

**Space and Politics in the Penguins'
movement: geographies of the political
construction of the Chilean student
movement**

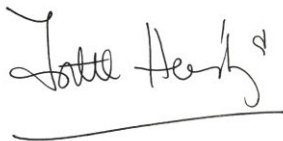
**Ivette Hernández Santibañez
UCL Institute of Education
University College London
PhD Thesis**

Declaration

I hereby declare that, except where explicit attribution is made, the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own.

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A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Ivette Hernández S.", with a horizontal line underneath.

Ivette Hernández S.

Abstract

In 2006, Chilean secondary students, known as the Penguins because of their black and white school uniform, mobilised across the country to demand that education should be a right, not a privilege. Notwithstanding the political and academic debate they triggered regarding an unresolved agenda of equity and quality education, scholarship relating to the Penguins has been limited to analysing their external consequences. They remain a 'failed' student movement, since their demands were met with only limited technocratic reforms. This thesis examines the Penguins' movement as a constructive process of collective identity no longer framed within limited political influence. It explores the origins of the movement and analyses how space and politics form the basis for its collective identity. It investigates elements of continuity and discontinuity in the 2011 student movement against the neoliberal market-oriented education system.

Empirical data on the Penguins' movement was collected through in-depth interviews with student activists, teachers, policy-makers and academics, and through secondary sources including official documents, academic editorials, and newspapers. Constructivist grounded theory was employed to develop an inductive comparative analysis of space and politics in the movement.

Geography structures the construction of the Penguins' movement. Spatialities of social mixing and a historical urban educational inequality are intricately linked to different geographies of student political activism. Prefiguration of politics in everyday practices is a key component for building a more egalitarian political movement. However, school occupations in 2006 became the specific places where collective identity and new territorialities evolved.

The Penguins' collective identity detaches the movement from the idea of failure and links with territorialities through which the demand for free, public quality education for all is re-envisioned in spatial rather than temporal terms. Further questions about the potential of the Chilean student movement to lead a political project for social transformation are also considered.

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I would like to sincerely thank my parents and grandfather. I dedicate this thesis to the memory of my father and grandfather, who taught me the value of respect, solidarity, compassion and socialism. My thanks go to my mother, who always encouraged me to be politically committed.

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Introduction

I think we are too much like orphans...I think we are an orphaned generation, who have made ourselves alone, bit by bit, but always alone. It is because ... what is the closest political reference for us? I think, the *Surda*¹ from the 1990s perhaps; yet it was destroyed by the Communist party. Thus, we do not have any inheritance; we do not have anyone to ask. It makes us lack political expertise. However, I think that after what we experienced in Chile during the military dictatorship and civil governments it would seem normal that there is a missing generation like ours. (Pat, secondary student from 2006)

I interviewed Pat on August 9 2011 at the University of Chile Faculty of Law while students and her comrades from the *Colectivo Arrebol*² were organising an assembly and putting the last details on a banner they had made before marching. Pat's reflections on the features of her own generation's process of political construction intersect with the collective and individual experience of high school students who were mobilised in 2006 and later as university students in 2011, to demand that education should be a right, not a privilege. Between March and June 2006, high school students, known as the Penguins because of their black and white school uniforms, mobilised across the country and occupied their schools to demand free quality education for all by questioning and pointing out the failure of a mixed educational agenda of equity and quality implemented since the early 1990s, in and around "market or choice models and state or integration models" (Cox, 2003:19), as "the optimal route to make quality education available for all" (Hernández, 2013a:188).

The emergence of the Penguins' movement in 2006 triggered a debate among academics, policy-makers and other social and political actors in Chile about the failures of a market-oriented neoliberal education system and forced a change in the political agenda regarding education. However, the political capacity of this movement was acknowledged as being backward and limited in bringing about structural changes in public educational policy since their demands were met with only limited technocratic reforms. The emergence of the Penguins' movement was, to put it simply, framed within an attitude of resolving rather than of listening (Melucci, 1996) to the message that students were crystallising within the movement

¹ The *Surda* was a political movement founded at the beginning of the 1990s by *colectivos* at some public universities across the country to lead the reconstruction of the left within the democratic transition process during the 1990s.

² The *colectivos* are political and cultural groups that have emerged in Chile since the 1990s.

even before “its direction and content has become clear” (p. 1). This thesis is concerned with examining the Penguins’ movement as a process of collective action engaged in the production of collective identity. In particular, this thesis examines the origins of the Penguins’ movement, how its process of political construction was constituted in time and space and how the geographies of politics the Penguins’ movement produced forged the collective identity that enabled this student movement to undergo transformation between 2006 and 2011.

The echoes of the Penguins’ movement

The Penguins’ movement constituted a significant student mobilisation. It was the first student movement to emerge after the social protests against Pinochet’s dictatorship in the 1980s. It was a major mobilisation of students to demand structural changes to the public policy of a market-driven educational agenda implemented by the governments of the *Concertación*, a centre-left political coalition that came to power after the return to democracy in 1990. In the first stages of the Penguins’ movement, students mostly mobilised to demand economic reforms such as better infrastructure at public schools, known as municipal schools, and private-voucher schools. They also made demands for more and better school meals at public schools, free student transport, and the elimination of fees for the national university admission test (*Prueba de Selección Universitaria* [PSU]). Later, when students began to occupy their schools, they shifted their demands from economic issues to structural concerns targeting the elimination of the Constitutional Law of Education (*Ley Orgánica Constitucional de Educación* [LOCE]). This had been promulgated one day before Pinochet left power. The LOCE “reduced the state to a subsidiary role and promoted privatisation in education” (Bellei and Cabalin, 2013:112). Their structural demands encompassed the end of municipalisation and a reform of the Full School Day (*Jornada Escolar Completa* [JEC]).

The Penguins’ movement sought to gain support of a wider public highlighting the failure of the promise of social mobility and equality of opportunities made by governments of the *Concertación*:

Student demands raised a lot of sympathy from the public [...] who are considered to be middle class. Precisely such a group of people were promised social mobility and meritocracy through education. So student

protests in 2006 interpreted the aspiration of this middle class that has not been delivered (Hernández, 2013b: 62).

They forced the government of Michelle Bachelet (2006-2010) to undertake an education debate, “although education reform was not part of President Bachelet’s original policy agenda” (Donoso, 2013:2), and to repeal the LOCE by passing a General Law of Education (*Ley General de Educación* [LGE]) in 2009:

The key points of the legislative initiative deal with increasing public and private voucher school regulation, reducing discrimination and selection in private voucher schools, introducing grade level reforms, and facilitating lateral teacher entry³ (Elacqua, 2009: 9).

The Penguins’ movement reframed the agenda of policy makers and academics in Chile, who attempted to explain and theorise this student movement and the impact of its demands (Bellei et al, 2010; Cabalin, 2012; Elacqua, 2009; Inzunza, 2009; Kremerman, 2007; OPECH⁴, 2009; Redondo & Muñoz, 2009). Thus far, work has focused on efforts to re-engineer the failures of the Chilean education model and question the model itself. Nevertheless, none of these works has paid much attention to the role that education played in paving the way for the development of the Penguins’ movement and its capacity to articulate a form of collective action in relation to the demand for free quality education for all. A market-driven neoliberal ideology in countries like Chile has successfully detached education from its political dimension and reduced it to the realm of technocracy and economics. Education has been portrayed as a series of technocratic and economic management issues, defining solutions concerning public policies in education as “technical, neutral, non-ideological ones and based on evidence” (Redondo, 2011). In this analysis, education was neither located in a political dimension nor given a role in the process of political construction of the Penguins’ movement. This thesis aims to relocate education in the realm of politics, to situate education as inherently embedded in the process of the political construction of the Penguins’ movement. Through a cross-disciplinary research approach involving sociology of education and sociology of social movements this study aims to understand the emergence of the Penguins’ movement by linking the analysis of students’ demands to the process of political

³ The Chilean education system allows “lateral entry for experienced professionals from different fields into teaching to attract more individuals with an aptitude to teach subject content” (OECD, 2010:110).

⁴ *Observatorio Chileno de Políticas Educativas* (Chilean Observatory of Education Policies)

activism in the movement and the role this civic activism had in the “massive and well-articulated critique of schooling in Chile” (Pinkney Pastrana, 2010:32).

On a regional scale, the emergence of the Penguins’ movement in 2006 alongside the popular struggles of the last two decades became a rejection of neoliberalism through which the Latin American region “has become a beacon of hope for many around the world” (Zibechi, 2012:7):

The social movements that have emerged in the global South [...] have in large part been a response to, and a rejection of, the extreme forms of dispossession, poverty and inequality that have flowed from the shift to neoliberalism in the region since the early 1980s (Motta and Nilsen, 2011:2).

The Penguins’ movement questioned the market-driven education agenda, led by centre-left democratic governments, which had sought to consolidate a form of neoliberalism making this seem “a common sense about how we think about society and our place in it” (Lipman, 2011:6). This research on geographies of the political construction of the Chilean student movement aims to provide a lens through which to draw out some common underpinnings of “ongoing struggles for education” (Apple, 2011: xv) against global neoliberal hegemony. Nevertheless, there are “contextual specificities” (Peck, 2015) within the Chilean experiment. So this does not entail characterising those different struggles as just one homogeneous collective actor that replicates cycles of mobilisations. Rather, they constitute a “movement of movements” (Pianta, 2001), in which grassroots mobilisations and campaigns in countries such as Chile, Colombia, Brazil, Mexico, Spain, South Africa or the United Kingdom are locally specific but always connected to each other. The focus is therefore on how these struggles engage with prefiguration of more egalitarian political movements as alternative forms of “radical democracy” (Mouffe, 1995; 2015) through which social movements articulate processes of collective action in relation to reframing and reinventing the right to free, public and democratic quality education.

The Penguins’ movement has invigorated sociological analysis and debate about collective action. Some scholars emphasise the “ideological element” (Zald, 2000) within the movement; others, such as Gómez Leyton (2006; 2008) emphasise its political character and/or differentiate it as contentious politics (De la Maza, 2010;

Donoso, 2013; 2014, Torres, 2010). Scholarship relating to the Penguins' movement has also been focused on understanding the emergence of this movement through an approach based on the mobilising of grievance (Bellei and Cabalin, 2013; Bellei et al., 2014; Cabalin, 2012; Garretón, 2007; Larrabure and Torchia, 2014; Nitrihual, 2009; Rifo, 2013; Rodríguez-Remedi, 2008; Somma, 2012). Overall, scholars have emphasised that the Penguins' movement came to express its grievance against the failure of educational policies in bringing equal opportunities for quality education for all. These different attempts to debate and theorise on the Penguins' movement do not exclude complementarity with other interpretation such as strategic framing approaches (Cabalin, 2012, 2013; O'Malley and Nelson, 2013; Santa Cruz and Olmedo, 2012; Santa Cruz, 2014) that look at the way in which the Penguins' movement "discursively name, define, and communicate those grievances" (Salinas and Fraser, 2012: 24; Snow et al., 1986). This growing interest and importance in the study of the Penguins' movement, covering a wide range of perspectives and disciplinary approaches, is less focused, however, on understanding how the ensemble of different forms of collective action and the process of collective identity in the Penguins' movement influenced the emergence of the 2011 Chilean student movement. When continuity between the Penguins' movement and the 2011 mass student mobilisations is acknowledged, it is considered as "the process of accumulation of experience" (Bellei et al., 2014:430) in relation to the demand for free public quality education for all. Recognition is therefore focused on emphasising that even though "the policy outcomes were minor and disappointing to the movement's participants and sympathizers, the [Penguins' movement] established a key precedent for the 2011 mobilisation wave" (Salinas and Fraser, 2012:20; Silva, 2008). This entails that analysis of some features of this high school student movement, in particular the political agency of collective actors in the field of education, ends up being framed within a revolutionary approach (Melucci, 1996).

This thesis is concerned with how scholarship of the Penguins' movement is framed within this approach in which, to put it simply, the movement and its collective action are measured by their "capacity (or lack thereof) to modernise institutions or to produce political reforms" (p.2). The result has been to confine the Penguins as a movement to a limited "political victory" (Cabalin, 2012) or a "failed" student movement. This is because the political capacity of the Penguins' movement to

influence “political and other institutions” (Amenta, 2014: 16) has been assessed in terms of whether or not it had the ability to resolve the conflict over education in the language of technocracy and economics. Attention has been paid neither to the movement’s own narrative nor to the possibility of understanding the Penguins’ movement as process-making “of relational forms of theoretical knowledge” (Motta, 2011:181) that articulates the students’ political struggle in 2006. Within social movements this relates to a process that is open and always incomplete because it is immanent and is produced “in struggles” (Santos, 2012a). This epistemological rethinking of social movements connects with my own political and academic commitment to recognition of “another way of knowledge” (ibid). Embedded in this is an acknowledgement that the construction of my academic subjectivity also incorporates my own political trajectory as a university student involved in a grassroots student movement against Pinochet’s dictatorship. This opens up the possibility of locating my reflexivity as “a horizontal relationship of mutual learning” (Motta, 2011:196), in which I include a lived experience of producing knowledge in struggle and “after struggles” (ibid) as processes that are complementary to each other rather than as “a relationship of dualism in which theoretical knowledge involves academic research, and movement knowledge is based in experience and practice” (p.192).

