factor that can influence too. She mentions that students suffer from racism:

*The process of adaptation of these children is not only because of the language, in the case of Haitians it is because of the colour of their skin, it is quite hostile (ULA_Esc1).*

The bad performance of the students is more complex and goes beyond migrant status. For example, the General Inspector, which was also the Conviviality Coordinator and who is part of the management team of a free middle private subsided school of the metropolitan region, mentioned that they had very low results in the last SIMCE and she believes that the reason behind this is because of the non-permanence of migrant students in the school:
Foreigners arrive and sometimes they are only for a year, two years and then they leave, they leave because they did not get used to it or because they simply move to another borough (PSA_Esc4).

However, when I asked her how this might influence the SIMCE, she retracts this because she realizes that when a student leaves the school, this should not influence on the score of the school. This demonstrates that this narrative has ‘crept’ into school members as an easy way to justify a structural and long-standing problem with the quality of Chilean education. Additionally, when students cannot be blamed more, it is the turn of families (beyond nationality) to become responsible for low performance:

It influences, as parents do not care about the study. This does not mean that it is only the fault of foreigners, the Chileans are also to blame, as I was saying 50 and 50… (PSA_Esc4).

The General Inspector links this issue of ‘not caring’ with working conditions. In her words, there are some criticisms, although very superficial, on how the labour structure has influenced family dynamics and therefore their participation in school. Similar findings have been highlighted in the case of Castillo and colleagues study, where they concluded, “the participation of the parents is conditioned by work and the availability of time to support the students daily in their studies or to attend meetings” (2019, p.49, TFS). Furthermore, Collet-Sabé argues that one of the great axes of tension in recent years around family issues is the reconciliation of time regarding different areas such as personal, family, work and leisure (2013). However, this incapacity of making enough time falls again into individual blame, and especially blaming mothers, as there is a tendency to argue that ‘they are the only ones responsible for education, never fathers’. Furthermore, it seems that being a ‘hard-working mother’ for the schools is just an excuse for mothers not to get involved in their children’s education. Moreover, for Collet-Sabé this evidence the gender inequalities when it comes to reconciling family-time. Thus, this problem is constantly reproduced ignoring a bigger problem regarding precarious working conditions, based within a neoliberal economic system, as the General Inspector further elaborates:

... because there are also Chilean mothers who work hard and leave their children in childcare in the afternoons and let the school to do everything, they do not worry about the school materials (..) people give a lot of emphasis to work, they 'hide' behind work (PSA_Esc4).
Hence, migrant students and families have faced the whole spectrum of a neoliberal education field, which demands that Chilean students ‘bring money and score well’. This also becomes transversal; it crosses the entire student body and their families, as seen in some examples regarding students from low-income families or with special needs (Cárcamo-Vásquez & Rodríguez-Garcés 2015; Espinoza et al. 2012; López et al. 2014; Santana 2010). Therefore, education in Chile has failed in terms of equality and social justice, as the focus has just been placed on creating subjects as commodity (in terms of money and performance). Moreover, a tension is visible in the current Chilean education field, as the state under the Educational Reform is promoting ‘inclusion’ in schools. Nevertheless, that ‘inclusion’ seems to be subject to a family-school relationship that has been built on an economic exchange (through the voucher and the outcome of students).

However, it is also important to highlight that some school staff from the fieldwork also felt ‘between a rock and a hard place’ or as we say in Spanish ‘entre la espada y la pared’67. This means that schools feel trapped between practising an inclusive education and a market-driven system. Furthermore, as the social worker from the municipal school highlighted ‘there is a lot to do’ regarding the inclusion of migrant students and their families, and as she emphasized in the previous section, she is very critical about what the Ministry is doing to accomplish this:

There is the issue of visas, there is the issue of the studies [validation], there is the issue of incorporating pedagogical strategies for the attention to diversity. Do the people who created the Law of Inclusion know all of this? And then think that in the school there is a SIMCE, there is a process of de-municipalization of education, there is an Educational Reform. Migrants are not contemplated to any degree (ULA_Esc1).

What follows explores in more detail the performativity of the Chilean education field regarding migrant students and their families; following what Bradbury (2013a) has referred to as the ideal learner based on Youdell (2006a).

4. The ideal learner/parent

Half of the school staff interviewed had a narrative about what they were expecting of migrant students and parents, to comply in some way to the ‘student and parents profile’ of the school. Which I argue becomes a form of subjectivity around

67 Meaning: between the sword and the wall. The origin of this expression comes from the confrontation with swords. Therefore when a person has a sword in front and a wall behind, they cannot escape.
the *ideal learner*. Bradbury argues that this model “is important because it prescribes the characteristics and skills a child needs to display in order to be recognisable as a learner” (Bradbury 2013a, p.1). Also, she highlights that “children’s transitions into recognisable student-subjects are dependent on their adoption of these values”. In the case of the English education system as well as in Chile, these values are linked to *neoliberalism* “which overlays older and alternative notions of a ‘good student’, while closing down other possibilities for successful subjectivities in school” (Ibid).

Regarding this study, notions of the ideal learner was something that respondent parents were very aware of, as I will discuss in Chapter 8.2. In this sense, this ‘ideal learner’ is also transferred to parents, as their responsability is to become the ‘ideal parent’. Furthermore, this ideal learner/parent is not only a narrative that was possible to observe among some of the school staff, but also it has been *institutionalised* in their Institutional Educational Projects (IEP). As mentioned in the methodology chapter, the IEP is an internal document meant to provide information to the general public about the school organisation, principles and other relevant information. According to a guideline from the Ministry, the profile section in each IEP should establish what actors are *needed* so that the educational project is possible to be implement; and what are the *competences* that they should have to make the project possible (MINEDUC 2015b, p.31).

In this study, 9 out of the 16 schools from the fieldwork have developed this profile in their IEP. In this sense, it is important to highlight that each school decides what to include in this document, therefore not all schools from my fieldwork have addressed what do they expect from their students and families. From those nine schools, there is a mix of municipal, private subsided schools; as well as schools from the metropolitan and north regions. Based on the interviews with school staff, migrant students and parents were expected to assimilate as much as possible to the profiles that they had established, of course, this also counts for Chilean families. In this sense, schools staff identified that this assimilation was part of the *chilenization* process, hence students and families *adaptation process*. As mentioned by the social worker of a private subsided school of the metropolitan region as well as by a head teacher from a municipal school in the north:

*It is difficult at the beginning of the year because different nationalities arrived, colours. It is difficult, a little, because they arrive with their mañas [colloquial way to refer to bad habits], with ‘their things’ but then they adapt and you see the changes (PSA_Esc3).*
So, the foreign parents send their children, **they adapt to the rules**, their personal presentation, their regular attendance, the attendance of the parents themselves, to the requirement of the school (EC_Esc1).

Also, the use of the term *ideal* represents that this is something that it will **never be achieved**, as “the operation of a model of an ideal learner in the classroom relates to this constant need for repeated conferral of recognition: it is an unobtainable ideal that can never be achieved, but children must strive toward it in order to be recognised as ‘good’ learners” (Bradbury 2013a, p.7). Which in the case of this study is represented by the **contradiction** of the chilenization process itself. Migrant students and families are expected to act as much as possible to the behaviours of ‘Chilean students/parent’ but, as we will see later, many of the Chilean families from the schools of the fieldwork were not able to achieve this ‘ideal learner/parent’ as they are characterized by some school staff as disengaged towards learning and participation.

In this sense, when staff acknowledged that Chilean families are distant from the ideal model, then if migrant students and parents start adopting a disengaged attitude towards learning and participation, they become chilenized but in a negative way, as they are adopting the **bad habits** of local families. This was addressed by the head teacher from a middle-low private subsided school of the north region. He used the expression ‘**all new brooms sweep well initially**’ to refer how migrant parents at the beginning are very committed to their children's educational issues, but as time goes by, they become less ‘new’, they are ‘chilenized’. He highlighted this as a ‘**pejorative saying**’ meaning that:

> After a while they **do not care about anything**, ‘I come to enrol the child in March and come [to hear] the [academic] results in December, if she/he passed OK, if not …’ Very typical of Chilean parents (CE_Esc1).

The head teacher also links this bad behaviour of the Chilean families with their **social class**; which in the case of his school are the middle-low families who are attending:

> In these [socioeconomic] strata, the parents are lazy, because of negligence, because of work, there is much neglect for children. Then this is what happens later. At first, they [migrant parents] are concerned, but then if their children misbehave and you call them for an interview, they complain because they do not have permission to come from work (CE_Esc1).
Very similar to my earlier point in relation to the unmarketable subject (Section 3), in this case too, the head teacher individualises the problem of participation and only mentioned superficially the issue of working conditions. He blames parents as being disengaged when they are called to school meetings, even though he recognises that this is because of work; therefore, it is not a lack of will or laziness. So once more, we can observe how the working conditions of families are ignored as when parents use it to explain their impossibility of them participating, for school staff this is just considered as an unacceptable excuse.

On the contrary, there were also other school staff interviewed, such as the head teacher of a municipal school also from a school of the north region, that mentioned that 'migrant parents in general, and Bolivians and Peruvians in particular, are very committed’ to the school and this is reflected by the end of the year award ceremony as all the prizes go to their children. So this shows how parents and students are complying with the ideal learner/parent expected by the school. Moreover, the same head teacher even compares Bolivian and Peruvian families with Chilean families:

They [migrant parents] are very clear that they have to take advantage of the opportunity given by the school in a 100%, which does not happen with our national parents [Chileans] (...) Then, it is reflected in the panorama of the schools. Here for example when we make awards to students, all the prizes are taken by foreigners (...) then that concern from [migrant] parents is reflected in those moments, in hard data 'who is the best student?: foreigners', 'in the other [classroom]?: another foreigner’. Then in those aspects the foreigners are a contribution (EC_Esc1).

This comparison can be another form of the model minority discourse mentioned earlier, but instead of comparing between two migrant communities, in this case the former is placed in a higher position that Chilean families. Also, for the head teacher, this becomes a clear expression that migrant families make a positive contribution, as they get close to what schools expect of the ideal learner/parent and also that this can be used as an argument to push local parents to do better.

This comparison between migrant and Chilean families has also been addressed in the study of Poblete (2006), one of the first studies about migration and education in the north of Chile. In his study, when referring to the perception of schools of Peruvian families, he argued that they are conceived by staff with “characteristics that are not usually present in Chilean parents such as being respectful of people (other parents, teachers and managers) and with the rules that govern the school” (Ibid p.342-343, TFS). In fact, he argued that schools view Chilean parents as if
“they have no interest in what happens inside the schools, let alone the pedagogical processes that mark the development of children” (Ibid).

Therefore, this situation sheds lights on the process of ‘otherness’ produced by school members, as either migrant parents are not Chileans or they have become the ‘wrong’ Chileans. But also it places the responsibility of failure on the individual, coherent with the neoliberal subjects as he/she is “responsible and self-regulating (and self-blaming)” (Bradbury, 2013a, p.8). Moreover, the never achievable ideal learner/parent status can also be understood as the instance of the ‘impossibility’ for minorities to succeed, “due to the prevalence of racism in society and its institutions” (Archer 2008, p.97). In this case, success is linked to the ideal learner/parent imposed by Chilean schools on migrant students and their families. This ideal does not appear to exist in the immediate reality in the schools with Chilean families, as explained earlier. Thus, I argue that this narrative by Chilean schools has reproduced a situation in which whatever migrant students and family do; they can more easily fall into the category of non-ideal learner/parent than Chilean students and parents.

5. Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, we can see how the state as a field of power, through specific policies and programmes has had the power to influence school staff practices and discourses that in turn have reproduced different categories of otherness. For example, in terms of the non-citizen subjectivity we can see how practices have been influenced by the importance of children having the Chilean ID, a potential exclusion emanating from the current migration regime; whereas the unmarketable subject is an exclusion emanating from the voucher scheme as well as the SIMCE test; and finally, the ideal learner/parent is mainly influenced by schools’ Institutional Educational Projects. Furthermore, these different subjectivities do nothing but remind migrant students and their families through daily social acts that they are the outsiders (Domenech, 2014). This position of the outsider will be barely transformed if the social structures and interactions remain within a monocultural and neoliberal educational field. In this sense, as concluded by Beneyto and colleagues (2018) “when the established borders are broken, the communication and bonds between the two agents are transformed in a way that promotes trust, dialogue and mutual understanding” (Ibid p.220). Thus, questioning the school
bordering practices regarding their relationship with families it is not a superficial matter, it is highly relevant to build schools ‘truly equitable and inclusive’ to all (Ibid).

Additionally, as mentioned earlier in the introduction of Part II, these three subjectivities reproduced in the Chilean field of education, influence migrant mothers’ and fathers’ schooling experiences which I discuss in Part III, as parents’ dispositions cannot be isolated from the field itself. Thus, based on the data in this chapter, determining who has the power in the construction of the school-family relationship.

Furthermore, it is possible to observe that the above school practices have created invisible and marginalized subjects since they are excluded from the schools’ records (non-citizen); do not bring enough monetary resources (unmarketable); and are at fault with the model of students and parents (non-ideal learner/parent). This implies a symbolic power demarcation of otherness and exclusions, which in many ways is also very similar to the subjectivities produce by school staff members’ narratives of working-class families in the Chilean context.

In the next chapter, it is possible to observe how schools are trying to make migrant families ‘visible’ through the multicultural manifestations of the ‘multicultural school’, as their ‘otherness’ embodies the diversity in the school. In this sense, we can see in the next chapter how the notion of ‘otherness’ is reinforced in Chilean schools when talking about diversity and ‘race’.
Chapter 6. The multicultural school

1. Introduction

As mentioned earlier in Chapter 2.3, there has been an extended debate about the possible similarities between multiculturalism and interculturalism, influencing that both concepts are sometimes been used as synonymous to refer to the sociocultural diversity and interactions that emerge as a consequence of migration. This was the case for example among the narrative of the school staff members interviewed, where the notion of multicultural has positioned itself as the concept to talk about migration and not so the concept of interculturality, which has been already present in the Chilean field of education regarding the indigenous population. In this sense, as mentioned in the theoretical chapter, I agree with Dietz (2017) interpretation that this is so as there is as a problem of 'discursive migration' between the concepts together with the tendency of the South to adopt concepts that originate in the North instead of acknowledging what has already been produced in the region. Therefore this chapter discusses the conformation of the 'multicultural school', term that has been included as it was how schools referred to their intercultural practice as a way of including migrant students and their families. Furthermore, it is important to clarify that the multicultural school does not exist as a type of school, but rather as a series of practices in relation to the context of migration in Chile.

Based on my fieldwork, I operationalize the idea of the Chilean multicultural school as a school that presents manifestations such as celebrations (also referred to as encounters), decorations, or narratives in relation to the inclusion of national and culturally diverse families. Thus, it is a series of practices by schools that have a high enrolment of migrant (or migrant-heritage) students, in order to enhance the coexistence of sociocultural diversity in the school. From the interviews carried out with school staff during the fieldwork, I could find more than one form of these multicultural manifestations. What follows is a description of some of these manifestations to provide the reader a sense of these school practices.
2. Multicultural manifestations

I was invited by one of the schools from the fieldwork to participate in their multicultural celebration. The school is a free, middle-class, private subsided Catholic school in the metropolitan region. The school explained on their website that the Multicultural Encounter was a:

*Big activity that promotes the encounter of the diverse cultures that are part of our school. It consists of an abundant gastronomic sample with the cheerful dances that highlight the essence of each country*.  

![Encuentro Multicultural](image)

**Photo 9 Encuentro Multicultural**

It was scheduled for a Friday after lunch, hence even though there were some parents, mainly mothers, the majority were the students, teachers, and staff of the school, as well as external people that were invited such as a representative of the local General Practice Surgery, the police force, other school staff of the other schools of the congregation. The event was organised on the terrace of the school (figure 14), which was decorated with the flags of the ten different countries that were part of the school community: Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, China, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Peru, and Venezuela.

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*Text translated by the author.*
Also the school had placed stands and chairs facing a big stage decorated with the map of South America and with the phrase “Mi Bella America” (My beautiful America). Followed by parts of the lyrics of a song called “Si somos americanos” (If we are Americans) from the Chilean singer Rolando Alarcón:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Si somos americanos} & \quad \text{If we are Americans} \\
\text{Somos hermanos, señores} & \quad \text{We are brothers, gentlemen} \\
\text{Tenemos las mismas flores} & \quad \text{We have the same flowers} \\
\text{Tenemos las mismas manos} & \quad \text{We have the same hands} \\
\text{Si somos americanos} & \quad \text{If we are Americans} \\
\text{Seremos una canción} & \quad \text{We will be a song}
\end{align*}
\]

Also, at the left side facing the stage there was a display, showing how multicultural the school was in terms of worship\(^69\), idioms, and food. This was prepared in a workshop with students by the psychosocial team which where the organisers of the event.

\(^69\) Even though it doesn't show a variety of religions as it only displays images of the Virgin Mary, it shows how diverse can be the Christian worship in Latin American.
Photo 10 Display: worship

Photo 11 Display: idioms
The hosts of the show were a Chilean male teacher and a Peruvian mother, dressed in traditional Chilean costumes (from the north and central part of the country). The event started with a speech from the head teacher, where she mentioned that the school welcomes eleven nationalities including Holland, since the Catholic religious congregation of the school comes from that country. Then a group of students from a nearby special needs school performed a traditional Colombian dance. Later on students, sometimes accompanied by fathers and mothers, went to the stage carrying on their flag; meanwhile, the anthem of the country was played. They had to wait there until the song finished and the next country was named. The celebration repeated this for each of the ten countries.

For some families this act was emotional. This was the case for the Dominican and Venezuelan families. The Peruvian together with the Chilean community were the largest group that came to the stage. After this performance, everyone was invited to go around the stands and try the food tastings that the families had prepared. To finish the celebration, an association of senior citizens presented some traditional music and dances from Chile. I met at the event the previous head teacher that
mentioned that this was a ‘nice school, but you needed to have lots of vocation70 to be there as it was not going to make you rich as children and families had many problems’. I can understand – even though I do not agree with identifying families as a problem - that this kind of comment can be said at a school board meeting when discussing the difficulties or tensions between the school and families. However, I do not see the purpose of mentioning this in the context of the celebration. I was actually shocked by her statement. We had just witnessed how families were enthusiastically participating in the school multicultural celebration, all done in their spare time. Their active participation was not enough to remove, not even just for once, the label of ‘being a problem’ (Ribbens McCarthy & Edwards, 2010).

Regarding the multicultural manifestation in the form of narratives, I also had the chance, as explained before, to review the Institutional Educational Project of the schools from my fieldwork, where more than once it was mentioned that the ethos of the school or ‘institutional stamp’ (as we call it in Chile) was to integrate all students independently of their sociocultural background. For example, this was the case in a free, middle-low municipal school of the north region, where one of their aims was to be:

A patrimonial and inclusive school that integrates students and parents belonging to diverse social and cultural strata, both national and foreign and of cognitive levels.

However, can these manifestations from the ‘multicultural school’ be a new way of understanding Chilean schools beyond the monocultural lens or is just a new way of managing inclusion and diversity? To answer this question, I identified three main aims that where mentioned in the interviews with staff concerning the rationale for these multicultural manifestations as forms of inclusion: embracing diversity (Section 3); fostering good relations (Section 4), and creating a sense of belonging and recognition (Section 5). With each of the aims, I identified both the possibilities as well as the limitations of the ‘multicultural school’ in challenging the structures and everyday encounters that racialize, inferiorize, and dehumanize (Walsh, 2009) according to the critical interculturality framework.

70 A common word used in Chile to represent someone’s pastoral service to others. It links to Catholicism, which means that a person can receive a (figurative) ‘call or inspiration’ from God to lead a way of life, especially of a religious nature.
3. Embracing diversity

Regarding this first aim, which was mentioned by almost half of school staff interviewed, of the multicultural school to address the inclusion of migrant families, it was possible to observe how, as the social worker of a municipal school emphasised it has been important to recognize that difference can be an ‘opportunity’:

*Incorporate the difference, but the difference as an opportunity, that is, as something different but not separating; that is the point of view that I have and that the school has as a vision (ULA_Esc1).*

Thus, schools' reputation as being multicultural allows the possibility of a form of inclusion. Additionally, this openness is mainly supported by the idea that schools become sensitive communities towards the inclusion of migrant families. Concerning their reputation, some school staff interviewed used the narrative of being multicultural as a way of making themselves unique and distinguished from other schools. This reputation is to convince migrant parents to choose their school because they are known for being open to culturally and national diverse families, something that I will discuss further in Part III. This was highlighted, for example, by the head teacher from a free, middle-class, private subsided school of the metropolitan region (CVP_Esc1). She explained that migrant parents from the school have ‘look out for the school, as they are ‘famous’ for ‘treating’ migrant families well. They are not just the school of ‘the corner’, they are an attractive option and parents who ‘prefer’ them will even come from ‘far away’. Here the head teacher used all the main elements to place the school as a ‘good choice’, based, in this case, not on the academic standards, but on the fact of being a multicultural school. Furthermore, the psychologist of the same school added:

*And they [the families and students] also identified the school as a multicultural school. A student said that this is an international school that receives all countries, they know, you can notice (…) that's like another feature of this profile is that they recognised it as culturally different (CVP_Esc2).*

In this sense, having a reputation of being multicultural has been established as the logo for embracing diversity and cannot be possible if schools do not become sensitive communities. It can be argued that this is an affective dimension, which is also referred as ‘intercultural sensitivity’, according to Morales and colleagues (2016). In other contexts, such in the US, it has been called ‘community receptivity’, element that becomes relevant for the process of integration of newcomers (McDaniel & Smith 2017). Thus, as mentioned by the head of curriculum from a
municipal school of the north region, school staff needs to become sensitive to the
migration experience faced by their students in order to aid the adaptation process
as well as to become inclusive schools, and this may mean rethinking how things are
done.

I think that what it is missing is a bit more willingness, maybe from
the management team, all of us and say ‘hey, let's stop, we need
to have a reception for them, a special adaptation period, maybe
we should not evaluate them in the first month, we must not
demand a lot from them, but rather they should be incorporated
little by little (LMBS_Esc2).

This process of inclusion of migrant families into the Chilean school has mainly been
done locally and based on autodidactic moves from schools. Hence, most of the
experiences that I heard during the fieldwork were designed and implemented by the
schools, mainly because they felt that the national education guidelines have failed
to acknowledge the rapid changes of the Chilean education field and the new
diversity embodied by migrant students. A recent study from Castillo and colleagues
(2019) have described these initiatives carried out by schools as an intuitive reaction
to the sociocultural transformations that schools are experiencing. Moreover, schools
refer to this autodidactic process in two ways. First, taking up administrative issues
such as supporting families in their regularization status (as mentioned in the non-
citizen subjectivity), which will allow them to access to complementary benefits from
the education as well as other public services, such as health. Additionally, being a
sensitive school community must also focus on the pedagogic. In other words,
offering an education of quality and making effective the right to education.
Therefore, the school experience for migrant students’ needs to be adapted, for
example through the curriculum.

This narrative of being sensitive what families had faced regarding their migration
often derives from an individual or group of people inside the school that has a
special connection with migration (for example s/he has experienced migration) or
‘circumstantially’ they are in charge of the inclusion of migrant families. I used
‘circumstantially’ as there is no official role inside the school that supports migrant
families. It usually falls on the psychosocial team or the management team. In this
sense, staff in schools that become sensitive communities had learnt about the
migration legislation; built networks with organisation supporting migrant
communities; adapted their admission process and created protocols to welcome
families.
Thus, some of the schools in the fieldwork have become ‘pioneers’ in the process of inclusion, even before the state, as they are much more aware of the reality and needs of families. Furthermore, the state has drawn upon schools to learn about how they have adapted their processes. This was the case with the diagnosis done by the MINEDUC that culminated with the elaboration of the “National Policy for Foreign Students 2018 – 2022”.

However, some limitations are identified with the ideas of a multicultural reputation and being a sensitive community. I argue that these limitations become a constraint towards inclusion from a social justice perspective. With the reputation as an open institution, I also identified in the narrative of almost a third of the school staff interviewed that there is a utilitarian purpose as there is a need to capture more families given the way the education system is funded in Chile. Even more, for some schools, it has been a ‘salvation’ to define themselves as multicultural due to a significant loss in the enrolment process in previous years. Situation that have even been recognised by the MINEDUC and publicised in the media (El Dinamo 2018) with heading such as “Municipal schools register a rise of 13 thousand students, stopping 17 years of enrolment decline” (El Mercurio, 2018). Something also highlighted in the recent study from Castillo and colleagues where they concluded that the arrival of migrant students "fulfils an economic function (...) where the massive entry of these students helps the struggling public system to survive" (Castillo et al. 2019, p.18, TFS).

This was the case of one of the municipal schools of the north region as explained by the head of curriculum (LMBS_Esc2). The school could easily accommodate 1,300 students. However, they were about to close the school and merge with another municipal school because they did not have enough students. Nevertheless, the enrolment had increased with the arrival of migrant students, and this stopped the school closing. Therefore embracing the ‘multicultural flag’ has become a strategy of survival of some municipal schools with low enrolment, that is, the multicultural becomes functional again to the Chilean school market.

Furthermore, the utilitarian purpose is highly embedded in the ambivalent relationship that schools and families have built under the neoliberal Chilean education field. For example, the same head teacher that previously emphasized the multicultural reputation of their school, used the expression that the school approach to this new sociocultural diversity has been chameleonic: ‘I tell you that this is our

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71 See Chapter 1.3
model, right? A little more chameleonic’ (CVP_Esc1). This means that the purpose of the school to embrace diversity was used differently depending on the situation. On one hand, the school embraces diversity as a desire to be perceived as welcoming to migrant parents that are looking for a school place, but on the other hand, there is a utilitarian logic to recruit more pupils, based as mentioned before, in the voucher scheme. Therefore, being a diverse school that welcomes migrant families also becomes a marketing strategy.

Also, the head teacher recognises that - as some schools have suffered a decrease in their enrolment, as mentioned before - they needed more vouchers to fund themselves, thus the importance of diversity of the student population is diluted as the priority is simple more students and not who and where do they come from. This can illustrate an ambivalence towards embracing diversity and the chameleonic model that she refers to:

What happens is that two things come together (…) the reality of the school voucher is how the schools live and the low enrolment based on the demographic level. We do not have a great demand for enrolment from the people of the neighbourhood. I do not care who is the one who is in line to enrol if it is a Russian, Chinese, Chilean, I don’t care, as long as they enrol because schools need a certain number (CVP_Esc1).

Regarding the idea of sensitive community, especially when it is linked to schools being open towards migrants, the tolerance notion also emerges, as it was pointed out by the social worker from the municipal school:

There are some [teachers] who are sensitized and there are others that are tolerant, there are different grayscale (ULA_Esc1).

Being tolerant, according to Diez (2013) using the critical interculturality framework, by no means will transform the structures and everyday practices, as the tolerance framework is just a way to avoid the discussion about the reproduction of the asymmetric and subalternization relations. Furthermore, Vincent (2019) in her recent study about schools’ responses to the fundamental British Values policy argues that the only time that this policy generated any criticism amongst teachers was about the notion of tolerance, with a minority of respondents noting that tolerance is a limited emotion and where the concept of toleration it also means that there is the power not to tolerate.
Also, why do staff feel they should be sensitive to difference? The answer is almost that they are doing families a favour even when education is a right; therefore, the narrative of sensitive communities adopts a paternalistic form of relationship (something I will also discuss in the next part regarding the process of accessing). I am not saying here that schools should ignore the conditions of families and their migration journey but every time I heard the notion of sensitive communities, it sounded as if families lost their agency during the journey, their capacity to decide and act, and schools have become their protectors. This also reproduces a strong ‘othering’, issue that it is embedded in a larger discussion about welfare-oriented policies which create subjects dependent on institutions which do not necessarily seek to distribute power per se but to maintain the status quo with the so-called focalization and compensatory policies directed towards to those labelled as 'disadvantaged' (Diez, 2004).

Consequently, when placing the possibilities (the reputation of being multicultural and having a sensitive school community to welcome migrant families) and the limitations (inclusion under the argument of funding rather than social justice and sensitivity becoming equivalent to tolerance and paternalism) of embracing diversity through the multicultural manifestations, what emerges is that diversity becomes useful, an aid to continue to operate under the neoliberal logic of the Chilean education field.

4. Fostering good relationships

This second aim of the multicultural school, was in the narrative among the majority of the school staff interviewed, which was identified by them as providing an important opportunity to build practices of conviviality –in Spanish convivencia – thus to create environments that encourage good relationships in the school. For example, one of the head teachers from a private subsided school of the north explained that the school started to organise a multicultural celebration where each of the different nationalities that compose the student body of the school shares their ‘typical food, typical clothing, typical dance’. When I asked him why they did this celebration, he mentioned ‘for conviviality’ (CE_Esc1). It is written in their Educational Improvement Plan (EIP) that they welcome migrant families; hence they needed to declare the actions they were taking to accomplish this purpose. The EIP is different from the Institutional Educational Project (PEI) mentioned before, as it is a new tool introduced in Chilean schools under the framework of school
improvement. Each school plans a 4-year improvement plan, based on the analysis and reflections of their PEI.

**For conviviality, for the issue of conviviality. We have what is called the EIP [Educational Improvement Plan]. We declare that we have foreigners and we have to declare what actions we do for the good relationship between the children of the different countries that come here, and then this idea has been devised to justify this aspect (CE_Esc1).**

It is important to be clear that the issue of conviviality is not new in schools practices and it is not only linked to the actions that schools should do for the inclusion of migrant students. Furthermore, as highlighted by Perales Franco (2018a) in different Latin American countries - such as in Argentina, Chile, Mexico and Peru:-

*The work on school convivencia has become an explicit part of their educational policies, emphasizing the need in these countries of a safe and positive convivencia to counteract school violence and provide an appropriate context for the development of learning processes (2018a, p.888).*

In this sense, in Chile, the term was introduced as part of school practices by the School Violence Law (2011). Each school should promote good school conviviality practices in order to prevent school violence; therefore, schools have to elaborate a management plan and protocols of action in situations of conflict. It also creates the role of a permanent staff member (conviviality coordinator) and introduces new tasks to the School Board (MINEDUC 2015c). The School Boards were established in Chile in 2004 in all state-subsidized schools (Zamora 2010), and it is a participatory space that should be informative, consultative, proactive and resolutive. It is composed of representatives of students and parents, together with teachers and the school management team (MINEDUC, 2015c).

Abril, an old-comer Peruvian mother from a private subsided school of the metropolitan region was the parents’ representative in the School Board, and she mentioned how important it has been to her to have meetings with the board to addresses issues of conviviality. These meetings are ‘every 15 days’ and they are focus on ‘fighting bullying [and] not to treating foreigners differently’ (CJJ_Fam2). In her view, this instance of participation has been important to make visible bad

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72 The author intentionally uses the word of *convivencia* in Spanish instead of conviviality as she emphasis that in Spanish-speaking countries – such as Chile and Mexico– the term refers to the experience of living together in a group or a community as it means “the act of *convivir*”. Therefore she highlights that “Defined in this way, the term could be translated as cohabitation, or coexistence” however “the meaning is slightly different because the term brings within, on the one hand, a sense that to *convivir* it is not enough to share the same space, but an engagement with each other is needed. The notion therefore focuses on the relationships that exists in those shared spaces and the meanings attributed to such relationships” (Perales Franco, 2018b, p.18).
practices such as discrimination, and she agrees that one of the strengths is that all members, including parents and students, propose and elaborate together better practices. One practice that Abril mentioned that they had all agreed on as a way to tackle discrimination towards migrant student was to place boards around the walls with information of the different nationalities of the students as a way to improve the conviviality and learn about others. Also, the use of boards aims to present how actually students coming from different countries are more similar that they think and this should create the feeling that they are ‘like brothers’:

We are now making some displays of the countries, and in 4th year they chose Dominican Republic. And in the 8th year it seems that they chose Peru. So in fact, if you move around the walls, there are boards especially for that, so they learn what the typical foods are, the typical places, the typical dances, all those things we are working in each classroom so the children get excited about what they like. So, what they want to do is to integrate the school so that all countries are like brothers, and there are no differences between any country (CJJ_Fam2).

Also, and linking this with the previous aim of embracing diversity, it can be said that these multicultural manifestations enhanced the idea that difference is an opportunity, in this case for learning, as the cultural knowledge from students and families tends not to be included in schools. Furthermore, the head teacher of Abril’s school also mentioned these boards as an example of the ways the school was fostering good relations among students in the context of migration.

Even though there are some good points here in terms of conviviality with the example of using the boards showing that countries share some commonalities and the participatory approach used in the School Board to decide together on this practice, what becomes problematic from these accounts is that diversity is positioned as a problem and it is objectified. For example, Marta, a Peruvian mother from a municipal school, when mentioning how important has been to learn about other cultures in the context of the multicultural manifestation, she placing together with the symbol-objects of diversity (i.e. custom, food) ‘race’ as something that you can ‘touch and feel’:
New parents who start to try different things, that maybe they did not have the opportunity to travel to another country, but here they already know the customs of each other, the clothing, even the colour too, because suddenly there are many who never saw a ‘Negrito’ 

Then imagine seeing a ‘Negrito’, and have him close, and touch, feel the skin that is different, that is the same, but the feeling is different (CO_Fam1).

Concerning diversity, as a problem, food, dancing and music are part of our identity as Latinos/as, so I am not arguing against these manifestations inside schools. However, it is naïve to think that just by reproducing them, schools will immediately tackle all forms of social hierarchies among groups. On the other hand, by placing practices such as decorative display boards with the different nationalities as a way to heighten the school conviviality situates diversity as something that needs to be tolerated and solved, when actually what should be discussed is why racism and discrimination is reproduced in the school. In this sense, these multicultural manifestations turn around the act of discrimination, as instead of focusing on the practices that discriminate, it presents as a solution that migrant families need to show off their cultural attributes to avoid being discriminated. Furthermore, when I asked Mina - an old-comer Peruvian mother from a private subsidised school of the metropolitan region - if she agreed that doing these celebrations were important for the community, she immediately said ‘yes’ and connected them as a way to address issue of discrimination and racism:

Yes, I think it is very remarkable from the school that they make these kinds of celebrations, because, not only here in Chile, but in other countries, there is so much discrimination, racism, of nationalities, and all this (PSA_Fam2).

So the display boards are a superficial response to prejudice and discrimination, one focused on the colourful and the exotic. Additionally, we should not forget that the discussion of creating these good practices has emerged in Chilean schools in the context of promoting conviviality which itself has been equated with preventing violence. In this sense, in the Latin American context the use of the term conviviality for educational programmes as been highly criticized:

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73 Diminutive of the word Black for men. I discuss the use of this diminutive further in Chapter 9.
Some scholars in Latin America have criticized convivencia programmes because their good intentions have ended up promoting narrow agendas emphasizing 'soft control' measures such as government surveillance and targeting of certain social groups – the impoverished, unemployed, 'criminal and violent', sexually 'abnormal', racialized and ethnically different – labelled as deviant, at risk, or threats to safety and social wellbeing (Nieto, 2017, p. 9).