The notion of social movements as “system of action” (Melucci, 1996: 4) that is “open, always moving, adapting and evolving” (Motta, 2011:179) underpins the exploratory qualitative study in this thesis. Such a definition allows social movements to “display some degree of temporal continuity” (Snow, 2013) with both past and present times, as a trajectory that represents a “process of change in a phenomenon” (Massey, 2005:12). This attributes to the Penguins’ movement some agency in the production of space, which I will investigate as embedded in the construction of collective identity. This spatiality relates to “a learning process [...] to produce new definitions by integrating the past and the emerging elements of the present” (Melucci, 1996:75) that always arise out of “exchanges, negotiations, decisions, and conflicts among actors” (p.4). In this thesis, this definition of collective identity associated with an evolving process underpins the main research aims, which are:

- a) to explore aspects of space, culture and politics in the origins of the Penguins' movement
- b) to understand how these processes articulate in relation to the construction of the collective identity of actors in the movement
- c) to draw out some spatial, cultural and political links between the Penguins' movement and the 2011 student movement

The research approach

This qualitative exploratory study conceptualises the Penguins' movement as "fragile and heterogeneous *social constructions*" (Melucci, 1989:4, emphasis in original). Social movements exist as submerged or invisible networks with a capacity of latency and visibility, operating as small laboratories where collective actors "question and challenge the dominant codes of everyday life" (Melucci, 1989:6). These definitions are applied as "sensitizing concepts" (Blumer, 1969) and as "points of departure for developing, rather than limiting, our ideas" (Charmaz, 2006:17). They provide initial ideas on the research topic being studied and form "a loose frame" (Charmaz, 2014:30) to guide but not command the research questions that this study explores:

1. How did space, culture and politics influence the construction of the Penguins' movement?
2. What forms of spatiality and politics did the Penguins' movement produce through their repertoire of mobilisations?
3. What forms of collective identity did the Penguins' movement create and how did they influence the 2011 mass student demonstrations?

I employed in-depth interviews as a method for collecting data. As Johnson and Rowlands (2012) argue: "in-depth interviewing seeks 'deep' information and understanding" (p.101). Interviews constitute social processes. As such, they represent a process in which both the research participant and the researcher "become practitioners of everyday life" (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002:15) wherein the interview itself reflects the social, structural, historical, cultural and circumstantial contexts in which it exists (De Vault, 1990; Warren, 2002:91). Within such a social constructionist approach, constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006) is applied to the analysis of qualitative data. Charmaz (2014) argues, "[...] grounded theory

methods consist of systematic, yet flexible guidelines for collecting and analysing qualitative data to construct theories from the data themselves” (p.1). In this research, the use of grounded theory aims to “increase the analytical import” (p.2) of the study to explain and understand epistemologies that movements produce as immanent within “concrete political experiences” (Motta, 2011).

At an early stage, the emerging provisional coding process was connected with a historical spatialisation of urban education inequality that research participants identified as central in defining their experience of schooling. An “informed grounded theory” (Thornberg, 2012) led to a further analysis of the role of categories such as place and space, territory and territorialities in shaping political construction within this student movement. In analysing spatial relationships and their role in the production of politics within this movement, the research process itself relates to an iterative process, “wallowing in the data” (Clarke and Friese, 2007:371) to interrogate it in fresh ways (Clarke and Friese, 2007).

The methodological implications of grounded theory and its focus on “meaning-making” (p.367) stress emergent and constructivist elements of the new geographies of politics within the student movement. Although this research was not primarily concerned with “how to extend and revivify social movements theory by conceptually and empirically incorporating space, place and scale” (Marston, 2001: 926), the “more open-ended practice” (Clarke and Friese, 2007:367) of grounded theory led to cross-disciplinary research between sociology of education, radical geography, and sociology of social movements.

Structure of the study

In considering these themes this thesis is organised as follows. Chapter 2 outlines the theoretical framework and engages with discussion of new social movements and human radical geography focusing on the work of Alberto Melucci and Doreen Massey. It addresses the territorial turn in Latin American social movements, as an epistemic and political struggle against claims of “unidirectional universality” (Porto-Gonçalves, 2009). It reflects on notions of place, space, territory and territoriality and their theoretical and epistemological implications for this research.

Chapter 3 considers the context of the Chilean education system and its radical transformation within what has been defined as the “first great experiment with neoliberal state formation” (Harvey, 2006a:12). It provides a critical analysis of the Chilean model of education and its reformed neoliberal template between 1990 and 2010 under the governments of centre-left coalition parties known as the *Concertación*.

Chapter 4 explains the methodology of this research. It outlines the various stages of in-depth interviewing: how participants were contacted, the social micro-geographies of interview sites. Discussion on my own reflexivity during the in-depth interview process is also addressed. It presents the data analysis process, the coding process, clustering on initial coding and memos. It addresses ethical issues involved in the field study and discusses potential conflicts associated with ethical responsibility and personal safety in conducting the fieldwork.

Chapter 5 provides a timeline of the Penguins’ movement since the beginning of the 2000s. This begins with the creation of the Assembly of Secondary Students (ACES) and the political coordinating of *colectivos* as direct antecedents of the Penguins’ movement. It outlines the repertoire of the Penguins’ movement’s collective action (marches, strikes, and occupations) which took place between 26 April and 9 June 2006. This timeline is extended to 2009 when the General Law on Education was promulgated.

Chapter 6 examines the identity of public education produced at schools known as the ‘emblematic’ schools. This identity of place associated with this term has been continually (re)produced invoking a diversity of socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds of students within a context of social mixing. This connects with student commuting and intersects with historical urban educational inequalities that underpin the distinction between schools at the centre and periphery. I explore the spatial identity of politics at emblematic schools by arguing that it intersects both with claims of authenticity of leftist political identities and with the production of a spatiality of politics, detached from essential identities, but built upon co-existence with others. I reflect on municipal high schools from peripheral areas in Greater Santiago and how the meaning of periphery intersects with geographies of exclusion and ties of solidarity as the production of counter-public spaces (Thomson, 2007). I go on to discuss how spatial identity at the group of emblematic schools has gradually shifted

from contexts of social mixing to geographies of more homogeneous socio-economic composition.

In chapter 7, I explore the contextual conditions in which students attempted to reconstruct the secondary student movement. Students, who came from very politicised family backgrounds, became involved in politics through autonomy and self-affirmation. I explore the role of the *colectivos*, as cultural and political spaces that operate as “submerged laboratories” (Melucci, 1989), through which secondary students aimed to transform politics from below and within by connecting its production to the social sphere. I argue that friendship, along with prefigurative politics, became a cornerstone for the political role of the *colectivos* in transforming the “power-geometry” (Massey, 1993) of politics and developing of a more egalitarian political movement through the creation of the Assembly as a horizontal and non-hierarchical structure for democratising the decision-making process within the movement. I discuss the capacity of the Assembly to become a more sustainable student political organisation. It relied on the production of a political demand regarding what constrained everyday schooling experience and massive student participation during the Penguins’ mobilisations. I discuss the prefiguration of deliberative democracy within the Assembly by arguing that the Penguins’ movement widened deliberative democracy; however, this process was challenged by unequal participation in the Assembly. This remained as an unresolved task within the movement.

In Chapter 8, I explore the occupations of high schools that took place in Greater Santiago and cities across Chile. I argue that school occupations in 2006 represent a spatial fracturing within the student movement. This form of collective action can be seen as an affirmation of a political subjectivity, which does not carry ties with the past. The multiplicity of autonomous movements challenges the backward orientation between centre and periphery and transforms the map of the power-geometry of politics by placing the periphery as a key political actor for legitimisation of politics produced in the centre. I discuss how occupations became the sphere where students challenged neoliberal governmentalities by occupying education. This entailed transforming social relationships and reframing political identities by prefiguring the meaning of collective action and community. I go on to discuss tensions and limitations associated with the instrumental role of occupations in the

Penguins' movement. I conclude that the efficacy of school occupations was not constrained by time, but became a learning experience of building a collective identity of students mobilised from 2006.

In chapter 9, I focus on emphasising the multiplicity of identities within this student movement. I explore the capacity for self-reflection of secondary students from 2006 who were involved as university students in the 2011 students' demonstrations. I explain how students tied their political action to a continuity of mobilisations in 2011 as a process of learning from mistakes made in 2006. I explore the period of latency of collective actors from 2006 considering spaces of resistance and being on the margins. I argue that *the bio-politics of existence* connects a collective actor with a process of reframing political identities. I go on to discuss how the Penguins' movement legitimised social mobilisation within post-dictatorship society. This new scenario became essential to the production of territorial assemblies as "convergence spaces" (Routledge, 2003) within the 2011 student movement. I recount the sequence of 2011 students' mobilisations which began with mobilisations of students at a non-profit private university to demand an end to profit-making in education. This demand became a catchword for the massive public support of the 2011 student mobilisations that demanded a radical overhaul of the market-driven education system. I look into forms of collective action in 2011 to argue that marches and student demonstrations were about occupying the streets and reframing the meaning of public space. I reflect on the political capacity of collective actors in 2011 to reframe their relationship with the political system by arguing that it represents a learning process by which these actors learnt to exist within the system but against it. I conclude that the 2011 student mobilisations entail reframing the conflict in spatial rather than temporal terms as collective actors from 2011 expanded and articulated the horizons of their political action with others.

In the concluding chapter, I sum up the findings of this study identifying the geographic process entailed in the political construction of the Penguins' movement. Spatial constructions prefigure radical democratic politics, which are open, always in process of becoming and beyond temporality. Collective identity entails prefiguring epistemologies of politics that are spatial since students have learnt to envision collective action with others. I reflect on these prefigurative epistemologies and their implications for the student movement in building the demand for free public quality

education as a political project for social transformation. I discuss theoretical implications of spatial constitution of recent social movements in the field of social movement studies and further research that might be undertaken.

Chapter 2

Geographies within new social movements

Over the last decades, sociological debate on social movements turned social movement studies into “one of the most vigorous areas of sociology” (Marx and Wood, 1975). This entailed redirecting the study of social movements from the idea of working-class movements as the only form of collective action for challenging capitalist society. Work emerged on identity-based movements imbued with the production of symbolic and cultural meanings and codes within what are known as new social movements (NSMs). The development of social movement studies “has resulted in a crossing of the various boundaries” (Roggeband and Klandermans, 2007:1), which led – since the late 1980s – to the production of “research agendas with attention devoted to a wide array of new social movements and place-specific mobilisation processes” (Miller, 2000:2).

Although both study and theorisation of social movements within geography “failed to coalesce until recently” (Nicholls, 2007:608), convergence between geography and social movement studies has resulted in fuelling the possibility of a “disciplinary cross-fertilisation” (Miller, 2001:935) in the sociological analysis and debate of recent social movements and collective action. This cross-fertilisation, although seeming to come from outside geography, raises questions regarding notions of space, place, space-time, territory and territoriality as analytical categories in NSMs’ studies.

The first section of this chapter sets out an overview of analytical categories, orientations, and perspectives on NSM approaches. It considers NSMs in the Latin American region by arguing that geography is constitutive of NSM’s epistemologies since the 1990s. In the second section I discuss cross-disciplinary fertilisation between social movement studies and geography by arguing that an interdisciplinary dialogue should look at “the epistemologies of the South” (Santos, 2012a, 2012b) as “a way to find ground for common emancipatory politics” (Miller, 2000:32) within movements that engage spatial concepts of space, place, territory and territoriality with political struggles for cognitive justice. I then develop a theoretical dialogue between NSMs and debates in human geography particularly Doreen Massey’s work (1993, 1994, 1999, 2004, 2005). Although literature on NSMs is extensive, I focus on

Melucci's work (1989, 1996) as it relates to heterogeneity, time, space, and interpersonal relationships. I explore the territorial turn in Latin American Social Movements (LASMs) by unfolding the epistemologies of territory, mainly rooted in the struggles of indigenous peoples and the descendants of African communities. LASMs, in particular those emerging after the Zapatistas, depict territorialisation as a common trend. Their epistemologies of territoriality, despite "social and spatial differentiations" (Zibechi, 2012), display "ability [...] to use hegemonic tools in a counter-hegemonic way and with counter-hegemonic ends in view" (Santos, 2012b: 47). In this way social movements forged their politics of resistance against neoliberalism. In the final section, I explore grassroots globalisation networks as counter-hegemonic movements that oppose neoliberal globalisation through convergence spaces and radical democracy.

Context, themes, and debates concerning new social movements

A broad cultural turn and the emergence in the 1960s and 1970s of movements not based only on the working class made it plausible to postulate "a change in the type of society" (Wieviorka, 2005:5). Bell (1974) attributed this change to evolving conditions of a "post-industrial society", and then as the extension of industrial society rather than as a new type of society, as Touraine (1971) proposed. Within the European social science tradition, the study of NSMs emerged to confront the epistemological assumption of "factual unity" (Melucci, 1996:14) of social movements. This debate links NSMs to identity-based movements around "processes by which social actors constitute collective identities as a means of creating democratic space for more autonomous action" (Escobar et al, 1992:5). New social movements reflect doubts on "class conflict as the principal component of political cleavages in industrial societies" (Rokkan, 1970; Tilly, 2004). For instance, Touraine (2002), one of the most influential sociologists of NSMs approach, writes:

The idea of social movement was conceived, at least in my mind, in opposition to the traditional concept of class conflict. Not opposition in the sense of being reformist. Instead, when we speak about class conflict we refer, basically, to a process of capitalism development or a process of social and economic crisis in objective terms. [...] We tried to elaborate a new approach and to pass on the actor's side (p.89).

In his view, NSMs arise from clashes between actors fighting over control of the cultural field and their “historicity” (ibid) within “the programmed society” (Touraine, 1977, 1981) and the ensemble of codes that forge forms of domination. Thus class action and social conflict point to the “behaviour of an actor guided by cultural orientations and set within social relations defined by an unequal connection with the social control of these orientations” (Touraine, 1981:61). Social conflicts within NSMs relate therefore to cultural conflicts of “heterogeneous and fragmented phenomena” (Melucci, 1996:13):

[...] which internally contain a multitude of differentiated meanings, forms of action, and modes of organisation, and which often consume a large part of their energies in the effort to bind such differences together (ibid.).

The focus here is on a differentiated group of collective actors that exist and function as “invisible networks of small groups submerged in everyday life” (Melucci, 1989:6) where SMs build new experiences:

Within these invisible laboratories, movements question and challenge the dominant codes of everyday life. These laboratories are places in which the elements of everyday life are mixed, developed, and tested, a site in which reality is given new names, and citizens can develop alternative experiences of time, space, and interpersonal relations (ibid.).

Melucci (1989) is opposed to both “*actors without action*” (p.19, emphasis in original) and “*action without actors*” (ibid., emphasis in original). Rather, his approach describes NSMs as heterogeneous and fragmented social phenomena where heterogeneity of meanings, ideas, forms of organisation and action intersect with internal moments that movements need in order to build collective action. This process is derived from “actions, choice, and decisions” (Melucci, 1996:15). As such, NSMs no longer correspond with the idea in “Marxist models of interpretation” (della Porta and Dani, 2006:8) that presupposes the emergence of social movements and their collective as deriving from objective conditions. Sociological debate on NSMs has shifted the focus from the idea of working-class movements structured around “productive forces and the dynamics of class relations” (p. 6) to issues of race, gender, human rights, and environmental conflicts. Yet major criticisms point out that NSMs address conflicts already expressed by older movements (Offe, 1990; Melucci, 1989, 1994). As Melucci (1996) highlights:

It will be extremely difficult to decide, for instance, the extent of the “new” in modern “women’s movement”, as global empirical phenomenon, compared with the first feminist movement of the nineteenth century (p.6).

This criticism has distorted our understanding of why NSMs could be labelled as new. Criticism about NSMs containing what the old working-class movement had already expressed in the past entails the same epistemological mistake that proponents of the “newness paradigm” (Melucci, 1996) made regarding considering NSMs as a unitary phenomenon rather than acknowledging heterogeneity of collective actors. A counter-argument is raised by Melucci (1996):

Through comparative work of different historical periods and different societies, we know now that contemporary movements, like all collective phenomena, bring together forms of action, which involve various levels of the social structure. These encompass different points of view and belong to different historical periods. We must, therefore, seek to understand this multiplicity of synchronic and diachronic elements and explain how these are combined in the concrete unity of a collective actor (p.6).

What lies at the core of this recognition is the idea of analysing how these elements interconnect with each other and contribute to the construction of collective action and collective identity. Melucci (1996) focuses on a “processual approach to collective identity” (p.70) in order to avoid it ending up “being incorporated [...] in a reified fashion, as a new *passepartout* that simply substitutes the old search for a core “essence” of a movement” (ibid., emphasis in original). Rather, his emphasis is on a constructive approach to collective identity that incorporates both time and location as interchangeable since collective identity entails the ability of a collective actor to forge continuity “within the networks of relationships in which it is situated [...] to produce new definitions” (p.75), as a continuous and evolving learning process within contemporary new social movements.

Chantal Mouffe (1984) questions how transformation and relocation of social conflicts into different spheres within advanced capitalist society might be theoretically suitable for contemporary movements engaged with old historical conflicts. She notes that NSMs bring out new conflicts that emerge from new hegemonic formation derived from commodification of human needs,

bureaucratisation, and cultural massification. In her view, the *leitmotif* (Mouffe, 1984) of NSMs is how to challenge this new hegemony.

While these movements do not express primarily a class antagonism, the latter has not been dissolved. Rather, it is being exacerbated and extended into new spheres in which “what is new is the diffusion of social conflict into other areas and the politicisation of more and more relations” (Mouffe, 1984: 141). Thus the result has been the politicisation of everyday life in which spheres of the individual and the collective become blurred (Johnston, Laraña and Gusfield, 1994). In addition, Laclau and Mouffe (1985), who oppose the arbitrary idea of labelling new social movements as classless conflicts, note that the novelty of contemporary social movements relies on their role in articulating the diffuse condition of “social conflictuality to more and more numerous relations which is characteristic today of advanced industrial societies” (p.159).

Insofar as the theoretical debate on NSMs in the European scholarship challenges the centrality of class conflict, newness in contemporary social movements relates to the emergence of heterogeneous collective actors that organise around issues and themes that do not seem to be related in a straightforward way to class conflicts.

New Social Movements in Latin America

In the context of Latin America, sociological debate has centred around different interpretations regarding the emergence of NSMs and the structural conditions underpinning them in the Southern Cone. These seem to differ from earlier trajectories of grassroots social movements before the 1980s.

A comparison of the previous Latin American Social Movements (LASMs) would categorise them as “national liberation movements; populist or national popular movements, labour union, peasant and agrarian reform movements; and student revolutionary movements” (Calderon et al., 1992:19). Moreover, most of their social struggles were characterised by a strong “relationship with the state and oriented towards models of more autonomous industrialization” (ibid.):

The first period of mass-based politics in Latin America was that of the populist regimes of the 1930s to the 1960s that sought national industrialisation through import-substitution and pursued corporatist policies of labour control. Over these years the range of social movements

was relatively limited, and confined to the grand class-based actors like the labour and agrarian movements, with more occasional mobilisations by students and teachers (Foweraker, 2001: 841-2).

The historical SMs in the region were to be transformed by “two major developments” (p.842). On the one hand, a major shift from rural to urban settlements between the 1960s and 1970s “placed the majority of Latin Americans in a completely different social and political environment” (ibid.). As a result, “the great majority of Latin Americans were living in cities of more than 100,000 inhabitants” (ibid.), with the expansion of “squatter settlements and spontaneous colonization on the urban peripheries in countries such as Chile, Peru and Mexico” (Castells, 1982:250). That led in turn to the emergence of “the militant metropolitan dwellers” (ibid.), as the new political actor that displaced class-based actors, such as the peasant and agrarian movements, from the terrain of politics. Secondly, the crisis of populist states alongside “repressive military and authoritarian regimes of the 1970s and 1980s” (Foweraker, 2001:842) reframed the collective action of social movements that took “a new salience in opposition to the military regimes” (p. 844).

Within this context, the rise of NSMs in Chile, Mexico and Brazil is attributed to political conditions in which “the Left has been suppressed, precisely *because* it has been suppressed” (Hellman, 1992:52, emphasis in original). Consequently, “new movements are thought to appear in order to fill the vacuum created by the repression of other legitimate forms of popular organisation and representation” (ibid.). Nevertheless, the rise of NSMs in the region did not necessarily follow a political situation derived from military dictatorships. Slater (1985) argues:

We find such movements in countries like Venezuela where the institutions of peripheral capitalist democracy have not been made redundant by military rule, and in Peru where the Left has expanded its influence in conjunction with the development of new social movements (p.2).

On this basis, the emergence of NSMs “is very much rooted in the *contemporary social development of capitalist societies*” (ibid., emphasis in original) wherein their trajectories, since the early 1990s, have been located and rooted in political conditions that characterised the democratic and economic transitions in the Latin American region. Post-authoritarian regimes were followed by democratic transitions

that interpreted the decline of SMs in countries such as Chile, Argentina, and Brazil as “evidence of the region’s political normalisation” (Motta, 2009: 32). It is within these economic transitions driven by “governments’ neoliberal policies of structural adjustment” (Veltmeyer, 1997:13), along with developmental programmes of mixed policies on the free market and social democracy, that LASMs reframed their geographies of collective action and forms of politics:

They are myriad, from the Movimento Sem Terra (MST) in Brazil to the peace communities in Colombia, the Zapatistas in Mexico, sections of the *piquetero* (unemployed) movement in Argentina, the Solidarity Economy movement in Brazil, the urban land committees (*comites de tierra urbana*, CTUs) in Venezuela, and the many indigenous social movements in Bolivia, to name but a few (Motta, 2009: 34-5, emphasis in original).

A new political geography emerged of those who were on the margins of these transitions, “the without – without roof, without land, without work, without rights” (Zibechi, 2005a: 13; 2012:61). These groups stood at the centre of “reinventing the practice and theory of politics in the region” (Motta, 2009:34). Being and existing in the margins or in the *sotano* (basement) does not refer to the idea of being excluded from the system. Rather, it is about recognising that the margins and the *sotano* become places and spaces, submerged laboratories, where since the middle of the 1990s LASMs forged themselves, developing the collective action and new territorialities that constituted their leitmotif. They have been “in movement” (Zibechi, 2012):

Every social movement is configured by means of people who break the inertia and move, i.e. changing place, rejecting the place historically assigned for them within a given social organisation, and they look for broadening spaces for expression that, as Michel Foucault warned, end up having strong implications for the political order. (Porto Gonçalves 2001:81, my own translation)

Within movements, socio-spatial concepts such as territory, place and space seem to acquire a centrality not just in terms of the grounds of the socio-spatial constitution of collective mobilisation. They contribute to the production of “prefigurative epistemologies” (Motta, 2011) that “form the basis of the movement’s theorisation of its identity, objectives and strategy” (p.179). Social movements are locally specific

and the production of knowledge within movements challenges some of the theoretical foundation of social movement research:

Such experiences cannot be engaged with sufficiently by many of the traditional radical epistemological categories that have been used to research social movements due to their rootedness in transcendent (territorial and intellectual) conceptualisations of the nature of theoretical knowledge (ibid.).

Knowledge, however and by whom it is produced, would always be produced in a contextually specific way. Motta's concern is with "the need for an epistemological reflection" (ibid.). This does not mean disregarding the theoretical navigation between approaches of LASMs and the European tradition, by adopting "the best available theoretical and methodological tools" (Calderon et al, 1992:30), and their adaptation to "the specific processes proper to the region" (ibid.). Indeed, this has been a process that has resulted in a cross-fertilisation of interdisciplinary research on social movements that has positioned a Latin American research agenda on social movements as no longer framed within the geographical domain of "European and North American scholars" (Roggeband and Klandermans, 2007:2). Central to this "internationalisation of social movement studies" (ibid.) is the recognition of "the epistemologies of the South" (Santos, 2012b), in particular when there is a need for an epistemological reflection to account for "the epistemological diversity of the world" (p.45). In the following section, I discuss new social movements and geography and what the implications are of the epistemologies of the South.