Hence as the narrative of conviviality has shaped the discussion about diversity when schools aim to foster good relationships, these multicultural manifestations have been positioned as creating harmony, which is in line with a functional interculturality rather than a critical perspective that seeks to place on the table how diversity becomes an issue of conflict; and tensions are produced inside schools when addressing sociocultural diversity. Moreover, these multicultural manifestations are not enough, as they do not really address why discrimination or racism emerges, or as a recent study from Castillo and colleagues have argued “mere conviviality does not eliminate the existence of discrimination in the everyday of the school” (Castillo et al. 2019, p. 18, TFS). In this sense, the notion of conflict together with dialogue and communication from a critical interculturality framework are relevant in the context of social and racial inequality (Diez, 2004) since it can allow us to understand what is at stake: the struggle over power in the educational field.

These conflicts are normally based on racial prejudice and stereotypes that will not be solved just by the exhibition of multicultural manifestations; hence these practices become a tokenism (Youdell 2006b). For example, the same head teacher that mentioned at the beginning of this section that the school’s multicultural celebration was a way to foster good relationships, especially when talking about specific migrant communities.

I do not say that they [Chilean children] do not bother [migrant] children: “hey ‘negro’,” “have you polished yourself”, I do not tell you that there is no trouble, but we have learned to live with them, they have come here to stay. If you cannot be against them, join them better, and then the Chilean boys have learned to socialize with the foreign boys (CE_Esc1).

Furthermore, it is not only students that reproduced racist comments towards other students. I could also observed this racial prejudice and stereotypes coming from some of the school staff interviewed who had identified the multicultural manifestations as a way to foster good relationships, especially when talking about specific migrant communities. For example, the same head teacher himself when
describing the profile of the migrant families that the school welcomed reproduced racial prejudice and stereotypes. Moreover, the head teacher was 'very good' in homogenising and creating hierarchies among communities, which I have referred earlier as the 'model minority' discourse, placing Peruvian and Bolivian families above Colombians in terms of education but also regarding their attitude and adaptation process:

The Colombian foreigner who arrives here, arrives very disconnected, not so the Peruvian boy, the Bolivian boy, that are boys of excellent manners, very respectful, very educated, correct, low profile (...) Very hardworking people, the Peruvian and the Bolivian. People who come to work and to progress, do not come to destroy our country, but it comes to be a contribution to the country, they work, they are people ... although there are exceptions, honest people, people of effort who want to emerge, that is the type of Peruvians and Bolivians (CE_Esc1).

Whereas Colombians for him are the opposite, described by him as troublemakers:

The profiles of the majority of Colombians who arrive are party people. They do not care if it's Monday, if it's Tuesday, if it's Wednesday, they do not care what day it is. If they have to put together the party and make a fuss they'll do it. By nature they're like that, they're loud, like the country, unlike the other foreigners who arrive here (CE_Esc1).

Furthermore, he even refers to Colombian women and directly links them to some of the mothers of the school, without any hesitation, that they come to Chile 'to prostitute' themselves. He argued that this is because 'They have a different body than [Chilean] women, so there are many Chilean men who, for example, are 50, 60 year old, that have a gorgeous 'Negrita". They abandoned their wife and left with a Colombian’ (CE_Esc1). Here the intersection of gender, ‘race’, and nationality cannot be dismissed in the prejudice and stereotypes that the head teacher’s narrative has reproduced towards Colombians, which undoubtedly, given his position as a leader, permeate the school and the relationship that teachers and the team management have regarding their students and families of different nationalities. Here the issue is not about good or bad conviviality, is about racism and power inside schools. It is about understanding the migrant as the problem through a racist and machista social lens.

As an aside, before I go further in the discussion, I should mention that this was among the few interviews where my role as researcher felt in contradiction with my

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24 Diminutive of the word Black for woman. I discuss the use of this diminutive further in Chapter 9.
principles”. I got out of the head teacher’s office feeling complicit for not having stopped him and for letting him express himself so freely. I even felt distressed that he may have felt that I agreed with his racist and machistas words. This is one of the dilemmas that as researcher we might face when dealing with issues of exclusion and inequality. Thus, I deliberately decided to include this episode, even though it has been difficult to write about it, to make visible that this can be the level of prejudices that exists in the schools, from someone that has power, as the head teacher, towards student and families.

Another issue that emerged from the contradictions of the fostering good relationships aim of the multicultural school, was that jokes perpetuated by students that highlight a physical characteristic that may be related to ‘race’ - such as the skin colour – is not understood as racism by schools. It is just described as the way students relate to each other as their ‘teasing mode’. For example the social worker from a municipal school when I asked her if she was aware of racist comments between students, she highlighted that this did not happen, even though in her explanation you could see that actually student students made comments towards Black students in this ‘teasing mode’:

*The conviviality has been flowing naturally, that’s why I said that children have given us lessons in conviviality because there are no problems, there are problems of conviviality but the focus is not on the cultural (...) [is more about] why do you wear glasses, why the other is fat, the other is tall, the other is Black, that is, by characteristics that differentiate but not by xenophobia (ULA_Esc1).*

Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, schools by law have to elaborate and use protocols in situations of conflict or what is known as Conviviality Manuals. None of the schools from the fieldwork mentioned it during the interviews, even though five of the schools had stated in their manuals that any discrimination based on nationality, ethnicity and ‘race’ needs to be attended to by the school management as they are classified as a serious misconduct. Hence, schools seem to just relativize these practices - such as not referring to the name-calling as racist language (Gillborn & Rollock 2010) – as something almost inevitable and normal between students, as part of how they relate to each other.

Likewise, the idea that body differences –such as students mocking each other because their physical appearances - are not considered by schools as

75 See also Chapter 3.6.
76 See Appendix 4.
discrimination is something that Garratt (2016) also argues in her study about exploring diversity among boys in primary schools in Ireland. She concluded that “the body was always the target of debasement, however differences in skin colour added another layer of domination to this process, as phenotypical differences where used to further justify marginalisation as something evident and inevitable” (2016, p.84). In this sense the used of multicultural manifestations for the aim of fostering good relationships becomes the accomplice of a colour-blind rhetoric (Gillborn 2008) within a monocultural educational field.

This ‘race-neutral’ discourse is also present regarding the indigenous population in Chile. A recent study from Webb and colleagues (2018) focused on this issue regarding Mapuche students in the south of Chile, argued that not mentioning racism by schools is to conform to silence and a failure to recognise different forms of inequalities, regarding social class and ethnicity. Hence, we can argue that in Webb’s and colleagues’ study as well as mine, we are facing ‘institutional racism’. This term has been addressed by UK scholar David Gillborn in his work on critical race theory in education (Gillborn 2002). He acknowledges that the term has been ‘around for a long time’ and it originated in the US to addressed how this society was “saturated with assumptions and practices that have the routine effect of privileging White people over minorities” (Gillborn 2008, p.3). Moreover, Bradbury (2014) also highlights that the term addresses that:

Racism in schools has moved away from the idea of individual acts of racism (…) to more nuanced analyses of practices and systems which unintentionally discriminated against children and young people from minoritised communities (p.20)

In this sense, ‘institutional racism’ means that racism can be present in private and public institutions such as schools, and racist practices in these social organisations are “complex, sometimes subtle, but always powerful presence at the heart of contemporary society” (Gillborn 2002, p.1). Furthermore, both scholars use the definition from Macpherson (1999) about the Stephan Lawrence Inquiry (Rollock 2009) to provide a better understanding of the term, which consists of:

The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people. (Macpherson 1999, p.49)
Thus, this term exemplifies what critical interculturality refers to as those structures that run through institutions that ‘racialize, inferiorize and dehumanize’ (Walsh, 2009). Consequently, when placing together the possibilities (good practices for conviviality) and the limitations (i.e. conflict and tensions are not addressed; colour-blind system) of this aim to promote good relationships between students, what emerges are the asymmetrical power relationships between students, families and the school.

5. Sense of belonging and recognition

Finally, these multicultural manifestations, according to half of the schools staff interviewed aim to create a sense of belonging and recognition of migrants’ families that have been to date largely invisibilized and excluded in the Chilean schools. As mentioned by the social worker of the municipal school:

*It generates a sense of belonging to the school, to see a Peruvian mother singing the anthem and getting emotional (...) It works because I think they have also been excluded for a long time* (ULA_Esc1).

Hence, these multicultural manifestations can be addressed as **new spaces of participation** for the community. These new spaces link home and school, as schools may not have the knowledge and background of each country that composes the new ‘multicultural school’. This opens up the possibility to discuss the importance of including the **knowledge from the community** in the school field and also the role of parents in this field that has traditionally understood parents as consumer and partners (Vincent 2000). Furthermore, Veintie (2013) argues that the knowledge of minority groups based on non-dominant ‘race’, ethnicity, nationality and citizenship status should be “viewed as an asset, resource, or capital that should be acknowledged in school settings” to challenge those views that placed them ‘as lacking or deficient’, resulting in “a tendency to see the students themselves and their families and backgrounds as being the reason for the students’ low academic achievement” (Ibid p.245).

This is addressed later in the Part III when I discuss parents as a ‘source of knowledge’ of their cultural capital, when Loreto an Ecuadorian mother who is very active both in the school as well as in her community, argues that it is important that
parents approach schools to ‘continue building their culture’, meaning that each community should make visible their own culture in the school (EC_Fam1).

Moreover, it is possible to draw a parallel with school practice with regards to indigenous students in Chile. One of the main arguments of the implementation of the Intercultural Bilingual Education Programme was to incorporate the community to allow students to have a more substantial experience of their cultural background in their pedagogical process. Most of the instances of participation of the community were based on extracurricular activities such as the celebration of important festivities (such as the wetripantu, which is the New Year celebration for the Mapuche culture). This was valued by indigenous parents as they felt they ‘fitted into the school life’ (PEIB & CIAE 2011). Something very similar is also observed in the case of migrant parents where schools highlighted that this instances of participation around conviviality projects allowed migrant parents to feel they are identified with the school. As mentioned by the social worker from a private subsided school:

*Everyone noticed that it meant a lot to them, the fact of collaborating in this, many parents attended, even when they do not normally attend parents meeting, but this time they were happy. After this they were asking: ‘When is the next one coming? We want to register’* (PSA_Esc3).

However, this sense of belonging and recognition can also come with some tensions regarding the new spaces for participation, as parents are expected to participate as a way to say ‘thank you’ for being welcomed and this participation does not create a new space for any fundamental dialogue between parents and the school, beyond the multicultural manifestations. Furthermore, parents-respondents referred to the importance of participation as a way to build a family-school relationship as both as a commitment and obligation that they had assumed as a way to show gratitude for being welcomed by the school. This was the case for Walter, when in his first year he decided to get involved with the Parents Teacher Association (PTA) of his sons’ schools (something I further explore in Chapter 9).

A second limitation is that these manifestations presented among these practices as a way to create a sense of belonging can become just a folklorization process of ‘diversity’, that the multicultural celebration exists in one moment and is divorced from the classroom or other spaces of the school (such as parents meetings). Hence, the folklorization is a superficial understanding of diversity based on a caricature or stereotype of cultural essentialism (Curivil, 2013; Dietz, 2012). Furthermore, as we have seen many times through this chapter the word ‘typical’ is
placed each time the multicultural manifestations are explained, reproducing in fact stereotypical understanding of what does it means and look like to be Bolivian, Chilean, Colombian, Dominican, Ecuadorian, Peruvian, Venezuelan, images produced as if each country was a single unit of identity, very like the idea of the monocultural understanding of the Chilean society.

Additionally, these manifestations of the different cultures are used at schools as an excuse for ‘integration’. This was stated by the head teacher from a municipal school in the north, when he explained how through these cultural celebrations the school believes that it is possible to address ‘integration’:

*Here permanently the [school] acts, out there we place the flags of all the countries; we hang them as a symbol that we are multicultural. Also, we make a culinary show of the culture of each country; we do this at primary level in November. They [parents] put their stands and they [parents] put their typical meals, their boards with information of the country, their music, their clothing. So we are constantly working on that, on that integration (LMBS_Esc1).*

However, this act of ‘integration’ that folklorizes what the culture of each community means ends up reinforcing the reproduction of 'othering', which is closer to what is understood as part of the functional interculturality as:

*The recognition and respect for cultural diversity become a new strategy of domination, which points not to the creation of a more equitable and egalitarian societies, but to the control of ethnic conflict and the maintenance of social stability in order to promote the economic imperatives of the (neoliberalized) model of capitalist accumulation, now ‘including’ the historically excluded groups (Walsh, 2010, p. 77-78, TFS).*

These discourses of ‘otherness’ through these multicultural manifestations are not new in the Chilean educational field as they have also been present in the context of the intercultural education of indigenous students, where the argument of cultural diversity has been reduced to foods, costume, music, focusing on a superficial manifestation of culture (Donoso et al., 2006, Riedemann, 2008). Additionally, this has also been addressed in other contexts. In the UK, for example, these multicultural celebrations were described as the 3S ‘samosas, steel drums and saris’ (Troyna 1993). This model emerged in the 1970s and 1980s “as a practice that sought to encourage ethnic minorities to be proud of their own cultures and histories (...) and avoid the issue of racism” (Alibhai-Brown, 2000, p.17). The multicultural policies of that time reduced the argument of cultural diversity to the other's food,
clothing and music, thus focusing "on a superficial manifestation of culture (...) failing to address the continuing hierarchies of power and legitimacy" (Donald & Rattansi, 1992, p.2) among different communities.

Thus the folklorization process in the case of this study, has created in schools the tension between the identification through the multicultural manifestations of those who are the students of the school that embody diversity vs. those who are the students who are the norm, that do not need to ‘show off’ their culture as they are part of the majority. Hence, there is "an implicit reinforcement of the privileges of some students over others" (Matus and Rojas, 2015, p.52, TFS), that is, discourses of power based on identities, which can reproduce unequal relations inside the school field as it is possible to identified in the following quote from the social worker from a private subsided school of the metropolitan region:

*And that's what we want, we want to integrate families [migrant families], we want them [migrants] to feel like they are identified with the school, but it's a very slow work that must be prepared, well thought out, because we also have to make our children feel identified, the Chileans (PSA_Esc3).*

The social worker identifies that the student body can be classified between those that are ‘our’ students (Chileans) and those that are not (migrants). Additionally, when she refers to the process of integration, she distinguishes that those families that have to integrate are migrants’ families, whereas Chileans do not have to be part of this ‘integration’. ‘Integration’ therefore is understood here by the social worker as a one-way process, from migrant families towards Chilean society/schools and not as a two-way process (Anthias 2013). Furthermore, through this process of folklorization we can also see manifested some of the possible symbolic violence towards otherness produced by Chilean schools. One of the properties of symbolic violence is that it is not recognized as tangible violence and that it is why for the parents interviewed, these activities are perceived as an important space for ‘integration’ and recognition.

Furthermore, this idea of who embodies diversity today in Chilean schools has continued reproducing the narrative that diversity only emerged in contemporaneous Chilean schools with the increase of migration, embracing once more the monocultural educational field denying the existence of the sociocultural diversity among the Chilean society itself. Consequently, when placing together the possibilities (new space for participation and valuing the knowledge of the community) and the limitations (obliged to participate, cultural essentialism) of this
aim what emerges is a form of ‘coloniality of knowledge’ (Walsh, et al. 2006) as the cultural identity of families is placed in a superficial space, as well as an ‘effective’ mechanism of othering.

6. Conclusion

Joshee and Sinfield (2010) used the metaphor of a web referring to policy to address “how the open spaces created by the web can provide room for policy actors to advance, subvert, or sustain particular discourses based on their own positions and knowledge” (Ibid p. 57). This is what happened with the aims justifying the different manifestations of the multicultural school in terms of embracing diversity, fostering good relations, and creating a sense of belonging and recognition, as a form of inclusion for migrant families in Chilean schools. Indeed, we can see that parents and school members emphasised many positive aspects, such the school having a reputation of being multicultural and welcoming migrant families, good practices for conviviality and new spaces for community participation, thereby giving visibility to long-time excluded communities. Therefore, these manifestations are a straightforward way of signalling openness to diversity, and as such, do have some value.

However, ‘good intentions are not enough’ (Gorski 2008) when inclusion is used primarily as an argument for obtaining funding rather than social justice; when diversity is positioned as a problem and when culture is treated as an object. Therefore, some of these multicultural manifestations are superficial and limited in their reach. They do not address structural inequalities and racism. Their existence covers up or diverts attention from the need for more searching questions to be asked. Thus as highlighted by the recent study of Beniscelli and colleagues (2019) these school practices that intend to embrace diversity in Chilean schools have many times been implemented without any reflection. A situation that the authors distinguish as "a critical node when thinking about transforming the reality of an institution such as the school, which has traditionally been understood as monocultural and homogenizing" (Ibid p.397, TFS).

Therefore, regarding the initial question posed for this chapter: can these manifestations be a new way of understanding Chilean schools beyond a monocultural lens? I argue that it is possible to observe that the schools in the fieldwork have placed the old assimilationist model aside and have moved to an
intercultural understanding of diversity. However, this interculturality is still functional as it acts accentuating the neoliberal logic of the field, in the asymmetric relationships between the communities that compose the school and reproduces an essentialist understanding of the culture of families (Tubino, 2004).

In this sense, along with this chapter, we have seen how the 'multicultural manifestations' have become appealing for the functioning of the educational market, which has helped to promote the neoliberal logic of the Chilean educational field, a phenomenon Fraser refers to as ‘progressive neoliberalism’ (2017). However, multicultural manifestations have also emphasised the ethics of hospitality (Ruitenberg 2011) regarding welcoming migrant communities (Berg & Fiddian-Qasmiyeh 2018; Langmann 2011), behaviour which exists independent of the market. Both dimensions that emerge from these multicultural manifestations are key to understanding the spaces of contradiction and ambiguities of schools in market systems. In this sense, migration activates these two responses in Chile and resituates the issue of diversity which is still absent in a monocultural educational field that has made other communities invisible, such as the indigenous population. Thus ‘what is at stake’ (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) in the ‘multicultural school’ and the inclusion of migrant families is the degree of reinforcement of the hegemonic discourses around neoliberalism and monoculturalism.

With the understanding addressed so far in this part about how Chilean schools have interpreted and translated the national educational policies and discourses around migrant children and their families into practices of ex/inclusion; what follows in Part III focuses on the schooling experience from the perspective of mothers and fathers regarding their children’s’ education in the context of south-south migration.
Part III. Parents strategies in the schooling experience: 
(Un)feeling for the game

As mentioned before, this thesis is located in the space between the border areas (Di Caudo et al., 2016), represented by the school practices discussed in Part II, and the cracks, which “reveal the irruption, the beginning, the emergence, the possibility and also the existence of the very other” (Walsh, 2017, p.32, TFS). In this case, placing the voices of migrant mothers and fathers and their schooling strategies at the centre of this third part is what represents those ‘cracks’. I have decided to use the notion of ‘cracks’ in order to introduce how, by exploring the schooling experience of migrant mothers and fathers as both insiders/outsiders, we can also understand the Chilean monocultural and neoliberal educational field, and the ways in which it approaches inclusion and interculturality.

In Part III, there are three questions I would like to answer: how do migrant parents describe their strategies, and expectations, and the challenges that they face during the schooling process? (RQi), what kinds of capitals are activated and how do migrant parents seek to have their capitals validated? (RQii), and in what ways is the schooling experience of migrant parents shaped by the intersection of ‘race’, ethnicity, nationality and citizenship status? (RQiii).

In order to answer these questions and based on my analysis of the parents interviews, I have identified three processes regarding the schooling experience that had required different strategies from parents, in an educational field characterised by being monocultural and neoliberal: accessing (Chapter 7), adjusting (Chapter 8), and transforming (Chapter 9). These processes are not linear; they are simply presented in this order to understand the different aspects of the ex/inclusion of migrant families in the Chilean educational field.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, this part mainly draws on Bourdieu’s theory of practice. Therefore the different strategies deployed by migrant parents in my study have two forms. Some strategies take the form of unconscious practices guided by parents’ habitus. For example, the strategies carried out by parents for finding a school place under the school choice framework or when parents support their children’s learning. Consequently, as strategies cannot be understood separately from habitus, it is also important to refer to capitals and I have, thus, introduced each capital when relevant for analysing migrant parents’ strategies in each chapter.
However, I also identified that in the unfamiliarity between migrant parents' habitus and the Chilean educational field, some more conscious and planned strategies emerged (Weis et al. 2014; Vincent, 2017). For example, regarding parents' transmission of their cultural capital or when they fighting against exclusions. Thus, in Part III we will see different empirical examples of how migrant parents have deployed their strategies in these two forms as well as how the intersecting dimensions of ‘race’, ethnicity, nationality and citizenship also have an impact on these strategies.
Chapter 7. *Accessing*: school choice or the exercise of a right

1. Introduction

Applying for a school place is migrant parents’ first encounter with Chilean schools and one of the major obstacles they need to overcome. Thus *accessing* constitutes the starting point of their journey in the educational field, and it was an issue addressed by all parents from my study. ‘School choice’, then, is seen as the main dimension of the relationship between schools and families in the context of neoliberal education systems such as the Chilean system\(^7\). I have decided, however, to refer to it as the *accessing process*, rather than as a straightforward process of choosing. According to the parents who were interviewed, the strategies deployed by them in order to be allocated a school place have more to do with fighting for a right rather than just choosing a school based on the location and economic resources, among other factors. Whether parents have access rights, as legitimized by their possible possession of civic capital, is also called into question. Consequently, the *accessing* process is not only about ‘choice’ and parents’ role as consumers, but also about exercising the right to education as citizens.

After migrant parents have claimed for their childrens' right to access education, a choice element appears in the form of location of schools, their price range and social differentiation. Furthermore some parents also mentioned having paid attention to the multicultural dimension of a school's population in order to better navigate Chile’s monocultural educational field. This emphasis on multicultural populations represents a more conscious strategy from parents to avoid exclusion, as it helps their children not to be labelled as the ‘only migrant child’ or the ‘other’ in the school. At the same time, multiculturality has almost become a slogan among schools that label themselves as open and welcome to the socio-cultural diversity brought about by migration (something that I have addressed in Chapter 6). In this sense, this becomes a new dimension in the complex landscape of ‘school choice in Chile’, which is also linked to the intersection of nationality, ‘race’, ethnicity and citizenship, and goes beyond class, as current studies of school choice have stated\(^8\).

\(^7\) See Chapter 1.4 and Chapter 3.2
\(^8\) See Chapter 3.2
In this chapter, I will first discuss the tension between choice and rights, or vice versa, in the case of migrant parents’ strategy in the accessing process (Section 2) and how this is influenced by having the right credentials (Section 3) that, in turn, predispose the possibly of finding a school place (Section 4). Finally, I will end this chapter with the emergence of the multicultural dimension in the Chilean school choice landscape (Section 5).

2. Choice vs. right

Accessing, as the first encounter between migrant parents and Chilean schools, is a highly complex process with steps that are not clear to all the actors involved and that end up leaving parents at the ‘mercy’ of the information provided by schools, municipalities and the MINEDUC. I remember, more than with any other question, how each time I asked parents how they had ‘found’ a school, they replied with a long sigh followed by a complex and emotional narrative of their entire accessing process. It is possible to see how migrant parents are very quickly faced with what the educational field expects from them in terms of orienting their capitals and dispositions to ‘feel the game’ as played in the neoliberal educational system in Chile. This turns parents into the ones responsible for finding a school for their children. As Loreto, an old-comer Ecuadorian mother from a municipal school of the north region, emphasised:

I remember that when I went to the MINEDUC to find a school, they said "no, you are the one who has to find a school", and I say "but this is the institution I’m supposed to come to, to the headquarters, to the institution where they should have a big list with all the addresses and telephones [of the schools]", and they say "no, that’s up to you" (EC_Fam1).

As we can see, the state seems to detach itself from the responsibility of guaranteeing every child’s right to education by putting the burden of this task on parents’ shoulders. This is how parents become consumers; therefore a particular set of dispositions are required by the rules of the educational market, which, for newly-arrived migrant parents, translates into a high level of anxiety. This re-directed responsibility is common to the neoliberal understanding of how the relationship between schools and parents should be constructed: the former as the supplier and the latter as the consumer. However, what is at stake for migrant parents in the new educational field is not only their position as consumers, but also their position as citizens who have to fight for their children’s right to education. Loreto, for instance,
feels that making newly-arrived parents entirely responsible for understanding how the Chilean educational system works, without much institutional support, is unfair and ‘a joke of the system’, as if the system was laughing at them. She highlighted how much migrant parents have to fight for their children’s educational right:

_We have made sure we exercise our rights in the schools because, until now, if a foreigner shows up, let’s say, the first semester and wants to enrol his son, there are schools that are very inflexible and do not understand that it does not depend on us, that it is the system and all its paperwork that sometimes does not let you enrol children so that they can continue studying. So, what schools do is that they close their doors (EC_Fam1)._ 

Parents start to realise then, that access to education for migrant children is conditioned by their civic capital, which manifests with having the right credentials - in terms of holding a membership such as an identification number, passport, national number or visa (social capital) and a educational degree (institutionalized cultural capital). In this sense, the ‘choice’ of a school “is actualised in assonance with migrants’ specific dispositions but often in dissonance with wider structures and discourses that legitimise and allow choice” (Byrne & De Tona 2012, p.26). As a result, migrant families may have to seek to have their existing capitals validated, as sometimes these may not be recognized in the new field in the same way they were in their home country. Therefore, this means that their habitus and capitals ‘clashes’ with what is expected by the Chilean educational field. As we will see in the next section, this clash it is mainly linked with the question about citizenship and who has the right to social rights.

3. Having the right credentials

Having the right credentials was mentioned by more than half of the parents interviewed. This meant that to access a school in Chile (either municipal or private subsidized), parents (regardless of nationality) are required to have the ‘right papers’ conditioned by the political field and legitimatized by their civic capital, meaning that they need both the possession of official documents that state their membership and ‘rights to be’ (which can be consider as the material form of the social capital) and evidence of the child’s previous studies (institutionalised cultural capital). However, migrant parents are also expected - by the state that determines the legal boundaries of what it means to have the ‘right papers’ - to produce their own credentials so that their children can be admitted into a school.
Parents’ institutionalised cultural capital allows them to access the job market that, in turn, provides them with a visa that becomes the materialized form of social capital. Without the activation of both of these capitals (with the help of civic capital), children can be denied their right to education. This is how civic capital linked to the social and institutionalised cultural capital, functions as a form of symbolic capital\textsuperscript{79} in the Chilean educational field.

Moreover, in the case of Chile, the possession of a National Single Role Number (commonly called Chilean RUT) becomes the materialized form of membership to the society (which can also be understood as a form of social capital). This is a national identification number granted by the Chilean civil registry (from now on, Chilean ID). Marta, an old-comer Peruvian mother, recognised that having this ID had facilitated the process for her daughter, as they had the right credentials before applying to a school:

\[ \text{[Me: Did you find the process of getting a place easy, difficult?] It was not so difficult because, as I'm saying, we already had the Chilean RUT [Chilean ID]; because before she started school, we already had all the paperwork ready [visa], so it was not so difficult (CO_Fam1).} \]

There are different pathways for obtaining this membership. In the case of Chilean families and Chilean-born children (as explained further in the transforming section), this capital is acquired through jus soli, which refers to the birthright citizenship. This means that anyone born in the Chilean territory has the right to the Chilean nationality and an identification that allows access to many public services, such as health and education.

In the case of migrant families, this social capital is acquired when the adult-parent holds a work permit that provides their children with the migration status of dependant. This gives migrant parents and children a citizenship status ‘similar’ to that of nationals, when it comes to social rights. This status is only ‘similar’ because, in this case, there is a symbolic distinction due to the intersection of nationality and ‘race’/ethnicity (which is what I refer to as the civic capital involved). Recently, social organisations together with scholars who study migration in Chile have claimed that racism and discrimination have played a big part in denying this membership. This was in response to events in April 2018, when the current government announced changes to the migration law by presidential decree\textsuperscript{80}, that is, without going through

\textsuperscript{79} See Chapter 2.2.1.
\textsuperscript{80} See Appendix 4.
the parliament (Diario Uchile 2018). This decree specifically targeted the Venezuelan and Haitian communities, limiting their access to visas, as the number of people arriving from these two countries has increased in the last years. In this scenario, as the current right-wing Chilean government seems obsessed with establishing a ‘safe, orderly and regular migration’, these two communities, as they see it, seem to be obstructing this narrative. Paradoxically the ‘safe, orderly and regular migration’ concepts, used frequently by the government, arise from the Global Compact on Migration (IOM, 2017a), which Chile did not sign because this framework considers 'migration as a human right', something that the government does not agree with (see Chapter 1.1).

The possession of this social membership has also created, among migrant parents, the idea that they are ‘legal’ in the country. As mentioned Chapter 5 regarding the non-citizen subject, referring to people as ‘legal/illegal’ is misleading and discriminatory as 'no human can be illegal'. However, the migrant community itself has normalized the term as a way of legitimizing into the ‘host’ society. In one of the focus groups, for example, when mothers where introducing themselves, an oldcomer Peruvian mother started her presentation by stating her ‘legal’ status.

In the case of the migrant families interviewed, having the ‘right papers’ meant having their visas accepted or pending, a photocopy of their passport, the children’s legalised birth certificate from their home country, and their children’s certificate of previous studies. In Chile, unlike the UK\textsuperscript{81}, for example, children of school age are required to prove that they have passed their previous school years in order for schools to give them a place. If parents do not have the right papers to prove this, they are left with two options. First, they can ask for this certificate back home which, for some families, is not an easy task because of political and economic factors. Second, the school can evaluate children in order to recognise their previously studies\textsuperscript{82}.

The biggest challenge for parents was having documents legalised, as the migration paths do not always coincide with the highly bureaucratic times of legalization processes in the home country. As Liana, a recently arrived Venezuelan mother, explained regarding the school grades of her son: ‘I only [had] the birth certificate because the grades there [in Venezuela] can take a long time to process (...) 3 to 4 months, so you cannot wait that long’ (ULA_Fam3). Nonetheless, these

\textsuperscript{81} In the UK, the way to place a child in a school year is based on the date of birth, but no previous certificate of studies is required.
\textsuperscript{82} See Appendix 4.
bureaucratic procedures do not stop migrant parents from getting to know the education system and from deploying their strategies for finding and ensuring a school place for their children. In this regard, half of the parents who were interviewed argued that in the accessing process what is really all about is finding a vacancy rather than making an actual choice. Newly arrived parents mostly mentioned this, as I will explain next.

4. Finding a school place

Finding a school normally means for parents that they need to deploy active strategies and this was recognised by most of the parents interviewed. Additionally, it was possible to see how parents often realise that they were not familiar with the procedures and what they might take for granted does not necessarily apply to the Chilean educational field, therefore their first intuitive strategies might not work in the ‘new’ field so they needed to plan some further strategies. Two important elements are usually used by many parents for this search: hot knowledge, in the form of word-of-mouth and cold formal knowledge (Ball & Vincent, 1998), that is, institutionalized sources of information such as school websites, school rankings based on national standardized tests (such as the SIMCE test in Chile), and the information provided by the MINEDUC and municipalities. However, none of the interviewed parents mentioned the SIMCE as a form of cold formal knowledge tool for their search. This is similar to findings from Córdoba (2014) and Hernández & Raczyński (2015) in studies with Chilean parents. This instance of school accountability – an important piece of information for parents as consumers, according the rules of the neoliberal educational field– does not permeate the discourse of migrant parents, for they may not see the relevance of this standardized test for their children’s accessing process and consequent inclusion.

This process of finding a school place is also one of the instances in which ‘hot knowledge’ in the form of social capital comes into play in the migration experience. With this resource, parents access specific information about the way in which the Chilean education system works and how to find a school. This information comes from social networks that can be composed of relatives, friends (both Chileans and people from their own community whom they encounter during their migration experience) and neighbours.
When describing the search process, some parents referred to it by saying they had to ‘knock on lots of doors’ before being allocated a school place for their children. Some parents mentioned that both the MINEDUC office and the municipal office sent them directly to a school if they had not found a place by themselves, as this is what is expected under the consumer view of school access in Chile. Even though they appreciated this help, and people from those offices ‘were very kind’, this illustrates that accessing schools is not a robust, but rather a fragile process for it depends more than anything on serendipity, individuals, from institutions offering to help, as well as the determination of parents themselves not to surrender and keep going until they find a school. This is why, no matter how you look at it from it, it seems that the ‘choice’ element of the accessing process is almost non-existent.

Vania and Lucio, a newly arrived Peruvian couple who used the expression ‘knocking on lots of doors’ to find a school and mentioned having had to approach the municipality to ask for support, ended up enrolling their son in the first school that offered them a vacancy because, at one that point, they were ‘desperate’.

Vania: We called all of them for an appointment but there were no vacancies

Lucio: And then we searched on the Internet, and on the Internet we found another list, and we started with that list, and like the 12th [school] we called [accepted him]... more than anything we wanted to leave him [in that school] because we were like...

Vania: Desperate...

(CJJ_Fam1.1./1.2)

Vania and Lucio’s decision did not have much to do with what they wanted in terms of choosing a school, but rather with the fact that they were getting worried that they would not be able to find a place at all for their child. In Marta’s case, as she already knew how difficult it would be to get a school place due to her previous experience with her elder daughter, when it was time to enrol her youngest one, she decided to be very diligent as the process is, as I will explain later, different in each school. Thus in Marta’s case, she had learnt how to position herself with regards to the rules of the game, therefore she was ready for what will come next in her search for a school place. Her strategy was to ser movida and catetear (CO_Fam1). What these words imply is that her strategy was all about being proactive and assertive.

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83 Meaning: be moved
84 Colloquial word that means insist
She even used the expression *me la juego*, which means she did everything she could so that her daughter could get a place in the specific school she wanted, as it was important for her to have her daughter enrolled in a place close to their home. In order to get this place, she approached the school before the application process actually started, so that she could ensure she had the correct information in advance. This, however, is something newly ARRIVED migrant parents may not always be able to do or know how to do, and there is no guarantee it would work for all of them.

Furthermore, the act of “choosing” a school for the parents of my study was constrained both by the application process of each institution and by the migration journey itself. With regards to the former, each school defines its own application deadlines. In the case of the 16 schools from this study, the range went from just 6 days to apply, to having the entire year to apply for the following academic year. It is important to point out that these timeframes correspond to applications for the following academic year and mainly for Reception enrolment. I was not able to get public information from the schools’ website or MINEDUC about what happens if a parent wants to enrol his/her child during the current academic year and in a Year Group other than Reception. Public information is vital for families that are deciding to migrate because not all of them have the possibility of coordinating their movement to the new country with the beginning of the school year, or the school year in their home country does not correspond with the March-December Chilean school calendar. This was the case for the Venezuelan families and the Dominican mother that were interviewed, as the school calendar in their countries follow a north pattern, such as in the UK.

As a way to demonstrate that the application period is not just a ‘minor’ issue, we can analyse what happens in other contexts. In the UK, for example, the admission process takes place on a national level (locally co-ordinated) and parents have two alternatives. The application period for the following academic year, for primary education, goes from September 1st to January 15th, whereas the application for secondary education goes September 1st to October 31st. However, if parents want to apply during the school year, either because they have migrated to the UK, changed cities or want to change schools, they can do so through what is referred to as ‘in-year admission process’.

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*Meaning: I play*
Wilmer, a newly-arrived Venezuelan father explained that, because of the difference in the school calendars of both countries, as a family they had to be **strategically in moving** to Chile. This meant that he had to arrive first, separately from his wife and their two daughters, in order to find a school. They also had to wait for their daughters to finish the school year in Venezuela so that they could have ‘some continuity’ (BC_Fam3). This meant that his wife and daughters arrived in May, only a few days before the end of the school year in Venezuela, and almost 3 months after the beginning of the school year in Chile. Another complex issue they faced had to do with the fact that their eldest daughter had finished Year 1 in Venezuela and, therefore, needed to start Year 2, while their youngest needed to start Reception. Nevertheless, the school they found vacancies in, after a long search, decided that both of them had to do the school year again. For Wilmer and his wife this was somewhat disappointing and they decided to start teaching their eldest at home, in order for her not to fall behind and lose motivation in her learning process. In this case, they deploy a strategy expected of parents as partners in the form of the notion of ‘concerted cultivation’ (Lareau 2002) addressed in Chapter 3.