Geography and new social movements: expanding the frontiers of the debate

The socio-spatial studies on inequality and injustices date back to the 1970s when geography moved from an idea of the purely spatial as detached from the social to an intellectual position of defining the spatial as a "social construct" (Massey, 1985). Yet it was not until the 1990s that geography was deployed in discussion on resource mobilisation theory, political process models, NSMs (Routledge, 2000), contentious politics and movement networks (Routledge, 2003; Diani 2005; Diani and Bison, 2004; Tarrow and McAdam, 2005). Today, geographers are concerned about lack of interdisciplinary dialogue, as they argue, "geographical (spatial)

understandings of social movement practice are crucial to the interpretation of contentious action” (Routledge, 2013:512). Indeed, much of what is being discussed in social movement studies acknowledges them as spatially constituted:

Movements act from space, politically mobilizing from the material conditions of their (local) spaces; movements act on space appropriating it with a group identity; movements act in space, such as taking to the streets for protests, or occupying land; and movements make space: creating conditions to expand public political involvement (ibid.).

Routledge sees social movements as clearly geographical. As Herbert (2001) argues, “context matters” since “social action occurs in specific places, and [...] the characteristics of those places shape whether and how social movements occur there” (p.929). As with the social uprising of Zapatistas in the 1990s in Chiapas, recent social uprisings in a wide range of locations, from Plaza del Sol in Madrid, Plaza Cataluña in Barcelona, Syntagma Square in Athens, Occupy London, Occupy Wall Street in New York to the Chilean students’ social uprising in 2006 and 2011, emphasise place and space “at the core of [their] agenda” (Pickerill and Krinsky, 2012: 280):

[...] by using spatial strategies of disruption (marching and camping in unpermitted places); by articulating the symbolic significance of particular spaces and by challenging the privatization of our cities, and thus its reinvigoration of the “right to the city” debates (ibid.).

While these struggles are locally specific, they are nevertheless global in the sense that they are struggling or crystallising their struggles against the global hegemony of neoliberal capitalism. Do space and place represent interchangeable geographic meanings amongst social movements in different regions? To answer this question is not simply a matter of geographical location, but rather of looking at the production of space and place as being inherently embedded in the “theoretical knowledge construction” (Motta, 2011) upon which social movements articulate their struggles. This knowledge construction is “prefigurative as it creates the collective thinker in the here and now” (Motta and Nilsen, 2011: 21-2). What do space and place entail for the study of the geography of social movements?

Research on social movements, is “by definition interdisciplinary” (Roggeband and Klandermans, 2007:2). As such, theoretical approaches in social movement studies

could be enriched through drawing on ideas of the spatial. Yet spatial concepts need to escape the metaphorical use that social scientists more often make of the ideas of place and space. Rather, how the process of collective action is becoming increasingly spatial at present is what needs to be explained. This is not an easy task. Massey (1985) argues:

[...] it is not always so easy to see how to incorporate that understanding into analysis [...]. If we really mean that it is impossible to conceptualise social process and structures outside their spatial form and spatial implications, then the latter must be also incorporated into our initial formulations and definitions, into our basic concepts (p.17-19).

To call for an interdisciplinary approach in the study of social movements does not entail paying attention to geography in a more descriptive way or to address a more “sensitive understanding” (Miller, 2000) of context only in historical terms:

For the most part, geographic structuring is ignored or, at best, treated as a minor side issue. If geography is considered at all, it is typically (a) reduced to a separate distance variable to be included among a variety of independent social variables, thereby maintaining the old dualism of the “social” and the “spatial”, or (b) limited to examination of national-level differences in movement characteristics, thereby incorrectly implying national homogeneity in mobilisation process (p.4-5).

This resembles questions that the sociology of social movements is still explaining, for example, based on “the dualism between structure and agency” (Melucci, 1996: 69). In NSMs, in particular Melucci’s approach, such a dualism is reoriented through the meaning of collective identity that entailed recognising, as Miller (2000) argues, “the spatiotemporal framing of identity construction” (p.33). It is within a constructive process of collective identity in which structure and agency are reoriented as “a field of cross-cutting social processes operating at a variety of geographical scales” (Miller, 2000: 33). Social movement scholars working in “developing theoretically integrated, synthetic models” (ibid.) provide evidence of attempts to develop “a new era of cross-fertilisation between geography and other social sciences” (Miller, 2000: 4). Today, in particular since the early 2000s, the emergence of grassroots mobilisations from below “(often identified as the global justice movement)” (della Porta and Dani, 2006: 2), along with the resurgence of rural movements located in the periphery of neoliberal global hegemony (Moyo and Yeros, 2005) and the recent

social uprisings in the North and “in other regions of the global South” (Motta and Nilsen, 2011:1), push forward the challenge of “disciplinary cross-fertilisation in social movement research” (Miller, 2001: 935) meaning the opportunity for engaging with the collective process of knowledge construction and theorisation of “the epistemologies of the South” (Santos, 2012b):

By epistemology of the South I mean the retrieval of new processes of production and valorisation of valid knowledges, whether scientific or non-scientific, and of new relations among different types of knowledge on the basis of the practices of the classes and social groups that have suffered, in a systematic way, the oppression and discrimination caused by capitalism and colonialism. The global South is thus not a geographical concept, even though the great majority of these populations live in countries of the Southern hemisphere. The South is here rather a metaphor of the human suffering caused by capitalism and colonialism at the global level, and a metaphor as well of the resistance to overcome or minimise such suffering. It is, therefore, an anticapitalist, anti-colonialist, and anti-imperialist South. It is a South that also exists in the global North (p.51).

Such an attempt to look at spatial concepts through the epistemologies of the South aims to transcend the use of spatial meanings that, as Miller (2000) argues “rarely carry over into analysis of material spatial relations” (p. 6). This is neither an argument to rethink how disciplinary cross-fertilisation has been produced nor an attempt to invent the wheel for the umpteenth time. Rather, it might represent an effort to broaden the scope of this cross-disciplinary fertilisation to the epistemologies of the South.

Santos’s (2012b) focus on the epistemologies of the South is on recognising “the epistemological diversity of the world” (p.45):

At this point, to account for such diversity involves the recognition that the theories produced in the global North are best equipped to account for social, political and cultural realities of the global North and that in order adequately to account for the realities of the global South other theories must be developed and anchored in other epistemologies – the epistemologies of the South (ibid.).

This does not, however, entail framing such production of knowledge within a binary North/ South relationship. Rather, it acknowledges the existence of locally-based concepts that denies “any other claim[s] of unidirectional universality from wherever

it comes” (Porto-Gonçalves, 2009:122). This opens up the possibility of engaging an “epistemological and theoretical ground” (Santos, 2012b:45) with other types of knowledge as an epistemological practice that engages with spaces of “genuine plurality” (Massey, 1999) between different types of knowledge:

[...] more attuned to the political needs of radical transformation, that is to say, to a social transformation that puts an end to the unequal divide between the global North and the global South (Santos, 2012b:45).

To relate the epistemologies of the South to human geography and NSMs approaches is fundamental in this study. Firstly, it opens the possibility of building theoretical knowledge construction upon recognition that such insights connect with political and cognitive struggles led by anti-capitalist grassroots movements that also exist in the North. A non-binary distinction between the global South and the global North is therefore re-imagined. This might open up the possibility for engaging political and cognitive struggles in the North with the existing theoretical research tradition within which social movements in the South are embedded. Secondly, Melucci’s focus on listening to what movements are crystallising “even before its direction and content ha[ve] become clear” (Melucci, 1996:1) engages with the possibility of acknowledging the production of knowledge in space-time that is neither non-linear nor underdeveloped within social movements.

Linear time is challenged by the meaning of collective identity in Melucci’s approach and the socio-spatial structuring in its process of construction. This relates to a meaning of identity “as a system of relations and representations” (Melucci, 1996: 76) that continually develops and reconstitutes through space-time:

One cannot treat collective identity as a “thing”, as the monolithic unity of the subject; [...]. Collective identity in its concrete forms depends on how this set of relations is held together: thus system is never a definite datum; it is instead a laborious process where unity and equilibrium are re-established over and over again in reaction to shift and changes in the elements internal and external to the field (ibid.).

Finally, central to the possibility of building knowledge based on engaging spatial concepts produced in Anglo-Saxon geography with theoretical knowledge produced by movements in the South is that spatial concepts produced in the “Anglophone geographical literature” (Massey, 2005), in particular the influential scholarship of

radical geography, offer a lens through which we could enrich the debate on space, time, place, territory and territoriality. This might entail rethinking such spatial concepts as “epistemological practice[s]” (Motta, 2011), which articulate the political and cognitive struggles of social movements against the global hegemony of neoliberal capitalism.

Space-time and prefigurative politics

For Massey (1984) “the spatial is not just an outcome; it is also part of the explanation” (p.4). This relates to an integral and reciprocal relationship between the spatial, as socially produced, and the social, as spatially constructed (Massey, 1999). According to Massey (1994), space should be “conceptualised integrally with time” (p.4) in which space-time is viewed “as the configuration of social relations within which the specifically spatial may be conceived of as inherently dynamic simultaneity” (p.5):

That argument emerged out of an earlier insistence on thinking of space, not as some absolute independent dimension, but as constructed out of social relations: that what is at issue is not social phenomena in space but both social phenomena and space as constituted out of social relations, that the spatial is social relations ‘stretched out’. The fact is, however, that social relations are never still; they are inherently dynamic (p.2).

Spatial then derives from both simultaneous multiplicity of social relations and “simultaneous multiplicity of spaces” (p.3). How could collective action, across the multiplicity of spatial and the multiplicity of actors, be possible? How could space-time forge continuity of collective action? These questions turn attention to prefiguration of politics rooted in the spaces of everyday life that become, I would argue, integral to the socio-spatial constitution of contemporary social movements.

As Yates (2015a) argues, prefiguration appears conceptually “embedded in the political orientation common to what have been called ‘new social movements’ and is directly implicated in wider paradigmatic debates in social movement studies about strategy and culture” (p.2). As Keane and Mier (1989) argue on NSMs and prefiguration:

Participation within movements is considered a goal itself because, paradoxically, actors self-consciously practice in the present the future social changes they seek. Collective actors are “nomads of the present”

[...] focus on the present, and consequently their goals are temporary and replaceable, and their organizational means are valued as ends themselves (p. 6).

Prefiguration is defined by Boggs (1977), as “the embodiment, within the ongoing political practice of a movement, of those forms of social relations, decision-making, culture, and human experience that are the ultimate goal” (p.100). The key theme is therefore prefiguration as an embedded strategic praxis within movements. Prefigurative politics are, on the one hand, detached from orthodox Marxism and, on the other, conceived as bottom-up alternative ways of doing politics, closely allied with anarchism (Graeber, 2002), and “notions of non-violent direct action (Epstein, 1991) that see authoritarianism and coercion as fundamentally unjustifiable” (Yates, 2015a:3). This relates to neo-anarchism, as a practice embedded in everyday life and “the day-to-day relations” (Sitrin, 2011:252), that connects with “an ethical discourse about transformational practice” (Critchley, 2013), as non-violent warfare:

What interests me in contemporary anarchism is the cultivation of a highly spectacular tactics of protest, the forging of a new language of civil disobedience or what I called [...] “non-violent warfare”, where I want to emphasise the words “non-violent”. If what unites military neo-liberalism and neo-Leninism is a commitment to violence, then an opposition to both has to be committed to non-violence, to a practice of activity of peace (Critchley, 2012: 147).

Space-time in prefigurative politics is about building politics in the present. On the one hand, the means are the ends of political action rather than the means to the ends, and on the other, prefiguration has to do more with building alternatives (Breines, 1989; Epstein, 1991). Thus, the distinction is about “doing extra activities or projects *alongside* adversarial protest, rather than a dynamic *underpinning* it” (Yates, 2015a:4, emphasis in original). Debate on prefigurative politics refers to both an “emphasis on building alternatives” (p.4), and “actual mobilisation or strategy” (ibid.). Nevertheless, as Maeckelbergh (2011) argues, such differentiation misunderstands prefiguration as strategic since “the creation of new political structures [is] intended to replace existing political structures” (p.7).

How does time operate within such a differentiation? Gordon (2005) relates the production of politics of “here and now” not to “a horizon event, but an ongoing

process". While this resembles the idea of prefigurative politics as space "always in a process of becoming" (Massey, 1999:283), it is "anarchy as culture" (Gordon, 2005) that becomes the potential geographer in reframing "the power-geometry" (Massey, 1993) of politics:

For different social groups and different individuals are placed in very distinct ways in relation to [...] flows and interconnections. This point concerns not merely the issue of who moves and who doesn't, although that is an important element of it; it is also about power in relation to the flows and the movement. Different social groups have distinct relationships to this anyway-differentiated mobility: some are more in charge of it than others; some initiate flows and movement, others don't; some are more on the receiving end of it than others; some are effectively imprisoned by it (p.62, emphasis in original).

Space-time in prefigurative politics relates to anarchism "as a *movement*, whose form can today be described as a decentralised diverse and evolving network, providing communication and active solidarity among autonomous nodes of social struggle" (Gordon, 2005, emphasis in original). At the same time, the production of anti-hierarchical forms of organisational structures such as consensus, direct democracy, and egalitarian mechanisms of decision-making represents the "libertarian and egalitarian ethos" (Gordon, 2005) that becomes the potential site to challenge and transform – among those autonomous nodes – "the power-geometry" (Massey, 1993:62) of politics.