In some cases, parents even try to secure a school place before their child arrive in Chile. This is the case of Sandra and her husband, who had just arrived in Chile from Venezuela and wanted to find a place for their daughter before she arrived. Because of this, they decided, as a family, that the father would arrive first. However, the school did not allow him to apply, as they argued that the child had to be in the country. As Sandra explains:

*He had to go there several times to get it [the school place] (...) Then he had to wait for [our daughter] to be able to register her. Because if she stayed in Venezuela, they would not sign her up. Then, the first day we arrived [in Chile with our daughter], we arrived on a Monday night and we came [to the school] on Tuesday to enrol her, and on Wednesday she started her classes (BVM_Fam2).*

Moreover, since the school year had already started in Chile and they did not want to lose the place in the school, their daughter had to start attending classes in her new school only two days after she arrived and this was, obviously, very difficult for her:

*For her the first weeks have been very hard, she has trouble adapting. There were days that she cried all morning and they called us to come and pick her up, because nobody could calm her down. And she turned down the other girls [as friends], she didn’t want to be here, this was not her school ... That was the first week, but later, she adapted (BVM_Fam2).*
Even though Wilmer and Sandra’s situation were very complex, they still managed to have some ‘extra’ time to organise the movement to the new country. For other parents, this was a much more time-constrained scenario, as the family arrived together and urgently needed to understand the application process and find a school. As we can see, the disappointment that Wilmer and his wife felt or the difficult adaptation process Sandra’s daughter had to undergo help demystify the idea that in the Chilean context access is about choice. Not only that, some parents interviewed also highlight the emotional dimension of this situation, as they call into question the family’s migratory project due to the fact that it would mean the interruption of a child’s education continuity as well as the parents’ possibilities of finding work.

When parents talk about the process of finding a school, it is inevitable for them to refer to their reasons for migrating. Parents are, indeed, reaffirming and reassuring to themselves and to others (in this case, me) the conviction behind their decision of migrating in the first place in spite of knowing it may emotionally affect the parent-child relationship. The moment these parents explain why they have decided to leave their countries becomes a highly emotional moment during the interviews. For some, it has to do with the internal crisis in their countries and the need to go search for better job opportunities and security even if it means leaving some of their people behind and feeling somewhat forced to migrate (this feeling was especially shared by the Venezuelan parents). It is also very emotional when, during their account, they realize that their decision of migrating might affect their children, as it is the case when securing a school place becomes so difficult.

For example, Liana and her husband decided to migrant to Chile because of the political situation in Venezuela. He arrived first to see if ‘it was the country’ for the family to move and after two months Liana and their son arrived. He found a job on a gas station, even though he was a police officer in Venezuela. As it happens with some migratory movements, there is a gap in the working opportunities that for some may imply a backward in their capitals. Liana tells me that they ‘earned well ... had a house, a car, everything was stable’, but ‘there was no food; so that's why we decided to immigrate here’ (ULA_Fam3). And it was at this point of the interview when Liana remained silent and begins to sob...

When we did the interview, it was the second month of Liana and her son in Chile. She emphasized that she still feels ‘lost’. Liana as a newly arrived migrant still does not have her papers in order to work so she has not been able to start her own life,
different from her husband and son that already are included in some social spaces, such as work and school, which constitute the main spaces for re-establishing social networks. Furthermore, she highlights that even though it is difficult for her to not be working she is doing it for her son ‘because he is just starting’ and ‘when he already picks up the rhythm here, things will change’ (change as she can place more emphasis in pursuing a job). Hence the mother vs. child is confronted as the needs of the child overlap with those of the mother. In this sense, is possible to understand her feeling of loneliness in a country that she has first step for the first time only two months ago, living her family and friends behind in a very unstable political situation.

This of all my interviews with mothers and fathers during the fieldwork was an emotional encounter with myself where I had to drop my ‘researcher’ label to share my personal experience of migrating in the UK, that even though in my case it was a voluntary movement whereas for Liana was forced. I empathized with the nostalgia and sadness of what it means to leave home behind and feeling lost. This has also been addressed in my methodology chapter. What follows is that emotional encounter between me, Sara as a Chilean migrant student in the UK sharing with Liana a Venezuelan migrant mother in Chile our experiences. I placed a longer transcription of the conversation to respect that moment:

Sara: And how has the experience been for you?
Liana: Strong [begins to sob, silence…]

S: Yeah, it has not been so easy. But here at school your child has had a good time?
L: Yes. No, he is happy, happy. Yes, because in the school where he was there was not, it was not that big, it was smaller, so when he saw this he went crazy, and he does not want to return to Venezuela or visit; I tell him that he looks like Chilean, because he likes to be here.

S: And do you think it's because of the school?
L: I do not know. I tell my mom that he goes to the supermarket and sees everything, and there in Venezuela there was nothing, so I tell her it must be that, he sees apple, milk with strawberry, what a child likes, and there he did had nothing like that; but for me it has been, uy, strong.

(ULA_Fam3)

Another aspect that makes these parents' situation an emotional one, is the fact that their children might actually be taking a step backwards when it comes to their capital accumulation, as they might not be able to receive the same quality of education they had back home. Walter, a newly-arrived Venezuelan father highlighted:
There are several differences. I lived in a good neighbourhood, worked in a much better area, the eastern part of the city, and his school was in that area, it was a nursery, but it was one of the best in the area and one of the most expensive. It was private, it was one of the most expensive, but it was one of the best ones. It had interesting academic levels, it was bilingual (…) Then, it is not the same, where they were and where they are; there, it was private, here it is subsidised (BC_Fam2).

In Walter’s account we can see how he has become aware that, even though his children’s school in Chile is private subsided with shared funding, which means it can charge an extra fee to families\textsuperscript{86}, it is still not equivalent to the one his children attended in Venezuela, which was closer to a private, fee-paying school.

The emotional dimension of the school choice process is not something new in the Chilean context. In their study, Leyton & Rojas (2017) explored how, for middle-class mothers, school choice is built on what they have called the affective exploitation. As they (Leyton & Rojas, 2017) explain, mothers:

\begin{quote}
Engaged fully in school choice discourse embracing compromising practices of strategic rationality requiring an intensive physical and emotional work (…) This led mothers to live school choice as complex situations given the amount of information and situations they must evaluate, sense and foresee when dealing with their children’s well-being and future. These multiple capacities deployed by mothers in their passionate engagement with school choice introduced a circuit of anxiety produced by the emotional and reflexive work they did (p.567-568).
\end{quote}

Additionally, Carrasco, Falabella and Mendoza (2015) also referred to the affective dimension of choice in order to challenge the traditional assumptions that school choice "is considered to be a 'pragmatic/rational' rather than a 'symbolic' and 'affective' dimension of social life" (Ibid p.256). This emotional dimension can also be situated in an emerging field of migration studies. As Boccagni & Baldassar (2015, p.73) explain:

\begin{quote}
The emotional side of the migrant condition seems still relatively understudied. This is partly to be explained by the dominance of economic and political analyses of migration, which tend to downplay emotional factors or overlook them altogether.
\end{quote}

The emotional dimension, in the context of migration and especially for those parents whose movement could be in the category of forced migration, as it is the case of Venezuelan parents, becomes difficult to avoid when, in the ‘host’

\textsuperscript{86} Today this has changed due to the implementation of the School Inclusion Law (MINEDUC, 2015a).
educational system, access to a school is dominated by a neoliberal narrative of ‘choice’ rather than one of rights. As it has been addressed, then, instead of being straightforward, the application period and the search for information becomes a puzzle; one in which parents have to find and put together many different pieces in order to get the full ‘picture’ and ultimately find a school place. Thus parents report ‘feeling anxious’ about the outcome of the process, as they do not want to turn the migration experience into something detrimental for their children by making them fall behind in their studies. Also, with children being out of school, parents had to stay home looking after them and, consequently, not working, as they did not have the economic capital to pay for care and/or social capital, in the form of networks, to find care. The reality of the situation is that finding a school place goes hand in hand with the activation of migrant parents’ economic capital, as it allows them to accumulate, fundamentally by working while their children are in school, the necessary economic resources to get access to housing, health and food, all of which are fundamental in the settling process. It is not difficult to see why the worry of not being able to work and not having secured a school place becomes not only emotional for parents but also a vital condition for survival.

Finally, because the process becomes a nightmare for parents, there is a feeling of gratitude when a school ‘opens its doors’ and despite the fact that what is at stake is a right children have, not a favour. Eduardo, a newly-arrived Peruvian father, referred to this issue:

I am grateful, because as I was saying, I came here desperate looking for a school, because I did not want my children to be without studying for a year, because a year is a year of falling behind. I also had trouble working, I could not work because I had to take care of them, and now I can work because they are in school (ULA_Fam2).

What follows is an analysis of the most common factors that come into play when making this constrained school ‘choice’, that in some cases exist also for Chilean parents. In this sense, together with location, economic resources and social differentiation there is the multicultural dimension, which emerges as a new criterion in the Chilean ‘school choice’ landscape.
5. Dimensions in ‘choosing’ a school

Even though, as we have seen so far, the accessing process for migrant parents is mainly about finding a vacancy, more than half of the parents interviewed still consider location an important criterion. In Chile, ‘school choice’ does not work under the catchment area policy, as it is the case in most parts of the UK. This means that parents can choose any school they want regardless of their home-residence.

The economic factor is also important when searching for a school. Some parents acknowledge this may limit their possibilities for ‘choosing’, for when they arrive in the country they do not have the resources or have not yet secured a job that allows them to pay for a private school or to look for a school that it is ‘better’ but further away from home. The economic dimension of the accessing process, as we can see, is closely intertwined with migrant families’ possibilities of finding work. In some cases, parents enrol their children in a municipal school first and then, when their economic situation has improved, they change them to a private subsidised institution with shared funding. This happens because migrant parents rapidly assimilate the common narrative that contends that it is ‘better to pay a school fee’. Thus we could argue that parents’ dispositions towards the educational field quickly become shaped to assume the market-rules, something that I have already mentioned regarding Marta, an old-comer Peruvian mother, and her strategies to find a school to her youngest daughter.

Furthermore, this narrative reproduces the discourse that private schools are better than public schools, which has become one of the main features of school choice under the Chilean neoliberal education field. Nonetheless, there is still ‘mixed evidence’ to prove that this difference in the performance of public and private school still exists after you control for the socioeconomic background of families and school selection (Contreras et al. 2010; Drago & Paredes 2011; Carrasco et al. 2014).

Gloria, for example, a newly-arrived Ecuadorian mother, explained that she knew that public education was of lower quality in Chile, so she tried to enrol her son in a private school that she could afford but it ended up not being possible. She describes having had a ‘hard time assuming [that she] would have to enrol [her son] here [public school]’ (CJJ_Fam4). Interestingly, Gloria’s son was in a very good state school back home, and differentiating between private and public schools is a
practice she only adopted when she moved to Chile. As she learnt from what others told her, to get in the university in Chile ‘you need to pay to be able to be at the level of others’. In Ecuador, she emphasised, it ‘is exactly the opposite’. We can see, then, that she has used information gained through social capital to adapt her strategy according to this new, neoliberal Chilean education field in order to have a ‘feel for the game’.

Yanet, also a newly-arrived Venezuelan mother, first enrolled her children in a municipal school because they arrived in the middle of the school year and their economic situation was unstable. Then, as she started asking around, she learnt that it was ‘better to pay’ for education rather than send her children to a public school. Because of this, once they reached some economic stability, they decided to change to a private subsidised school for the following academic year:

I started looking at several schools, but because of the economic issue I asked about the cost of private schools, and no [it was not possible because] we were not working. So, in order not to have them in the house, I accepted enrolling them in that [municipal] school. Then, after a few months, I began to inquire about subsidised schools, which were more economically accessible. And I asked some mothers in the neighbourhood and I was always told it was better to pay than [to enrol your kids in a] municipal [school]. (…) I’m in now in a subsidised [school] and yes, I think the change is much better, the tools the children have to study. It really is completely different (BC_Fam1).

When I asked Yanet if she could further explain why she perceived that these schools were different, her answer had to do with students and their families. She said: ‘I didn’t like the type of parents …the lexicon of the children’. She also told me that she was very much in favour of schools charging a fee, as this ‘helps select the families’ (Fieldnotes, BC_Fam1, June 2016). This reason goes beyond the economic factor or the private-public distinction of quality; it is linked to what has been widely referred to as the social differentiation dimension of the ‘school choice’ parental strategy, based mainly on class.

Felicia, another mother from Peru, mentioned that she wanted to change her daughter to a school that was less ‘relajado’ (EAPL_Fam3). For Felicia, this was linked with some behaviours that she felt were not ‘punish’ by the school and she did not like (such as students fighting and smoking in the bathrooms). Even though it is possible to understand that she does not approve of these behaviours, what is problematic is that she links these two issues with students that she refers to as

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*Math: relaxed*
In the Chilean context, this is a pejorative word used to refer to someone that comes from a lower social class. For Felicia, a school that suits her and her child better is one in which you ‘pay’ for education. This is, in other words, paying for ‘social differentiation’.

In what could be considered nothing but an anecdote, yet an important one that can help understand the Chilean context, during the election campaign (November 2017), the current right-wing President, Sebastian Piñera (who will be in power until 2022), declared several times that he believes parents should pay for the education of their children, as it is the only way for them to be committed to it:

> Here, we are not talking about rich and poor because here, any Chilean family can contribute 500 pesos [approx. 50 p] (...) I'm talking about a symbolic thing. When the parent contributes and feels that he/she is making an effort (...) he tends to be more involved (...) because free things generate less commitment (Chilevisión, 2017, TFS)

His intention is to re-establish the shared funding scheme that allows schools to charge a fee to parents. This was one of the key pillars of the neoliberal system that the Educational Reform got rid of, in an attempt, based on scholarly evidence, to turn education from a private good to a public right.

This notion that paying for education is better, and the neoliberal rationale behind it, translates into more complexities for migrant families because, apart from possessing the economic capital that facilitates the access to a (private) school – already a challenging task – the availability of a school places also become an obstacles in their way. In this scenario, migrant parents find themselves juggling both the consumer role and citizen role, in the neoliberal Chilean educational field.

Additionally, in order to resist being targeted as the ‘other’, some of the parents that were interviewed had strategically looked for the **multicultural dimension**. This was the case for Juan and Sandra, a Colombian couple. Since their first day in Chile, they were concerned about racism because they had heard that Chileans ‘were very racist’ towards Black people (PSA_Fam_1.1/1.2). They decided, then, following the suggestion of a friend that had arrived before, that to avoid this it was important to find a school where they were not the only migrants. They describe feeling a ‘peace of mind’ when they got the place at the school their friend had suggested and acknowledged they had been cordially welcomed. For other parents, this dimension

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‘flaites’ Colloquial word similar to the British chav expression
was also important because they wanted their children to be with other migrant peers to help with the adaptation process. In a way, finding a multicultural school (something that I further explored in Chapter 6) becomes a way for parents to protect their children from being discriminated. In Yanet’s case, she thought it was important for her children to spend time with Chileans and, at the same time, with other Venezuelan children. She believes it is significant for them to see that they are not the ‘only Venezuelans’ in Chile; she explains:

The school stands out because there are many foreign children. It gives me peace of mind for the children. I like that they spend time with other Chilean children, obviously, but I also like that it is like multicultural and [because of] the problem that there is in Venezuela (...) they can see we are not the only Venezuelans here (BC_Fam1).

We could also argue that the multicultural factor challenges the monocultural feature of the Chilean educational field. As Patricia, a Colombian mother highlighted, having the opportunity to experience a culturally-diverse school can also become a way to create an intercultural exchange:

She is not alone, she is with many girls from many countries, and the first week she arrived and said ‘mom, I met a Venezuelan girl, a Puerto Rican girl’. So, I like that change [in the people they interact with] since they are little, because I’m an adult and I have experienced situations of discrimination, but then you think and say ‘well, maybe this person was not raised [understanding that] people are different, but they are still human beings just like us’. So, I think it’s very nice that they have that cultural exchange from when they are little (BVM_Fam1).

In parallel to the multicultural factor, the social capital becomes relevant as a way to establish a membership in the group. This may be compared to the logic behind the social differentiation factor being addressed in the ‘choosing’ process, because parents may want to avoid some ‘types of schools’, especially those that are too monocultural. It is important to acknowledge that, in this study, the multicultural factor is being used in a complex way, as it is not that parents want their children to only be with ‘people like them’ in order to protect their grouped membership and exclusiveness, but actually, as a way to avoid exclusions and them being turned into “the other”. As pointed out by Byrne and De Tona (2012) in their study about school choice of migrant parents in Manchester, “this negotiation of a racialized terrain is complicated by apparently conflicting responses to too many ‘people like us’ (when they are resisting racialized categories) and other times not enough ‘people like us’ (when they are resisting white hegemony)” (Ibid p.32).
One key element that arises when parents recall the multicultural dimension is that they begin appreciating that schools are open to migrant communities and, therefore, they feel a sense of belonging to an institution that welcomes them. This, of course, is crucial for their children and their inclusion process. This new ‘feature’ of the school choice landscape has also influenced the reputation of schools, as they are now being labelled as multicultural and, therefore, ‘open and welcoming’ to socioculturally diverse families in the context of migration in Chile (something also explored in Chapter 6 in regard to school practices). For migrant parents, the idea of ‘openness’ also relates to the flexibility of the school staff to understand and give places to migrant children that can sometimes arrive late in the admission process, or not have the right credentials. This was Walter’s case, and he felt very grateful to the school for welcoming his family:

*I am very grateful to the school, because they opened their doors to us; not only to me, but to many [other] countrymen, colleagues. The school has been conscious, flexible, in a certain way; is not that they ask more or less from us, but they have not locked their front door [to leave us out] (BC_Fam2).*

This ‘openness’ of schools shows, once more, that there is tension between choice and right, in the case of migrant parents and in the accessing process. In one hand, it is problematic to think that parents should be grateful to schools for ‘welcoming’ them when, by definition and their very purpose, schools should not ‘close their doors’, especially those that are state-funded - such as municipal and private subsidized schools. Ensuring a school place is a right and not a favour to be grateful for nor a slogan that can be used to attract families under the ‘voucher scheme’ (as discussed in Chapter 6).

The multicultural dimension of the accessing process has not been mentioned before in studies of school choice in Chile, even though migration has existed for a long time. This can be explained by two reasons: so far, it is mainly adults who have migrated, and just recently, there has been an increase in the number of children of school age that migrate as part of family reunification process (Pavez, 2014). A second reason is that, for Chilean parents, this is not a relevant factor when they choose a school for their children because the narrative of the ‘monocultural’ society is still prevalent as well as even though migration is growing it is still a relatively small percentage of non-Chilean children in schools (3.2%). This is not the case in other contexts, such as the UK, where Reay and her colleagues (2007) used the term *multicultural capital*, which is the knowledge and skills associated with minority ethnic groups as a form of cultural capital. Therefore the scholars use the
multicultural capital to describe why some White middle-class parents in their study send their children to urban, comprehensive, multi-ethnic schools so they can gain this capital from their peers, as it is important for today’s global world. Thus this “reveals a degree of instrumentalism embedded within the civic commitments of many of the White middle-class parents” (Ibid 2007, p.1043).

6. Conclusion

In the context of south-south migration, accessing schooling is the first encounter between migrant parents and the monocultural, neoliberal Chilean field of education. In this field, migrant parents must learn to play the quasi-market game in their role of consumers, as they are positioned as the first and last responsible ones for the provision of education for their children.

This process is complex, confusing and often emotional, and finding a school place is experienced almost as a ‘miracle’ rather than a right. Schools in this process can be then compared to a ‘charitable soul’ as they welcome migrant families, and parents become thankful to them for allowing their children in. In contrast, incorporating a multicultural dimension into their school choice has become a consciously planned and active strategy for some migrant parents in my study when ‘choosing’ a school, as a way to resist discrimination and being labelled as ‘the other’ in the Chilean monocultural education field.

It is clear that the possession of the civic capital, in the form of the right credentials that are requested by the ‘host’ country, determines how easy/difficult accessing can be for migrant parents, and its lack is a restriction on their final ‘choice’. Therefore the accessing process, illustrates that what is at stake is a right rather than a choice and, consequently, tension arises between parents’ position as citizens and their illusory consumer role. Additionally, as mentioned in Chapter 5.2 regarding the non-citizen subjectivity, the accessing process also becomes an example of how the notion of citizenship is mainly tied in the Chilean educational field to the legal dimension of citizenship, ignoring that citizenship is also about “the rights that accompany citizenship” (Bloemraad et al. 2008, p.156).

Finally, it is vital to acknowledge that the accessing process is not the only process involved in the schooling experience of migrant families. There are another two processes - adjusting and transforming - that require parents’ strategies. These two
processes are important for the aim of this study because, in the Chilean educational field, there is a tendency to only address access when referring to the family-school relationship and children's right to education. However, with this study I also aim to stress other modes of home-school relations that are relevant for understanding the schooling experience of migrant parents in the Chilean context. The discussion about accessing should be, the minimum point to start talking about inclusion and never the final goal.
Chapter 8. Adjusting: the here and there of schooling

1. Introduction

Migrant mothers and fathers that are ‘new’ to the Chilean educational field may, at least at first, feel like ‘fish out of water’ (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). However, they have experienced the educational field back home (from their own education or their children’s schooling), which informs their particular expectations of Chilean schools. That is why, during the adjusting process, we can see the continuous movement back and forth between parents’ schooling experience here (in Chile) and there (in their country of origin), when parents’ habitus try to develop a ‘feel for the game’ of what is expected for them by the new educational field.

This chapter then explores the everyday interactions between migrants’ parents and Chilean schools. Throughout this movement, adjusting may mean that parents need to overcome some misunderstandings. For example, with regards to school life, the parents that were interviewed mentioned different aspects, such as school meals, parents’ meetings, classroom organisation and the grading system. In some cases, they felt that, as nobody had explained these there could be some misunderstandings. These parents felt that school staff assumed that all of them were already familiar with these dimensions of school life and forgot that school organisation is a reflection of national policies and culture. Also, while applying their strategies in this adjusting process, we can see that parents constantly compare the Chilean education system with the one in their home countries. Some parents in this study, for instance, are very critical of the quality of education in Chilean schools.

Thus, the adjusting process reminds us that migrants do not become the subject of social life when they step into the country of destination; migration is a movement that is built both here and there (Stefoni & Bonhomme 2014). As Sayad (2004) emphasised, when migration is taken into consideration, there is always the problematic ethnocentric assumption that life begins the moment migrants arrive in the new country. In this case, migrant parents’ strategies towards their children’s schooling adjusting process is influenced, I argue, by their here and there experiences.
This adjusting process was mentioned by more than half of the parents interviewed. Therefore, throughout this section, I will address the different themes that were mentioned by them with regards to their process of adjustment which, in some cases, has created tensions between families and their schooling experience in the Chilean educational field while, in other cases, it has given them the possibility of thinking about parental involvement in new ways. These themes focused on the quality of education in Chile; the narrative of the ‘good student’; the parental spaces of participation and the curriculum.

2. Quality of the education

A third of the parents interviewed, from different nationalities, citizenship status and types of school, referred to the quality of the education of the Chilean system as being inferior and falling behind, in relation to the education from their home countries. Lucio, a newly-arrived Peruvian father from a private subsided school, mentioned that this perception was so pervasive that, even before migrating, his son – a student of Year 3 of primary school - did not want to come to Chile because he had heard from his cousins living in Chile that the education was bad. “I don’t want to study here because they will not teach me anything”, Lucio’s son told him when they arrived to Chile (CJJ_Fam1.1). This perception of Lucio’s son is also borne out by the recent findings of Castillo and colleagues (2019) where the migrant students interviewed, especially from Colombia and Peru, perceived that “education in the place of origin [is] of higher level” therefore they feel “a setback in [their] learning” (p.50, TFS).

It is pertinent to ask, then: what is it that these parents understand by ‘quality’? Because the Chilean education system is ruled by the quasi-market model, the quality of the education is commonly ‘subordinated’ to the neoliberal explanation that the ‘level of education in Chile is very inferior’ mainly because of ‘the issue of money, because if you can afford a private [school], it’s much better’ (CJJ_Fam4). These are the words of a newly-arrived Ecuadorian mother, Gloria, who is in Lucio’s school. As we can see, what defines ‘good quality’ in education speaks to the distinction between public and private, something that was mentioned by seven of the participants. However, it is important to acknowledge too that this distinction, in some cases, like Gloria herself as mentioned in the previous chapter, it was not necessarily something that she was aware before regarding her home country, but it
came more evident when she internalized the rules of the game from the Chilean neoliberal educational field.

Together with this distinction, another sign that education is of ‘good quality’ had to do with the amount of **pressure schools put on students**, which parents interviewed associate with **discipline**. A discipline that on one hand has to do with the academic pressure that schools place towards the students, but on the other hand with the personal look of the students (e.g. school uniform, haircut, jewellery) as well as behaviour (e.g. teaching values, to be respectful). Loreto, an Ecuadorian mother from a municipal school, described Chilean education as **awful**, in comparison to Ecuador’s, because back home schools sent more homework, school hours were longer, and teachers are stricter (EC_Fam1). For Loreto, all of these things are evidence that education in Ecuador is taken more seriously, both by teachers and students. Some parents, therefore, perceived that discipline in Chile was ‘too soft’ and they felt this had an impact on the overall quality of the education.

Parents felt that the Chilean education system should put more pressure on students, especially on those that already know the contents of some subjects (something that I will further explain in the next section). This is a big challenge for schools and teachers: how to work in a classroom when some children already know the content? Even though this is something that schools should give more attention to, 3 mothers and 1 father from different nationalities and type of school, were aware that the **pupil-teacher ratio** is a big problem in Chile, which can at least partly explain teachers not giving enough attention to students who are more advanced. According to comparative data between Chile, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador and Peru, in the late 90’s Chile was among the five countries with the highest student-teacher ratio. Now, however, Chile is below Colombia and Dominican Republic and still above Ecuador and Peru (see appendix 12).

With regards to this matter, Ester, a Peruvian mother of three girls who attend a public school, mentioned that the pupil-teacher ratio has an impact on the quality of education because the number of students in the classroom overwhelms teachers. She sees a need to allocate more resources and reach a more appropriate ratio in order to manage both inclusiveness and quality. It is important to note that Ester has lived for almost 12 years in one of the Chilean boroughs that has implemented more policies and programmes to support migrant communities and that has focused on public education. The public primary school that Ester’s daughters attend is among those that have a strong discourse in favour of inclusion and interculturality as part of
their educational project. Ester also referred to the overwhelming situation that teachers have to face as she has had the opportunity to observe lessons in one of her daughters’ classes, as the school provides this opportunity for parents. She mentioned that, after attending, she left feeling very worried:

The capacity of teachers, in terms of the number of children they attend, does not work, there are too many children for one teacher (…) at some point they began to apply the co-teaching last year by the mayor’s management up to the 4th grade, and there were two teachers per room, and that was a great relief, we were all happy, but it ended in the fourth grade (…) I went to the school two days ago and there are about eight teachers with sick leave (…) then the system does not work, it’s wrong, the quality of education that children have in general is not so good (RP_Fam1).

Finally, with regards to the standardized testing (SIMCE) this was not associated by parents-respondent with the quality of education in the same way that the distinction between private and public, high academic requirements, and the student-teacher ratio were. This goes in line with what was mentioned before in relation to the SIMCE not being a factor in the accessing process. This opens a whole debate about the role of these standardised tests in parents’ perception of the education of their children. Something that also has been mentioned by Chilean parents, for example in the studies of Córdoba (2014) and Gubbins (2013).

This first dimension of the adjustment process challenges the narrative that places education as one of the reasons for migrating. For at least one third of the parents in this study, this does not seem to be the reason, as they are very critical of the education in Chile. This also challenges the idea that migrant parents’ ‘lack understanding’ of the educational system. Of course, there may be some differences because the Chilean educational field has specific rules that lie outside the knowledge migrant parents bring with them, but this does not mean they do not have expectations and perceptions of the education their children are receiving in Chile.

3. Being a ‘good student’

As mentioned in the literature review chapter, students’ performance is one of the main areas that are studied from the perspective of parental involvement, and Vincent (1996; 2000) identifies this as part of the ‘parents as partners’ role expected by the educational field. Therefore, parents may employ different strategies to
accomplish this expectation. As, in a way, being a good student becomes an extension of ‘being a good parent’. This narrative of the ‘good student’ becomes even more relevant in the case of migrant parents because they feel that this can facilitate their children’s inclusion and challenge the deficit approach, which tends to be imposed on migrant children. Therefore a third of the parents-respondent mentioned this issue regarding the process of adjusting. For migrant parents, this narrative is linked to the idea of resisting the tropes that schools identify them and their children with in two forms. First, contesting any categorization that places their children in disadvantage just because they are ‘new’ to the field and, second, resisting the myth that education in Chile is much better and migrant communities arrive in the country with little education.

When it comes to resisting being categorised as deficit just because of migrant-status, some parents were conscious that they had to make their children aware that this could happen and that they needed to be better than the ‘norm’ in order not to be excluded because ‘eyes would be fixed’ on them, waiting for them to fail. Juan, a Colombian father, made this very clear in his narrative. He encouraged his daughter to study and do well. Thus, this strategy seems to follow a conscious form. As he explains:

_I always said to her: “Love, you have to try to do well, I mean, to find a way to overcome [the situation] or show that even though you are not from here, you are very interested in learning. And know that all eyes will always be on you, they will always be looking at you because you’re a foreigner (...) they’ll be waiting for you to do things the wrong way or something. For one reason or another, the focus is going to be you”_ (PSA_Fam_1.1).

In his account, Juan also gives some hints that he might be worried about his daughter being discriminated because she is a ‘foreigner’ and Black, which is why he explicitly gave her the ‘speech’ about the importance of being a ‘good student’ to overcome any prejudice. Juan’s strategy in the adjusting process showed some similarities to the strategies implemented by Black middle-class families in the study by Vincent and colleagues in the UK (2012, 2013).

Second, as mentioned before, with regards to the quality of education, some of the parents in this study mentioned that their children are normally the first in the class. Felicia, a Peruvian mother from a public school, explained:

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89 The subjectivity produce by schools concerning the performance of migrant students and the influence that their families may have, has also been addressed in more details in Chapter 5.3 and 5.4
They come well prepared from there [Peru]. Because, honestly, I think education is better there (...) They’re more advanced, because my two children have the first place [in the class] (...) And my daughter told me "Mom, we studied this there [In Peru] and it’s easier here [Chile]" (EAPL_Fam3).

For parents, being a ‘good student’ is linked to the notion of discipline; they tend to think that Chilean schools are too ‘soft’ and, because of that, they become vigilant about children not lowering their performance. They also know that their children could do better, even though schools do not put pressure on them that much. As Antonia, a Peruvian mother who had just arrived in Chile and has her children in a free municipal school in the north region explains: “I know at what level my children are, so if I have to be behind them, I will be there” (EAPL_Fam5).

Additionally, Loreto believes that migrant students do better because Chilean parents are not demanding much from their children and this translates into migrant children continuing to be in the top of their classes. So she identified some differences in her parenting style with that of Chilean parents. When I asked about her and her children not chilenizing90, as the head teacher from her school had mentioned to me before, she firmly answered “no”. By this, she meant that her daughters are still at the top of their class (EC_Fam1). Being a ‘good student’, then, almost seems to be the validation that you have adapted, in the school's eyes, even though this does not happen with local students. Migrant students, consequently, have to over perform in order to be recognised by teachers. Furthermore, this recognition, according to the study of Roessler (2018) can also cause some tensions between migrant students and their Chilean peers, as the latter perceives that the former is ‘using spaces’ that they should not. What the author refers to as ‘de-location of the immigrant’.

4. Parental spaces of participation

The two most common spaces of interaction between parents and schools are: the parent’s meetings and the Parent Teacher Associations (PTA). In regards to the parents’ meeting, some parents interviewed mentioned that they were not sure what to expect about this space of participation and interaction, as the structure and aims

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90 This chilenization process, based on the interviews with school staff, takes two forms (as mentioned in Chapter 5.4). On one hand, migrant students and parents need to adopt the ‘profile’ created by the school, as part of their chilenization-adaptation process. On the other hand, this chilenization process can have a negative side when migrant students and parents start adopting a disengaged attitude towards learning and participation, thus they adopting the ‘bad habits’ of Chilean families.
of these meetings can differ from those back home. As Yanet, a recently-arrived Venezuelan mother explained:

*What I don't get used to is the [parents] meetings (...) they start talking about [things], I'm lost (...) because I was going there [in Venezuela] to the meeting and I knew what they were going to talk about. What project the children were going to do (...) Then the teachers gave us a preview of what they were going to do, so that with the children we could begin to investigate. Not here (...) there is no discussion of that in the meetings with parents (BC_Fam1).*

Normally parents’ meetings in the Chilean context are organised in the evenings-after work time- and all parents of the same class meet with the teacher at the same time. Some schools arrange parents’ meetings as often as once a month, but normally they are scheduled at the end of each semester so teachers can give parents’ the school grades. Sometimes in these meetings, teachers tell parents about some school events that will be organised, asking them for some type of ‘collaboration’. Hence the meetings are more like an instance of accountability from school to parents in terms of the performance of the children, but also from parents to school offering them a way to show their commitment to the school by helping with the activities organised by the school. Both parents and teachers can also ask for a one to one meeting if they are more concern about something specific about the child. As Patricia, a Colombian mother highlighted:

*Everywhere is different, of course. The meetings in Colombia were also different, it was very personalized, and the teacher calls you and “look, we have these flaws with your daughter, how are we going to improve them Look at these workshops”, all that, very personalized. The first time I came here, it was like chaos, like everyone wants to talk, like everyone complained, and I said, “My God, what is this?” (...) After that I had the opportunity to speak separately with the teacher (BVM_Fam1)*

Regarding the second common space of interaction between parents and schools – the Parent Teacher Associations (PTA)- Chilean scholar Zamora (2013) following Vincent’s (2000) distinction between the parent as a consumer and the parents as a citizen identified that these two roles of participation in the PTA in the Chilean context are in tension. On one side PTAs are aligned as a space for parents to support the management of the school, mainly with providing support in economic terms for example by organising bingo sessions for fundraising. Hence Zamora identified this participation as ‘instrumental’. In the case of this study, the instrumental participation can be identified too between Chilean schools and the schooling experience of migrants' parents'. For example, Marisa, a Venezuelan
mother, mentioned that she was asked by her son’s Chilean teacher to ‘collaborate’ with painting the walls of the classroom. In the Chilean context, a colaboración (literately meaning collaboration) means giving money. However, Marisa was not surprised about this form of practice—the school asking for money from parents—as she mentioned that it is also something very common in Venezuela.

Zamora identified that the role of parents’ at the PTA should be transformed “so that it extends beyond the economic, integrating into the learning environments, also stimulating a collaborative, proactive and articulating leadership of needs and interests” (2013, p. 113, TFS). This new role of parents in the PTA can be identified with the idea of parental positioning as citizens, which involves parents in collective actions. Position that has also been highlighted by some studies as an important way to encourage the participation of migrants as this is the formal space for parents to have a say in some school matters— at least theoretically— which can have an impact on school life (Poblete et al. 2016). In the case of Chile, the school will have a PTA normally structured as a board with a president, secretary and treasurer. However also each school year will appoint their own board so they can represent the classroom in the PTA. From the 36 parents interviewed, seven mentioned that they were part of the PTA or represented their children’s school year.

Both spaces of interaction between parents and schools (the parent’s meetings and the Parent Teacher Associations) have been highlighting in this section as a way to exemplify what does involve for migrant parents interviewed this adjusting process. During this process, we can see with these two spaces of participation how their previous experiences influence their current situation, which sometimes does match with the Chilean educational field and sometimes not. Therefore they develop strategies with which to navigate the ‘new field’.

5. The monocultural curriculum

Finally, when understanding the adjusting process from the point of view of migrant families, it is important to address the issue of the curriculum. For parents, the curriculum is something that concerns them because, when the time comes to support their children in their learning process, they actually feel extremely excluded and the curriculum might have something to do with that. This, however, might not be such a relevant issue to local parents due to the role the curriculum has in establishing what is learned on a ‘national’ level. This was one of the topics
discussed among a third of the parents-respondents regardless of nationality from both municipal and private subsided schools.

I was able to distinguish two areas mentioned by parents regarding the adjustment towards the Chilean curriculum: **organisation and pedagogy**. The organisation of the curriculum is different in each context, as the curriculum is normally nationally based. However, schools or parents rarely acknowledge this. Thus, the migrant families in this study had the feeling that, because the Chilean curriculum teaches certain contents later that in their countries, education in Chile was ‘behind’, compared to these countries. This can have an impact on the way in which they perceive the quality of the education in Chilean schools, as it was previously mentioned. The case of Armelia, a Bolivian mother that had just arrived in Chile, is an example of this. Armelia identified that the teaching of multiplication in the Chilean education system was almost one year later than in Bolivia. This made her feel that her son was falling behind in the progress expected of him:

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I \text{ feel that in } \underline{\text{Bolivia education is more advanced.}} \text{ For example, I brought my son from second year of primary knowing how to multiply and already starting with divisions. Last year he did third year } [\text{in Chile}] \text{ and it was only at the end of the year that they were beginning to multiply and divide, imagine! (…)} \text{ So I felt that he was so behind (EAPL}_\text{Fam2).}
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It is not difficult to see how this might become a big challenge for schools. Teachers, for instance, may have children who already know some of what they are teaching, and others who do not, all in the same classroom, which can easily translate into students getting bored and unmotivated. For families, on the other hand, this process of adjustment can be linked to the **emotional component** of migrating, as they may feel that their children are falling behind in their learning process because they have moved, as Armelia mentioned. This is something that was also acknowledged by Antonia:

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\text{For me studies are important, and I feel that since we came here, their level has dropped, it is what I feel. So, if I had to return, I would return, I would return. And if not, God willing, I would analyse a lot, analyse well what is better for them … studying there or studying here (EAPL}_\text{FG}_\text{Fam4).}
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Parents also mention that one of the consequences of their children already knowing some of the contents is that they are recognised for being at the top of their class. Loreto finds this situation very problematic and she is very critical of it. She
explained to me that her children are classified as ‘good students’ in Chile and yet, if they go back to Ecuador they could fail the year:

*Chileans say “foreigners study a lot” and I tell them that it is not that they study a lot... the child already knows what they are going to teach him, because he already studied it in his country. Then, that child gets a 7” because he already studied it (EC_Fam1).*

Her words were filled with frustration, because she felt that this does not help migrant children in their learning. Wilmer, a Venezuelan father, and Beti from Peru, are also concerned about this situation. Beti described this situation as students getting ‘estancados’ (stuck) or, on other words, students not being able to make progress as expected (PSA_Fam3). She mentions her son and his English lessons as an example. Due to the fact that, in the Chilean school that he attends they did not have good English lessons, he was not able to practice and has forgotten everything he had learned in Peru.

Wilmer, on the other hand, decided to buy his daughter more advanced books, as he did not want her to fall behind and forget what she had already learned back home (BC_Fam3). As it was explained in the accessing section, the school made the child redo the Year she had already passed in Venezuela. As a consequence of this, even though Wilmer’s daughter was ahead of her group in her new school, he was concerned that she might get bored and lose motivation. In Wilmer’s case, an important step to take in order to solve this issue was to discuss this concern with his daughters’ teacher. The teacher was very receptive and decided to reinforce the content Wilmer was teaching his daughter at home, in order for her not to experience setbacks in her learning process. In this case Wilmer, is not only concerned about his daughters’ learning process as a partner with the school, but he also shows some of the characteristics of what has been referred to, in the literature review, as the ‘concerted cultivation’ style of parenting, who makes sure his daughter learns other things at home to enhance her learning.

This dilemma “between frustration and adaptation” has also been highlighted in a recent study in which Bustos and Gairín (2017) explored academic expectations of migrant students and parents in the north of Chile. The researchers found out that parents might push their children to do better even though the ‘Chilean education system does not’ (this is also how parents understood the gap they perceived between their own behavioural standards and those in Chilean schools).

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91 This is the highest grade that you can get in the Chilean system.
Now, when it comes to pedagogy, this area includes what parents said about the way in which the content is taught and the language that is used; two aspects that can influence the home-school support. For the participants of this study, being able to support the school learning process is crucial for their relationship with their children’s education and especially for their process of adjustment. Parents recognised that, even though schools are the ones doing the teaching, the role of parents is to support that learning process at home and, if there is no support at home, that learning ‘vanishes’ and neither teachers nor students can make progress in the classroom. As Mina mentioned:

*I believe that you cannot expect children [to do well] if parents are not here, because, as the teachers themselves say, "this is where we teach, we provide the foundation, and you are the ones who have to follow the method". Then the teacher is right, they [children] can't make progress if the parents are not there (PSA_Fam2).*

This is a clear example of the role parents have as a co-teachers and this can be linked to the subject position of parents as partners (Vincent 2000). Nevertheless, parents sometimes feel frustrated—in the context of migration—when they want to participate and support their children, especially with regards to ‘los deberes’

Parents mentioned different strategies for supporting their children either actively (helping them do homework) or passively (making sure their children have done their homework). Also, parents see their children having homework as a sign that schools are ‘good’ and this influences their perception of the quality of education.

Some mothers and fathers mentioned that helping their children with their deberes has also become a learning experience for them. Mina, for example, has taken to the Internet to look for better ways to explain things to her son because, at times, he does not understand her explanations. She believes this happens because they explain things differently to him at school. Mina and Beti explained that, because they support their children in their learning process at home, they actually realised they are themselves learning things that they either did not study before, or that they did not like when they were at school:

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92 Meaning: duties, but in this context refers to homework
(Mina) I have no problem with language because I love writing and reading, but problems [with] mathematics…

(Beti): The opposite happens to me. I love mathematics, I do not like to read, but with my son I have learned to read.

(M): Yes! You end up learning with your children what you didn’t learn in school.

(B): I tell him “I didn’t like to read any books and with you I read 20”. He says “Oh, the things you have to do for me, Mama”

Nevertheless, some parents struggle to help their children with homework, not because of a lack of interest but because sometimes they do not actually understand homework or instructions given by teachers. Diego, a Colombian father had experienced this issue with his daughter; he explains:

Last week my daughter had homework, and I had to go and ask the teacher because I did not understand what it said [instructions]. I said to my wife ‘and now how do we do it?’ And with shame and everything, I came and I said to the teacher, ‘I do not understand’. And then, they explained to my wife what she had to do (LMBS_Fam1).

We can see how easily it can be taken for granted that parents will understand homework instructions; however, based on Diego’s account, we know this is not always the case. He even felt ashamed to ask the teacher to explain the instructions to him. This dimension of the adjusting process shows how schools wrongly assume that all parents are fluent in the ‘school language’ (in terms of pedagogical terms but also regarding the educational jargon) when, in reality, neither migrant nor local parents always understand it. The barrier of the ‘school language’ can also be connected to the reproduction of a specific cultural capital in the school field which, in turn, is linked to a long-standing debate about ‘whose cultural capital’ is validated in schools (Yosso 2005) as well as what Collet-Sabé and Martori (2018) have refer to as ‘the process of naturalisation of the school curriculum’. Meaning that this process “involves always placing the deficit, problem or lack of knowledge on the children without questioning the curriculum and its bias in terms of class, race, ethnic group and so on, as a key element in the production of inequalities” (Ibid p. 1130). Furthermore, the scholars argue that this invisibilization of the pedagogic practices has produce a ‘homogeneous school treatment’ where “each person is treated regardless of their unequal degree of separation or interconnectedness with school practices” (Ibid). Creating the “effect that school disaffection/failure is, apparently, an ‘individual error or difficulty of the child’ and his/ her family when he/she fails to follow
the dynamic, content, pedagogy, model of socialisation, tasks and school evaluation and so on” (Ibid).

Additionally, with regards to Diego’s concern over homework, it is interesting to observe that, even though he was worried and approached the school to ask for clarification, the one who ultimately took care of the issue was his wife. In this sense, as highlighted by Collet-Sabé in the case of Catalonia but also possible to observe in the context of Latin America and elsewhere “in the current families, we find continuities and discontinuities in the inequality of the sexual division of labour (...) [Women] with their incorporation into the world of paid work, often exercise the ‘double shifts’ at work and home. On the contrary, it seems that men have still little to do with domestic chores and childcare [such as supporting their children homework]” (2013, p.89, TFS). This gendered division of the school duties also hides certain machista assumptions that mothers are the main educational carers and fathers are the economic providers who work and earn money and, therefore, do not ‘need’ to be part of parent-teacher interactions. In the UK, this is referred to as the ‘breadwinner model of fathering’ (Braun et al. 2011).

It should be noted as well that these roles are, many times, reinforced by mothers themselves, especially by those that do not work and are ‘dueñas de casa’. This is the case of Marisa, a Venezuelan mother. She explained that, because she is ‘not working’ she feels guilty of asking her husband to help with their sons’ homework after he has had a long day of work:

*The mother is always the one that’s paying attention to everything... at least in my case it is like that, but in my case, I understand it, or in the case of others parents too, because the fathers, the majority of the fathers are working, do you understand me? So, how can I tell my husband, who arrives at 7 o’clock at night, tired, "help the child with the homework", do you understand? Or, on weekends, which is more or less when we are all resting... Maybe if they go out to play and that, but the ones who spend more time with the children, I think, are the moms (CMM_Fam1).*

In addition to the concern over supporting their children’s homework that migrant parents have, some parents also mentioned language barriers. In the case of this study, at the beginning this was not even considered as a possible source of tension

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93 Meaning: housewives. In the Latin America context when women do this in their own home is not work, but when they do it for others it is a formal work and it is paid. This is one of the most common jobs among Latin-American migrant woman in Chile and it is called trabajo doméstico (meaning: domestic service or work). This has also been one of the main topics of migration studies (Acosta 2013; Stefoni 2011a; Valenzuela & Mora 2009), especially because it’s ‘racialized’ and ‘classed’ connotation.
due to the fact that all of the parents who were interviewed were Spanish speakers. However, during the fieldwork and by talking to parents, I became aware of the importance of exploring the different ways in which the Spanish language has developed in each Latin American country, and the expressions that are unique to each context or, in other words, the ‘dialects’. For example, Miriam, a Peruvian mother who has been in Chile for a long time, mentioned that when she asked her son how school was going and what he was learning, he sometimes answered that he could not understand the teacher because she ‘spoke weird’ (LMBS_Fam3).

Apart from these language issues, there is also the nationalistic aspect of the curriculum, which makes History, Geography and Social Science (HGSS) one of the most difficult subjects for parents to provide support with. This is something that has been identified by other scholars who study migration (Alvites & Jiménez 2011; Tijoux 2013) and the indigenous communities in Chilean schools (González Miranda 2002), in spite of the fact that the aim of these subjects is to allow students to:

> Acquire a sense of identity and belonging to society. Knowing whom he/she is, knowing his/her community and consolidating ties with it are fundamental elements for the integral development of a child (MINEDUC 2012, p.178, TFS).

This has become a major topic for Peruvian and Bolivian families in Chile, considering that in the late XIX century there was an economic and politic conflict between these countries that triggered the so-called War of the Pacific. Revisiting this moment in history is likely to evoke nationalist sentiments in Chilean schools, but also among Peruvian and Bolivian parents and children, for they are expected to re-read this episode of history from the Chilean lens. This has been explored mainly by studies conducted in the north of Chile, which is where the conflict took place (Marín, 2014). Nonetheless, this is something that also happens in the metropolitan region. As mentioned by Vania, a Peruvian mother whose son goes to a private subsided school in the metropolitan region, she and her husband were ‘learning the history of Chile together’ with their son as a way to support him (CJJ_Fam1.2). She then ends her account by emphasising that, even though the three of them – mother, father and son - were ‘sitting down reading the History of Chile’, her son was still ‘super Peruvian’. From her words, it is possible to presume that she fears that, by assimilating the history of Chile, her son could immediately become more Chilean and anti-Peruvian, in accordance with the way in which the story of the war has been presented in Chilean schools. This curriculum issue should not be taken lightly as it can also influence the school experience “as a mean of citizen formation” (McCowan, 2006, p.199).
Loreto, on the other hand, was very critical of the content taught at the school, even though the public school her children attend is recognised as one of the schools in the north of the country with the highest enrolment of migrant children (50% according to the national statistics of 2016) and actions have been taken in order to strengthen the intercultural approach. One of the principles that guides this school is “the respect for the diversity of nationality of origin, cultural, economic, gender, physical, intellectual, emotional and social, among others, in the staff of the school and in our students”. In spite of this principle, she still felt that the curriculum was too oriented towards Chile and little space was given to learning about other cultures. As she puts it:

*I think Chile is the only country that I know, so far, that teaches about Chile [only]. It is not so familiarized with things from abroad, it is all about Chile. This does not happen in other countries; [there] they teach you more about other cultures and yours too (...) So this is difficult for the children. Mathematics is going to be mathematics, the same with language, but social [studies], history, all that, in terms of geography, the focus is here [on Chile] (EC_Fam1).*

One possible hypothesis as to why the school, in spite of having a strong ‘internal policy’ of acknowledging the diversity of its community, has ignored this potential problem is that, as the curriculum is based on national standards, schools are not allowed any adjustments. However, schools are encouraged to implement curricular adaptations and, therefore, it could be argued that the Chilean educational field has not been able to meet the needs and demands of the new context and has perpetuated a monocultural education system. In order to fight the invisibility of diversity in schools, Loreto, an active member of her Ecuadorian community, suggested bringing some cultural activities into the schools, such as movies produced in Ecuador; her idea was well received by the head teacher.

Out of all the interviews conducted for this piece of research, the only time that I heard from the parents that schools where somewhat engaging with the cultural and national diversity of their pupils’ communities, it was to refer to the multicultural celebrations organised by schools —addressed in more detail in Chapter 6. These instances allow for there to be a link between home and school, mainly because staff may not always have the knowledge and background of each country that composes this new ‘multicultural school’ and families emerge as a valuable source of knowledge of their cultural capital. This can either involve the presentation of different cultural manifestations of each country or be based on the celebration of the Independence Day, as explained by Ester:
For example, they do activities related to different countries in the school. They do multicultural or intercultural fairs every so often. Chile’s national anthem is sung together with one more anthem from another country which changes every week. All of these [activities] create a space that the greatest majority of the community that lives here likes. Who is not going to like listening to music from their country and that people participate and integrate?

Spaces where one can tell their own experience (RP_Fam1).

Even though the multicultural celebrations can be framed under a nationalistic approach, for Ester and other migrant parents interviewed, these are important spaces to claim the multiple identities that make up the school and that have remained invisible, silenced and marginalized for a long time. In the Latin American context, the celebration of a country’s Independence Day is, undoubtedly, an important commemoration of our history. It is also something that we share, as Latin American countries, and that could even be celebrated as shared milestones in the history of colonialism and the fight against the colonial rulers to constitute a united America under the Sueño Bolivariano. Additionally, when exploring these historical events, there can be questions about the processes of racialization/ethnicization, the way in which they have brought about in each country and how they have influenced the south-south migration that is taking place today.

These instances in which parents act as sources of knowledge and transmission of their own cultural capital have also been addressed by scholars from a critical interculturality approach, in the Latin American context. From this perspective, more emphasis should be given to the community knowledge as a way to decolonize the school curriculum in this context in which a certain type of knowledge has been legitimized (Novaro 2011; 2012).

Allowing parents to be a source of knowledge, when the curriculum has neglected the importance of making sociocultural diversity visible, can also help us see parents as transnational citizens and understand that “while curricular nationalism may have served the nation state and its imagined community well in the past, it is no longer an adequate institutional response to new demographic conditions” (Doherty 2018, p.210). In the current context in which we have a standardised and highly nationalistic curriculum, Chilean scholars Stefoni and colleagues (2016) have emphasised how changing this is important if we want to transit from a monocultural approach towards an intercultural one. According to them (Stefoni, et al. 2016), the ‘rigid’ Chilean curriculum is where “the hegemonic perspective of the dominant group is more easily reproduced” (pp.173, TFS), and this creates a barrier for the transformation towards an intercultural education.
6. Conclusion

Through this *adjusting* process, we can see some of the frustrations among migrant parents when there are things they do not understand or when they compare their Chilean schooling experience to the one they had back home. For some, this frustration can be overcome by finding other ways of engaging with their children’s schools, for example, parents’ as partners (such as Wilmer, who buys his daughter books so that she does not fall behind and teaches her at home) or parents as a source of knowledge (such as Loreto, who suggested to the head teacher that children should watch Ecuadorian movies at school). In both cases, we see that Wilmer and Loreto acknowledge that these initiatives were supported by the schools.

Two issues were identified as crucial in this *adjusting* process and taking them into consideration may allow for a different understanding of the participation of parents in their children’s schooling process, which could inform the current school practices and policies of parental participation in the context of migration. First, the importance of allowing parents to be a valid source of knowledge displaying their cultural capital in order to decolonize the curriculum. It is in the context of this process where the tension between the cultural capital of families and the school can be observed. As the critical interculturality approach highlights, it is here where power relations and processes of subalternization are revealed (Diez 2013). Thus, the tensions expressed by migrant parents regarding the curriculum should be acknowledged if there is an intention of turning the current monocultural educational system into one that is intercultural and inclusive of social diversity.

Second, I consider parents to be sources of knowledge not only in terms of their cultural capital, but also in terms of how knowledgeable they are of different aspects of the school experience. Their own accounts of their experiences in the Chilean education system challenge the assumption that they ‘lack an understanding’ of what is happening in the schools their children attend. Also, their views on the Chilean educational field can help better understand the tensions that exists between families and schools and that go beyond the context of migration. Migrant parents are ‘good observers’ of these tensions, and their observations act as a mirror that allow us not only to understand their experiences but also shed light on the Chilean educational system itself.

Finally, within the *adjusting* process, I do not mean to argue that migrant parents should be willing to undergo an assimilation strategy in relation to the Chilean
educational field. On the contrary, with this process I wanted to show other modes of home-school relationships that can emerge when there is a “discrepancy between habitus and field” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 130). It is from this point of ‘discomfort’ that issues that are not normally linked to parental involvement, such as the tensions produced by the difference in the quality of the education or the curriculum, can emerge. As Reay argues, “when habitus encounters a field with which is not familiar, the resulting disjunction can generate change and transformation” (2004, p. 436). It is important to remember that habitus, as explained in my theoretical chapter, is ‘durable’ (Bourdieu, 1990) therefore the encounter with the new Chilean educational field does not mean an immediate-easily change of it. However what we had seen so far is that all parents interviewed seem to be pro-schooling. Meaning that education is vital for their new lives as part of their migration project, and where it is not only about access (Chapter 7) but also that their children flourish in school (Chapter 8). So their habitus is already aligned with an emphasis on the importance of education, and the changes they have to make are about adapting their strategies (via the deployment of capitals) to ones that succeed in the new field of Chilean education (for example by taking on neoliberal roles as consumers).
Chapter 9  *Transforming*: making visible the tensions

1. Introduction

The parental strategies addressed in this section focused on the ways parents—respondent confront challenging issues they encounter in their schooling experience and that are intertwined with their migrating experience. I have named this process transforming because the only way to change the different situations that have become problematic for the school and migratory experience of families in the Chilean context, is to make them visible, name them, talk about them and bring them to ‘reality’ for, up until now, they only seemed to be anecdotal.

All parents interviewed mentioned some aspects of this process; therefore understanding these challenging issues allows us to better understand their process of ex/inclusion in the Chilean educational field and in the wider society. Some of the strategies addressed here appear to be more planned, rather than unconscious practices guided by the habitus. Thus, throughout this chapter, I will first discuss how parents deploy different strategies as part of their role as ‘educators’ – that is why I have used the term socialization because not only are schools agents of socialization but also families (Collet-Sabé 2013) - when they become aware of and respond to possible situations of discrimination, that they and their children face during their schooling experience. Therefore, the term of socialization also refers in this section to how, in the activity of mixing with others in the school-home setting, migrant families might encounter situations of discrimination as well as how parents may reproduce certain stereotypes towards other migrant communities.

A second theme that I will address in this chapter is regarding the question of identity and preservation of cultural capital associated with country of origin, in the context of a monocultural educational field. In this regard, I will explore the strategies used by mothers in their processes of enculturation and acculturation to transmit (or not) their culture.

Finally, I will end this chapter by focusing on the importance given by parents to the creation and participation in different forms of social organisation as a way to fight against invisibility and building social capital in the context of migration. In this
sense, these instances of participation, both in and outside the school, are an active form of the role of parents as citizen in the context of migration.

2. Socialization about discrimination

In the context of this study, being worried about possible situations of discrimination in the form of racism (discrimination against someone based on ‘race’) or xenophobia (discrimination against people from other countries) was something that half of the parents interviewed mentioned. For example, when approaching schools, some parents where even expecting to be mistreated in some form because they were migrants. Furthermore, at the end of each interview, I asked parents if they wanted to say something back to schools, and some of them – like Sandra, a Venezuelan mother– actually wanted to say ‘thank you’, as she did not expect to be ‘welcomed’ by the school:

They have treated us very well; I did not expect them to treat me like that. The psychologist, the inspector, the teacher, they have all treated us very well. [Me: And why did you think that it would not be like that?] I thought they would reject us because we are migrants (BVM_Fam2).

Sandra’s account shows the highly problematic situation that migrant parents have to deal with as part of their schooling experience. In her case, she was prepared to be discriminated against in Chilean schools. Lack of mistreatment because of where you are from, your ‘race’, or your migration status appears, shockingly, as something that some of the parents feel grateful for, although migration and education are both human rights. This is something that I have already mentioned in the accessing section, when parents referred to the idea of ‘openness’ of schools towards migrants.

How do migrant parents, then, deal with discriminatory situations that may arise during the socialization process of their children and themselves in relation to Chilean schools? Some of them taught their children a rather passive strategy of responding to discrimination. Simply ignoring any comment that may be made about them is one possible way, as Yanet, a recently-arrived Venezuelan mother, explained:
Encouraging children to adapt as much as possible so that they are not excluded at school it was another strategy used (further explained in section 3). However, some parents used a more active strategy. For example, because Juan and Susana were very concerned about racism against Black people, they decided to find a school with the **multicultural dimension** (as mentioned earlier). Even though they strategically made a decision to avoid racism by enrolling their daughter in a school that was recommended by another Colombian friend as a safe space against racism, their daughter was still discriminated against by other students in her first year. Juan and Susana even reported this racist attack to the MINEDUC.

The intention of looking for a more ‘culturally diverse school’ in order to avoid discrimination was also something mentioned by Ester, together with teaching her daughters how to deal with discrimination and defend themselves. As a mother, she felt she cannot protect them the entire time and believes not all social spaces are free of discrimination. She also highlighted that learning to defend yourself helps you ‘face life’ and understand that, sometimes life can be difficult, but you cannot avoid it and need to confront it. The idea of addressing **conflict** instead of avoiding it becomes a transformative way clearly present in Ester’s disposition:

> She [her daughter] needs to learn to **defend herself in life**, you [as a parent] cannot protect her all her life, in any school there will be something, that is why we [she and her husband] have to learn to trust in her capacity (...) She has also the right to face life, we have all grown defending ourselves from many things from society, not only from discrimination (...) We [she and her husband] have always thought that because we are foreigners, one should protect your children. As one feels that children are going to suffer a lot for these things, but I think we all have at some point in our life faced things like that (RP_Fam1).

It is also important to address the fact that discrimination can have an impact on the way parents relate to other parents. For example, when referring to her relationship with Chilean parents from her son’s school, Marisa mentioned that they related in a superficial and distant way. This shallow relation between parents, she argued, may be due to cultural differences that can actually be hiding discriminatory practices between parents (CMM_Fam1). Ester also commented on this issue; she mentioned feeling that Chilean mothers from her daughter’s school have reproduced a narrative that has labelled Peruvian mothers as conflictual. Because of this, Ester has the feeling that Peruvian mothers have been ‘excluded’ from the parent’s board of her
daughter's class, which increases the division between communities and creates prejudices and tensions between families.

Unafortunately, some things that you perceive as discriminatory have prevailed; for example, if a mother who is Peruvian discusses something and she says that she does not agree, they [Chilean mothers] say that she is "conflictual", do you understand me? Then, this creates a feeling of aversion in the mothers and they feel they are being attacked because they are foreigners (RP_Fam1).

Additionally, it is important to highlight that discrimination in the process of socialization is not only about parents and their relationships with other parents; it is also about parents ensuring that their children are not discriminating against other children. The reality is that, sharing a migration experience does not mean that you will not discriminate against others who are in a similar migration experience. By this I mean how in the role of parents as educators they might teach their children some prejudices towards other communities based on stereotypes, which can be understood as also part of the process of socialization. As Loreto recalls, in her children's school, migrant students have also discriminated against Chilean students (EC_Fam1). In the group interview with Mina and Beti, two Peruvian old-comer mothers from the same school as Juan and Susana, I asked them whether they had conversations with their children about not discriminating. Mina mentioned feeling somewhat unsure of what to say to her son if he asked her why some of her classmates where different, in terms of ‘race’, or had an accent (PSA_Fam2). So far, her son has not asked, but she feels that when he does, she will need to be better informed in order not to offer the wrong answers that could translate into some kind of discrimination from her son against his classmates.

Beti, very confident in her words, told Mina and me that she believes it will be her son who will explain to her what those instances of discrimination are. Although from Beti’s words it is possible to observe that for her, discrimination has to do with having the correct (or not) information, as if discrimination was based on facts. Thus, she believes that this is so because of the progress of technology as a resource that allows children to find the answers to these questions.

That's why I think that if they do not come to ask me, I think they would know the answer. If I lie to them, they tell me "Mama, you're not up to date [with the information]" (PSA_Fam3).

Interestingly, none of the mothers mentioned that the school could better address this matter. Both of them referred to technology as the main resource for them (in the
case of Mina) or their children (in the case of Beti) to find answers as to what to say. This is certainly a problematic sign, for it might mean that Chilean schools are not actually dealing with the internal episodes of discrimination and racisms taking place in their own space. Let us not forget that Mina and Beti’s sons’ school is the same school where Juan and Susana’s daughter had been the subject of racist attacks from her classmates. In this sense, even though Mina and Beti’s son where not part of these episodes, the school should have informed the community about this unacceptable situation regardless of who discriminated against whom, as this should concern the entire community. Having everyone know about and be involved in this type of issue is, ultimately, the only way to challenge discrimination.

Additionally, Beti was not the only adult that believed that children ‘would know the answer’. This was a comment I heard more than once among parents as well as school staff; they believed that children were actually teaching the adults how to relate to others in contexts of socio-cultural diversity. This is what we can refer to as a reverse socialization process, that is, from children to adults. This process challenges the adult-centric idea of socialization. Susi, a newly-arrived mother from Venezuela, for example, was ‘scared before coming to Chile’ because she did not want her son to be bullied for being a migrant. However, she later on realised that children do not really ‘see differences’ and she argues that they have a ‘universal language’. As an example of how this universal language works, she told me about her son and the Chilean children he met in their building:

In fact, in the building there are children and they are all Chilean. In our building I think we are the only immigrants, and the children came to ask if he can go out and play, do you understand me? That is already integration. There are no differences because he speaks differently (...) as I say, children speak a universal language. For them there are no such barriers as we adults create them. We adults are different. We are more stubborn, or we are more foolish, I would say, in that sense, because there should be no differences (ULA_Fam1).

Here Susi is specifically referring her belief that children do not see ‘race’ or the migration status differences. This is a very common argument among adults. However, some studies had countered this argument. For example in a recent study by Vincent and colleagues (2018a) about friendship between children and adults in diverse contexts in London, they argue that children see social differences although they do not necessarily understand those differences in the same way as adults do. Furthermore, we could argue that what Susi was trying to highlight is that in the case of children they decide to join others, thus they build their social capital, based on
other elements such as sharing the same interest in games, rather than differentiating on the basis of nationality, ‘race’ or migration status.

Moreover, Susi’s narrative shows her movement from a position of anxiety and fear about socioculturally diverse encounters, to starting to see these encounters as opportunities to socialize with others who are different from her. These ‘differences’ that parents and children are encountering in the school setting and other social fields will, in turn, have an impact on their habitus and capitals (Vincent, et al. 2018a). Thus, when difference is recognised, this experience is considered by some parents as positive, because it allows children to grow in a more intercultural environment.

However, beyond the intercultural encounters held by their children’s schools or in the wider Chilean society, discrimination still persists and may be more targeted towards specific communities. Loreto, an Ecuadorian mother from the north of Chile, provides a good example of this. When I asked her if either of her daughters’ or herself had experienced some kind of racism in or outside the school, her first answer was that this depends on the migrant community that you are a part of. She even quoted some statistics according to which ‘[Ecuadorians] are the ones who have the least amount of problems in terms of racism and all that’. She believes this is explained by the fact that Ecuadorian people ‘have light skin’ or, in other words, they are mostly White and, those who are Black, actually do ‘suffer more’. It is not only their nationality, then, but also ‘race’ which makes some people a more likely target of racism. As Loreto explains it:

*It is always the Black race that suffers more, and I believe that this is because of people’s ignorance. It has been inculcated since old times, since slavery, because a Black person will always be seen as rough, as a person who has to continue to be a slave, who has to be humiliated, who does not know how to behave (EC_Fam1).*

Loreto’s explanation encapsulates the experience of Black communities in a Latin America that is still under the colonial rule of *racial differentiation and hierarchy*, which continues to have an impact on the south-south migration experience until this day. In this context, and even though Loreto recognises that prejudices are produced by ‘ignorance’, she believes that Colombians are the community that struggle the most to be accepted in Chile ‘because of the way they are’ and the ‘violence in their country’. Interestingly, in a way, her comments reproduce some of the same prejudices that she criticizes.
So, the community that finds it harder to adapt and to be accepted by the system, is Colombians. And that is because their way of speaking is louder, it is not that they shout, is their way of speaking is like that. Adapting is more difficult because for them, it is necessary to remember that they come from a violent country. So, coming to another country and adapting is difficult for them. It is not that I am in total defence of the Colombians, but we do have to, as I’m saying, put ourselves in their shoes and understand that they come from a very, very ‘chocada’ culture, since they are children. So, it's more difficult for the Colombian community (EC_Fam1).

From a critical intercultural perspective, deconstructing prejudices and stereotypes is a fundamental task for the socialization between communities, inside and outside schools (Ferrão Candau, 2010). It is also important not to ignore racism and call it by its name whenever we find ourselves in its presence. Many times during the interviews, parents were reluctant to use the word racism to describe the discrimination that they and their children were suffering in their south-south migration experience. What is more, there may even be an avoidance of the word ‘race’ altogether. This, then, leads to ignoring the existence of racism in Latin American countries and to the invisibilization of those structures that need to be transformed (Walsh, 2009).

Melissa, a Dominican mother who did not identify with any ‘race’, had a hard time explaining why she thinks her daughter is not making progress at school. First, she mentioned her daughter's shy personality and her curly hair – unlike the straight hair many Chilean people have – as the reason behind her difficulties at school. In reality, she wanted to explain that her daughter’s low level of participation and learning difficulties were due to the fact she felt ‘self-conscious’ for being the only Black child in her classroom. By choosing these words, she avoided the words ‘race’ and Black. Although we could argue that her reference to her daughter’s hair does indicate she is talking about ‘race’, but using somewhat coded references. In her account of her daughter’s experience, she explains that:

When she started Year 2 here she was lagging behind. She did not even count or know the vowels. I do not know if it was because of the change, I do not know. The fact is that she did not know anything, nothing. The teacher called me, and she talked to me, and I did know that she was a bit behind. But she feels a little, how can I explain it to you ... self-conscious, because her hair is a bit curly, and you [Chileans] have, as we say, good hair, straight hair (CJJ_Fam3).

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* Meaning: crash, but in this context refers to the violent encounter that happens in everyday life.
Melissa’s non-identification with a ‘race’ was not uncommon among parents who were interviewed, as shown in the following table:

Table 6 *Do you feel identified with any ethnic group/race’?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘Race’/ ethnicity by nationality</th>
<th>Bolivian</th>
<th>Colombian</th>
<th>Dominican</th>
<th>Ecuadorian</th>
<th>Peruvian</th>
<th>Venezuelan</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All of them</td>
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<tr>
<td>I do not identify with any ‘race’/ethnicity</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
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<td>Black</td>
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<td>Mestizo</td>
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<td>Zambo</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Half of parents did not identify with any ‘race’/ethnicity (total 17), but all of them identified with a nationality. This, however, does not mean that racial differentiation is not present in Latin America, as we saw in the case of Melissa, Juan and Susana’s daughter, or that the **privilege of being White** and not suffering from racism is not present. When I was talking about racism with Armelia, I told her that some Colombian parents had mentioned that they were worried about their children being discriminated against in their school. She immediately asked me whether they were **Negritos** and then she emphasized that she had not experienced discrimination because, even though she was from Bolivia and most Bolivian are **Morenitos**, she was **Blanca**\(^5\). Then, when I asked her at the end of the interview whether she identifies with any ‘race’ or ethnicity, her answer was no.