Autonomous nodes equate to the idea of "movement areas" (Melucci, 1989), in which their collective action takes the form of networks comprising a multiplicity of groups that operate in fragmented and dispersed spaces submerged in everyday life. The multiplicity of submerged networks accounts for Melucci's claim to avoid defining contemporary social movements as a personage and their collective action as a unified empirical entity. The capacity of these networks to continue to exist beyond short periods of mobilisation and visibility relies on latency. They exist as submerged spaces of everyday life where they operate as small laboratories to continuously re-frame meanings and new alternatives:

[...] movements live in another dimension: in the everyday network of social relations, in the capacity and will to re-appropriate space and time, and in the attempt to practice alternative life-styles (p.71).

The extent to which movements are capable of (re)producing prefigurative politics across time, which are recognised as integral space-time forms of politics, seem to be “convened under the sign of temporal sequence” (Massey, 1999: 284). As such, prefigurative politics are always “in a process of becoming” (p.283) and so are conceptualised as being undeveloped in relation to the political. According to Melucci (1989), the capacity of this subject to both mobilise collective conflicts located at an individual level and control “space, time and interpersonal relations” (p.71) is more concerned with the production of meanings at the level of everyday life and less with “more traditional political issues” (p.8). Forms of collective action thus are described as “*pre-political*” (Melucci, 1989, emphasis in original) since they are grounded in everyday life and “*meta-political* because political forces can never represent them completely” (p.72, emphasis in original). As such, everyday-based forms of collective action “are interpreted either as pre-political or politically impotent, concerned merely with particular issues, or dangerous for political stability and democratic deepening” (Motta, 2009:33) or lacking “any central theme or coherent ideology” (Graeber, 2002:70). Geographically, politics of everyday life are localised and therefore limited in their political scope (Harvey, 1996; Castañeda, 2006).

Nevertheless, the politics of everyday life relates to “prefigurative post-representational politics” (Motta, 2011:179), as “a politics that is intellectual, affective, subjective and collective” (p.179). Prefigurative post-representational politics entails politicisation of everyday life wherein daily social relations become the sphere where politics are produced and rooted. This constitutes the terrain upon which contemporary social movements forge ideology.

Autonomy becomes a key aspect in the prefiguration of affective and subjective politics. At an individual level, autonomy is mediated by the “individual’s control of action” (Melucci, 1989) since participation “has meaning primarily for the individual: if it doesn’t make sense to me, I am not participating, but what I do also benefits others” (p.49). At a collective level, autonomy is imbued with “a political practice that is neither state-centric nor solely (or at all) mediated via political parties” (Motta, 2009:35). The question of autonomy, Critchley (2012) argues is clearly not an either-or, but politics as a practice that articulates and produces “interstitial distance” (ibid), as spaces of autonomy, detached from “the classical anarchist dream of society without state” (p.148):

But such a neo-anarchist experience of the political can articulate a politics at a distance from the state, what I call above an *interstitial distance* within and against the state. Resistance is about the articulation of distance, the creation of space or spaces of distance from the state, what the very young Marx calls true democracy (ibid., emphasis in original).

How these interstitial spaces work has to do with non-violent warfare and a language of civil disobedience that, Critchley (2012) argues “combines street-theatre, festival, performance” (p.123). What does the political within this language rely on? In the view of Critchley, neo-anarchist practices “exercise a satirical pressure on the state in order to show that other forms of life are possible” (p.124). This is the political responsibility that neo-anarchism calls for. It becomes manifested as the ethics of “infinite responsibility” (ibid.) towards other existences and other injustices and above all is a practice of politics happening “on the terrain of civil society” (Critchley, 2013), where it takes place.

To sum up, prefiguration is about spatiality of politics as “always integrally space *time*” (Massey, 1999:284, emphasis in original). It suggests that this spatiality of politics articulates continuity and latency within contemporary social movements. Space-time of politics mirrors prefiguration of post-representational politics as “an open system [...] which entails a certain degree of the unexpected, of the unpredictable” (ibid). This is because this process is immanent to the movement’s political experiences underlying the theoretical knowledge construction that is always displayed as an open and evolving practice within movements.

On the meaning of place

Place and its meanings could become an essential aspect of the analysis of social movements and of how place, for example, translates into “collective forms of political action” (Nicholls, 2009:78) and a “powerful basis for collective identity construction” (Miller, 2000:14). According to Routledge (1993), place has a central role in seeking a nuanced understanding of why collective action happens:

First, the concept of place informs us about why social movements occur where they do and the context within which movement agency interpolates the social structure. Second, the concept of place informs us about the nature of specific movements...Finally...place provides the means of understanding the spirit of movement agency, that which inspires and

motivates people, the articulation of the experiences of everyday life (p.21).

Harvey (1993a) defines place alongside space and time, as a social construct imbued with multi-layered and multi-purpose meanings. Therefore a key question to be resolved is “by what social process[es] is place constructed?” (p. 4). Agnew (1996) identified a group of six processes through which place is constructed:

(1) the spatial division of labour effecting class structure, social structure, and community affiliations; (2) communications technology and patterns of accessibility to it; (3) characteristics of local and central states; (4) class, gender, and ethnic divisions and the ways in which they are expressed through local culture, work authority, and history; (5) predominant local bases for collective identity formation, including class, ethnic, and gender divisions as well as place-based identities oriented to the local, regional, or national level; (6) the micro geography of everyday life (e.g. work, residence, school) through which patterns of social interaction are spatially structured (p.132-33).

Nevertheless, Harvey (1993a) argues that formulation in terms of identity is commonly assembled with meanings of “exclusionary territorial behaviour” (p.3):

[...] territorial place-based identity, particularly when conflated with race, ethnic, gender, religious and class differentiation, is one of the most pervasive bases for both progressive political mobilization and reactionary exclusionary politics (p.4).

Place and territory have evoked an epistemological debate in human geography since the 1980s. The meaning of territory, in particular political territory, has remained in geography as quintessentially the foundation of state power by means of which territory “has usually been understood as a *bounded* and in some respects *homogeneous* portion of geographical space” (Painter, 2010:1091, emphasis in original) in which “*nation* states exercise their sovereignty” (dell’Agnese, 2013:115). Whereas the conceptual significance of territory “cannot be underestimated” (Delaney, 2005: 4), it still remains “under-theorised to a remarkable degree” (Elden, 2005:10). By contrast, place has evolved, mainly in the Anglo-Saxon tradition, into a conceptualisation of a more heterogeneous character imbued with “a social, cultural and political dimension that contains a critique of political territory, its rigid delimitation, and the state control that is coextensive with it ” (Raffestin, 2012:126):

Thus Massey [...] recommends associating with it a progressive signification that would permit not only emancipation from an exclusively territorial conception of political action but also recognition of the importance of the social diversity that animates places, the capacity of places to express the interaction of phenomena of different scales, and the types of experience that individuals can have in these places of this diversity and of these interactions (ibid.).

Nevertheless, when place is conceptualised through recognition of difference, the discussion is then commonly formulated in terms of difference and specificity as place is produced and organised around the idea of an “essentialist concept” (Massey, 1994):

[...] which held with the temptation of relapsing into past traditions, of sinking back into (what was interpreted as) the comfort of Being instead of forging ahead with the (assumed progressive) project of Becoming (p.119).

From this perspective place is attached to a meaning of authenticity and “foundational essentialism” (Massey, 2004) that contrasts with space as the latter is seen as something abstract. As a result, space exists ‘out there’ and detaches from how place is produced. What underpins this notion is the idea of place as “having single identities” (Massey, 1993) imbued with a sense of belonging and heritage. Thus, places seem to equate to the idea of a *personage* that Melucci (1989) confronts within NSMs’ approaches. Accordingly, place could be understood within social movements as an entity with an ontological consistency (p.18), that exists in its own right and prior to the construction of collective identity. Massey (1993) does not deny history nor a sense of belonging grounded in single identities but rather her concern is on the one hand to avoid a sense of a unique identity for places. And on the other hand, as she puts it, “instead of refusing to deal with this, however, it is necessary to recognise it and try to understand what it represents” (p.65).

Massey (1994) insists on the importance of expanding a geographical conceptualisation of place by arguing that it is constructed out of a process of articulation between multiple identities. Thus place takes a spatial form through interaction at particular moments:

If this notion is accepted, then one way of thinking about place is as particular moments in such intersecting social relations, nets of which

have over time been constructed, laid down, interacted with one another, decayed, and renewed (p. 120).

This definition puts place in flow, as a site of negotiations and unfinished, as “interactions themselves are not static. They are processes” (Massey, 1993:68). Here specificity relates to the nature of these interactions in which “the specificity of place is continually reproduced, but it is not a specificity which results from some long, internalized history” (p.69). Identity of place is therefore relationally produced:

An understanding of the relational nature of space has been accompanied by arguments about the relational construction of the identity of place. If space is a product of practices, trajectories, interrelations, if we make space through interactions at all levels, from the (so-called) local to the (so-called) global then those spatial identities such as places, regions, nations, and the local and the global, must be forged in this relational way too, as internally complex, essentially unboundable in any absolute sense, and inevitably historically changing (Massey, 2004:1).

This meaning of identity of place resonates with the idea of collective identity as a process that is socio-spatially constituted and constantly renegotiated. Melucci (1996) argues:

Actors produce collective action because they are able to define themselves and their relationships with the environment [...]. The process of creating such definitions is, however, not linear: the events in which a number of individuals act collectively are the product of the interaction, negotiation, and opposition between different action orientations [...]. Collective actors constantly negotiate and renegotiate these aspects of their action (p.40).

This meaning interlocks with geographies of collective action through which identity of place constitutes “meeting places of multiple trajectories whose material co-presence has to be negotiated” (Massey, 2007:207). Nevertheless, neither collective action nor collective identity is always framed within “place-or territory-based identities” (Miller, 2000: 34):

Numerous studies show that collective identities are constructed through spatial interaction, whether those identities become place-based or not. “The social” and “the spatial” are not so neatly separated (ibid.).

This debate suggests that the identity of place must be detached from claims of authenticity and belonging by which “place is posited as one of the grounds through which identity is rooted and developed” (Massey, 2004: 5). This does not mean ignoring the role that claims of authenticity, specificity, and belonging play in forging collective action. Rather, its significance relates to the multiplicity of trajectories underpinning the production of place. It is upon this meaning of difference through which heterogeneous collective actors develop identity of place through the process of collective identity “and obtaining their meaning in, space” (Miller, 2000:34) either to transgress the meaning through which “space and place are used to structure a normative world” (Cresswell, 1996:9) or to produce a new meaning of place. For example, Latin American social movements led struggles to re-envision a new meaning of place as territory that has in large been representative of political and cognitive struggles in which they are involved.

On epistemologies of territory in Latin American Social Movements

Territory holds a centrality in the geographical research agenda on LASMs and as Haesbaert (2013) argues “place is to Anglo-Saxon geography what territory is to Latin geographies” (p.147). Research on geography and social movements in the region has been undertaken since the 1990s. Perreault (2008) sets out over 100 works that comprise research on indigenous movements, such as the *Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador* (CONAIE), with the Zapatistas at the forefront of this, and agrarian and rural movements, such as the Landless Movement (MST) and its struggles for “agricultural development, [...] land and water rights, political economies of rural places” (Perreault, 2008: 1372). Perrault also identifies geographical research literature on the political left and transnational solidarity movements, environmental movements and women’s movements.

Such centrality of territory does not represent a unique approach, nor does territory depict just one conceptualisation or relate to the common meaning of territory produced in the Anglo-Saxon tradition, which attaches territory and its significance to the meaning of nation-state politics within “lines that enclose state territories” (Newman, 2003:123). Rather, its epistemology has somehow been continuously reframed by social and political struggles located at the level of grassroots movements:

Territory in this discussion is not just a 'state question'. In Latin America today, I can affirm, getting (re) territorialised is a political strategy of transformation much more than an academic question; it is a lived, practised and practically demanding question. Some might consider this emphasis on territory exaggerated, but many of these struggles are overwhelmingly territorial struggles. Further, this positions territories not in an abstract sense of simple formal recognition within the territorial sphere of the state, apart from the heterogeneity of the experiences of social groups, but as initiated through particular practices, dilemmas and meanings. We could say in fact, that these struggles/social practices themselves continually remake the concept of territory (Haesbaert, 2013: 148).

This process is mutually constitutive of practices and processes of collective mobilisations of many of these movements that have been historically mobilised, as Bosco (2008) argues, "because of attachments to place or territory, in many cases because their existence is tied to their ability to claim land or a place that they call their own" (p.180):

The explicit use of "territory" to formulate and describe claims to land and resources dates back to the 1970s and is of immediate relevance to understanding the current territorial turn in Latin America. On up through the 1960s, indigenous peoples' and Afro-descendants' struggles over land and resources were widely read in terms of agrarian reforms that emphasised the political and economic significance of *property*. That approach further allowed both groups to align themselves with political movements on the Left (Bryan, 2012: 216, emphasis in original).

A "territorial turn" (Bryan, 2012) within the region relates to the process by which "indigenous peoples' and Afro-descendants' collective rights to land and resources" (p. 215) come to be politically, legally, and economically recognised by the state. As such, "territory is thus conceived of as inseparable from rights such that to be without one is to be without the other" (p.216).

How epistemologies of territory have been produced directs attention to the opposing interests of the state and of social movements. Bryan (2012: 215-6) argues:

Property rights only partially address the broader demands for racial equality and self-determination characteristic of indigenous peoples' and Afro-descendants' claims to territory. The difference is more than semantic. It also preserves an underlying socio-spatial order, perpetuating dominant forms of power and economy while allowing for the continual reorganisation of control over land and resources. [...] [I]ndigenous

peoples' and Afro-descendants' claims raise a clear epistemological challenge to notions of territory as a natural or immutable basis for the socio-spatial configuration of power-relations. Instead their claims point out how that order has been historically constituted through practices of exclusion frequently justified in racial terms. Indigenous peoples and Afro-descendants' claims further seek to transform that order according to principles of self-determination and racial equality, affirming territory as an ontological pre-condition for having rights.

Bryan's concern about such opposing interests reflects the idea of the Westphalian notion of state sovereignty by which "territory, state, boundary and sovereignty have been linked together as mutually defining notions" (Dell' Agnese, 2013:115). Consequently, the epistemological centrality of territory has been developed in two ways. On the one hand, it has been developed as a top-down approach through which the relationship between "territory and state" (Agnew, 1987) is expressed. On the other hand, it has been developed as a bottom-up spatiality of the local upon which social movements articulate their own episteme of territory historically constructed out of traces of exclusion, dispossession, racism, and demands for self-determination and self-government within these communities.

Territory as an assemblage of different meanings and practices

Political strategies within grassroots movements – that also exist in a relational dimension of constraints and opportunities within a territorial turn – connect with the process of collective identity that involves producing "*cognitive definitions* concerning the ends, means and the field of action" (Melucci, 1996: 70, emphasis in original). Within movements this process of collective identity interlocks with "the ecology of knowledges" (Santos, 2012b) that entails the co-existence of different knowledge "without forgetting one's own" (p. 57):

Under the ecology of knowledges, granting credibility to non-scientific knowledge does not imply discrediting scientific knowledge. What it does imply is using it in a counter-hegemonic way. This consists, on the one hand, in exploring alternative scientific practices made visible through plural epistemologies of scientific practices and, on the other, in promoting interdependence between scientific and non-scientific knowledges (ibid.).

Different epistemologies within social movements challenge conventional meanings of territory by proposing that these meanings represent a spatial category culturally inflected and relationally produced (Echeverri, 2005). For example, the non-areolar

notion of territory within indigenous communities is conceived in flux and relationally produced across space and time:

The non-areolar (indigenous') notion of territory is conceived as being based on a *relational* model – as a fabric, not as areas. If the areolar notion of territory corresponds to the image of two-dimensional maps, the non-areolar notion coincides, to a greater extent, with an image modelled as a living body that nourishes itself, reproduces and weaves relationships with other bodies (Echeverri, 2005:234, emphasis in original).

Arturo Escobar's work on the *Proceso de Comunidades Negras* (*Process of Black Communities* [PCN]) in Colombia exemplifies the notion of territory as being relationally produced through negotiation with others. Within these communities, the meaning of territory as spaces of life is at the basis of "a place-based framework linking history, culture, environment and social life" (Escobar, 2008:62). Spaces of life within these communities then are constructed out of negotiation among multiple cultural identities and collective political projects around "the right to be (*ser*) black, to celebrate their cultural identity, and to live in accordance with tradition" (Asher, 2009:5, emphasis in original). Social movements' claims in some ways are related to the construction of territory, as an unfinished process, forged in and through negotiation of differences. This process interlocks with the development of an alternative political identity to articulate the defence of territory.

Escobar (2008) argues that it represents "the creation of a novel sense of belonging linked to the political construction of a collective life project" (p.68):

Thus defined, the territory cuts across several landscape units; more importantly, it embodies a community's life-project. The region-territory, on the contrary, is conceived of as a *political construction* for the defence of the territories and their sustainability. In this way, the region-territory is a strategy of sustainability and vice versa: sustainability is a strategy for the construction and defence of the region-territory. The region-territory can thus be said to articulate the *life project* of the communities within the *political project* of the social movement. The struggle for territory is thus a cultural struggle for autonomy and self-determination (Escobar, 2001: 162, emphasis in original).

While spaces of life conceptualise territory as a process in a relational approach, the idea of territory "as fundamental to the expression of an (alternative) political identity" (Bryan, 2012:219) entangles with the potential possibility of excluding people who do

not share the same ties of belonging. However, the process of internal migration within those communities (Asher, 2009) ends up challenging the idea of a “fixed spatial location” (p.220) by placing the relationship between territory and identity as relationally produced:

Through that displacement, the PCN has found ways of rethinking the relation between territory and identity foundational to its mobilization through alliances with other groups of internally displaced peoples living in urban areas as well as within the African diaspora in the Caribbean and US (Bryan, 2012:221).

This territorial mobility resembles the notion of “multi-territoriality” (Haesbaert, 2013), as a permanent condition of social relationship always imbued with “territorial interaction, an intersection of different territories” (p.150):

[...] recognising, in the first place, the simultaneous existence of a “multiplicity of territories” (different types of species of “extensive” territories) as well as *the* “multiplicity of territory” (territories, in and of themselves, characterised by strong internal differentiation or intensive, continuous multiplicity) (ibid., emphasis in original).

As Bryan (2012) argues, “the political struggle of indigenous peoples and Afro-descendants further demonstrate how the socio-spatial order materialised in terms of rights was constituted through forcible exclusions” (p.221-2). However, their emphasis on claiming a state guarantee for the recognition of their rights to land has ended up confining the notion of territory as “contingent on one’s belonging to a group” (p.222), and blurring the idea of sovereignty through new forms of state intervention to guarantee rights.

Indigenous movements and Afro-descendants’ communities brought about new meanings of territory as “a different socio-spatial order founded on [...] the relationship between human and non-human beings as fundamental to existence” (ibid.). Such an understanding entails, Escobar (2001) notes that the role of SMs is about producing space as the sphere where they posit their claims for building and maintaining new forms of relationships, rather than articulating their collective action through the claim of territory or place as a physical location.

The production of territorialities

The “social and popular movements” (Zibechei, 2012) in the Latin American region have been in the process of building their collective action alongside the waves of neoliberal socioeconomic and political order since the early 1990s. Although they express “spatial and temporal differences” (p.14), their struggles have been reframed around territorialisation and territory. This has not been exclusively confined to possession of the land, but rather it refers to new spatialities of social relations that these contemporary social movements are creating and re-creating:

Territory becomes the place where counter-hegemonic social relations are deployed and where groups and collectives can practice different ways of living. This is one of the major contributions made by the indigenous movements of our continent to the fight for emancipation (Zibechei, 2012:210).

Neoliberalism desocialised and dehistoricised – through accumulation by dispossession (Harvey, 2006a) – places, such as factories, where politics have been traditionally produced. This entails that new territorialities interlock with the production of politics “not so much in the streets but in the more intimate sphere” (Zibechei, 2012: 39). Territoriality within such intimate spheres articulates the political action within movements through the production of spaces of autonomy, self-determination, and self-government. It has neither represented a pre-established political project within these communities nor positioned territory in an abstract sense. Rather, it represents an unfinished process in which autonomous territories have been continuously re-made through practices and territoriality produced through a “distinct *mixture* of wider and more local social relations” (Massey, 1994: 156, emphasis in original):

From their territories, the new actors consolidated long-term projects, most notably the capacity to produce and reproduce life, while establishing alliances with other fractions of the popular sectors and the middle class. The experience of Argentine *piqueteros* [unemployed workers] is significant, since it is one of the first instances of an urban movement with these characteristics (Zibechei, 2012:15, emphasis in original).

The unfinished character of new territorialities explicitly stresses that these prefigurative epistemologies within SMs are grounded in the production of “the

sociology of emergences” (Santos, 2012b) as “the inquiry into alternatives that are contained in the horizon of concrete possibilities” (p.56):

The sociology of emergences consists in replacing the emptiness of the future according to linear time (an emptiness that may be all or nothing) by a future of plural and concrete possibilities, utopian and realist at one time, and constructed in the present by means of activities of care (p. 54).

The sociology of emergences connects therefore with spatiality of politics as always open. This non-linear time of politics interlocks with an “ethical dimension” (p.56), since, as discussed above, prefiguration of post-representational politics is also produced through affection. Education plays a central role in producing politics of care within movements. For instance, the Landless Movement is probably the most committed to working in the field of education within the region. The movement consolidates its autonomy through self-managed schools run in different settlements (McCowan, 2008) by connecting education with this ethical dimension of care, produced through social relations that are neither forged through hierarchies nor a climate of competition:

[...] it ceases to be a specialised space for education for which one sole person is responsible. Instead, all spaces and actions, and all of the people involved, are pedagogical space-times and subjects (Zibechi, 2012: 23).

Yet it is not a complete process since new territorialities are produced “based on the reconfiguration of previous ones” (Zibechi, 2012:28). This resembles the process of territorialisation, deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987:348; Deleuze and Guattari, 2004:36). Raffestin identifies it as a TDR process: constructed out of society-space-time. Thus, “changes of territoriality imply territorial modifications, but there is a temporal delay in adaptation and accommodation” (Raffestin, 2012:130). Territories are imbued with the unpredictable since “a new territory always supposes multiple possibilities” (ibid.) and it interlocks with the spatial since territories are (re) produced through “the creation or recreation of [...] economic values and cultural, social and political values” (p.131). Within social movements the production of new territorialities turns itself into a political learning process in which “all its spaces, actions, and ideals have a pedagogical intention” (Zibechi, 2012: 23). Education space is therefore produced “*in movement*” (p.24, emphasis in original)

and becomes “an important political activity for the transformation of society” (Morissawa, 2001:241). As social movements “mark the space with their daily presence, doing so through unique connections and relationships” (Zibechi, 2012:28), questions regarding what forms of education, practices, skills, and training are to be resolved under the principle of *horizontalidad* (horizontality) (Sitrin, 2011, emphasis in original) that rules democratic decision-making process within movements:

Horizontalidad is a social relationship that implies, as its name suggest, a flat plane upon which to communicate, but it is not only this. *Horizontalidad* implies the use of direct democracy and the striving for consensus, processes in which attempts are made so that everyone is heard and new relationships are created. It is an attempt to break down power relationships based in affective politics and against all the implication of “isms”. It is a break with vertical ways of organizing and relating, but a break that is an opening (p.261, emphasis in original).

Horizontalism becomes a “politics of interrelations” (Massey, 2005:10). Within movements this represents an attempt to transform the power-geometry (Massey, 1993) of politics and territorialise it based on ethical consideration towards others. Through these territorialities, SMs aim “to reintegrate different aspects of life that had previously been separate and split apart” (Zibechi, 2012: 27-8). For example, to connect politics with the social sphere entails developing and transforming social ties among groups and collectives, militant and non-militant people through politics produced and rooted in everyday life, in momentary unique connections, and in reconfiguration of social relations that place the movements in flow.

They are depicted as fragmented and dispersed, and this is exactly the main feature that NSMs have begun to display since the early 1980s, that is “fragile and heterogeneous *social constructions*” (Keane and Mier, 1980:4, emphasis in original) or as a “multiplicity of interstitial movements” (Holloway, 2010:11). Their capacity to produce new forms of collective political action is articulated through spaces of horizontal relationships articulated through the production of “a diffuse network” (Zibechi, 2012) within the movement:

The diffuse network allows for the many different types of encounters, many partial or explicit, bound, or overlapping networks, each with different modes of articulation and coordination; in the end, many networks

in formation can open the experience in question. In this regard, it is essential not to be trapped within one single core network, one that would tend to organise and hierarchize the multiplicity of the different experiences that we are opening up...When one of these structured networks claims to be “the” strategic network, the one that organises all the others, so begins a process of centralisation and hierarchy that excludes networks and situations that are not subordinated to it (MTD Solano and Colectivo Situaciones, 2002:220-22).