\(^5\) *Negrito* is the diminutive of the word Black, *Morenito* is the diminutive of the word Brown, and *Blanca* means White.
With regards to the privilege of being White, Armelia reported feeling proud of being mistaken for an Argentinean, as it ‘whitens’ her origins. Parents’ own perception of their ‘race’ is crucial because it has an impact on the way their children perceive themselves and others. Armelia and her sons do not suffer racism because they are Blancos, but what happens with her daughter, whom she identifies as Morenita? The distinction Armelia makes between being Blanco/Argentinean, Negrito/Colombian and Morenito/Bolivian reflects the way in which, in Latin America, the social construction of ‘race’ is intersected by nationality. As she explains it:

*They even say that they do not believe I am Bolivian, because the majority of Bolivians (...) have a different type of ‘carita’, they are more Morenitos, with a bigger ‘naricita’ they have other features. Then, when they ask me "where are you from?"... [I say] "from Bolivia", they look at me [and say] “are you sure you are from Bolivia?" [I say] "yes". They hear my accent, as we have this way of speaking. So, my daughter who studies here, is Morenita, she has curly hair, but my other two [children] are White and with light ‘ojitos’ like me. So, at school, they did not believe my children were from Bolivia, they thought I was Argentine. So, I have no problem with racism*. (EAPL_Fam2)

Having conversations about ‘race’ and racism is not easy. In the interviews, parents rarely mentioned the words explicitly and they were visibly uncomfortable talking about them. As seen in the above quotes, when talking about ‘race’, parents tend to use diminutives to refer to people’s ‘skin colour’ or ‘facial features’: Negrito, Morenito, Blanquito, carita, naricita and ojitos. In Armelia’s case, she explicitly refers to Black and Brown people using the suffix *ito* (Negrito and Morenito, respectively). However, when she refers to White people (*Blancos*), she seems to deliberately not use this suffix. *Ito/ita* is a morpheme added at the end of a word of Latin origin that provides a **diminutive** of a name (e.g. Sara/Sarita) or adjective (e.g. baja/bajita97). In Latin America, this *ito/ita* calling is commonly used to tinge and soften a word; in this case, a word that is being used to label a person and that has a diminishing connotation to it. In a way, it is similar to saying *I’m not racist but...* Poblete’s study, which is one of the first explorations of migration in the Chilean educational field, also acknowledges the use of this language. He concludes that, even though “diminutives abound and are common in daily life, it is still significant that this type of concepts are used, although they do not have a necessarily negative charge, they do point to a certain reduction and pity” (Poblete 2006, p.325, TFS).

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96 Carita is the diminutive of the word face, naricita is the diminutive of the word nose, and ojito is the diminutive of the word eyes.

97 Meaning: short
So far, this section has mainly focused on the socialization process between communities, in an effort to understand the ways in which the *us* and the *them* are reproduced in the context of the migration experience, and how this division may lead to discrimination and racism. Based on the experiences of the migrant parents who were interviewed, I argue that the **socialization of prejudices and stereotypes today**, in different social spaces, such as the school and home, has become one of the many barriers against migration. Therefore, if schools, families and other social spaces reinforce ideas about the ‘other’ that are based on prejudices and stereotypes, what they are reproducing is the division between *us/them* that, instead of allowing intercultural exchanges, creates socialization based on segregation. In this sense, the socialization process of children cannot be considered as an issue only concerning families, as Collet-Sabé argues (2013), as they are also the expression and the concrete materialization of tensions that affect the whole society. Additionally what this sections also highlight is that parents do not directly name issues of racism in their schooling experience, and this may be because either this kind of ‘talk’ is avoided by the Chilean educational field or in the Latin American context this has been denied, even though everyday experiences are influenced by this social and racial hierarchies.

### 3. Enculturation vs. acculturation, or a mixed strategy?

A second theme that emerged among half of the migrant mothers interviewed (none of the six fathers interviewed mentioned it), especially among those who have been in Chile for a long time and are permanent residents, however from different nationalities and ‘race’/ethnicity, had to do with identity and with the way in which they themselves become a **source of knowledge** to transmit their **cultural capital** to their children in their migration experience. Therefore I identified three strategies which emerged from the answers given by mothers, regarding how they transmit (or not) their cultural capital inside and outside the school.

One strategy is linked to the processes of **enculturation** (also refer as endoculturation), which is the process of transmission of a minority culture **within** a group that is **inside** a dominant culture. The second strategy is linked to the process of **acculturation**. This process can be understood as adopting new cultural features from one culture; it is about assimilating the dominant culture. In both processes, there is a reconfiguration of the cultural capital in the context of migration, either by adopting the new-dominant culture (acculturation) or by transmitting one’s own
culture (enculturation). A third group of mothers used a mixed between them. Finally, in this section I will focus on four mothers who had Chilean-born children and how they used these different strategies. These cases, even though they are a small number, are important to addresses as it is a reminder of the relevance of transnational identities being configured in the intimate space of family and the ways in which mothers deal with this change as part of the migrating experience.

Regarding the gender dimension of these strategies this has also been studied in other contexts of migration, as is the case of London in the study by Erel (2012). The scholar concluded that the process of ‘transnational connection building’ is “gendered insofar as they reinscribe the central role of mothers in transmitting cultural capital on a transnational scale [as] mothers acted as nodal points of transnational connection for their children” (Ibid p.471). Furthermore, this idea of transmitting cultural, it also connects with what I have referred to as transnational citizens in the literature review chapter regarding the subject position of parents as citizens, but also as a source of knowledge.

According to a third of the mothers who mentioned the issue of identity, they were concern that their children were losing their connection and capacity to identify with their (or their parents’) country of origin. Therefore they were determined to not to let their children forget their roots while growing up in Chile and, because of this, they were doing different things to transmit their own culture in the process that I have referred to as enculturation. This concern expressed by mothers can be linked to the notion of dis/continuity between intergenerational relations, according to Novaro (2014). Using a critical intercultural perspective in her study with Bolivian migrant families in Argentina, the scholar concluded that the identity discontinuity between generations partly arises due to the contradictory discourses that are reproduced in the relationship between migrant families and the national education system. She argues that what happens is that there is an identity tension between the parties - families and schools- "in the context of a population discriminated against the host society" (Ibid p.175, TFS). Consequently, "national identification can be an element of strengthening and resistance" (Ibid) for migrant communities.

Thus we can see how mothers whose children are growing up in Chile deal with the question of the transnational identity. In the case of Marisa, she explained that her son has identified so much with the Chilean culture that he has forgotten the Venezuelan anthem and they have to find ways – therefore going through a process of enculturation - to always remind him where he comes from; she still wants him to
grow up knowing their own culture, even though they may not go back home because of the political situation. She also feels that there are differences between her own culture and the Chilean culture that she does not feel very comfortable with, so she lives with the tension of raising her child between two worlds. One is a world that does not belong to her and is unfamiliar, and the other is far away and, given the political situation, only potentially present in her distant future (CMM_Fam1).

On the other side, half of the mothers that refer to strategies regarding identity issues, understood that a certain level of adaptation was needed in order for their children not to be excluded or discriminated against, almost like a series of survival practices; their strategy was more closely related to what is known as acculturation. Melissa provided a very practical example of this process. She explained that in Dominican Republic, people pronounce the R as an L, and that she, as an adult, does not really bother to change this. However, she sees that her son has started to speak in a more Chilean way in order to avoid being discriminated against. Furthermore, because her son is older than his sister, he has started to encourage her to adopt the Chilean way of speaking as well, so that she can avoid being discriminated, as he had seen that she has already suffered in the school because of the way she speaks. Melissa did not challenge her son's strategy as she may agree that this was a good way to avoid exclusion (CJJ_Fam3).

Nevertheless, there is also what we can refer to as a mixed strategy that incorporates both processes of cultural transmission and that links these in-between identities of transnational families in the context of migration. This was mentioned by a third of the mothers. Felicia, an old-comer mother from Peru, mentioned the importance of adopting the Chilean way of speaking, as Melissa mentioned before, in order to avoid discrimination; and yet, she also believes it is important to preserve and remember your own culture and identity.

_I tell her that she has to adapt to the way of talking of children here, but she does not have to forget that she is Peruvian, and she is always with the ‘pe’ but sometimes she tells me “mama, the ‘po’ is used in the school” as she relates to Chilean girls. Then I say, “it’s normal, you also have to adapt so you do not get pushed aside” (EAPL_Fam3)._

Additionally, some mothers have children that identify more with the Chilean culture and that are actually Chilean by birthright. In this case their membership to the

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98 Expression use commonly by Peruvians at the end of a phrase to give emphasis. It comes from the Spanish word _pues_ which colloquially is used to emphatically introduce a response or a reply, especially when it contradicts the other. In Chile we use the _po_.
Chilean society is based on what I have mentioned before in the accessing process regarding the *jus soli*. This Latin legal expression refers to the citizenship by birthright or, in other words, that anyone born in Chilean territory has the right to the Chilean nationality. However, because the civic capital (as a form of symbolic capital) is also involved in this process, children who have acquired the Chilean nationality through *jus soli* will still be considered – discursively, not legally, meaning that people will still not recognize them as Chilean – half members or second-class citizens in this monocultural society where a Chilean child born to Chilean parents has more value than that of a Chilean child born to migrant parents. Thus, as we will explore next with Abril’s acculturation strategy, some mothers in Chile choose to inculcate the Chilean culture to their Chilean born children over their own culture, as a way of reinforcing their Chilean identity (CJJ_Fam2).

I will now share the experiences of four mothers of Chilean-born children and the degrees of en/acculturation that they have reproduced as a way to preserve (or not) their own culture in the next generation. Abril is a Peruvian mother that has lived in Chile for 18 years and has a son who was born in Chile. In her account, he identifies as a Chilean more than as a Peruvian as she explains that he ‘is 100% Chilean’, even though she and his grandparents are Peruvian (Abril did not mention the father). Abril also highlights that her son, according to her, ‘with great pride’, says: "my mother is Peruvian, my grandparents are all Peruvian, but I am Chilean". I, then, asked her whether she talks about Peru with her son so that he can understand the cultural origin of her mother and grandparents, and she emphatically expressed that everything she teaches him is actually about Chile; she does not want to force him to define himself as Peruvian. Her strategy, therefore, is closer to what we can understand as an acculturation rather than an enculturation approach.

*His documents [ID] are all Chilean. Then, before he is 18, he will decide which nationality he will keep, he can keep both or he can keep one. Then, I will support him in what he decides, because I cannot force him either [Me: Do you talk about Peru at home?] No, everything is focused on Chile. Everything; in fact, he does not want to know about Peru. (…) I go to celebrations of the Peruvian independence and he goes with me. He is with me and supports me, and if it is about him, I support him (CJJ_Fam2).*

In the above quote, we can see how Abril explains that her son goes to accompany her rather than because he has an affective connection to Peru. Moreover, even though Abril had decided to focus more on Chile, she also clarified that this does not make him anti-Peruvian: “he is not a boy who points the finger at the Peruvians”, as she puts it. Abril is very aware of how Chileans negatively perceive the Peruvian
community. This is an example of what Novaro (2014) referred to as the discontinuities in the experiences of different generations in the context of migration, when certain communities have been historically excluded. Therefore, this can reproduce in the next generation, a desire not to be associated with the identity of their parents or ancestors who have been constantly marginalised and negatively stereotyped.

Diana, also from Peru, used a mixed strategy. She has lived in Chile for 15 years, has three Chilean children, and has approached cultural transmission very differently with each of her children, especially with her oldest and youngest ones. After three years of living in Chile, her first daughter was born. They (she and her partner who is also Peruvian) decided to use an enculturation approach, so that her daughter would learn to be close to the Peruvian culture. Thus, they “raised her as if [they] were in Peru; the food, the songs, everything had to do with Peru” (GW_Fam1). When her daughter started nursery, Diana started to perceive some tensions between her legal identity as Chilean and her cultural identity as Peruvian. She was very proud to say that: “she was Peruvian, that she was not Chilean”. However, she was constantly told that because she had been born in Chile, she was not Peruvian. Diana remembers that when her daughter was 9 years old, she started to say: "I'm Chilean but with Peruvian blood".

Now, in the case of her youngest son, the story is very different. She told me that “the little one is all about Chile”. When I ask her the reason behind this, she explained that they had decided to raise him differently by ‘not doing that to him’. By ‘that’, I assume she is referring to the enculturation strategy they used with their oldest. We can see, then, that these parents themselves had started to assimilate the Chilean culture and were raising their son as a "Chilean but of Peruvian parents". In Diana’s case, as the years went by and Chile felt more like their final destination instead of a transit point, the surrounding culture was the one that got stronger and prevailed in the process of cultural transmission. We can assume that this was the case because, as we have seen throughout this thesis, there seem to be little space for the appreciation of cultural diversity and, because of this, parents can easily lose their initial strength to resist ‘letting go’ of their own culture.

Even though Diana deliberately mentioned the difference between raising her children, in terms of culture, she still feels conflicted between wanting them to feel proud of being Peruvian and identifying with the Chilean culture. Ester seems to be at that intermediate point and she also decided to use mixed strategies, but
differently from Diana. She prefers to encourage her daughters to feel proud and lucky of having two identities.

*We always inculcate in them that they are lucky to have two nationalities because it is as if they have two things to share, two cultures. In other words, that they have a great deal of wealth that they should be proud of, rather than conflicted about* (RP_Fam1).

Gloria, on the other hand, is more determined when it comes to reinforcing her Ecuadorian culture to her children. She has migrated to Chile twice. The first time, her son was born, and then when she moved back to Ecuador, she had a girl. Just recently, she decided to move to Chile again with her Chilean son and Ecuadorian daughter. At the moment she is experiencing some tensions between her children and their transnational identities. First, her son is very proud to be Chilean and has adopted many Chilean ways, particularly in the way he speaks. Gloria does not like this very much and explains:

*I corrected him many times because I know very well that Chileans ... there are things that they don’t say very well. So, I do not like the way they talk and I say, "son, this is how it is said, and I know that you are Chilean, but this is the way it is"* (CJJ_Fam4).

Second, she has seen how his son has started to undervalue her own sister because she is ‘not Chilean’. Because of this, she had to address this issue at home, as she perceived that her daughter felt ‘discriminated’ by her own brother:

*He came here and he got that idea deep in his mind, and my daughter is Ecuadorian, and he made her feel underappreciated. What happens is that he said, "I am Chilean, you are Ecuadorian". And my daughter says "mama, where am I from?" And I say "daughter, you are Ecuadorian, and I am Ecuadorian, and your brother is half Ecuadorian and half Chilean"* (CJJ_Fam4).

She has worked on encouraging her daughter not to feel inferior because she is Ecuadorian; quite the opposite, she wants her daughter to be proud of her Ecuadorian roots. She has tried a similar approach with her son, so that he does not deny his Ecuadorian heritage and feels proud of it.
I saw that my daughter was sad and I said, “You are not from here exactly, your roots are Ecuadorian. And it does not mean that because they are Ecuadorian or because they are Chilean, there are differences, all children are equal”. I said, "daughter, you are very valued here, so there is no problem”. Then, you go and ask her “where you are from?” and she says, "I am Ecuadorian”. She feels very proud. And my son says, "I am Chilean, but I have an Ecuadorian mother”. And then I started to try to get those ideas that were rooted [in him] and I tried to turn them around (CJJ_Fam4).

In all of these different accounts and experiences, the common denominators were the prejudices and stereotypes that continue to be present in the south-south migration context. Nevertheless, and understanding that this study examines the relationship between school and family, it is important to note that the educational system itself and the school practices that take place in it also contribute to reproducing these social imaginaries.

These two ways of understanding cultural transmission (enculturation and acculturation) from the lived experiences of migrant mothers in Chile are relevant in the context of this study considering there has been a long debate around Bourdieu’s concept of cultural capital among educational scholars. Studies exploring the schooling experience of marginalised minority groups have shed light on the importance of discussing cultural capital vis-a-vis community knowledge to challenge the current state of inequality and power relationships in the educational field (Carter 2003; Lubienski 2003; Rios-Aguilar et al. 2011; Wallace 2018; Yosso 2005).

In this sense, placing the community knowledge from nondominant parents as a form of cultural capital to be recognised by the educational field becomes the only way to challenge the narrative that still places that the cultural capital that needs to be transmitted in the schools is one of the dominant groups, so students and families assimilate as much as possible to this group to adapt to the ‘host’ society’ (Portes & Rivas 2011). This way of validating just one form of cultural capital (from those in a dominant position) correlates with an integration model that is understood as a one-way process, from migrants towards the society of reception (Anthias 2013).

In the case of the Chilean education field, is important to challenge the asymmetric power relations produced by the assumption that only ‘some culture’ can be considered as ‘valid capital’ and therefore school knowledge and the ‘other cultures’ are just ‘folkloric manifestations’ of diversity. Although migrant families cultural capital has been acknowledged in school practices in what I have referred to as the
multicultural manifestation\(^\text{90}\), it is still extremely important to address this topic in order to challenge the **monocultural education system** and place cultural diversity on the agenda of the Chilean educational field, as a way to challenge the nationalistic approach that is embedded in the curriculum and therefore in the Chilean school culture (Beniscelli, et al 2019; Stefoni et al. 2016).

4. **Associativity against invisibility**

In this last section of the *transforming* process, I have decided to use the word *associativity* to illustrate how migrant parents organize in order to deal with issues related to the education of their children and other social aspects that may influence their process of ex/inclusion in the Chilean society. This associativity can be understood as a form of citizenship. In this sense, I am arguing for the need to consider citizenship beyond the legal status and how citizenship is also about participation. Participation, that as emphasised by Bloemraad and colleagues (2008), is more than just engaging with ‘political governance’ is about ‘participatory citizenship’. Thus, the scholars argue that this form of understanding citizenship-participation “allows immigrants to make citizenship-like claims on the state and others, even in the absence of legal citizenship status, and perhaps even in the absence of legal residence” (Ibid p.162).

In order to build on this associativity, migrant parents use their **social capital**, which manifests in the reconfiguration of social networks that allow them to actively participate with others in fighting against social and educational exclusions. These *associative links* as Castillo and colleagues have referred to in a recent study, are relevant for the “insertion strategies’ of migrant families in terms of "labour trajectories, housing, as well as in the form of family articulation and access to public institutions" (2019, p.10, TFS). Thus this could be considered a more conscious strategy employed by migrant parents to fight against invisibility.

In this sense, I argue that these instances of participation are an active form of the parents’ subject position as citizen in the context of south-south migration. Moreover, the subject positions of parents as citizen ‘came alive’ during my fieldwork when I met three parents in particular: Ester, Walter and Loreto. Additionally this form of participations allows us to think on other modes of the home-school relationship when the habitus encounters an unfamiliar field. In this sense with these forms of

\(^{90}\) See Chapter 6
associativity, I will argue that even though migrant parents are ‘new’ to the Chilean educational field, they do not get paralyzed. They practice other forms of agency.

Ester is 42 years old; she is Peruvian, identified as indigenous and is the mother of three girls enrolled in a free public-municipal school with 32% of students with a migration background (either because they or their parents are migrants). The school is classified as middle-class. Ester arrived in Chile as a political refugee. After 12 years of living in Chile, she now holds a permanent resident status. She is very active in her community and leads a Peruvian women’s group. Her daughters are Chilean by birthright and also hold a Peruvian passport. Ester was studying to become a teacher in Peru; however, she did not finish her studies. In Chile she got a vocational degree in administration. She rents a two-floor house, owns, and works in a minimarket located on the ground floor of her house. I met her through the person in charge of the migrant office of her municipality. Her husband is a psychologist, has a master’s degree and works for the municipality. The family’s monthly income is in the £375-£625 range, which means that as a family of five (both parents and three children) they live with a narrow monthly income considering that the minimum wage in Chile is £347 (RP_Fam1).

Walter is 38 years old. He is Venezuelan and does not identify with any ethnicity or ‘race’. He is the father of two boys enrolled in a non-free private-subsidized school with 27% of students of a migration background. The school is classified as upper-middle class. He has lived in Chile for 10 months and decided to migrate because of the political tensions in Venezuela. He holds a temporary visa status. He is very active in the school and even though he was a new-comer, he decided to run for president of the Parent-Teacher Association and won the election. He holds an MBA degree and had a manager position in a big company back home. Now he has a junior position in a private company and rents an apartment. I met him through the parents’ association of the school. His wife has a university degree and when they first arrived in Chile she had to work in a call centre. She then decided to be self-employed and try to work as ‘coaching consultant’, like she was doing in Venezuela. The monthly income of the family is in the £1,500-1,750 range (BC_Fam2).

Ester and Walter live in the metropolitan region. Loreto, on the other hand, lives in the north of Chile. She is 33 years old from Ecuador and identified as Zamba. She has three children; the youngest is in Reception, and is the only one born in Chile. Her children are enrolled in a free public-municipal school with 50% of migrant children. The school is classified as middle-low class in terms of socioeconomics,
and it is one of the few schools that has the intercultural bilingual programme, since it has a significant percentage of indigenous students. She has lived in Chile for 8 years and decided to migrate because her mother, who migrated to the country first, told her the economic situation here was better and encouraged her to migrate too. She holds a permanent residence status and is very active in her community, participates in cultural activities and also supports new-comers. She only completed her primary education and now works as a cleaner for a private company. She rents an apartment, where she lives with her three children, partner and mother. I met her through the Children and Adolescents' Rights Protection Office from her municipality. Her partner (they are not married and he is the father of the three children) has finished his secondary education and works as a handyman. The monthly income of the family is in the £625- £1,000 range (EC_Fam1).

Ester, Walter and Loreto’s positions as citizens became evident when they told me about their active participation in their children’s school and their communities. The three of them were motivated to participate mainly so that they could help make visible the current exclusion that children of migrant origin face in the Chilean education system and that negatively affects their rights and identity. The three of them were also involved in some kind of civic association. Ester is part of a women’s group that supports Peruvian new-comer mothers. Loreto participates in an association with other Ecuadorians living in the north region, whereas Walter, as previously mentioned, was the elected president of the Parent-Teacher Association (PTA) of his sons’ school. These three forms of civic associations create an intersection between being a parent and the migration journey itself. In Ester’s case, while it is a space to support other women, her participation in this group is also linked to her maternal role, her gender and her migration process. In Loreto’s case, the group she is a part of is an important space for families, but it is also an instance to preserve her cultural heritage and transmit her cultural capital to the next generation.

Ester’s civic association has a legal dimension and she refers to it as a communitarian collective of local/neighbour women. The place where she lives, works and educates her daughters is one of the boroughs with the highest migrant population in the metropolitan region. She explained to me that the group was inspired by women’s ‘natural’ inclination to talk to each other and ask for information and advice. The association fulfils its mission with a flexible number of members because the migrant community is very mobile (people move around because of work or even to go back to their home countries). At its highest, the coordinated
group was made up of 12 women; it currently has only three. The municipality, GP and schools of the area know the collective very well. As Ester explained: “we started to get involved with the GP because we had so many complaints (...) some of us approached the director in order to talk; the director invited us to participate in a roundtable” (RP_Fam1). This process of involvement not only addresses school issues, but also other social matters such as health, which means that, as a group, they had to be well informed and understand how the system works in order to advocate for their rights and fight exclusions. She mentioned that, if they are approached by a new neighbour that has been denied the possibility to register in the GP or a school place for her children, they would support and assist her, as they know that by law every migrant, regardless of their migration situation, has the right to register in the local GP and receive an education.

Crucial to the work of the association is the network built with the municipality, which has a migration office and a history of supporting migrant neighbours. Ester explained to me that if something were out of reach, they would channel it to the migrant office. This case is special, as this is not the norm among municipalities practices, in terms of supporting migrant neighbours. It is, however, starting to develop into a trend, considering that the numbers of migrant communities is increasing. Unfortunately, in the great majority of municipalities this support is at a very initial stage or altogether non-existent. Just as a way of contextualizing the situation from a political point of view, the 2017 presidential election was the first time that the migration issue and migrants’ rights in the country were included in the presidential candidates’ programme. It could be argued, then, that civic associations like Ester’s are finally making visible the exclusion of migrants in many aspects of the social life in Chile.

When I asked Walter what his motivation for being part of the PTA was, he highlighted that, first of all, it was a personal commitment anchored in a sense of social responsibility and a desire to help others. Second, it was a way of saying thank you to the school for giving his sons the opportunity to study. He is also grateful that the school has provided opportunities to other families of his own community and that might have faced a forced migration due to the economic and political situation in Venezuela. Finally, he believes that, by actively participating in the PTA, he can better understand how the education system and the school itself work, and this can allow him to better support his sons. Learning about the Chilean education field, however, is not the only thing he considers important; he also believes that understanding the Chilean culture is equally important. He explains:
“Here, there is my Venezuelan community, yes, but I need to understand the Chilean culture, so with whom do I have to be? With the Chileans. Then, I also see it as a way to meet people, know their cultures (...) and as I tell you, it is also part of my process of adaptation and of learning” (BC_Fam2). As Walter highlighted, being an active member of the school community also becomes relevant for the inclusion in the Chilean society, as schools, in many ways, mirror the Chilean culture.

Nevertheless, even though he mentions his involvement in the PTA was mainly motivated by personal issues, we can see that he also got involved in some activities in the school, which can be seen as a way to make the migrant community visible. For instance, the PTA organized a family bingo -which is a very common activity for families in Chilean schools- in the school on a Saturday morning, and the main theme was the diversity of the nationalities that were part of the school. The bingo activity was named “The Mega Bingo of Nations” and flags from the six countries that are present in the school were on display: Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Mexico, Spain, and Venezuela. I met Walter before the bingo, on a Friday evening in the school. He was actually the only father participating in the organization of the event; all the other parents were mothers. This, as previously mentioned, is not unusual, as mothers tend to be the ones 'assigned' as the main responsible for the education of the children (Fieldnotes, BC, 27 May 2016).

The day of the bingo, as I was kindly invited by Walter, I was able to see that more fathers were participating; actually, half of the parents were mothers and the other half were fathers. Each Year Group was in charge of selling food. Two stands were decorated with the different flags of the countries that have representation in the school, whereas on one stand, the ‘Chilean stand’, there were parents dressed in the ‘traditional’ Chilean costume and there were Chilean flags everywhere. I was expecting the food being served to be from the different countries; however, it was just the food that is typically served in a Chilean school. In this sense, the presentation of Chileans’ cultural capital in terms of food and costume was dominant, but this activity can still be considered a step forward towards the recognition of the diversity in the school, and one that was very much influenced by Walter, who was the only migrant parent in the PTA.

Loreto’s own experience of finding a school for her daughters when she first arrived in Chile was what triggered her active participation in her community and in the school. For her, this process was so terrible, that she decided that she needed to do something to help others. She explained to me that she will never understand how the MINEDUC can make a child and a family go through that terrible experience.
She was one of the mothers who explained, in detail, how dependent the right to education was on the migration status of a child’s parents. Even though this has slowly changed, she still remembers how, when she arrived 8 years ago, she had to see how her daughter was excluded from the school by the Ministry itself after her temporary visa expired. This meant that children could only go to school while the temporary visa of their parents was valid. According to her account, the expulsions were so violent, that to this day she still feels emotional when she remembers her daughter’s sadness. As she explains it:

*These guys from the MINEDUC, they have no sensitivity, they are so offensive. When the day arrives, they go to school and go ‘you, you, you’, pointing at you as if you were a thing, ‘you cannot come to school anymore because your parents do not have their papers up to date. So, until they do, you have to go to your house’ (EC_Fam1).*

She acknowledged that these were the rules imposed by the Ministry, not the school management. This is perhaps more problematic given that it shows the exclusion that can result directly from policies established by the state of Chile itself. She told me that what is even more annoying to her is that some schools still ignore the changes in the law, and exclude children based on their parents’ migration status. It was her experience that lead her to approach the Children and Adolescents’ Rights Protection Office of her municipality, where she was able to find support and advice. She explained: “this office has helped me a lot, and I have been able to help many people (...) it is the only office that has stopped the Ministry and has fought for the rights of children” (EC_Fam1).

Loreto is also an active member of an association of Ecuadorians that, just like Ester’s group, aims to support newly-arrived Ecuadorians that have migrated to the north of Chile. Among other activities, this group organizes cultural events to promote their culture in different social spaces such as schools, with activities like Ecuadorian film festivals. However, she emphasizes that the association welcomes everyone, regardless of their country of origin, because they are “all paddling in the same direction”, towards a better quality of life in Chile, one without exclusions and discrimination. Moreover, as an active representative of her community in the school, she also acknowledges that, even though it is important to participate in the school to fight against invisibility, not all families can afford to do this – mainly in terms of time. We should not forget that, because of their social and economic conditions, migrant families’ commitment to their work is their priority and they do not always have the time to attend school activities. Unfortunately, schools tend not to
acknowledge this situation; Loreto explains: “as foreign communities, we come with that goal, to work and work, and sometimes it becomes difficult to attend certain things in the school” (EC_Fam1). In this sense, there is a gap between school practices and expectations, and the reality of some families.

Even though each one of them – Walter, Loreto and Ester - has a different story of their schooling and migration experiences, and of their motivation to organize and be active in their communities, what they do share is their agency to overcome the barriers of hostility towards migration. Thus these three examples of associativity are forms of solidarity to help resist exclusions. Their stories exemplify the highly complex experiences that migrant parents have to go through in their schooling journeys. These experiences go from not understanding how the system works, all the way to not being able to find a school place for their children or a place where their culture is recognised. Most importantly, however, these three migrant parents taught me that, even though you might encounter barriers and exclusions, in order to make your voice heard, you have to gather with others, organize and stand together.

5. Conclusion

Similarly, to the adjusting process, the transforming process becomes another example of addressing the “discrepancy between habitus and field” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 130). In each one of the three sections of this chapter it is possible to identify the discomfort that the Chilean educational field causes in parents and how they react (on not) to it. Throughout this chapter, I have tried to shed light on the social problematic issues and situations families have had to face during their schooling experience, and how these experiences act as a form of ex/inclusion in the educational field and the wider society.

When exploring the issue of discrimination and racism inside and outside the school, we can clearly see how nationality and ‘race’ intersect, in terms of the process of socialization of the ‘other’, in the context of the south-south migration taking place in Latin America. This ‘othering’ is the product of the socialization of prejudices and stereotypes that has become the basis for the process of racialization and differentiation of the region which, in turn, is the product of a colonial past that continues to have an impact through the conformation of racial and social hierarchies. This differentiation is still present in the social relationships between
communities which, in turn, has influenced the schooling experience of migrant families in the Chilean monocultural educational field.

Throughout the exploration of this process, the importance of mothers, is clear both as sources of knowledge and as advocates for the preservation of their cultural capital. In this context, mothers develop different strategies for both the resistance (enculturation) and survival (acculturation) in the configuration of identities that, whether they like it or not, become more fluid in the context of transnational citizenship. Throughout this process, I also intentionally refer to the transmission of the community knowledge, not as something different from what has been called cultural capital, but as part of it. Addressing this topic becomes relevant, then, for it challenges the monocultural education system, and places cultural diversity as part of the new Chilean educational field.

Finally, this chapter ends with the experience of three parents who, despite all the obstacles, have found the means to overcome exclusionary practices and, through a collective effort, have sought to position migrant communities as part of the new Chilean educational landscape and migrant parents as citizens. In this sense, you become a citizen by living together with others who may be very different or similar to you; you become a citizen when you fight for the rights of others, your children’s rights or your own; you become a citizen when you actively participate in spaces such as your school, university, neighbourhoods, and community organizations. However, it may still be the case that for the majority, you are not one of them because you do not speak the language or hold a specific passport or nationality.
Part IV. Final discussion

Chapter 10. Conclusions

1. Introduction

This thesis has focused on the schooling experience of an actor that has, up to this point, been excluded from the Chilean educational field: Latin American migrant mothers and fathers who have arrived in Chile searching for a better life. Understanding their schooling experience is crucial for establishing a link between education and families’ migratory project, and for shedding light on how Chile is approaching the right to education of migrant children and adolescents. A better understanding of the schooling experience of migrant families also makes it possible to (re)think a society that can be (re)built politically, socially, epistemologically and ethically, as intercultural.

The main purpose of this thesis has been to bring to the forefront the experience of migrant families in the Chilean schooling field considering that there is a lack of knowledge about the barriers they encounter and a need to better understand their expectations. In order to do this, I have not only included migrant parents’ views, but also I have provided a description of the educational field itself, its policies and practices. These are highly relevant issues in an educational field that is monocultural and neoliberal, and that has a new migration bill and an Educational Reform. In this context, one of the aims of this thesis is to be relevant, not only to educational policies, but to school practices, academic scholarship and community work.

In this chapter I will revisit each one of my research questions and, based on what has been addressed in Parts II and III, I will answer them (Section 2). I will also refer to the process of doing a thesis of this nature, the learnings, challenges, limitations and further research possibilities (Section 3). Then, the contributions of this study will be addressed (Section 4), together with some practical suggestions (Section 5).
2. Revisiting my research questions

I. How do Latin American migrant mothers and fathers experience their children’s schooling, and how does that schooling act as a form of ex/inclusion into the education system and the wider society?

One key way to challenge the exclusionary practices towards migrant families, is to actually make their presence in Chilean schools visible. This visibility offers an opportunity for questioning their current marginalization, in terms of policies and practices. Consequently, this study focuses on their perspective as parents in the schooling context of their south-south migration experience.

Although migration has become a trending topic in the academic field, in Chile and elsewhere, I argue, that when it comes to education, the views of migrant mothers and fathers are not represented, which leads to a lack of understanding of their process of ex/inclusion in the field. Therefore, in order to understand their experiences, I have used an exploratory qualitative design, with interviews with 30 mothers and 6 fathers from Bolivia, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela, and with 19 school staff members from both private subsidised and municipal schools from the metropolitan and north region of Chile. Field notes, pictures, interviews with key informants, and an analysis of policies and secondary data were also use to explore the field in more detail.\(^\text{100}\)

A second significant issue is access to education in the Chilean education field, and this access not being guaranteed to everyone in spite of it being a right. More than once throughout this document, we have seen parents and staff members describing the difficulties of finding a school place. The responsibility of choosing, in a sometimes-illusory scenario, is put almost entirely on parents’ shoulders, while the role of the state in providing a public good is downplayed. The inclusion of migrant families in the Chilean educational field, I argue, does not stop once they manage to find a school. Their inclusion goes beyond access. The interculturality notion therefore then becomes highly relevant to better understand the everyday interactions between schools and families. According to parents, these issues have to do with with the Chilean curriculum and the power dynamics in the schools, but also identity, racism, and the sense of belonging, all of which challenge the monocultural educational field.

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\(^{100}\) See Chapter 4.
Finally, we cannot ignore the **social and economic conditions** that make parents’ schooling experiences act as a form of ex/inclusion into the education system and the wider society. I am referring to discrimination, the migratory regime and the precarious work conditions and their influence on the multiple forms of parental involvement.

It is not hard to see why the schooling experience becomes essential for the **realization of the migratory project**, as it supports its material conditions through the accumulation of the economic capital parents acquire by working, which is, in turn, one of the main reasons for migrating. Working would be virtually impossible or at least extremely difficult for fathers and especially mothers (given the ‘traditional’ responsibility of caring for the children that falls on them) if access to schools were not guaranteed. The schooling experience and the migratory project are inseparable in the lives of the parents interviewed in this study, which is why the home-school relation in the field of migration studies needs to be given the attention it deserves.

**i. How do migrant parents describe their strategies, and expectations, and the challenges that they face during the schooling process?**

In order to further address the multiple forms of parental participation and migrant parents' strategies, expectations and challenges, I identified three processes concerning their children's’ schooling: **accessing, adjusting and transforming**, in an attempt to understand their involvement and their subject positions in the family-school relationship. Each one of these addresses the complexity of the schooling experience, which is not simply about ‘finding a school’; it is also about discrimination, identity, power and knowledge.

In addition, **migrants do not become the subject of social life** only when they reach the country of destination. Migration is a movement that is built both in the **here and there** (Stefoni & Bonhomme, 2014) and, so, migrants do not become ‘paralyzed’ when the field looks unfamiliar (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Also, even though there is a portrayal of migrant families being in deficit regarding the new educational field (Andrews 2013; Guo 2011; Lightfoot 2004; Theodorou 2008), this is challenged by their strategies, mainly in two ways. They draw on their knowledge of the educational field back home and compare and have expectations about the education in the ‘new field’, and they develop strategies with which to navigate the ‘new field’.
The exploration of the supposed mismatch between the Chilean educational field and migrant parents’ habitus has provided a better understanding of their subject position (Vincent, 2000) beyond the traditional view recognised in policies and schools, that sees them as consumers and partners. Their subject positions as citizens and as sources of knowledge, then, emerge more vividly, and help create a more comprehensive understanding of the home-school relationship in defiance of the deficit positioning imposed on migrant families. This means that an analysis of the obstacles families may face in the ‘new field’ and how they act within it, highlights “other modes of power, knowing, being and living” (Walsh 2009, p.11, TFS) that can transform the structures and everyday encounters that racialise, inferiorise and dehumanise (Ibid).

With regards to the parents as citizens, schools become an intermediary institution and the first contact parents have with the state (Vincent, 2000), they represent the field where migrant parents need to become strategic and ‘play the game’ so as to not experience further exclusions, especially in a hostile environment towards migration. In this sense, focusing on the parents’ position as citizen has also shed light on the highly complex situation migrant parents face regarding their children’s education. Whilst the Chilean education field guarantees parents’ right to ‘freely’ choose a school for their children, this is not always the case for migrant families. Some of the children faced exclusions as they are portrayed as non-citizens who are not entitled to education. Also focusing on access to education has revealed more structural constraints that keep families from freely exercising their right to choose. Some of these constraints are, for instance, no vacancies and the lack of clear information about the procedures. This situation results in many migrant parents becoming involved in different forms of associativity (Chapter 9) in order to fight social and educational exclusions and exercise their position of parents as citizens.

The position of parents as a sources of knowledge is another mode of the relationship between schools and families that becomes activated as a strategy, when issues regarding identity and the knowledge of the ‘home’ community emerged as part of migrant parents’ schooling experience, in the form of their cultural capital. Additionally, I argue that parents are not only sources of knowledge of their own cultural capital, but also of the school culture. They are educational actors who are permanently involved in the dynamics of schools; therefore, their views should be taken seriously, especially in the context of the new “Policy on the Participation of Families and the Community in Educational Institutions” (MINEDUC, 2017b).
One of the reasons for which I argue that the home-school relationship is relevant and should be further studied, even though some scholars believe there should be boundaries between home and school (Ribbens McCarthy & Kirkpatrick 2005), is that despite all the difficulties that migrant parents mentioned in their interviews, at no time did the schools appear as places they do not want to be part of. On the contrary, for migrant parents schooling is an essential part of their inclusion process. Nonetheless, acknowledging the importance of this relationship does not mean we should ignore the asymmetric power relationship between school and home. In this sense, as schools are important for the migration project of families, this asymmetric relation should be made visible and challenged. This is especially relevant in the case of a neoliberal and monocultural educational field. Within a neoliberal system, parents are held responsible for their children’s education. However migrant families, who might not be familiar with the field, are left on their own (as mentioned by Loreto when she approached the education ministry office when looking for a school). Additionally, as Chilean education is characterized as being monocultural, migrant families tend to be placed as the ‘others’ in schools. The idea of ‘us’ and ‘them’ becomes more pronounced, not only by schools’ practices but also by the state discourses. Both, I argue, are examples of the possible asymmetric power relationship between schools and home in the context of migration in Chile.

With regards to strategies, I identified that migrant parents from my study have deployed them regarding the three processes concerning their children's’ schooling. The different strategies described in Part III can be understood in two ways. Strategies understood from a Bourdieusian sense, which is linked to unconscious practices guided by the habitus, as well as strategies in a more consciously planned way (Weis et al. 2014). I argue that this last form of understanding strategy emerged as a response to migrant parents’ unfamiliarity with the Chilean educational field. These two ways of understanding parents’ educational strategies have also been addressed by the study of Vincent and colleagues on Black middle-class families in the UK (Vincent et al. 2012, 2013). The scholars used the notion of strategies as “a mixture of conscious decisions and unconscious feelings” to address “parents’ determination to protect their children against what they understood as a risk of still-pervasive low teacher expectations of black children, especially boys, informed their often carefully thought out educational strategies” (Vincent 2017, p.548).

Two significant points were mentioned more than once with regard to the processes identified in the schooling experience: the importance of schools being open and welcome, and parents learning together with their children. In relation to the
former, parents mentioned that schools have welcomed them and treated them well; an experience which has softened that initial fear of feeling excluded for being migrants. Parents observe this welcome attitude when schools give them a school place (accessing). The feeling of being excluded or the fear of not being allocated a school place, I argue, are symptoms of a field that conceives education as something exclusive rather than a public good for all, independent of children’s migratory status, ‘race’, ethnicity, nationality. Additionally, during the exploration of the adjusting and the transforming processes, parents mentioned learning together with their children. This, I argue, incorporates a different form of socialization; normally children learn from their parents, but, in this case, as there is a shared experience of migration and unfamiliarity with the educational field, parents and children are learning together.

The accessing process, as the first encounter between migrant families and Chilean schools, establishes a relationship that is shaped both by the right to education (where education is considered a public good) and the process of school choice (where education is considered a commodity). Migrant families very quickly adapted to what the educational field expected from them resulting in their developing a ‘feel for the game’ in the neoliberal educational field. Where choice has been observed to be unequal - and for migrant families this inequality is not only influenced in terms of class, ‘race’, ethnicity and nationality, but also their status as migrants – I have considered the many points at which procedures for accessing a school place are unclear (e.g. school application periods and deadlines) and a place is not guaranteed for everyone (e.g. requirements). Consequently, some parents even mentioned that the decision to move to Chile had to be done strategically so their children did not suffer in their schooling - as addressed by Wilmer, a newly-arrived Venezuelan father. Thus, in accessing, the relationship between families and schools is not only about families’ subject position as consumers, but also about their position as citizens since they are exercising their children’s right to education.

Moreover when parents are expected to become consumers in the accessing process, their position and dispositions are required to re-orientate themselves towards the rules of the educational market, which, in the case of newly-arrived migrant parents, causes high levels of anxiety. However, among old-comer parents, their dispositions had already internalized the rules of the game, in what we can refer to as an assimilation of the educational-market. Thus in the case of Marta, an old-comer Peruvian mother, she had already learnt how to position herself in regards to the educational field, therefore she was ready for the challenges of securing another
school place. Additionally, some other old-comer parents have learnt that in Chile the distinction between private and public is important to ensure a better social and economic positioning, thus after a while they had assimilated this narrative and strategically find the way to play the game.

In this accessing process, we could also see how parents deploy their strategies proactively and assertively to find and ensure a school place for their children. Additionally, it was possible to see how newly-arrived parents often realise that they were not familiar with the procedures and what they might take for granted does not necessarily apply to the Chilean educational field. Therefore, their first intuitive strategies might not work in the ‘new’ field so they needed to plan some further strategies (such as asking for institutional support) and even adapt to the situation (look for any vacancy rather the school they wanted). Thus, we can see here a mixture of strategies employed by parents regarding finding a school.

However, when migrant families can actually ‘play the game’ of choice, they take into consideration a new factor that challenges the monocultural educational field: the multicultural school. In other words, families look for a school where there are other migrant families. This is relevant because it lessens the likelihood of them – parents and children– ‘being other’ and therefore from suffering possible exclusions, discrimination and racism. This multicultural emphasis, I argue, challenges the monocultural field, for it represents the first instance in which sociocultural diversity is seen as a criterion for choosing amongst parents in the Chilean educational field. Additionally, it becomes an empirical example of how some migrant parents from my study deploy this as a conscious strategy when ‘choosing’ a school, as a way to resist discrimination.

Now, it is in the exploration of the adjusting process that the expectations and comparisons between the ‘new field’ and what was experienced before become more evident for migrant parents. That is why, during this process, we can see the continuous movement back and forth between parents’ schooling experience here (in Chile) and there (in their country of origin), when parents try to acquire a ‘feel for the game’ of what is expected of them by the educational field. However it is important to also highlight that within this process I do not aim to emphasise that migrant parents should be willing to undergo an assimilation strategy in relation to the Chilean educational field. On the contrary, with this process it is possible to observe other modes of the home-school relationship that can emerge when there is a “discrepancy between habitus and field” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 130).
Therefore different forms of parental involvement can take place. For example, parents can be seen as sources of knowledge, which, I argue, involves both the knowledge of the school dynamics - as they become critical observers for example about the quality of the education and curriculum - and the knowledge of their own community as a form of cultural capital. The decolonisation of knowledge in the schooling experience of families, I argue, emerges in relation to the latter, as families and schools encounter tension in the dispute over who has the power to provide and who has knowledge. This tension opens up the possibility of ways of bringing the community into the school, but the curriculum has not been flexible enough to make the proper adaptations for an intercultural approach (Beniscelli et al. 2019, Stefoni et al. 2016).

It is important to note that, when schools do create spaces for migrant families’ cultural capital in the form of cultural knowledge to be shared with the school community, this is done through the folklorization of their culture, which perpetuates the hierarchy of knowledge and the dispute over those whose knowledge is more valued. It is in this asymmetric relation that we can see how monocultural the Chilean education field is and how unprepared the field is to embrace different knowledges beyond the national curriculum. In this sense, the scenario migrant families face mirrors the exclusion of the indigenous population’s knowledge inside the Chilean classrooms. However difficult solving this challenge might seem, we should not forget that in Chile, sociocultural diversity already existed before the current migratory movements, which unfortunately means that the Chilean education system has ignored this issue for decades.

With regards to the cultural capital of families, if the Chilean monocultural educational field does not value their knowledge, parents’ position as sources of knowledge becomes marginalized, and as long as that invisibility exists, it will be difficult for schools to provide a space for an intercultural exchange that challenges the asymmetrical relationship between families and schools. Finally, in this process, it was possible to observe that when parents show strategies linked to their role as partners to the school, we could argue such strategies are less planned, as it is naturalized as to what parents should do to support their children’s education. However, some parents interviewed presented a more planned strategy to support their children when it comes to resisting being categorised as deficit just because of their migrant-status. This was the case for example for Juan, an old-comer Colombian father who encouraged his daughter to study and do well to overcome this label. In this sense, we can see how some of the supporting strategies employed
by parents aim to challenge the unmarketable subjectivity and performance of migrant students addressed in Chapter 5.

Throughout the exploration of the transforming process, the purpose has been to make visible the social difficulties of the schooling experience highlighted by parents (e.g. discrimination, racism). I have also intended to present the ways in which parents’ strategies are actually responding to some of these tensions (e.g. through enculturation and acculturation), and what else needs to be done to make changes in the current Chilean educational field (e.g. more spaces for parental participation to fight against exclusion). Therefore, some of the strategies addressed in this process appear to be more planned, for example, to avoid situations of exclusions, rather than unconscious practices guided by the habitus. In this sense, when looking at the mothers’ strategies for transmitting their culture, we have seen a mixture between adopting survival practices which include adopting the dominant culture, or a proactive way of resisting forgetting, by transmitting their own culture. Moreover, when mothers transmit their cultural capital as a way to preserve their national and ethnic identity in the context of migration, it shows once more the subject position of parents as sources of knowledge.

Regarding the strategies used to avoid discrimination, we have seen that some parents from my study taught their children a rather passive strategy of responding to discrimination by simply ignoring any comment or adapting to the Chilean culture, whereas others used a more active strategy. For example, Juan and Susana intentionally decided to find a multicultural school to avoid any possible discrimination. Furthermore, when exploring discrimination and racism inside and outside schools, the othering in this south-south migration context emerges more clearly when it is situated alongside the discussion parents have about prejudices and stereotypes. This is an empirical example of the process of racialization and differentiation, which is presented as the product of the colonial past of the region that continues to have an impact on the conformation of racial and social hierarchies, that may influence the schooling experience of migrant families in the Chilean monocultural educational field today.

The different forms of associativity were described as supporting the subject position of parents as citizens, which tends to be ‘invisibilised’ as a form of parental participation. Moreover, I argue that this form of collective organisation can be considered a more conscious strategy employed by migrant parents to fight against invisibility. Additionally this form of participation allows us to think through other
modes of the home-school relationship when the habitus encounters an unfamiliar field. In this sense with these forms of associativity, I will argue that even though migrant parents are ‘new’ to the Chilean educational field, they do not get paralyzed. They practice other forms of agency.

Lastly, we could say that both of the subject positions presented in this process – parents as citizens and as a source of knowledge – also provide other modes for family-school relationships; modes that challenge the traditional ones that tend to limit parents’ possibilities for action. Thus in order to overcome this, parents have found collective ways to challenge this situation by acknowledging the cultural capital of their community, as well as creating forms of association with others to avoid being ‘invisibilized’.

ii. What kinds of capitals are activated and how do migrant parents seek to have their capitals validated?

During the migratory project, the school and the schooling experience are vital for the (re)activation of social capital. As we have seen in the transforming process, and especially in the associativity section, parents coming together in different forms of organizations becomes a key element for their inclusion process. The school and the schooling experience become a field for the reconfiguration of social bonds among parents, children, their community and the Chilean society. Parents’ social capital is also crucial for accessing ‘new’ fields in the migratory experience, as word-of-mouth allows migrant parents to gather information and have a better understanding of the fields, as many other studies have also highlighted (Carrasco et al. 2009; Erel 2010; Kelly & Lusis 2006; McIwaine 2012; Raghuram et al. 2010; Ryan et al. 2008). Even though the migration movement is mainly associated with an economic ‘investment’, it should also be recognised as a social ‘investment’, adding new netowrks to those migrants already have in their country of origin.

The capitals parents bring with them from their home country, are sometimes not considered as ‘legitimate’ in the place of arrival, therefore, parents may need to find ways to rebuild their capitals. Some of the newly arrived Venezuelan parents describe this as ‘starting from zero’ (to express what in English is ‘starting from scratch’), especially when it comes to economic capital. As mentioned in the methodology chapter, seven parents were not working in their areas of expertise, as either their labour market experience or their credentials were not recognised in the new market field. For parents, this is perceived as a form of discrimination, since the
only jobs available to them are the ones that pay less and for which they are sometimes overqualified. Nevertheless, attaining a better quality of life is the priority for many migrant families, so this step **backwards** in terms of their economic capital is almost seen as ‘the cost of moving’.

In this re-establishing process, economic capital intersects with “cultural capital in its institutionalized form [as it] includes formal educational credentials, which are most often accredited by national bodies and thus are nationally bounded” (Erel, 2012, pp. 463). This **intersection** between the economic and institutionalized cultural capitals has also been highlighted in greater detail by other researchers in Chile. In a recent study, Castillo and colleagues (2019) conclude that neither a person’s qualifications nor their previous work experience is entirely disconnected from the migration process and the arrival in the destination country.

Additionally, with regards to female employability, Acosta (2013) notes that there is a “professional mobility downwards from what they had achieved in their countries of origin in relation to the type of work they could access at destination” (p. 6, TFS). Vania, a newly-arrived Peruvian mother, used the expression ‘clashing against the floor’, which can be interpreted as getting a wake-up call, to explain that moving to Chile was not the panacea for working opportunities that she had expected, and her past experience did not count when looking for a job. Thus, this had meant a downward shift in relation to work possibilities, something also addressed by other parents that had just arrived. In the case of old-comers, the tension between the economic and the institutionalized cultural capital seemed to have vanished. Using Bourdieu’s ‘fish in water’ metaphor (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p.127) to explain how the habitus encounters a field in which it feels familiar, migrant parents with a permanent status had finally managed to **swim in the new sea** as their capitals had been validated in the new field.

This process of **validations of capitals** does not only affect migrant parents’ professional career and opportunities, it can also directly have an impact on their children’s access to education, since they are required by the educational field to provide evidence of their previous certificates of study (in other words, their institutionalised cultural capital) and documentation that can certify their identity. In this context, a new form of the symbolic capital emerges, which I have referred to as **civic capital**. This capital is relevant for the process of ex/inclusion in the educational field, as it allows them to **activate the other capitals** (social, economic and cultural), and becomes especially relevant during the process of **accessing**. For
example, in the case of migrant children if their parents’ succeed in validating their economic and institutionalized cultural capital, this then allows them to be granted a dependent visa. This in turn allows them access to the education field without being targeted by the school as a non-citizen. Consequently, when referring to having the right credentials in the accessing process, what is a stake, I argue is the question of the legitimization of migrants’ citizenship as a form of this civic capital.

Another capital that migrant parents activate is their cultural capital - in the embodied and objectified form - in their position as a sources of knowledge. This has been further discussed in the exploration of the adjusting process, in which parents engaged with the tensions around the curriculum and the invisibility of their stories (e.g. War of the Pacific) and culture (Loreto and her Ecuadorian community). Also, when discussing the transforming process it was possible to see that mothers use their cultural capital to preserve their identity in the context of migration. Cultural capital, as defined by Bourdieu, is directly shaped by the community knowledge. This is an important dimension of the critical interculturality framework, that emphasises the importance of making visible those who have been historically excluded from the educational field. I argue, then, that families’ cultural capital should be valued by schools in an effort to understand the changing sociocultural context of Chilean educational field today.

iii. In what ways is the schooling experience of migrant parents shaped by the intersection of ‘race’, ethnicity, nationality and citizenship status?

Throughout this thesis, I have argued that the intersecting dimensions of ‘race’, ethnicity, nationality, and citizenship have influenced the home-school relationship in the context of a migration that has been shaped by the field of power (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). This field of power, in Latin American societies, can be understood through the lens of the critical interculturality perspective (Diez, 2004; Tubino, 2004, 2005; Walsh, 2005). Using this lens to understand the intersection between these social dimensions can better exemplify how everyday experiences and social practices, such as the ones that occurred in the home-school encounter, are built on asymmetric power relationships, which are a product of the colonial matrix and the nation-state project that has reproduced sociocultural differences and racial/ethnic hierarchies in Latin American societies. This, I argue, has had an impact on the south-south migrating experiences in different social spaces for example, in the home-school relationship between migrant families and ‘local’ schools and families.
The use of the intersectionality theory has contributed to the understanding of the issues explored in this thesis mainly in three areas. First, intersectionality exposes the complexity of the social dimension of ‘race’ in Latin America, as it allows understanding of how ‘race’ and nationality intersect. Through the thesis, we have seen different examples where I have described how the racial/ethnic hierarchies in the region are nationally embedded. Additionally, and from a critical interculturality perspective, it is possible to observe the construction of the category of ‘others’ in Latin America, which still follows a racial colonial structure. This means that “the difference is built within a structure and colonial matrix of racialized and hierarchical power, with whites and "whitens" at the top and indigenous and afro-descendant peoples on the lower rungs” (Walsh 2010, p.78, TFS). This has perpetuated racial-national stereotypes, which are present in the parents’ and school staff’s narratives. For example, Armelia’s account of not suffering racism because she is White and she looks like she is from Argentina, even though she is Bolivian, a nationality more like to be categorised as Brown.

A second element that this approach has allowed me to highlight is what I have named the mirror effect. The schooling experience of migrant families from an intersectionality perspective reflects what happens in the wider Chilean society, not only at the micro level of interactions between schools and families, but also at a macro level in which the illusion of socio-cultural homogeneity and Whiteness has been perpetuated. Throughout this thesis I have provided parallel examples between what migrant families and the indigenous population have faced in the monocultural educational field. Finally, using an intersectionality approach has also allowed me to expand the category of parent, as a way of emphasising the social heterogeneity of the category, which to date in the home-school field of study in the Chilean context, has mainly been understood in terms of class, and not ethnicity, ‘race’ or nationality.

iv. How do Chilean schools interpret and translate the national educational policies and discourses regarding migrant children and their families into practices of ex/inclusion?

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, Chilean policies and programmes directed towards migrant children and adolescents of school age have focused primarily on availability and accessibility. Although both dimensions are fundamental for understanding the right to education, certain tensions and barriers still exist and contradict an educational system that declares itself inclusive and intercultural.
Given the ways in which the state has dealt with migration in Chile, it could be argued that, at the macro level, there is both an assimilationist as well as a functional interculturality approach in the education field. The assimilationist approach has been reproduced because there has not been an emphasis on the acceptability of diversity and the sociocultural diversity in the classrooms has been ignored, rather a single language of instruction and a national curriculum was imposed without any adaptations. Additionally, while the educational policies acknowledge that differences coexist, policy-makers have not been able to create adaptability in the new scenario and interculturality, then, becomes functional; in other words, there is an awareness and tolerance of diversity but no actual changes are in place.

Furthermore, because the educational policies and programmes that support migrants in Chile have focused mainly on access, the idea that this is the only requirement for their inclusion has been established. However, inclusion is more than just access, therefore schools have created their own practices of inclusion, in order to overcome this fault of the state. Even though this is an important starting point for schools to reflect on what inclusion means and on its impact on socio-cultural diversity in the context of migration, it must be pointed out that in many cases, schools end up encapsulating the notion of cultural differences, as static and colourful through the presentation of food, dance, clothing and national symbols.

To challenge these practices, interculturality from a critical perspective is introduced into the educational debate as a way of transforming the current monocultural education system, which has marginalised any reflection on responding to diversity of the students and their families beyond the multicultural manifestations of the multicultural school. Moreover, from a decolonial perspective, Walsh argues that interculturality should be understood as a:

*Process and intellectual and political project directed towards the construction of other modes of power, knowledge and being (...) to argue not for the simple relationship between groups, practices or cultural thoughts, but for the incorporation of the traditionally excluded within (educational, disciplinary or thinking) structures (...) and to point out the need to visualize, challenge and transform the structures and institutions that differentially position groups, practices and thoughts within an order and logic that, still is racial, modern and colonial (...) Assuming this task implies working towards the decolonialization of minds, but also towards the transformation of the social, political and epistemic structures of coloniality which have been permanent (2005, pp. 47-48, TFS).*
More precisely, when referring to the school practices in Part II and how schools have enacted the policies concerning the inclusion of migrant students and their families, I have used the notion of borders to better understand the home-school relationships in the context of south-south migration of my study. In this sense, the term ‘border’, I argue, is not only a figurative word that explains the relationship between schools and families as an interaction that is not fully integrated – as there are still divisions and tensions - but also illustrates that borders are something real and embodied. In this sense borders affects all those framed by them (Yuval-Davis et al. 2019) and in today’s Chilean context these bordering practices by schools emerged from a space of ambivalence between competing discourses of embracing diversity vs nationalism.

Therefore the bordering practices carried out by Chilean schools towards migrant families, I argue, have reinforced demarcations of otherness and exclusions both symbolic as well as material. In this sense I have argued in Part II that on different occasions when interviewing school staff members, these bordering practices sometimes emerged in a more pronounced manner (with the construction of the subjectivities around migration in Chapter 5) and other times they were more blurred (for example when schools intend to create spaces of encounter with the multicultural manifestations explained in Chapter 6). Bordering practices, consequently, shape not only the field of schooling, in this case, but also the disposition of migrant families towards it.

Furthermore, this demarcation of otherness and exclusions, reproduced by the bordering practices of schools towards migrant families can be seen in different forms throughout the thesis; in terms of the intersectionality of ‘race’, ethnicity, nationality and citizenship status, which, as mentioned before, reproduces stereotypes and prejudice. Additionally in terms of parents’ participation, they only enter the school either when they are called in, because there is a parents’ meeting, or because they embody the diversity for the multicultural celebration. Also, as all the energies of the school staff are directed towards the administrative and technical process of solving the citizen status of the children, I have emphasised the citizenship demarcation, between citizens and non-citizens, through the focus on validating the civic capital of children and their parents. The condition of new-comers therefore deepens certain aspects of differentiation, producing a dichotomy of ‘us’ and ‘them’, which is reflected, for example, in the distinction that school staff make about "our students" (the Chileans) and "them" (the migrants). Additionally, migrant children and adolescents to whom the state grants a provisional Chilean ID are
excluded. This has been permeating the narratives of school staff, promoting the construction of subjectivities around migration in the Chilean monocultural and neoliberal educational field, which place students and families as non-citizens, unmarketable, and non-ideal learners/parents.

The multicultural school described in Chapter 6 is supposed to exemplify the inclusive school practices of institutions with socio-culturally diverse families. However, it continues to provide examples of the asymmetric power relation that coexist when attempting to understand the inclusion of socio-cultural diversity, as it focuses mainly on folklorization practices. In the multicultural school, adjectives such as open and welcoming are used to characterise its inclusiveness, but they can be contested and become problematic, for they frame diversity as a problem: the ‘migrant issue’. The notion of sensitive communities often emerges from staff as a way to explain their awareness of the difficulties faced by migrant families. Nevertheless, this notion still reproduces a paternalistic, one-sided relationship of schools towards families and it implies they are doing families a favour by including them. I am not trying to say that schools should ignore the conditions of families and their migration journey, but the language of sensitive communities seems to indicate that families have lost their agency during the journey, hence their capacity to decide and act, whilst schools have become their protectors.

Also, even though I have explored how schools have argued for the need to have better guidance from the MINEDUC to help them in this process of inclusion of migrant families. It is also important to critically reflect on what it means to be included. Not only are more programmes and resources needed, but also some reflection on the purpose of education as inclusive. Without this reflection, the multicultural school can easily be transformed into the ‘school for migrants’ preventing the possibility that we will today actually transform for once and for all the monocultural education field, addressing the historical injustices of all the communities that have been excluded.

Finally it is important to recognise too that even though throughout Part II, which aims to answer this specific research question, some tensions are raised between schools and how they view migrant families; the schools included in this thesis can be considered as ‘pioneers’ since they have been working on ‘inclusive’ practices regarding sociocultural diversity in the context of Chilean migration. In some cases, this happened even before the state implemented specific policies for the inclusion of migrant families. Thus, these schools were trying their best to practise inclusivity
while the outside world was less aware, willing and prepared to do so. It has certainly been challenging for them to use an intercultural approach to move towards a more inclusive educational environment, given the quite rigid and bureaucratic educational field in which they are located, as well the broad social context which views migration today as a problem, as mentioned in the introductory chapter of this thesis.

3. Learning process

This third section focuses on my own learning process while doing this thesis, with regards to challenges, limitations, and possible future research. I want to start by mentioning that, similarly to Yanet, the Venezuelan mother that inspired the title of this thesis, I have been (re)learning about the Chilean education field myself. I have (re)learned, for example, how important the curriculum is in the family-school relation in terms of what counts as knowledge and how families may feel ‘invisibilised’. I have also (re)learned that the Chilean education field has constantly labelled some as ‘others’ in the classroom, and that colonialism is still present in Chilean structures and everyday practices. In this regard, as much as the aim of this study has been to explore the schooling experience of Latin American migrant mothers and fathers, I have inevitably questioned my own knowledge of the education system that I was a part of from the age of 6 months, until I turned 24 years old.

During my PhD years, I have been privileged to have had the time to understand and reflect on these issues, and recognise my own limitations and misunderstandings. I have questioned the knowledge I acquired in my formal years of education in Chile and I have also thought about who and what has been left on the margins of history, culture and identity, not only of a country but of an entire region of the world. My own knowledge, in a way, has gone through a process of decolonization.

Apart from my own personal learning experience, I want to address what I have learned from the challenges I encountered while doing this research and I will mention three main issues. First, the translation process, second doing research taking into account policies, and finally the process of approaching migrant families ethically. Concerning the former, this entire thesis has been conducted bilingually, in both English and Spanish. Translation has been, then, neither something light nor a superficial task. Even though one of the main aims of this study was to place the ‘voice’ of mothers and fathers at the centre, technically, I had to act as an
intermediary both in terms of the interpretation, which is always a challenge in qualitative research, but also when it came to the language itself, for I had to fulfil the role of intermediary between the ‘sender’ (father –mother - school staff) and the ‘receivers’ (the readers).

When I started my PhD in 2014 I could only find a few policies regarding migration and education in the Chilean context. However since my fieldwork until today numerous changes have been in place, for example, the provisional school identifier and “National Policy for Foreign Students” (see appendix 4), both crucial for the access to education of migrant children in Chile. This made me acknowledge how challenging it is when the topic of study involves a trending topic both socially as well politically, and how this affects when you do policy analysis. This forced me to be always updated and in a state of alert, which, in turn, allowed me to produce a thesis, that even though most of it took place in London, kept me connected with Chile both academically as politically.

Regarding approaching families involved challenges, limitations, and ethical concerns all at the same time. In terms of limitations, as the schools were the main interlocutor who invited families to the interviews, some bias may be present in the parents’ views of their schooling experience. Meaning that school staff may have picked parents with whom they have positive relationships. This is relevant because, under a critical interculturality approach it is fundamental to consider the asymmetric power relations in inquiry processes with communities that have been systematically been ignored. For example, this may impact how freely parents talked to me, considering that the families that responded to the interview invitation could have been purposely selected by the schools in order to have a certain level of ‘control’ over the outcome of the interviews.

Regarding the research ethics of approaching migrant families, this poses two questions: how can academic research approach communities that have been excluded, and how to ‘interrogate’ those experiences ethically? These questions have been at the centre of this study during the fieldwork and interview process, as well in the analysis. Both questions are also linked to the asymmetric power relation between academia and communities, which cannot be ignored and needs to be made more visible than it has been so far. Consequently, as a researcher, I am aware of possible sensitive issues that may arise when studying the lived-experiences of migrants, especially in the current context of hostility towards migration in Chile and elsewhere. Also, not only as researchers, but as activists as
well, we cannot forget the materiality of doing research; that is, how researching specific topics can have an impact on those who are being excluded. One way of dealing with this complexity is to treat the dissemination of the research results as a priority. This has been one of my main commitments and I have explored different genres for sharing this work (see figure 13), not only within the academic field in the form of papers and conferences, but also with the community and civil society through campaigns and social media.

One way to actively do something to address the above-mentioned challenges is to deliberately elaborate strategies to work with the communities taking for example an action research approach. This has been strongly advocated by scholars who use the critical interculturality framework (Walsh 2013, 2017), and it is something that, in the future, I will very likely take into consideration when thinking about a follow up research based on my thesis. For example engaging in an action research with parents regarding how they relate to the school curriculum or creating spaces against educational exclusion. The main reason of why this was not possible to apply in this study is because a research team of one person (usual of course for a social sciences PhD), can make the chances of adding a participatory component very limited.

Finally, my contribution to knowledge has been, at least in part, to draw attention to issues neglected to date by the Chilean home-school field of research. That is, I have focused on the perspectives of families in relation to the role of parents as citizens –in the form of organisations in and outside of the school – and as sources of knowledge –community knowledge transferred to the school. Thus regarding future research these two areas should be included, as they are particularly relevant in the context of the Educational Reform, which views families and communities as key actors in the potential transformation of the current educational system into a more inclusive and intercultural one. It would be interesting, for example, to follow up more closely the configuration of parents’ organisations that emerged as a result of the tensions between families and local authorities or schools. It would also be interesting to explore the demands of organisations from diverse sociocultural contexts, such as those speaking for communities of indigenous or migrant parents.
4. Contributions

This section continues by highlighting the theoretical contributions of this thesis, as well as the contributions to the field of home-school relation within the context of migration. With regards to the theoretical contribution, this study has been innovative in bringing together the critical interculturality perspective, Pierre Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice, and an intersectionality approach in the field of education and, more specifically, in home-school relationships in the context of south-south migration.

In the UK it is possible to find some examples of studies that have drawn on Bourdieu’s theory in combination with an intersectional approach, such as Vincent and colleagues’ exploration of Black Caribbean middle-class families (Vincent et al. 2012, 2013). These UK scholars have used Bourdieu’s concept of capitals together with critical race theory (CRT) to explore parents’ schooling strategies. They consider Bourdieu’s concept of capitals to be a mediatory concept (Bilge, 2010, quoted by Vincent et al. 2012b) that helps “examine the ways in which race and class differently intersect for the respondents in different situations, and serve to position them in varying ways” (Vincent et al. 2012b, p.263).

In Chile, on the other hand, only Rojas and colleagues (Leyton & Rojas 2017; Rojas et al. 2016) have ‘somewhat’ connected Bourdieu’s theory with the intersectionality framework. Somewhat because, even though their study does not reference Bourdieu, it has taken into consideration other studies that have. These scholars argue for an intersectional approach in the Chilean context in order to better understand the school choice of middle-class mothers, as they are agents that make the decisions about school issues through a continuous process of subjectivation of their gender and class identities.

What is more, studies in the field of the family-school relationship that connect either Bourdieu or the intersectionality perspective with critical interculturality in the Chilean context are non-existent. The few studies that have used critical interculturality in the field of education have mainly explored Chilean educational policies (Mora 2018), school practices (Rojas et al. 2018) and the experience of children (Méndez 2017), all in the context of migration, and they have also examined the schooling experience of the indigenous population (Quilaqueo & Torres 2013). The lack of dialogue between these frameworks and the potential that the critical interculturality approach has to be a complement to intersectionality in the educational field in Chile has been highlighted by scholars such as Stefoni, Stang and Riedemann (2016),
who have vast experience studying the migration phenomena in Chile in schools and in other social spaces. This study therefore seeks to be a contribution to this emerging conceptual field.

This piece of research can be seen as an ambitious project that seeks to establish a dialogue between these three theories. Bourdieu’s theory of social practices has been a useful tool in the analysis of the strategies migrant parents deploy towards their children’s education in the process of ex/inclusion. The critical interculturality framework complemented this general social theory and became relevant to historically and politically operationalise the field of power that surrounds the Chilean educational field and the reproduction of asymmetric power relations. Additionally, this critical perspective became important in the exploration of other modes of the family-school relationship as part of the discrepancy between the habitus and field, when the former encounters an unfamiliar field. Finally, the intersectionality theory helped better understand the complexities of the social dimensions of both parental involvement and the migration journey, which may have an impact on migrant parents’ positioning in the Chilean educational field.

Embarking on this theoretical dialogue has also been a way of thinking from and with Latin America, in an attempt to decolonize knowledge. As Walsh (2009) notes, transforming the structures and relationships that racialise, inferiorise and dehumanise also implies searching for other modes of scientific production. As a theoretical exercise, then, I have also attempted to challenge the body metaphor that is commonly used to explain the colonial and imperial relationship, and that states that "the head that thinks is in the north, while the body that acts (and that exercises the biological-corporal functions) is in the south" (Walsh 2005, p.42, TFS). I hope to, at least, have achieved this goal to some extent.

This study has also presented an example of how a critical interculturality perspective, which is still an emerging perspective in Latin America and even more incipient in Chile, can be relevant for understanding the particularities of the Chilean educational field and, specifically, the relationship between schools and the community. Chile has constantly tried to differentiate itself from the rest of the region by buying into the 'civilizatory and modern' discourse and, yet, it still reproduces dynamics that perpetuate relations based on the colonial difference and monocultural-neoliberal states. In this sense, the critical interculturality perspective has allowed me to learn about the school-family relationship and understand that the tensions go beyond the socioeconomic dimension that has been prevalent in studies.
that explore the educational field in Chile. Using the critical interculturality perspective has also allowed me to understand that the ex/inclusion of migrant families goes hand-in-hand with the way in which the Chilean society approaches sociocultural diversity, both at the micro level of interactions between schools and families, but also in the way in which the Chilean society has been immersed in the illusion of socio-cultural homogeneity.

Additionally, the critical interculturality perspective has brought into focus the political aspects of doing research, which are not only about denouncing social inequalities, but also about actually acknowledging and understanding the role of academia in social transformation. As Walsh highlighted, the critical interculturality perspective allows us to consider the construction of:

*New epistemological frameworks that pluralize, problematize and challenge the notion of a totalitarian, unique and universal thought and knowledge from a political and ethical position, which always maintains as present the relations of power to which these knowledge have been subjected* (Walsh 2009, p.12, TFS).