Within movements, “the core function of networks is the production, exchange and strategic use of information” (Routledge, 2003:335). Nevertheless, circulation more than communication among these networks does not exist through pre-established coordination but rather “more or less stable links with related groups and collectives” (Zibechi, 2012:43) that prefigure “*internal* coordination in order to meet objectives that, once these goals are met, stop working or give way to other forms of coordination” (ibid., emphasis in original). While networks play a “pivotal role in coordinating principal activities and tasks” (Nicholls, 2009: 78; Routledge, 2003; Diani, 2005; Diani and Bison, 2004; Tarrow and McAdam, 2005), their fragile structures or their existence as a non-centred structure portray movements as non-political. This last point connects to the discussion concerning social movements as “pre-political or politically impotent” (Motta, 2009:33). Zibechi (2012) calls for shifting the attention from a backward orientation that place SMs in a “lower status in relation to the space-time of professional politicians” (p.44) to a focus on the dynamics and, equally importantly, the epistemologies of politics that the movements produce through territorialities.

Territoriality represents a politics of affection that turns into a pedagogical strategy. It becomes an unfinished learning process-through-time upon which social movements challenge the condition of being recognised as pre-political because of alliances, connectedness and relatedness around which social movements articulate their collective action. Within movements, such as the Penguins’ movement, this process interlocks with collective identity as an evolving learning process through which collective actors produce new forms of territoriality by incorporating “the past and emergent elements” (Melucci, 1996:75) to re-envision new forms of their collective political action.

Grassroots globalisation networks, convergence spaces and radical democracy

Centrality of networks and their implications in forging “collective forms of political action” (Nicholls, 2009: 78) have been framed within the argument that they “play different functions” (ibid.) within movements and this role is geographically constituted through local place, strong ties, weaker ties and flow of communications. Nowadays, the emergence of grassroots globalisation networks (Appadurai, 2000) poses the question of understanding how social movements are starting to overcome different barriers when they extend their political and collective action beyond their local sites.

Grassroots globalisation networks (GGNs) challenge the idea that contemporary new social movements, because of geographical and cultural obstacles, are less likely to be involved in global collective action. GGNs “involve the creation of networks: of communication, solidarity, information-sharing and mutual support” (Routledge, 2003: 335) in organising collective actions and protests at a global scale. Examples of such collective actions include “the anti-WTO [⁵] mobilisations in Seattle in 1999, and the anti-World Bank and IMF [⁶] protests in Prague in 2000” (ibid.):

Underpinning such developments is a conceptualisation of protests and struggle that respects difference, rather than attempting to develop universalistic and centralising solutions that deny the diversity of interests and identities that are confronted with neoliberal globalisation processes (ibid.).

Thinking locally to act globally and thinking globally to act locally structure collective mobilisations of NSMs as they are “aware of planetary dimension of life in complex societies” (Keane and Mier, 1989:6). This is the basis of their capacity to engage in global grassroots mobilisations but nevertheless to remain as locally-based movements “since this is where individual movement identities are formed and nurtured” (Routledge, 2003:336). This planetary dimension is also fundamental for the indigenous movements and Afro-descendants communities in the Latin American region who connect their political struggles and the nature-society relationship to a spatial ontology by which “nature is politicised” (Porto-Gonçalves, 2009:131).

⁵ World Trade Organisation

⁶ International Monetary Fund

GGNs could potentially engage in “convergence spaces” (Routledge, 2003; Routledge and Cumbers, 2009):

A convergence space comprises a heterogeneous affinity [...] between various social formations, such as social movements. By participating in spaces of convergence, activists from participant movements embody their particular places of political, cultural, economic and ecological experience with common concerns (Routledge, 2003: 345).

Routledge’s notion of convergence spaces, as “a world made of many worlds” (Marcos, 2001), comprises collective action of heterogeneous movements with “*collective visions*” (Routledge, 2003: 345, emphasis in original). Prefiguration of horizontal democratic politics is central for convergence spaces in order to facilitate political practices of “communication, information sharing, solidarity, coordination, and resource mobilisation” (ibid.). The articulation of “different place-based struggles” (ibid.) is about “relatedness and connectedness” (Massey, 1999:289) and therefore they are imbued with power relations that, along with “differential access to (financial, temporal) resources” (Routledge, 2003:345), shape “*uneven process of facilitation and interaction*” (ibid., emphasis in original). Convergence spaces mediate “*multi-scalar political action*” (ibid., emphasis in original) by movements in which their locally-based struggles become “mutually constitutive” (Dicken et al., 2001) of global actions:

For example, grassroots globalisation networks prosecute *globalised local actions* (political initiatives which take place in different locations across the globe, in support of particular localised struggles) and *localised global actions* (political initiatives coordinated around a particular issue or event in a particular place) (Routledge, 2003:346, emphasis in original).

For movements, this represents the possibility of building sustainable political action in which the defence of their local spaces “is projected onto the global arena” (ibid.). Negotiating difference within convergence spaces resembles the idea of radical democracy (Mouffe, 2015) as “the kind of democracy that not only accepts difference, but depends on it” (p.92). While convergence spaces become the terrain for this kind of democracy, radical democracy is also integral to the production of such spaces.

Power relations within radical democracy do not exist “out there” nor is the role of democratic society about building society free from relations of power. Rather, power relations are “constitutive of the social” (Mouffe, 1995):

[...] then the main question of democratic politics is not to eliminate power but how to constitute forms of power that are compatible with democratic values. To acknowledge the existence of relations of power and the need to transform them while renouncing the illusion that we could free ourselves completely from power is what is specific to the project of radical and plural democracy” (p.261).

Social movements, as Routledge (2003) argues, “can be conceived as dynamic systems, constructed out of a complexity of interrelations and interactions across all spatial times” (p.346). It is upon such complexity that movements negotiate differences within convergence spaces. For instance, the People’s Global Action (PGA), a network that “owes its genesis to an international encounter between activists and intellectuals that was organised by the Zapatistas in Chiapas in 1996” (p.337), articulated a transnational network of solidarity by recognising “the importance of difference and diversity” (p.346). Such an attempt to become more compatible with democratic values is found in the tactics and strategies for collective action at a local level within the PGA.

The possibility of building a radical and plural democracy interlocks with the complexity of interrelations and interactions within movements. This relates to the production of identities as a “processual constitution of identity through interrelations” (Massey, 1995:283) and therefore as always relational. As Mouffe (1995) argues:

[...] political practice in a democratic society does not consist in defending the rights of preconstituted identities, but rather in constituting those identities themselves in a precarious and always vulnerable terrain (p.261).

This does not deny the existence of claims for essentialism within movements, and the political “has to do with the dimension of antagonism which is present in social relations” (p.262). Rather, radical democracy has to deal with this idea of antagonism:

I propose to distinguish between “the political” and “politics”. By the “political” I refer to the dimension of antagonism that is inherent in all human society, antagonism that, as I said, can take many different forms

and can emerge in diverse social relations. “Politics” refer to the ensemble of practices, discourses, and institutions which seek to establish a certain order and to organise human co-existence in conditions which are always potentially conflictual because they are affected by the dimension of “the political” (p.262-3).

Mouffe (1995) stresses that democratic politics is as an attempt to transform politics of antagonism into politics of agonism, framed within an idea of adversary rather than enemy:

[...] the “other” is no longer seen as an enemy to be destroyed, but as an “adversary”, somebody with whose ideas we are going to struggle, but whose right to defend those ideas we will not put into question (p.263).

Within movements, politics of agonism entails the constructive process of collective identity upon “differentiated positions” (ibid.) in which the role of social movements is to identify the “hegemonic nodal points” (Mouffe, 1995:264) by acknowledging that every identity “is the result of a constituting process” (ibid.) and therefore relationally produced through differentiated negotiation processes.

Within contemporary social movements the production of convergence spaces and radical democracy are immanent to the process of collective identity. Yet this process does not “imply unified and coherent frameworks” (Melucci, 1996:71) nor does it presuppose the idea of “cultural completeness” (Santos, 2012b). Rather, grassroots globalisation networks and the production of convergence spaces are articulated through the idea of common struggles that respect difference. They engage with the production of counter-hegemonic meanings that “stem from the idea that all cultures are incomplete” (p.60). Within NSMs this counter-hegemonic meaning opens up the possibility of “engaging dialogue with or confronting other cultures” (ibid.). In articulating collective visions upon emphasis of difference and diversity, social movements engage with the possibility of “intercultural translation” (Santos, 2012b):

[...] understood as a procedure that allows for mutual intelligibility among the experiences of the world, both available and possible. Such a procedure does not endow any set of experiences with the statute either of exclusive totality or homogenous part (p.58).

Nowadays, this intercultural translation has become central for movements that represent an alternative to “neoliberal globalisation on the basis of transnational networks of local movements” (p.61).

Convergence spaces and radical democratic politics articulated social movements' strategic praxis through which the movements challenge the global hegemony of neoliberal capitalism by re-envisioning the meaning of collective. Within the Penguins' movement this entails looking at how the political demand for free public quality education for all could transcend – through concrete experiences of collective mobilisation – the terrain of locally specific context to become a collective demand to be projected onto society.

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed some of the literature on prefiguration, space, territory, new social movements and radical democracy. It has addressed the existing debate on “cross-disciplinary fertilisation” (Miller, 2000) by arguing that a “sustained engagement with the geographies of social movements” (Routledge, 2013:512) needs to broaden its scope by looking at the epistemologies produced by social movements in the global South. Santos's theoretical attempt to elaborate the epistemologies of the South – a meaning that is, above all, metaphorical rather than geographical – is a call for emancipation; yet it denies neither the possibility of preserving the already existing rich theoretical tradition of concepts such as place, space and territory, nor reinventing the wheel. By focusing on thinking about socio-spatial concepts of space, time, place, territory and territoriality the literature review has shown how political struggles for cognitive justice are immanent within a prefiguration of radical democratic politics. These approaches form the basis of movements that are counter-hegemonic to neoliberal globalisation.

The question of epistemologies rooted in everyday life turns the attention to struggles for education that are practiced as a verb rather than a noun (Davis, 2006; Gilbert, 2009) and to how neoliberalism “in its changing forms, is playing a part” (Peck and Tickell, 2002) within movements. The following chapter will discuss neoliberalism and the Chilean model of education as an attempt – through a neoliberal free-market driven education agenda – to produce a particular type of society.

Chapter 3

The rise of a neoliberal model of education in Chile

In 1972, the president of Chile, Salvador Allende, addressed the consequences of large transnational corporations in a speech at the United Nations General Assembly:

We are faced by a direct confrontation between the large transnational corporations and the states. The corporations are interfering in the fundamental political, economic, and military decisions of the states. [...] and whose activities are not controlled by, nor are they accountable to, any parliament or any other institution representative of the collective interest. In short, all the world political structure is being undermined. The dealers do not have a country. The place where they may be does not constitute any kind of link; the only thing they are interested in is where they make profits [...]. The large transnational firms are prejudicial to the genuine interests of the developing countries and their dominating and uncontrolled action is also carried out in the industrialized countries, where they are based.

Allende's political observation is an oft-invoked example, among leftist intellectual circles, to explain what constituted the first chapter of neoliberalism "or global free-market capitalism, that has come to dominate the world in the three decades since 1980" (Hall et al., 2013:8). However, neoliberalism constitutes, as Brenner et al. (2010) argue, a "rascal concept – promiscuously pervasive, yet inconsistently defined, empirically imprecise and frequently contested" (p.182). Hall et al. (2013) argue that "its early – classic – laboratory was Chile" (p.10), which has been considered as "the first great experiment with neoliberal state formation" (Harvey, 2006a:12). Articulated in the language of economic theory, the Chilean experience of modernisation in "the provision of social security, health and education" (Taylor, 2003:22), through a neoliberal economic free-market reform after September 11 1973, represents its ideological core: "the elevation of the market – understood as a non-political, non-cultural machine-like entity – over all other modes of organisation" (Lee Mudge, 2008:705). However, neoliberalism is more than an economic theory; it represents a new social, economic and political order that aims to become a "neoliberal common sense" (Massey, 2013).