Furthermore, the scholar refers to the *epistemic interculturality* as “an articulation of knowledges that takes into account the intercultural co-construction of diverse epistemologies and cosmologies, in which knowledge, as philosophy, is never complete but always “in construction” (Walsh 2012b, p.17). In the Chilean context, indigenous scholars have addressed this *epistemic interculturality*. Quilaqueo and Torres (2013), for instance, refer to the epistemological challenges of the indigenous knowledge in the school field by emphasising that:

*A process of configuration of new epistemic frameworks is required to change the dominant and colonial structures that continue to operate in the academic environment for the development of research and the implementation of intercultural educational proposals (Ibid p.295, TFS).*

The authors highlight the importance of redefining the notion of interculturality for it to also address the "non-indigenous, both teachers and students, so that the situation of denial, discrimination and racism of minority groups is overcome" (Ibid, TFS). Nevertheless, in Chile there has been little discussion of this *epistemic interculturality* of the context of south-south migration and education, where this thesis aims to contribute.
Finally, in terms of its theoretical contribution and regarding migration in the field of education, this study has identified three subjectivities that emerge in the analysis of the data -non-citizen, unmarketable, ideal parent/learner\(^{101}\)- which can conceptually be supported to understand how migrant children and their families are positioned in the field. These three categories are still marginalizing the migration experience today in schools and educational policies. Additionally, this study proposes a fourth ‘parents’ subject position’ to the framework developed by Vincent (1996, 2000), which has been named parent as a source of knowledge. In this sense, this study also wants to contribute to the theoretical understanding of the home-school relationship where parents should also be considered part of the knowledge production, especially in contexts where the knowledge of minority communities are made invisible by the field of education. These theoretical contributions, that emerged from the analysis and which have been influenced by the theoretical resources used in this study, constitute I hope to significant expansions of the the field of study.

This study also intends to be a contribution by exploring literature that acknowledges parents’ multiple ways of involvement, in order to challenge the notion that they are passive and in deficit in relation to the school. Also, because the literature review presents a field of research that has been dominated by the parent as neoliberal subject, this study wants to makes visible other collective forms of participation; for example, parents as advocators of their children’s rights to education, or parents as providers of community-knowledge. By intentionally ‘looking’ for other modes of participation beyond the consumer and responsible parent, I seek to produce knowledge that understands the family-school relationship beyond the neoliberal and monoculturally-ruled field of education in Chile.

The persistent monocultural view does not only characterise the Chilean education system; it has also permeated the way knowledge is produced. Because of this, there is still a lack of studies that take into consideration the intersecting dimensions of class, gender, ‘race’, ethnicity, nationality, and citizenship, among others. This study addresses this absence of knowledge, not only by including the intersectional approach in the theoretical framework, but also by placing the views of migrant parents at the centre of the discussion around schooling in Chile. Additionally, because migration is a worldwide phenomenon, this work could also shed light on the challenges migrant families face in the field of education of other contexts and

\(^{101}\) This last category draws on the work of Bradbury (2013a) based on Youdell (2006a).
countries, and invite schools, communities and authorities to think of new forms of building relationships with them.

5. Suggestions for policies and practices

I would like to end this final discussion chapter with some recommendations to confront the exclusion of migrant families in the Chilean context. Some of these suggestions are inspired by practices that I have encountered during my time as a PhD student and volunteer in the UK. They should, by no means, be seen as transferable recipes, because every context is different. However, I see them as practices that could be interesting to develop locally in the Chilean context.

First, since the current provisional ID is not a guarantee of complete inclusion, I think it is important to insist, as various social organizations have, that the state should give a permanent Chilean ID to every child and adolescent regardless of the migratory situation of the parents.

Second, the process of applying to schools should be centralized and transparent, and information about the procedures for applying outside of the ‘official’ dates should be publicly available to everyone. The ‘in-year admission process’, together with the Fair Access Protocols from the UK (DfE 2012), are good examples of how this can be implemented. This process, which represents the first encounter between families and schools, must stop being an impediment to the right to education.

Enhancing the relationship between families and schools seems to be fundamental to advance towards an inclusive and intercultural education. A third suggestion, then, is to debunk the myths around schooling by providing clear information to parents so that they can start their experience from an inclusive perspective before it becomes exclusive. In practical terms, for example, schools can create a welcome protocol - as one of the schools had already implemented. This would be a first instance, at the beginning of the school year, to introduce parents to the Chilean education system and include the entire parental community, regardless of nationality, as for some Chilean parents some of these dimensions maybe unknown too as policies and programmes in education are constantly being transformed, especially from one government to another. In addition, this school practice could bring together the community of parents and reinforce the notion that there are issues that concern everyone. This welcome event could also be a good opportunity to discuss the
grading system and assessments, school meals, parents’ meetings, classroom organisation, homework, new policies that have an impact on school practices, and even more complex issues such as the voucher scheme that provides funding to some schools. This may build a collaborative home-school relationship from the beginning.

It should be noted that some schools do have handbooks that explain some of these topics, such as the Institutional Educational Project (IEP); however, it is also necessary to create spaces of participation in which parents are allowed to ask questions, make comments, and receive answers. This is to encourage dialogue between the different actors of the school community. Interestingly, the IEP document was not mentioned once by the parents as a possible tool to help them better understand the school. Nevertheless, when characterizing schools for the methodological chapter, I noticed that some of these documents were very comprehensive and useful, and should be put to better use. One of the well-known organisations that supports migrants in Chile acknowledged the potential of this document and decided to create a social intervention programme for schools called “Migración y Escuela”, using a participatory approach to review the IEP as a way to better address how schools can implement an intercultural approach that can include families (Linares et al. 2018).

When migrant families do not arrive at the beginning of the school year, as it was the case with some of the parents in this study, the head teacher or someone from the psychosocial team of the school could organise a welcome interview. For example, as part of my volunteer work, I acted as the translator in some of these interviews between families and the head teacher of primary schools in south London. This meeting normally took between 30 to 45 minutes and it included the head teacher, the parents (either the mother, father or both) and the child. The head teacher explained the main organisational characteristics of the school (timetable, school meals, and uniform) and gave parents a tour of the premises. To better support this exchange between families and school, and based on my thesis as well my volunteer experience, I developed a question guide (see appendix 13), which I suggested to parents that they could use if they were unsure what to ask. From the perspective of the families that I accompanied the initial school visit was a very helpful experience where they felt welcome and relieved, as many of them had to overcome numerous barriers to find a school place in London (McCarthy 2016).
As we saw in Chapter 8, migrant parents perceived that the curriculum could be a limitation on their children’s learning process and, at times, they felt that their children were not making progress because they were learning things that they had already learnt back home. Even though the curriculum cannot be modified, there are simple actions that can be taken by the school members. For example, explaining the structure of the curriculum more clearly to parents and clarifying that children will indeed learn everything that is relevant, but maybe in a different time frame to the home country. In the UK, for instance, schools hold ‘curriculum workshops for parents’, in which the teacher explains how children are learning so that parents can support them at home (Martin & Vincent 1999).

Also, even though the regular opportunities for parents to be involved are outside the classroom, families can actually be invited to participate in the classroom. As Ester mentioned, in her school, parents are allowed to come and observe a teaching lesson. This instance can be used intentionally to bring the knowledge from the community into the school. In the UK, for instance, parents’ volunteer to read to students so, in this case, the reading material can be a story that is culturally relevant to them.

Strengthening the work between schools, as well as with territorial organizations, something that the “National Policy for Foreign Students 2018 – 2022” (MINEDUC 2018) has proposed, is crucial as well. It was observed in the narratives of school staff that the networking in many cases emerges spontaneously and from scratch when there is another school with similar concerns a few blocks away. Moreover, in the same boroughs where schools are located, the municipal offices offer different types of support and there are also different non-governmental organizations. It is important, then, to create instances for schools, municipalities and social organisations to share and exchange experiences.

It is also very important to support different forms of associativity among parents so that they can get to know their rights and have access to clear information about the different issues that affect them. Even though the government has several instances and policies to deal with these issues, it seems they do not always reach the community. These organisational forms must be encouraged within the school, in both the Parent Teacher Association and School Boards, as well as in other instances of participation outside the school.
Finally, it is urgent to further address interculturality in the Chilean educational field if we want our schools to embrace the pluralities of their students and families. As we have seen on several occasions throughout the thesis, what exists today in the Chilean educational field is still a functional understanding of interculturality which has led to a one-way integration process. Many of the accounts here presented suggest that other modes of the family and school relationship are possible; modes that are not centred on viewing parents as consumers but, on the contrary, on recognising them as citizens and as a valued source of knowledge. As Walsh pointed out it is finally in those small insurgent cracks into the regularities that make it possible to think of “other modes of power, knowing, being and living” (2009, p.11, TFS). Therefore, the emergence of new actors in schools, as a result of the migratory processes, gives an opportunity to rethink the status quo in Chilean schools from an intercultural approach, offering alternatives to the current relationship between families and schools.
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Appendix 1. Conversion of the educational level in years

[Based on MINEDUC 2013]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Level</th>
<th>Years of schooling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No studies</td>
<td>0 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year 1 primary</td>
<td>1 year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year 2 primary</td>
<td>2 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year 3 primary</td>
<td>3 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year 4 primary</td>
<td>4 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year 5 primary</td>
<td>5 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year 6 primary</td>
<td>6 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year 7 primary</td>
<td>7 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year 8 primary</td>
<td>8 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year 1 secondary</td>
<td>9 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year 2 secondary</td>
<td>10 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year 3 secondary</td>
<td>11 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year 4 secondary</td>
<td>12 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year 5 secondary (technical education)</td>
<td>12 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incomplete vocational degree</td>
<td>14 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incomplete university</td>
<td>15 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational degree</td>
<td>16 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University degree</td>
<td>17 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master degree</td>
<td>19 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PhD degree</td>
<td>22 years</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix 2. Interview schemes

[Translated from Spanish]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Interview parents</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Opening</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Interviewer): Thank you for taking your time for this interview Ms/Mr________. I will like to give you this information sheet for you to read, before we start the interview. After you finish reading it if you have any questions please let me know before you sign the consent form for this interview, if you do not have any questions you can sign it and we can start.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(I): As mentioned in the information sheet and the consent, this interview will be audio record and please remember that if, at any point you do not want to continue with the interview or do not want to answer a question, you are free to do so.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Start recording…mentioned the name so it is recorded</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Initial questions</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. How many children do you have? How old are they? In what school level are they? Do they study in the same municipality where they live?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Are you working now? What do you do? Do you do the same kind of work you did back home? If not…who works at home and in what?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. How long have you lived in Chile?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. What was the first thing you did when you arrived? (e.g., looking for a house, work, school, office, etc.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Access process and school choice</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(I): As you have mentioned you have a child in year _______ of primary level. I’d like to hear about your experiences when accessing and choosing a school for him/her. Try to explain it to me as another parent just arriving to Chile asked you for advice based on your experience. For example: How did you find out about how to apply and about the schools? How many days/weeks/months went by between the application and your children getting a place? Why did you choose the school? Is this process different from back home?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For each topic, there is a main question that should be asked and auxiliary questions to gather more details. If something is not clear used the question “What do you mean by . . . ?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. How did you find about the process of choosing and applying for a school?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• What were the entry requirements? What did the school asked to enrol your child(ren)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• What does the ‘RUT 100 million’ mean?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• How was the process of validation of studies carried out?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Who informed you about the previous issues?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Why did you choose the school you chose?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
• Was the socioeconomic factor a reason for choosing or not choosing the school?
• And the diversity in terms of nationalities, multicultural or other migrants was a reason to choose or not choose the school?
• What do you expect from education in general?
• What do you expect from the school that you choose?
• Why did you choose a private subsidized and not a municipal school? (the reverse if it is the case)
• What did you expect from the application and selection process?
• What challenges did you face when you carried out the application process?

3. **What do you think of the school?**
• What do you like best?
• What do you like least?

**Family-school relationship**

(I): I’d like to hear now about what do you think about the school your child is currently enrolled. For example: Some parents participate and others do not, what do you think about this? Do you have any relationship with other parents? What resources are available so that families and students can be integrated? What do you think of the teachers of your child?

*For each topic, there is a main question that should be asked and auxiliary questions to gather more details. If something is not clear used the question “What do you mean by . . . ?”*

1. **How do you participate in the school?**
• Do you participate in school activities? Like which?
• Are there special activities within the school that take into account the cultural diversity of the students and their families?
• Does the school carry out what has been called ‘multicultural encounters’? What do you think of this activity?
• Do you feel included in the school?

2. **Do you feel included by the other parents from the school? For example the parents of your child’s friends?**
• Is there a difference between the participation of fathers and mothers?
• Between nationalities?
• If so, why do you think this happens?

3. **What resources are available for families and students so they can be included?**
• Have you heard about Preferential School Subsidy? If yes, what do you know about it?
• Have you heard about School Integration Programme? If yes, what do you know about it?
• Have you heard about Intercultural Bilingual Education Programme? If yes, what do you know about it?
• What do you know about the School Inclusion Law? Or We are all school?

4. **Do you perceive that there are differences between your country and Chile in relation to the school? (e.g., how is it taught, the relationship**
Migration journey

(I): I’d like to hear about your experiences of coming to Chile. Try to explained it to me as someone back home (a relative, friend) was asking you about your experience. For example: Why did you move to Chile? What were the key moments of this movement? What have been the biggest challenges you have faced? What has changed for you and your family after moving to Chile?

1. When did you arrive to Chile? Did you arrive together as a family? If not...when did the parents arrive? And the children? Why didn't you arrive together?
2. Why did you move to Chile? (i.e. because better work conditions, education opportunities)
3. Was the educational issue a reason to come to Chile?
4. What has improved for your family since you arrived to Chile?
5. What has gotten worse for your family since you arrived to Chile?
6. Is this your first experience of moving to another country? If not, are there differences between this and previous experience?
7. How do you handle the identity issues between Chile and your country? What are the challenges?
8. Your children with which country do they identify?
9. How do you balance between what your child learns in Chile and your own identity?

Final questions and closing

1. Finally, in relation to the educational future of your child, what are your plans? Is there something that worries you?
2. With which word do you identified the most: immigrant, migrant or foreign? Why?
3. If you had the opportunity to say something to the school, what would you say?

(I): I appreciate the time you took for this interview. Is there anything else you think would be helpful for me to know? Thanks again.
Start recording…mentioned the name so it is recorded

Initial questions

1. How long have you been working at this school?
2. What is your profession?
3. Since when did migrant students come to your school? Has this increased or decreased?
4. What is the profile of the students and migrant families who come to school?

Family-school relationship

1. How would you evaluate the participation of migrant parents in school?
2. Is there a difference in the participation of parents and mothers? If so, what are these differences? And why do you think this happens?
3. Is there a difference in participation between nationalities? If so, what are these differences? And why do you think this happens?
4. In what type of instances do parents participate?
5. Are there special activities within the school that take into account the cultural diversity of the students and their families?
6. Do migrant parents interact with other parents at school?
7. When migrant parents have a problem in relation to the school, who do they approach?
8. Do you perceive that certain actors within the school (such as teachers, students, families) make differences with these students and their families?

Inclusive programmes and practices within the school

1. What resources are available so that families and students can be included?
2. What programmes or practices exist in the school in relation to the inclusion of students and migrant families? (For example: School Integration Programme, Bilingual Intercultural Education Programme, Preferential School Subsidy, Conviviality manual, Institutional Educational Project)
3. What does intercultural education mean to you? Are there differences between this and multicultural education? Do you think the school has an approach of any of these two approaches when including students and their families?
4. What are the strengths and weaknesses of the school when it comes to the inclusion of migrant students and families?
5. Access process and school choice

School place and application

1. Who do parents approach for the first time when they need information about schools and how to apply for them?
2. What schools asked them so they can apply?
3. How much can the process be delayed from the time they apply until they enter the school?
4. Based on your experience, what do parents look for in a school?
5. How are the data of migrant students entered into the General Student Information System from the MINEDUC?

Public policy

1. Do you receive help from the municipality, MINEDUC, or and NGO in relation to migrant students and families?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>2.</strong> What do you think about the programme carry on between the municipalities and the Home Office called <em>We are all school</em>? In what terms does it help in the access and right to education? What are the strengths and weaknesses of the programme? (</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3.</strong> Do you think that the new School Inclusion Law has some relation with the access and the right to education of migrant students?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4.</strong> Do you think that the draft of the new bill of the National Public Education System will have some effect on the access and right to education of migrant students?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>5.</strong> What are the strengths and weaknesses of policies at the central level?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>6.</strong> What are the strengths and weaknesses of the policies at the municipal level?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Closing:** (I): I appreciate the time you took for this interview. Is there anything else you think would be helpful for me to know? Thanks again.
Appendix 3. Secondary data analysis

This analysis used as sources the databases of the Agency of Quality of Education and the Center of Studies of Ministry of Education of Chile. The author thanks the Agency for the access to the information. This appendix sought to characterised migrant students enrolled in the Chilean educational system. To achieve this aim an analysis of secondary data was elaborated from different databases provided by the Ministry of Education of Chile, according to the criteria and standards established by the Ministry, to protect the anonymity of students, parents and schools. The software SPSS version 21.0 was used to perform the analyses.

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<td>Municipality</td>
<td>Chilean students</td>
<td>Migrant students</td>
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<td>------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
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<td>Sierra Gorda</td>
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<td>Independencia</td>
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<td>Pica</td>
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<td>Huara</td>
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<td>Pozo</td>
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<td>9%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Santiago</td>
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<td>8%</td>
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<td>Recoleta</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ollagüe</td>
<td>93%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>7%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Antofagasta</td>
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<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alto Hospicio</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arica</td>
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<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lo Barnechea</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country of origin of migrant student (2016)</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
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<td>Australia</td>
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<td>Bolivia</td>
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<td>Brazil</td>
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<td>Chile</td>
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<tr>
<td>China</td>
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<td>Colombia</td>
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<tr>
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<th>Gender of student by citizen status (2016)</th>
<th>Chilean students</th>
<th>Migrant students</th>
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<tr>
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### Ethnicity of student by citizen status (2015)

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<td>Colla</td>
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<td>Diaguita</td>
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### Educational level of student by citizen status (2015)

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<th>Migrant students</th>
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<td>Primary (children)</td>
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<td>19696</td>
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<tr>
<td>Primary (adults)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Special school</td>
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<tr>
<td>Secondary Humanistic Scientific (youth)</td>
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<td>Secondary Humanistic Scientific (adults)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Secondary Professional Technician and Artistic (adults)</td>
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### Regions (from north to south) of student by citizen status (2016)

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<td>Metropolitana de Santiago</td>
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<td>Libertador Gral. Bernardo O'Higgins</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biobío</td>
<td>416704</td>
<td>825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Araucanía</td>
<td>201576</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Ríos</td>
<td>78741</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Area of student by citizen status (2015)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Chilean students</th>
<th>Migrant students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>3248003</td>
<td>29883</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>269266</td>
<td>1693</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Descriptive statistics of schools with migrant enrolment (2015)

- Number of school with migrant students: 4409
- Minimum of migrant students: 1
- Maximum of immigrant students: 271
- Average of migrant students: 7.16

### Type of school of student by citizen status (2016)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of school</th>
<th>Chilean students</th>
<th>Migrant students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Municipal school</td>
<td>1240677</td>
<td>33904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private subsidised school</td>
<td>1966381</td>
<td>21579</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private paid school</td>
<td>272441</td>
<td>5561</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Schools faith of student by citizen status (2015)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Faith</th>
<th>Chilean students</th>
<th>Migrant students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Secular</td>
<td>1990875</td>
<td>19584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>1189924</td>
<td>9573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evangelical</td>
<td>114502</td>
<td>773</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>4036</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>160148</td>
<td>1323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No information</td>
<td>55839</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### School fee (Chilean pesos) of student by citizen status (2015)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Chilean students</th>
<th>Migrant students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$1.000 - $10.000</td>
<td>175108</td>
<td>2652</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.0%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$10.001 - $25.000</td>
<td>335354</td>
<td>4374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9.6%</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$25.001 - $50.000</td>
<td>399243</td>
<td>3156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11.5%</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$50.001 - $100.000</td>
<td>254526</td>
<td>2389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.3%</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than $100.000</td>
<td>257615</td>
<td>5199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free</td>
<td>1979259</td>
<td>41473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>56.9%</td>
<td>67.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No information</td>
<td>78394</td>
<td>1801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Socio-economic of the school of student by citizen status (2016)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Chilean students</th>
<th>Migrant students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>272926</td>
<td>3024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.8%</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle-low</td>
<td>765190</td>
<td>15677</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22.0%</td>
<td>25.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>896014</td>
<td>18653</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25.8%</td>
<td>30.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle-upper</td>
<td>473560</td>
<td>4357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13.6%</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper</td>
<td>276072</td>
<td>5380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.9%</td>
<td>8.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No information</td>
<td>795737</td>
<td>13953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22.9%</td>
<td>22.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Schools with preferential school subsidy of student by citizen status (2016)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Chilean students</th>
<th>Migrant students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>1094105</td>
<td>14954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31.4%</td>
<td>24.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>2367627</td>
<td>45672</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>68.0%</td>
<td>74.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No information</td>
<td>17767</td>
<td>418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Schools with school integration programme of student by citizen status (2016)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Chilean students</th>
<th>Migrant students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>1652631</td>
<td>25522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>47.5%</td>
<td>41.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1820431</td>
<td>35349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>52.3%</td>
<td>57.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No information</td>
<td>6437</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Appendix 4. Policies review and glossary

[This appendix is organised alphabetically base on the original name in Spanish, as well as by years in some cases]

**Decreto No. 2272 – Decree No. 2272 (2007)**

Decree approving the implementation of procedures leading to the recognition of studies in primary school, scientific-humanities and technical-professional secondary school, adult education institutions and special education schools.

**Decreto Presidencial Visa Especial Haitianos y Venezolanos - Presidential Decree Special Visa Haitians and Venezuelans (2018)**

This decree stated that people couldn’t longer enter the country with a tourist visa, find a job and then change the visa in Chile. This is how it has been since 1975 It has then adopted the Anglo-Saxon model of countries such as the UK, Canada and Australia, that state that before entering the country you have to have an agreement to work in the country before they can issue the visa, however this totally decontextualized the migratory processes of Latin America as a region where this kind of ‘formality’ is not a common practice among employee and employer. Furthermore, a special visa was issued for people from Haiti and Venezuela. Both of the been controversial as in the case of Haiti people are not even allowed anymore to come for tourist purpose and if they come it is granted for 30 days instead of on 90 days as everyone else. Also, the government has issued a maxim of 10.000 visas for family reunification for Haiti people. In regards Venezuelan, they will have to apply for a special visa called ‘Democratic Responsibility Visa’ which shows a political and supportive angle to the current opposition of the Maduro’s government.

Escuela Somos Todos - We are all the school (2014)

Established in the second presidency of left-wing President Michelle Bachelet (2014-2018). It is a collaboration agreement between municipalities, the Home Office and the Department of Immigration. The first agreement was signed in 2014 with the Municipality of Santiago. The parties agreed on the implementation and execution of the programme, which aims to make the school an important space for socialisation that allows the incentives in families to regularise their migratory situation and to ensure that all children living in the country have the same benefits as Chilean children. Therefore, it seeks to facilitate and promote the integration and regularisation of migrant students, using the school as a space to provide parents with the requirements for regularisation. The benefits of the programme are: a) to help migrant children to access a student visa or the visa that suits them best; b) each migrant children with a Chilean ID can request the benefits that apply to them in matters of health, education, etc.; c) the school will be beneficiary of the preferential school subsidy when appropriate, thus contributing to the financing of municipal education; d) the Department of Immigration will collaborate in guiding this process and will facilitate access to the procedures for the visa application in a more expeditious manner. The municipalities that have signed the agreement so far are Santiago (2014); Quilicura, Independencia, Recoleta, and Antofagasta (2015); Arica and Estación Central (2016); Peñalolén and La Reina (2017). By the end of Bachelet's government this programme becomes part of the Plan Chile Te Recibe. A programme that the current government has decided to end.

Identificador provisorio escolar (IPE) - Provisional school identifier (2016)

It was established based on the Instruction letter No. 894 (November 2016) which updated the rules on admission, permanence and exercise of the rights of migrant students in educational establishments that have official recognition from the state. In this sense, this new regulation sought to update the instruction letter Ordinario No. 1008 (August 2005). This new instruction letter focused mainly on replacing the ‘national identification number 100 million’ for this unique identifier. This regulation became effective in January 2017 throughout the country. The MINEDUC Citizen Assistance Offices (Oficinas de Atención Ciudadana del MINEDUC) throughout the country are in charge of providing this provisional school identifier to all migrant students who do not have a national identification number (also called Chilean ID). This is certainly an advance insofar as it partially takes on issues that have been 'unseen or unknown' by the authorities, as well as the schools and parents. For example, it allows recognizing the student's educational trajectory regardless of his/her migratory situation; children with this provisional number are included in the General Student Information System database; andnd indicates the need to make modifications to the assessment schemes in schools by recognising the linguistic diversity. However, it still differentiates between students that are label as 'provisional'; it does not solve the problem of validation of previous studies, and it continues to put the pressure on schools taking out the responsibility of an intersectoral policy among the government institutions that should be the ones responsible. Additionally, and the most concerning issue, it is that it does not provide a definitive status in regards to their migration, meaning that it does not provide a Chilean ID. This provisional identifier did not exist within the framework of the fieldwork of this study.

More information at: https://migrantes.mineduc.cl/identificador-provisorio-escolar/que-es-el-ipe/
As the Chilean educational system is going through an Educational Reform, this has meant a change in the admission process. Parents now apply for a school place through a common platform created by the MINEDUC. However, as some migrant parents may not have their national identification number they cannot enter the website and provide their school preferences and children’s details. Therefore, the MINEDUC had created the provisional identifier for parents. Parents need to approach the Citizen Assistance Offices before the deadline, to ask for their provisional identifier. *This provisional identifier did not exist within the framework of the fieldwork of this study.*

More information at: [https://www.sistemadeadmisionescolar.cl/postular/](https://www.sistemadeadmisionescolar.cl/postular/)

**Ley Antidiscriminación – Anti-discrimination Law (2012)**

Law No. 20609 is also known as Zamudio Law, after the brutal murder of Daniel Zamudio at the hands of a homophobic group. This Law establishes measures against arbitrary discrimination based on race or ethnicity, nationality, socioeconomic status, language, ideology or political opinion, religion or belief, unionization, involvement in labor unions or the lack of them, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, marital status, age, parentage, personal appearance, health condition or disability. The State Administration bodies, within their power, must elaborate and implement policies that guarantee that every person, without being arbitrarily discriminated against, can enjoy and exercise rights and freedom recognized by the Constitution, the laws and the international treaties ratified by Chile and that are currently applicable.


**Ley General de Educación - General Education Law (2009)**

Law No. 20370, which replaces the Organic Constitutional Law of Education created in dictatorship, and that was conceived after the national student-led protests. This law makes no reference to the education of migrant students, nor to a way of guaranteeing their permanence in the educational system. Nevertheless, according to Article N° 3, “the Chilean education system is built on the basis of the rights that are guaranteed by the Constitution, and also on current international treaties ratified by Chile, particularly on those that address the right to education and academic freedom”. Two ideas that might be connected with migration can be extracted from this article. First, that due to the fact that Chile has ratified both the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families (2005) and the Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1990, every child’s access to education must be guaranteed, regardless of the migratory status of their parents. Second, Article N°10, which establishes the rights and duties of those who make up the education community, states in its first section that students “also have the right to have their freedom of conscience and personal freedom, their religious, ideological and cultural convictions respected, in accordance with the internal regulations of the school”.

More information at: [https://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=1006043](https://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=1006043)
### Ley Inclusión Escolar - School Inclusion Law (2015)

Law No. 20845, which modifies and incorporates principles to the General Education Law, aiming to gradually guarantee education as a right, for the State must fund a free system intended to guarantee equal and inclusive access, without arbitrary discriminations. In force since March 2016, this law regulates the admission of students, eliminates shared funding and bans profiting in educational institutions that receive State funds. There are two relevant legal modifications made to this Law in relation to migration. First, the notion of inclusion is added to the principle of integration by establishing that the school system must tend to eliminate all and every form of arbitrary discrimination that gets in the way of students’ learning process and participation. Additionally, educational institutions are encouraged to be a place of encounter between students from different socio-economic backgrounds, cultures, ethnic groups, gender, nationalities or religions. Prior to this Law, this principle only determined that the system had to incorporate students from different social, ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds. This Law, on the other hand, incorporates the notion of human dignity, which establishes that the school system must be guided by the desire to protect and promote human rights.

More information: [https://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=1078172](https://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=1078172)

### Ley Violencia Escolar - School Violence Law (2011)

Law Ley No. 20536 promulgated in 2011, establishes that each school should promote a good school conviviality to prevent school violence by elaborating a management plan and protocols of action in situations of conflict. It also creates the role of a permanent staff member in charge of the conviviality in the school as well as introduces new tasks to the School Board.

More information at: [https://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=1030087](https://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=1030087)


The first time this manual was mentioned was in 2002 with the introduction of the School Conviviality Policy (Política de Convivencia Escolar). On 2009 with the General Education Law, this manual was established as part of the internal documents that all schools should have. Hence all educational establishments were legally obliged to have a Conviviality Manual.

### Matrícula definitiva - Definitive enrolment

It is an enrolment status that it is given to all migrant students once their migration status is regularized (therefore they have a visa that provides them with a national identification number) as well as their previous studies have been recognised under the process of validation. This will position them as in a definitive enrolment in the school, meaning that they can access all school benefits as well as be register in the General Student Information System from the Ministry of Education.
Matrícula provisoria – Provisional enrolment

This enrolment status is provided by the Provincial Department of Education (Departamento Provincial de Educación) or the Regional Ministry Secretariat of Education (Secretaría Regional Ministerial de Educación) after the headteacher has informed them, throughout a letter, that the school can provide the student with a school place. This enrolment status is given to students that do not have the necessary documentation to get a definitive enrolment (visa and previous studies). In order to have this provisional enrolment, the student only needs to provide an identification (either their national ID card or passport) that states their name and age, as well as the latest studies in the country of origin. The fact that these documents do not have the legalisation process cannot constitute impairment. This provisional enrolment allows the school to receive the regular subsidy. It lasts for a year and it gives students a provisional school identifier, as children do not have their Chilean ID. During the year, it is expected that parents and schools should arrange the process of validation so the previous studies of their children are recognised. Once this is completed, the schools should regularise the student and give him/her a definitive enrolment. If this process is not carried out on time, the enrolment may become obsolete and the school can be fined if they receive the subsidy, students can also be expelled. This enrolment is also for those Chilean students who have been outside the educational system due to health problems, family, among other issues.

More information at: [https://www.ayudamineduc.cl/ficha/matricula-provisoria-4](https://www.ayudamineduc.cl/ficha/matricula-provisoria-4)

MINEDUC Migrante – Migrant Mineduc (2017)

Migrant MINEDUC is a website created by the Ministry of Education in April 2017 with the purpose of informing the school community about the rights of migrant students who are in the school system. Information about different regulations can be found on this website, as well as resources that can be used as a guide for the work that is done both in the classroom and at school: [https://migrantes.mineduc.cl](https://migrantes.mineduc.cl)


This Instruction letter provides information about the collaborative work of the Ministries of the Interior, Education, Health and the Ministry General Secretariat of Government, all of which have promoted a series of measures aimed at generating actions from the State in order to continuously reduce discrimination against foreign citizens residing in Chile. In this context, an agreement named “For the Right to Education” was created with the purpose of helping every child of migrant parents get into Primary, and Secondary school. This implies that for the migrant children who have an irregular migratory status, the Ministry of the Interior through the Immigration Department (DEM) will grant permanent student residence permits (called special agreement student visa) to all the children who are temporarily or permanently enrolled in institutions recognised by the State. This permit does not imply the regularisation of the child’s family members.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Oficio No. 6232 - Instruction letter No. 6232 (2003)</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Joint action by the Immigration Department and the Ministry of Education, intended to help children of migrant parents who reside in Chile get into Primary and Secondary school institutions. This Instruction letter expands on the previous one (No. 1179) and provides more information about the access to education of children and adolescents, regardless of the migratory status of their parents.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Oficio No. 1008 - Instruction letter No. 1008 (2005)</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>This instruction letter is known as ‘Normativa Bitar’ (‘Bitar regulations’, after Sergio Bitar, Minister of Education at the time) and, together with Instruction letter No. 6232, guarantees the access of every migrant child and adolescent residing in Chile to any educational institution officially recognized by the State, regardless of the migratory status of their parents. This instruction letter provides information about the migrant students’ admission and permanence, and the exercise of their rights.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Plan Chile Te recibe – Plan Chile Welcomes you (2017)</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>This Plan was established in the second presidency of left-wing President Michelle Bachelet (2014-2018). The aim was to centralise all the policies and programmes regarding migrant workers, families and children, in one place. In terms of educational, the We are all the school (2014) programme was going to be part of this Plan, instead of being located in the Department of Immigration. This mainly because the Programme only consider migrant children enroled in public/municipal schools. The idea to transfer this Programme into the Plan allowed more children to be supported to be regularized. Currently, the right-wing government has shut down the Plan meaning that the We are all the school programmes does not also exist anymore as well as the website created by the previous government with the information of the Plan. This information is not publicly available; it was obtained by the author through the process of access to public information (May 2019). <em>This Plan did not exist within the framework of the fieldwork of this study.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Plan de Mejoramiento Educativo - Educational Improvement Plan</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It is an approach to school improvement that focused on the improvement processes and proposes that the establishments should plan in a timeframe of 4-years. It is based on the analysis and reflection of each school Institutional Educational Project.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**More information at:** [https://www.ayudameduc.cl/ficha/plan-de-mejoramiento-educativo-pme](https://www.ayudameduc.cl/ficha/plan-de-mejoramiento-educativo-pme)
Política de Participación de las Familias y la Comunidad en instituciones Educativas - Policy on the Participation of Families and the Community in Educational Institutions (2017)

Policy that updates the 2002 Policy of Participation of Parents, Mothers and Representatives in the Educational System (Política de Participación de Padres, Madres y Apoderados/as en el Sistema Educativo), and it is part of the set of policies under the Educational Reform (2014), which aims to "contribute to the integral development of the student body and to improve the educational quality, through the generation of conditions for the participation and involvement of families and the community in educational institutions". This Policy has three main lines of action: 1) dialogue and collaboration among educational actors, institution, families and community, 2) training of educational actors for participation; and 3) integration of the school with the local community. Within the context of this Policy, the participation of families and their communities has been given a key role in order to promote a school system based on equity and social justice. This Policy did not exist within the framework of the fieldwork of this study.

More information at: http://basica.mineduc.cl/wp-content/uploads/sites/25/2017/04/Pol%C3%ADtica-de-Participaci%C3%B3n-de-la-Familia-y-la-Comunidad-en-instituciones-educativas.pdf


Established by the current right-wing government base on a diagnose done by the previous administration. The aim of this Policy is to “favour the access, permanence and educational trajectories of foreign students in the Chilean educational system, generating devices that respond to the particular needs of this group of special protection”. To accomplish this goal, the policy has been organised into three areas of work. The first area concerns the institutional and intersectoral articulation, which means the policy should be developed collaboratively between different ministerial departments, such as the Ministry of Social Development, the Home Office and the Ministry of Education. This area of work was created with the purpose of coordinating, at the ministerial level, all the actions needed in order to guarantee the education of migrant students under conditions equal to those of national students, solving critical obstacles that hinder access, permanence and trajectory at all the levels of the education system. This area also intends to bring together different state and civil society sectors in order to ensure the protection of an inclusive and quality education for this group in need of special protection.

The second area is described by the policy as the core work of the MINEDUC, which aims to strengthen the educational management of and by schools, for example, by providing schools with information about the migration procedure and the right of families, as well pedagogical orientation and resources to be used in the classroom. One of the general goals of this area is the promotion of school conviviality that places value on diversity and uses a collaborative approach to integrate migrant students and their families. It also aims to provide the technical and pedagogical support that makes it possible to move towards a comprehensive formation that successfully meets the needs of this group in need throughout their educational trajectory. Finally, this area of work intends to provide the management tools and resources that allow for the inclusion of migrant students in the educational community.

Finally, the last area established to meet the goals of this national policy has to do
with the importance of favouring the relations between formal and informal organizations in the school’s locality. The activities and specific aims associated with this area are: gathering quantitative and qualitative data that sheds light on the reality of migrant students in the Chilean school system; promoting different forms of participation that lead to the analysis and dialogue on the inclusion of migrant students in the Chilean school system; and finally, collecting and disseminating data and information about the networks that are in place in every area and that deal with different migration, refuge and interculturality issues.

Eight strategic actors – units, offices, department – from the Ministry of Education will set this highly ambitious plan in motion in a period of four years (2018 to 2022), which requires a high level of communication and coordination, and where the beneficiaries range from migrant students to the entire education system. This Policy did not exist within the framework of the fieldwork of this study.


Proceso de validación de estudios - Process of validation of previous studies

To recognise the previous studies people should follow two stages, one in the country of origin, and the other in Chile. Once completed the process, the Chilean Ministry of Education gives a certificate that accredited the previous studies. The required documentation are: 1) identity card of the country of origin or passport of the student; and 2) original certificates of studies carried on in the country of origin which should have been legalised.

If the country of origin is part of the Apostille Convention it means that there is no need for the requirement of legalisation for foreign public documents. Chile since August 2016 become member, before that, a five-stamps process was needed to legalised documents. However not all countries are part of this Convention, such as Haiti, hence parents and students still have to go through the five-stamps which implies from the country of origin, a stamp from the following institutions are required: Ministry of Education, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Consulate of Chile. In Chile: Department of Legalisation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Chile and Ministry of Education. If the certificates of studies are in a language that it is not Spanish, an official translation must be made and the documentation submitted must be the original one. When this is already done, the parent must approach the Curriculum Registry Unit of the Ministry of Education, who examine the legality of the documents and if they have all the necessary stamps.

If the student cannot go through this process as he/she does not have all the required documents and/or legalise stamps they can proceed to carry on with the process of validation of studies. This process is based on Decree No. 2272 (2007). This process allows the recognition of previous studies in the home country of children and adolescents. This means that the student has to take an exam created by the school, prior authorization of the Ministry of Education, which will allow validating the previous years of schooling. For this process the following documents are required 1) simple letter of the parents addressed to the head teacher of the school requesting to proceed with the validation process; 2) copy of the provisional enrolment (not due); 3) photocopy of Chilean ID (not due); 4) certificates of studies carried on in Chile (if applicable); 5) report of the head of the curriculum of the school with a pedagogical and personality account of the student; and 6) a letter of request of the head teacher addressed to the Ministry of Education.
**Programa Educación Intercultural Bilingüe - Intercultural Bilingual Education Programme (1993)**

This program was created with the Indigenous Law (No. 19253, from 1993) as its foundation, and it takes on the challenge of creating a relevant curriculum implementation proposal that promotes an intercultural formation, which is currently one of the founding principles of the educational system according to the General Law of Education. The aim of this program (also known as PEIB after its initials in Spanish) is to implement an education that guarantees the right of indigenous peoples to the recognition and use of their native languages and culture in the school space. This program is not compulsory, but it is implemented in educational institutions that wish to promote an interculturality and in those that have an enrolment rate of indigenous students of 20% or greater. It focuses mainly on teaching the native languages and culture of the communities and it is developed by the traditional educator.

More information at: [http://www.peib.mineduc.cl](http://www.peib.mineduc.cl)

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**Programa Integración Escolar - School Integration Program**

Programme based on inclusive strategies, which aims is to provide support to students who present Special Educational Needs (SEN), either transitory or permanent, in order to equal opportunities for their participation and progress in the learning of the national curriculum. Through the Program, additional human and material resources are made available to provide support and match learning and participation opportunities for students with special needs.

More information at: [https://www.ayudamineduc.cl/ficha/antecedentes-generales-pie-5](https://www.ayudamineduc.cl/ficha/antecedentes-generales-pie-5)

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**Proyecto Educativo Institucional - Institutional Educational Project (1991)**

The Institutional Educational Project was first introduced in 1991 as an important internal document that each school would need to have, and it was then reintroduced in 2009 with the General Education Law (2009). It is a document that should be created using a participatory approach with the school community, and it is meant to provide information to the general public about the school organisation, principles and other relevant information.

The Institutional Educational Project of each school can be downloaded from the school information platform from the Ministry of education (http://www.mime.mineduc.cl/mvc/mime/portada). A very complete document should include: the context of the school; the history of the institution; the current Chilean social situation; the profile of the families; the principles and values; the vision and mission; what is expected from students and families; the characteristics of the school staff; the pedagogical proposal; the curriculum; the year groups; a proposal of the formative area; and finally the monitoring and evaluation system that the school is using.
Reforma Educacional – Educational Reform (2014)

The Educational Reform was established in 2014 after years of the student movement protesting to have a transformation of the Chilean education system. The Reform, therefore, refers to a particular set of laws and policies, such as the School Inclusion Law (2015) and the Policy on the Participation of Families and the Community in Educational Institutions (2017), among others, who are also explained along with this table and mentioned throughout the thesis.

More information at:

Resolución Exenta No. 6677 - Exempt Resolution No. 6677 (2007)

It is an agreement reached by the National Association of Preschools (JUNJI) in order to facilitate access to early childhood education. Its goal is to make it possible for children of migrant mothers and refugees, who are under the age of 5 years, to access early childhood education programs regardless of their migratory status. Those who wish to apply for this benefit must approach the nursery school closest to their home or to the parents or guardians’ workplace.

Rol Único Nacional (RUN) - National Identification Number

In Chile, this national identification number is also known as Chilean ID or RUT, which is a unique and unrepeatable identification number all Chileans have, whether or not they live in Chile and any migrant who remains, temporarily or permanently, with a visa other than the tourist visa. Migrant children and adolescents can obtain this ID by either holding a residence permit as a dependent on the visa of their parent or legal guardian; or holding a residence permit as a holder of a student visa.

Rol Único Nacional 100 millones - National identification number 100 million

Also known as the 100 million RUT as migrant children are giving an ID number over this number. This identification number is given to all those migrant students who are admitted to the school system with a provisional enrolment as they do not have their migrates status regularized. With this identification numbers, schools can receive the regular subsidy however students cannot access to other school benefits such as school support specialists; school materials; free meal; access to pedagogical support programmes; and obtain their certificate of studies from the Ministry of Education and therefore his/her education path school is not recognized in the General Student Information System. Moreover, as these students are not recognised in this system, the following study made a request using a legal tool called ‘transparent government’ and the information provided by the Ministry of Education stated that by 2016, 24,865 migrant children were in the Chilean educational system with this identification number, and therefore with a provisional enrolment. A social campaign started to make the Ministry accountable for this situation, and therefore by November 2016 the situation was solved through the establishment of the provisional school identifier.
Sello Migrante (2015) – Migratory Seal of Approval

Certification given by the State, through the Immigration Department (DEM), to those municipalities that stand out due to their work with migrant communities in different areas such as work inclusion, education, access to health and the fight against discrimination. The goal of this certification is to “create and/or strengthen the municipal institutionality that is required to implement plans, programs and projects aimed at attending to and including the migrant population, thus promoting interculturality and recognizing the contribution that these diverse communities can make to the country and its society”.

More information at: https://www.extranjeria.gob.cl/sello-migrante/

Sistema Nacional de Estudiantes – General Student Information System

Is a database platform from the Ministry of Education that is filled up by someone from the management team of the school. It registers processes associated with initial enrolment, attendance, school grades, among other indicators. In order for the student to be registered they must have a residence permit (student visa or dependent on the visa of their legal guardian) since it requires a Chilean ID; or with the establishment of the provisional school identifier, children are now included in this dataset.

Subvención Escolar Preferencial - Preferential School Subsidy (2008)

This school subsidy, also known as SEP, was introduced in 2008. It aims to give an extra voucher to schools with children classifies as ‘vulnerable’ based on different indicators. One of the indicators considered for classifying students as vulnerable, so schools can receive this extra funding from the state, was that the family of the student should be registered in the Social Registry of Homes (Registro Social de Hogares) which in the case of migrant children and families without a Chilean ID this is not possible.

Visa de estudiante (convenio especial)- Student visa (special agreement)

Student visa base on the Instruction letter No.1179 (2003) that provides a student visa to migrant students that are under a provisional or definitive enrolment in a school recognised by the state. This visa has an annual duration, is free of cost and requires the students to prove their parents' financial income. This visa is independent of the migrant status of parents and it is not transferred to them, therefore parents cannot become dependent on a child with a student visa.

More information at: https://www.extranjeria.gob.cl/estudiar-en-chile/
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Visa temporaria para niños, niñas y adolescentes – Temporary visa for children and adolescents (2017)</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Based on the Circular No. 16 of July 2017, from the Department of Immigration that instructs of a new special visa of a temporary nature for migrant children and adolescents (different to the student visa). This Circular was part of the Plan Chile Welcomes you (2017) and completes the creation of the provisional school identifier (2016) and the We are all the school (2014).

This visa is given to students regardless of the migratory status of the parents and what they do (they do not need to be enrolled in a school). This visa follows the compliance of the general requirements of a temporary visa accompanied by a birth certificate or other legalized public document from the country of origin certifying the place of birth and the name of the parents. It has a maximum validity of one year, extendable once and is only for the student (it does not extend to family members).

This new visa will allow the situation of migrant children and adolescents to be regularized and will allow them to access: their school certificate of studies in Chile; school ranking grades; the Preferential School Subsidy; to the "I connect for learn" programme that gives a computer to every child at year 6; travel school pass; food; textbooks; uniform and school insurance. In the case of higher education, students can access free and other student benefits, as long as they meet the other requirements that are required. They can also access the Social Registry of Homes, social benefits, health system benefits.

This Visa was created thanks to campaigns of different actors (non-governmental organizations, movements and migrant groups, academics from different universities in the country) that to date have been present to demand from the Chilean state the fulfilment and exercise of the right to education of migrant children and adolescents. This Visa did not exist within the framework of the fieldwork of this study.

Appendix 5. Types of schools before and after the Educational Reform

[The following table explains the types of schools before and after the Reform. As we can see, the private paid schools have been 'untouched' by the Educational Reform, furthermore, regarding 2014 this sector has increased as private subsidised schools were allowed to choose to become a private paid school, meaning that they stop receiving public funds but they could charge families, make a profit and select students. Likewise, prior to reform, private subsided schools had always been considered as part of the ‘quasi-market sector’ – even though they were mainly funded by the public voucher system- as they had attributes mainly recognised within the market: someone pays and someone profits. However, under the School Inclusion Law, these schools should be seen as part of the ‘public scheme’ of education rather the ‘private profitable-selective sector’.

As a reference, municipal schools could be compared to community schools in England. The private subsidised schools are a mix between the English equivalents of faith schools, foundation/trust schools, academies and free schools, and they are managed privately but receive state funding (like municipal schools do through the voucher system), and before the School Inclusion Law they could charge an extra fee to families (called 'shared funding'). Finally, the private paid schools are similar to the private independent schools, which do not depend on public funding and are run and financed entirely privately.]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Municipal school</th>
<th>Private subsidised school</th>
<th>Private paid school</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Managed</td>
<td>Before Municipality</td>
<td>Private sector (profit &amp; non-profit)</td>
<td>Private sector (profit &amp; non-profit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>After Local Public Education Services</td>
<td>Private sector (non-profit)</td>
<td>No change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funded</td>
<td>Before Publicly by the voucher system</td>
<td>Publicly by the voucher system &amp; private funded by the families</td>
<td>Privately funded by the families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>After No change</td>
<td>Publicly by the voucher system</td>
<td>No change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Admission</td>
<td>Before Selection process</td>
<td>Selection process</td>
<td>Highly selective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>After</td>
<td>No selection process (new school admission system)</td>
<td>No selection process (new school admission system)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Enrolment</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before (2014)</td>
<td>1,304,634</td>
<td>37.3%</td>
<td>1,919,392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After (2018)</td>
<td>1,227,163</td>
<td>35.3%</td>
<td>1,927,242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Schools</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before (2014)</td>
<td>5,331</td>
<td>44.5%</td>
<td>6,065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After (2018)</td>
<td>6,558</td>
<td>41.7%</td>
<td>7,531</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Appendix 6. School information

[Information that identifies the schools has been omitted to protect the confidentiality]

|   | Name | Municipality | School  | Holder          | Faith      | Gender | SES     | Migrant %     | Fees                  | PSS | IBEP |   |
|---|------|--------------|---------|-----------------|------------|--------|---------|---------------|-----------------------|-----|------|--|---|
| 1 | BC   | Stgo         | PS      | Catholic foundation | C         | Mixed  | Middle upper | 17.2 | $50.00 - $100.00 | N   | N    |   |---|
| 2 | BVM  | Stgo         | M       | Municipality    | S         | Girls  | Middle upper | 21.3 | Free          | Y   | N    |   |---|
| 3 | CE   | Anto         | PS      | Private limited company | E | Mixed  | Middle low   | 19.0 | $1.000 - $10.000 | Y   | N    |   |---|
| 4 | CJJ  | Indep        | PS      | Private limited company | S | Mixed  | Middle       | 32.5 | Free          | Y   | N    |   |---|
| 5 | CMM  | Stgo         | PS      | Private limited company | S | Mixed  | Middle       | 41.3 | Free          | Y   | N    |   |---|
| 6 | CO   | Indep        | M       | Municipality    | S         | Mixed  | Middle       | 53.6 | Free          | Y   | N    |   |---|
| 7 | CVP  | Stgo         | PS      | Catholic foundation | C | Mixed  | Middle       | 23.5 | Free          | Y   | N    |   |---|
| 8 | EAPL | Iqq          | M       | Municipality    | C         | Mixed  | Middle low   | 34.4 | Free          | Y   | N    |   |---|
| 9 | EC   | Iqq          | M       | Municipality    | S         | Mixed  | Middle low   | 49.8 | Free          | Y   | Y    |   |---|
|10 | GW   | Indep        | PS      | Private limited company | S | Mixed  | Middle       | 47.7 | $1.000 - $10.000 | Y   | N    |   |---|
|11 | LMBS | Anto         | M       | Municipality    | S         | Mixed  | Middle low   | 45.5 | Free          | Y   | N    |   |---|
|12 | PSA  | Stgo         | PS      | Catholic foundation | C | Mixed  | Middle       | 26.4 | Free          | Y   | N    |   |---|
|13 | RC   | Iqq          | M       | Municipality    | C         | Mixed  | Middle low   | 49.4 | Free          | Y   | Y    |   |---|
|14 | RP   | Rec          | M       | Municipality    | S         | Mixed  | Middle       | 31.8 | Free          | Y   | N    |   |---|
|15 | SM   | Iqq          | PS      | Private limited company | C | Mixed  | Middle       | 15.2 | $10.00 - $25.000 | Y   | N    |   |---|
|16 | ULA  | Estac        | M       | Municipality    | C         | Mixed  | Middle low   | 45.3 | Free          | Y   | N    |   |---|

**School:**
PS: Private subsidised
M: Municipal

**Faith:**
C: Catholic
S: Secular
E: Evangelical

N: No
Y: Yes
Appendix 7. Self-applied questionnaire on sociodemographics

[Translated from Spanish]

1. Age

2. Nationality ______________________

3. Do you feel identified with any ethnicity/race?
   - No
   - Asian
   - White
   - Indigenous
   - Mestizo
   - Mulato
   - Black
   - Other (specify) ____________

4. Who lives in your home? (Indicate all the options that apply)
   - Partner
   - Child(ren)
   - Grandparent(s)
   - Sibling(s)
   - Other relative(s)
   - Other non-relative(s)

5. In relation to the place where you live, you:
   - Rent
   - Share and rent
   - Own

6. What type of visa do you have?
   - Subject to contract
   - Temporary
   - Definitive
   - Student
   - No visa
   - Don’t want to say

7. What is your highest educational level and your partner? (If appropriate)

8. In which of the following ranges is your monthly household income?
   - Less or equal to $100,000
   - $100,001 - $300,000
   - $300,001 - $500,000
   - $500,001 - $800,000
   - $800,001 - $1,000,000
   - $1,000,001 - $1,200,000
   - $1,200,001 - $1,400,000
   - $1,400,001 or more
   - Don’t want to say

Thank you very much for answering!
Appendix 8. Links to dissemination resources

[Links based on figure 13 regarding the different genre uses for the dissemination of this research]

(1) Co-author of article in peer reviewed Chilean educational journal.

(2) Co-author of opinion column in Chilean media.
    Available at: http://www.elmostrador.cl/noticias/opinion/2016/04/24/politicas-migratorias-de-chile-en-el-area-educativa-la-ley-de-inclusion/

(3) Direct collaboration in national campaigns:
    - #NoMasRut100
      Available at: https://www.change.org/p/ministerio-de-educación-de-chile-run-definitivo-para-detener-la-exclusión-de-los-y-las-nna-migrantes-en-chile-nomasrut100
    - #InfanciaSinCondiciones
      Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uZqcBJOsLsU
Appendix 9. Information sheet and consent forms

[Translated from Spanish]

Information sheet for parents

Who is conducting the research?

My name is Sara. I'm currently a PhD student at UCL, Institute of Education in London. I am inviting you to take part in my research project title: "Migrant/foreigner families and school choice in Chile". This study has the support of the Faculty of Education of the University Alberto Hurtado and is funded by the National Board of Education (CNED).

This information sheet will try to answer any questions you might have about the project, but please don’t hesitate to contact me if there is anything else you would like to know.

Why I am doing this research?

I am hoping to find out about how you have experience the process of choosing a school in the Chilean context: Did you find the process easy? How did you gather information about the school and how to apply? How did you decide which school to choose? Is it different from back home? This study is important to understand the views of parents on this matter and because there is a lack of information on migrant/foreigner family’s experience on choosing schools in Chile.

Why you have been invited to take part?

You have been invited to participate as the study focuses on migrant/foreigner parent’s views towards the process of choosing a school and you have recently experienced for the first time choosing a primary school for your children in the Chilean context. Additionally the school of your children is located in one of the four municipalities selected for this study.

What will happen if you choose to take part?

If you decide to participate in this study you will be interview face-to-face by me between one to two times, for not more than an hour in a place agreed between us (such as the school, community centre, municipality, NGO, among
other safe and public setting). The interview will be audio record and later transcribe.

**Will anyone know you have been involved?**

Your personal identification (such as your name) will never be used in any report, presentation or final thesis. You will stay anonymous throughout the study (unless otherwise desired). The only ones that may have access to the interview materials (such as the audio record and transcript) will be those directly involved with the study (i.e. transcriber, supervisor, National Board of Education and of course me). Additionally the school of your children will be also anonymised.

**Could there be problems for you if you take part?**

Not at all as I will only ask you questions about how you choose the school for your child and additionally all the information you give me will be absolutely confidential. Also if at any point you don’t want to continue with the interview or don’t want to answer a question, you are free to do so.

**What will happen to the results of the study?**

You will always remain anonymous for the research. If I used a quote given by your, I will never reveal your identity (unless otherwise desired). I will also like you to know that I will like to share my findings with others such as in the form of papers in scientific journal, conference presentation, report and final thesis. The audio and transcript of your interview will be storage in in an external hard drive. They will be retained for a period of 5 years after my PhD is completed for further analysis and publications that is until 2023. After that the audio records will be destroyed.

**Do you have to take part?**

It is entirely up to you whether or not you choose to take part on my project. It is a voluntary participation. I hope that if you do choose to be involved then you will find it a valuable experience.

If you would like to be involved, please tell this to your school parents association or contact me directly by email sarajoiko@gmail.com or my mobile number______________. If you have any further questions before you decide whether to take part, you can email or called me.
Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet.
If you want to participate, please complete the consent form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I have read and understood the information sheet about the research</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have been given the opportunity to ask questions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I received satisfactory answers to all of my questions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I understand that my participation is voluntary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I agree to be interviewed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I agree for my interview to be audio recorded and transcribed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am aware that my interview materials (record and transcript) can be viewed only by those directly involved with the study (i.e. researcher, transcriber, supervisor, National Board of Education)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am aware that my interview materials will be retained until 2023 and after that the audio records will be destroyed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I understand that if any of my words are used in reports or presentations they will not revealed my personal data</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time for any reason, and that any data I have contributed will not be used</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I understand that I if I do not want to answer a question I am free to do so</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I understand that I can contact Sara at any time if it is related with the study to her email: <a href="mailto:sarajoiko@gmail.com">sarajoiko@gmail.com</a> or mobile number:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I will like to read the transcriptions to give feedback</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Name: [Signature]
Date:

Researcher's Name: [Signature]
Date:

This project has been reviewed and approved by the UCL IOE Research Ethics Committee
Information sheet for schools

Who is conducting the research?

My name is Sara Joiko and I am inviting you to take part in my research project: "Migrant/foreigner families and school choice in Chile". I have worked as a research assistant on educational issues since 2009 in different contexts such as the Alberto Hurtado University in Chile and the National Institute of Education in Singapore. Also I have experience in the social sector as volunteer in non-governmental organizations such as working in the integration of Latin American refugee and migrant in London (Indoamerican Refugee & Migrant Organization, IRMO). Currently I am a PhD student at UCL, Institute of Education a world's leading centre for education and related social science in London, funded in 1902. This study has the support of the Faculty of Education of the University Alberto Hurtado and is funded by the National Board of Education (CNED).

This information sheet will try to answer any questions you might have about the project, but please don’t hesitate to contact the researcher if there is anything else you would like to know.

Why are we doing this research?

We want to find out about how migrant/foreigner families experienced the process of choosing a school in the Chilean context and how this can act (or not) as a form of ‘integration’ into the national education system and the wider society, given that schools can be potentially sites of both social exclusion and inclusion.

This study is important, as there is a lack of information on the experience of migrant/foreigner families in the Chilean education system that has implications for their ‘integration’ and for the effective response of the state towards their needs and demands. Consequently, in terms of public policy this study will mainly contribute by showing how they experience the Chilean school education system and the tensions that may arise, and also by promoting their voices and views as parents. By doing so, the study expects to contribute to a more inclusive and diverse conceptualization of the national education system.

Why you have being invited to take part on this study?

You have been invited to participate because the study focuses on the experiences of the choice and access of migrant/foreigner families into the school system, hence your experience of working for an institution such as the (municipality / NGO / school) linked with those families can provide valuable information to understand the context in which they are situated. Some of the topics we will like to ask you are for example about the type of information and support that is available for parents regarding admissions, choice and educational issues, what kind of programmes are implemented at school level for families to be integrated, among other topics related to your institution migrant/foreigner families.

What will happen if you choose to take part?
If you decide to participate in this study you will be face-to-face interview by the researcher, for no more than an hour in a place to be agreed between parts (municipality / NGO / school or other safe and public place). The interview will be audio record and later transcribed.

Will anyone know you have been involved?

Your personal information (such as your name) will never be used in any report, presentation or final thesis. You will remain anonymous throughout the study (unless otherwise desired). The only people who can access the audio and transcript of your interview will be those who are directly involved with the study (i.e. researcher, transcriber, supervisor, National Board of Education).

Could there be problems for you if you take part in the study?

Not at all, as the study is exploratory and descriptive, so in no case constitutes a supervision of the institutional work. We are particularly interested in hearing your experience and opinion about the support that currently is available in the (municipality / NGO / school) to help migrant/foreigner families with regards of educational issues. Additionally if at any point you don't want to continue with the interview or do not want to answer a question, you are free to do so.

What will happen to the results of the research?

You always remain anonymous for the research. If we used a quote given by you, we will never reveal your identity (unless otherwise desired). The dissemination activities of the findings of this study may be in the form of papers in scientific journal, conference presentation, report and final thesis. The audio and transcript of your interview will be storage in an external hard drive. They will be retained for a period of 5 years after the PhD is completed for further analysis and publications that is until 2023. After that the audio records will be destroyed.

Do you have to take part?

It is entirely up to you whether or not you choose to take part. It is a voluntary participation. We hope that if you do choose to be involved then you will find it a valuable experience.

If you would like to be involved, please contact the researcher that subscribe this information sheet to her email sara.joiko.14@ucl.ac.uk or mobile number_____________________. If you have any further questions before you decide whether to take part, you can email or called her.

Thank you for your time and attention on reading this information sheet. If you want to participate, please complete the consent form:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I have read and understood the information sheet about the research</td>
<td></td>
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<td>I have been given the opportunity to ask questions and I received</td>
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<td>satisfactory answers to all of my questions</td>
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<tr>
<td>I understand that my participation is voluntary</td>
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<tr>
<td>I agree to be interviewed</td>
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<td>I agree for my interview to be audio recorded and transcribed</td>
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<td>I am aware that my interview materials (record and transcript)</td>
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<td>can be viewed only by those directly involved with the study (i.e.</td>
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<td>researcher, transcriber, supervisor, National Board of Education)</td>
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<tr>
<td>I am aware that my interview materials will be retained until 2023</td>
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<td>and after that the audio records will be destroyed</td>
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<td>I understand that if any of my words are used in reports or presentations</td>
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<td>they will not revealed my personal data</td>
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<tr>
<td>I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time for any</td>
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<td>reason, and that any data I have contributed will not be used</td>
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<td>I understand that I if I do not want to answer a question I am free to</td>
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<td>do so</td>
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<tr>
<td>I understand that I can contact Sara Joiko at any time if it is</td>
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<tr>
<td>related with the study to her email: <a href="mailto:sara.joiko.14@ucl.ac.uk">sara.joiko.14@ucl.ac.uk</a> or her</td>
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<td>mobile number_____________________________</td>
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This project has been reviewed and approved by the UCL IOE Research Ethics Committee
Appendix 10. Request Access to Public Information

Santiago, 03 de octubre 2016

Señora
SARA JOIKO MUJICA
Presente

Con fecha 19 de agosto de 2016, ingresó a esta Subsecretaría de Estado su solicitud de acceso a la información pública N° AJ001W-1811387, del siguiente tenor:

"Solicitud información de todos aquellos niños, niñas y adolescentes migrantes que siendo estudiantes del sistema educativo (dado que asisten a la escuela, rinden sus pruebas y participan) acuentan con un RUT 100 millones, por lo tanto no aparecen en el registro del SIGE".

Que, la Ley N° 20.285, sobre Acceso a la Información Pública, en adelante indistintamente Ley de Transparencia, en su artículo 5°, establece que, son públicos los actos y resoluciones de los órganos de la Administración del Estado, sus fundamentos, los documentos que les sirvan de sustento o complemento directo y esencial y, los procedimientos que se utilicen para su dictación, salvo las excepciones que establece el texto legal y las previstas en otras leyes de quórum calificado, y asimismo tiene dicha naturaleza la información elaborada con presupuesto estatal y toda otra que obre en poder de los órganos de la Administración, a menos que esté sujeta a las excepciones señaladas.

En consideración a su requerimiento de acceso y, de conformidad a lo señalado por la Unidad de Estadísticas del Centro de Estudios, perteneciente a la División de Planificación y Presupuesto de la Subsecretaría de Educación, cabe informar a usted que, de acuerdo a la base preliminar de alumnado matriculado del año 2016, el número total de alumnos extranjeros con RUT mayor o superior a 100 millones, es de 24.865.

Con todo, es preciso anotar que, la cifra antes señalada constituye información de carácter preliminar y, por ende, puede variar respecto a la base oficial.

Saluda atentamente a Ud.,

“POR ORDEN DE LA SUBSECRETARIA DE EDUCACIÓN”

[Seal]
Coordinadora Nacional Lobby, Transparencia y Presidencia
Ayuda Mineduc
Ministerio de Educación

* La facultad para firmar "por orden de la Subsecretaria de Educación", consta en la Resolución Exenta N° 9.219 de 2014, que designa en las personas que indica la facultad de firma en respuestas de solicitudes de acceso a la información pública, Ley N° 20.285.
Appendix 11. The journey to education for migrant students in Chile

[Creole version created from el Servicio Jesuita a Migrantes based on figure 3]

Pwosesis Matrikil Timoun

Ak adolesan imigran nan Sistem lekol chilyen

• 1) Moun responsab la
• Mande matrikil nan Èd MINEDUC.
• 2) Ou genyen RUN?
• 3) Ou genyen sètikwa kote yo rekonèt etid ou yo?
• 4) ÈD MINEDUC otorize matrikil pwovizwa; defini nivel ke w pwiv swiv depi janvye 2017 li bay İdentifikasyon Pwoviswa Lekòl (IPE)
• Lè NN pa genyen viza( RUN).
• 5) NNA ale nan lekol ak yon pwomès pou li genyen sètikwa ke etid li yo rekonèt .Matrikil pwovizwa a dire yon tan de yon anep epi ak li ou kapab mande visa etidy an.

PREMYE ETAP DE KONVALIDASYON:

❖ Pwosesis nan peyi orijin
  ➢ Sètikwa etid dènye klas apwove
  ➢ Legalizasyon nan Ministè Edikasyon nan peyi orijin
  ➢ Legalizasyon nan Ministè Afè Eksteryè nan peyi orijin
  ➢ Legalizasyon nan konsila chilyen nan peyi orijin

*LEGALIZASYON NAN DEPATMAN

LEGALIZASYON YO NAN MINISTÈ

RELASYON EKSTERYÈ.

DEZYÈM ETAP DE KONVALIDASYON:

❖ Pwosesis nan chili:
  ➢ Sètikwa etid nan peyi orijin, legalize oswa ak "apostille de la Haya".
  ➢ Kat idantite timoun nan epi pa manman an oswa papa a.
  ➢ Prezante dokiman yo nan Santiago,”Blwò ÈD MINEDUC
  ➢ Fray Camilo Henriquez 262,Santiago REGIONES",DEPROV O SEREMI.

Sètikwa de Rekonesans Etid.

IPM

• Moun ki responsab la genyen posibilite pou li leglize sètikwa etid yo nan peyi orijin (Nan ka sa Ayiti)
• Lekol la komanse yon pwosesis de validasyon etid DO2272/07 Y ORD 894-16(Lekol la genyen 3 mwa pou li fé pwosesis la )
  • Nan 20 jou Inite Nasyonal Rejis kourikoulòm lan
ap bay yon Sètifika de Rekonesans Etid ki ap pèmèt elèv la matrikile definitifman.

- Sètifika de Rekonesans Etid
- Pèmèt Matrikil Definitif

Viza Etidyan;

Poukisa li difisil pou genyen yon RUN?

Paske fok ou genyen yon viza e pou sa fok ou pwouve soutni ekonomik.

Diferans ant RUT 100 Milyon e IP(Idantifikasyon Povizwa lekol)

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<td>100 M</td>
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<td>• Otorize a tout NNA imigran yon RUN</td>
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<td>• Ranplase sistèm aktyèl de validasyon etid yo.</td>
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<td>• Pèmèt viza etidyan an renouvele otomatikman ane pa ane poutèt li etidyan nan yon etablisman edikasyonèl.</td>
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<td>• Elimine pou etidyan egzijans pou pwouve soutni ekonomik.</td>
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<td>• Aksè nan pwogram pedagojik yo(PIE ,SEP)</td>
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<td>• Genyen subvansyon regilye</td>
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<td>• Ou pèmèt ou realize pwosesis de validasyon etid san viza (San RUN)</td>
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<td>Dwa pou patisipe nan sant paran,sant elèv ak konsey eskolè</td>
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<td>Pèmèt ou gen aksè ak alimantasyon eskolè ,liv,bip ak asirans eskolé de Junaeb</td>
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<td>Pèmèt prepare règleman evalwasyon annand lekol la pou NNA imigran adapte</td>
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<td>gradyèlman ap pwosesis evalwasyon yo.</td>
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<td>Rejistre tout etidyan nan sistèm SIGE,nan nenpot sitiyasyon migratwa,pou ou genyen</td>
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<td>sètifika etid,NEM y Ranking.</td>
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<td>Pèmèt enscripsyon nan PSU</td>
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<tr>
<td>Resevwa òdinatè pòtatil nan 7èm ane(pwogram “Mwen chwazi PC pam y Mwen konekte pou mw aprann”)</td>
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[Own elaboration based on the datasets of the ‘Our World in Data’]
Appendix 13. Parents question guide for welcome interview

[Spanish version]

10 preguntas
para la primera entrevista con la escuela

Aquí en Reino Unido cuando le dan una plaza a tu hijo/a la escuela organiza una entrevista inicial contigo y tu hijo/a en donde normalmente te enseñaran la escuela y te explicarán cuando empezará las clases y el uso del uniforme escolar. Sin embargo también es una buena oportunidad para que tú puedas preguntar más cosas sobre la escuela. Es por ello que el objetivo de esta guía es poder ayudarte cuando tengas la primera entrevista con el o la director/a de la escuela de tu hijo/a.

Esta guía fue creada junto a padres y madres que ya teniendo a sus hijos/as en la escuela recordaron aquel día y crearon una lista de preguntas de lo que les hubiera gustado preguntar en ese entonces para haber sacado mejor provecho de esa entrevista. Las preguntas están en español e inglés para que puedas preguntar directamente a la escuela.

Queremos agradecer a todos y todas quienes ayudaron a hacer esta guía posible. Si entre todos/as nos ayudamos podremos entender mejor como funciona la escuela en Reino Unido.

Esperamos que sea de ayuda.
Family Project – IRMO

1. ¿A qué hora comienza la escuela y a qué hora tengo que venir a buscarlo/a? ¿Son todos los días iguales?

At what time does school starts and at what time do I need to collect my child? Is it the same everyday?

2. ¿La escuela provee la alimentación y cómo funciona el comedor en la escuela?

Does the school provide food and how do school lunches work?

3. ¿Qué día tiene educación física para saber cuando mandarlo/a con el equipo deportivo?

What day will my child have physical education (P.E.) so that I know when to send her/him with their sport’s uniform?
4. ¿Cómo la escuela me informará sobre las actividades que suceden en la escuela: reuniones de padres, actividades extra-escolares de mi hijo/a, otras cosas?

How will the school inform me about activities that happen at school: parents evenings, extra-curricular activities, and other issues?

5. ¿Ofrece la escuela actividades extra-escolares durante el año escolar y las vacaciones?

Does the school offer extra curricular activities during term time and holidays?

6. ¿Debemos comprar materiales extras o la escuela provee todo? ¿La mochila tiene que tener el logo de la escuela?

Should we buy extra school materials or does the school provide everything? Does he/she need to have bag with the school logo?

7. ¿Cómo será el acompañamiento de mi hijo/a en sus primeros días?

How will my child be supported during his/her first days at school?

8. ¿Existe ayuda de traductor para quienes no hablamos muy bien el inglés? Por otro lado, ¿la escuela ofrece clases de inglés para madres y padres?

Is there someone who can help translate for those of us who do not speak English very well? Also, does the school offers English lessons for parents?

9. ¿Qué pasa si mi hijo/a no se siente bien en la escuela, cómo es el procedimiento?

What happens if my child does not feel well during school? What is the procedure?

10. ¿Qué pasa si mi hijo/a falta a la escuela porque está enfermo o debemos viajar urgente fuera del país?

What happens if my child misses school because he/she is sick or we need to travel outside the country urgently?