In this chapter, this definition is approached through the analysis of the rise of the neoliberal Chilean education model by arguing that it represents an attempt by neoliberals in Chile to construct “a policy of society” or “government of society” (Foucault, 2010:146). This entails that education becomes the condition for the state to build – through a radical transformation of education – a project for society. The first section of this chapter delineates the construction of the *estado docente* or “teaching state” (Gauri, 1998). Drawing from a historical perspective, the *estado docente* is analysed as a process arising out of economic, ideological, and socio-cultural intervening factors which influenced the construction of the idea “of a unitary state” (Gauri, 1998: 14), and was essential for contributing to and consolidating the Chilean education system before 1973. The second section addresses “the new and radical economic policy orientation” (Taylor, 2006:2) introduced in the Chilean education system (1976-1990) through “the Silent Revolution” (Van der Ree, 2007). Such an economic market-oriented reform was not just the result of “a privileged position of neoliberal technocrats in the policymaking bodies of the Pinochet dictatorship” (p.1). Historically, it could also be traced to a process already initiated in the 1950s when a cohort of highly educated planners and economists were trained abroad (Schiefelbein, 1976) to implement educational reforms within a neo-capitalist⁷ model of development (Taylor, 2006: 20) during the Christian Democratic government of Eduardo Frei Montalva (1964-1970). The introduction of private-voucher schools (Mizala & Torche, 2012) or subsidised schools in the 1980s used the historical elitist character of academic selection in the Chilean education to exacerbate competition within the education system. The third section explains the educational policies implemented by the governments of the *Concertación* (1990-2010) under the development strategy of growth with equity, as an integral aspect of a reformed neoliberal template of “Third Way social democracy” (Taylor, 2006:180). It analyses the impact of this “new paradigm of educational policies” (Cox, 2003:20), which combines both “market driven, based on *choice models*, and [...] state driven, based on *integration models*” (OECD, 2004:20), in an education agenda of equity and quality implemented since the early 1990s. This outline history of the emergence of neoliberal education policies in Chile provides the background to the

⁷ Neo-capitalism refers to the “emerging society, defined at times as “post-industrial”, post-Fordist”, “technocratic” or programmed society” (della Porta and Dani, 2006:8). The main influential exponents of neo-capitalism are sociologists Alain Touraine and Daniel Bell.

detailed discussion of the social construction of spatial relations in the Penguins' movement in later chapters.

The making of the *estado docente*

The radical transformation of Chilean education took place through a neoliberal reform that introduced the free market as a regulatory mechanism. Gauri (1998) argues that this represented “an international movement to introduce market forces into social sector delivery” (p.6) to transform and modernise welfare policies, in particular those related to health and education. While reorganisation of welfare state policies in many countries entailed reconceiving “the long-standing idea of an entitlement to social services” (p.8), in Chile a radical transformation took place regarding a centralised administrative and educative role of the state, known as the *estado docente*. When Chile became an independent republic after the Spanish colonial period in the early part of the nineteenth century, the provision of primary and secondary education levels was constitutionally guaranteed by the government⁸ and the state⁹. The *estado docente* was not exclusively for one group of society nor was it a “static, homogeneous, or one-dimensional” (van der Ree, 2007:2) process. Rather, it was socially dependent on the process of economic modernisation that in Latin American countries, as Roberts (2002) highlights, “created a more diversified social structure and eroded the foundations of oligarchic regimes” (p.10). On this basis, ideological, sociocultural, and economic factors played a key role in determining how the *estado docente* was to be organised and governed, and what social sectors were associated with it.

This state's educative role became “an essential and constitutional function of a unitary state” (Gauri, 1998:14). An extension of the process of industrialisation and “the inward-orientated form of capitalist accumulation” (Taylor, 2003: 23) was initiated in Chile from the 1930s by a protective state, and led to the expansion of education during the “import substitution industrialisation period” (Taylor, 2006:15). During this period there was state prioritisation of “universalistic social policy” (ibid.). This period was followed by the implementation of the economic programme of

⁸ Education was declared by the Constitution of 1833 to be “a prerequisite for democracy and a responsibility for the government” (Fisher, 1979:31).

⁹ As Fisher (1979) notes, the Constitution of 1925 declares “in contrast to the 1833 declaration [...] that education is a guarantee ensured, not by the “government”, but by the state” (p.35).

Revolución en Libertad (Revolution in Liberty), during the government of Eduardo Frei Montalva (1964-1970). The programme was intended “to provide a model of socially progressive reform within a “neo-capitalist” or “Third Way”¹⁰ model of development” (p.20). Modernisation of education mirrored a rational and analytical planning approach and an emphasis on education as investment in human capital, as the formation of “skilled technicians and professionals needed for economic development” (Superintendency of Education, 1966:46). In the early 1970s, the government of Salvador Allende (1970-1973) attempted to build a “Democratic Transition to Socialism” (Taylor, 2006:29) known as *La Vía Chilena al Socialismo* (The Chilean Road to Socialism). This did not seek to construct an “alternative to modernity” (van der Ree, 2007: 131) but rather “to construct a proper alternative modernity, a hybrid form of modernity, in which capitalist elements of the modern were mixed with non-capitalist ones” (ibid.). The consolidation of the “*Estado Popular*” (State of Masses)” (Taylor, 2006:24) during the government of *Unidad Popular* (UP) placed education and its democratisation within a reform that aimed at implementing “a sweeping transformation of Chile’s historically capitalist based economic structure” (Fischer, 1979:5).

The development of the *estado docente* was strongly influenced by the rise of middle-class and working-class groups at the beginning of the twentieth century. They became key actors in leading demands to control the “education system, to exploit this for their own benefit and to foster development of a democratic, modern, and national system of education” (Nuñez, 1984:13, my own translation). Alongside “the long-term institutionalisation of a national-development form of the state” (Taylor, 2006:15), the middle-class groups consolidated their control within the *estado docente*, which, in turn, benefited them as well as sections of working-class groups. The extent to which these groups sought to accommodate their demands within the political system derived partly from “a shift in the relationship between the Chilean state and society” (ibid.) and the role of social movements, in particular

¹⁰ The Third Way seeks “to resolve the core ideological tensions of the past two centuries - the clash between socialism and liberalism. It believes that the ethical foundations of socialism – fraternity and equality - can coexist with the freedoms of liberalised markets and liberal democracy. This is why it emphasises a particular set of values - interdependence, responsibility, incentives and devolution” (Latham, 2001:26).

teachers and workers, who questioned the centralised, authoritarian, and segmented character of the *estado docente* and demanded its radical transformation¹¹.

The demand for democratisation of the *estado docente* was linked with the expansion of state education between the 1930s and the 1970s¹². So the *estado docente* in some respects democratised education and was credited with engineering social mobility. Nevertheless, the expansion of public education did not coalesce around a common idea of what democratisation of education might mean. This was partly because of “the relationship between ideology and educational reforms efforts” (Fischer, 1979:4) and their implications for democratising education.

The ideological assemblage and democratisation of education

Ruiz Schneider (2010) argues that the 1965 educational reform led by the government of Frei Montalva deepened the democratisation of the education system, defining the state’s role as guarantor of “each citizen’s inalienable right to education” (Fischer, 1979:41) The formal structures¹³ of the Chilean education system were

¹¹ In the first half of the twentieth century primary school teachers from the *Asociación General de Profesores* (General Association of Teachers) led the movement of a “radical model of reform” (Nuñez, 1979), influenced by the ideas of the European and American movement of *Escuela Nueva* (New School) and nascent educational currents in Latin America. Teachers’ association reform called for “unification of the education system and its autonomous democratization led by teachers’ and parents’ communities; a more democratic school climate open to its surrounding community and the development of curricular programmes based on children’s interests and implemented through active and collaborative learning methods” (Nuñez, 1984:15-6).

Likewise, the *Federación Obrera de Chile* (Workers’ Federation of Chile ([FOCH]),) led the demand for the creation of self-governing free schools of anarchist workers to counterbalance the failure of the *Ley de Instrucción Primaria* (1920) regarding school access, conditions of compulsory schooling, and its lack of democratic participation.

¹² Between 1938 and 1961 enrolment increased from 524,125 to 880,458 children at primary education level. At secondary education level number of students expanded from 44,055 to 113,395 while professional education increased from 32,360 to 78,936. Within the higher education sector student numbers rose from 7,846 to 25,612 (Nuñez, 1984). During the following period (1961-1970) enrolment at primary education increased from 1,371,800 to 2,044,591 children and access to secondary education expanded from 87,100 to 202,400 students. At the level of professional education number of students rose from 23,700 to 99,700. Access to higher education increased from 25,612 to 76,979 students (Nuñez, 1984). During the government of *Unidad Popular*, enrolment at both preschool and primary education levels increased from 58,990 to 90,259 children and from 2,044,591 to 2,316,874 respectively. At secondary education level, enrolment in the humanistic-scientific track increased from 202,400 to 282,800 whilst the number of students in the vocational-technical track expanded from 99,700 to 163,100. Participation in higher education rose from 76,979 to 139,999 students (Nuñez, 1984).

¹³ The Decree N° 27952 of December 7, 1965 initiated the process of structural reform of Chilean education system by giving a new structure to the formal system: pre-school education; elementary or basic education; secondary or intermediate education and higher education (Fischer, 1979; Guajardo, 1989). At the basic school level, implementation of the reform alongside curricula and study plans were, as Fisher (1979) argues, “gradually introduced”. This “included an experimental, or trial, period during which new curricula were introduced in a select number of schools throughout the country

transformed to expand participation and access to all levels of education. But Ruiz Schneider (2010) notes that Frei Montalva's reform "did not aim to extend democracy but rather the reform was grounded in a very specific idea of education. Education is thus related to a global notion of economic development whilst its relation to democracy remains almost marginal" (p.84, my own translation).

Following the Alliance for Progress in 1961 and the Conference on Education and Socio-Economic Development in Latin America in 1962, education was placed at the centre of Chile's development strategy. Juan Gomez Millas, Frei's first Minister of Education stated: "Education has been considered for a long time as a luxury, a privilege or a consumption good; today we see it as a valuable consumption investment" (1966:24). This statement illustrates the influence of human capital theory that sees education as an investment in processes of economic development. Debates about this relationship, within the 1965 Educational Reform, prioritised "development of technical education, science, and technology" (Ruiz Schneider, 2010:91) that attempted to put democratic virtues of science and technology on a par with opportunities for enriching the "dimension and potential of contemporary humanism" (Leyton and Carkovic, 1968:11).

While a focus on equal conditions for educational opportunities sought to match the idea of democratisation with the social mobility of a new middle class, the Reform sought, "to replace the traditional elite by a new one constituted by businessmen and high-level technicians emerging from middle class groups" (Ruiz Schneider, 2010: 92). Within Frei's government democratisation of education seemed to be limited by contradictory orientations. Educational selectivity became part of university entry requirement. Alongside this limited idea of democratisation of education, equality of opportunity between humanistic-scientific and vocational-technical tracks was addressed in terms of individual preferences. Socio-economic conditions and social inequality were not addressed. As a result, planners and practitioners of the 1965 reform disregarded the role of social classes and inequality in the relationship between education and democracy (Ruiz Schneider, 2010).

before their nationwide adoption" (p.44). Curriculum was organised around obligatory, elective and optional subjects. In secondary education, "similar curricular features were prescribed" (p.45). In addition, "both tracks, humanistic-scientific and technical professional, included general plans of study common to all programs and specialised plans of study which allowed for concentration in certain areas" (ibid).

There was also expansion in all levels of education during the period 1970- 1973¹⁴. During the government of *Unidad Popular* the idea of democratisation of education “echoed the leftist attacks on educational elitism and inequality” (Fischer, 1979:61) challenging “the rhetoric of Frei’s Revolution in Liberty” (ibid.). Expansion took place across the whole education system in the first three years of Allende’s government with opportunities for participation of the most marginalised groups. Democratisation was linked to attempts to broaden participation through decentralisation of the decision-making process. The socialist vision of education in the UP government recognised its “socio-political – not merely pedagogical context” (p.74), and entailed the development of education not as a machine of political doctrine but rather as a tool for developing social consciousness. With this focus on the role of education, *Escuela Nacional Unificada* (National Unified School [ENU]) became a central project in building a “national, unified, diversified, democratic, pluralistic, productive education system integrated into the community, with features that were scientific and technological, humanistic and planned” (Ministerio de Educación Pública, 1973: 6-7).

To sum up, the *estado docente* represented a project of modernisation, through which different political forces were oriented toward strengthening the role of the state as guarantor of the provision of education. The education system evolved as “the result of the accumulation of different projects of modernisation ... [and] their interaction, which is often conflictual ... creat[ing] very complex patterns of modernity” (Van der Ree, 2007: 3-4).

Many forms of construction of modernity exist (Habermas, 1987; Giddens, 1991; Wagner, 1994; Larraín, 2001), and are “in interaction with external influences” (van der Ree, 2007:3). This can be seen, for example, in the origins of the notion of the *estado docente* and its first modernisation process led under German influence and the introduction of Herbart’s pedagogy in the last part of the nineteenth century.

In a similar vein, the ideology underpinning the “developmentalist educational planning model” (Gauri, 1998:15) of the 1960s reflects a process of modernisation that constituted a first attempt to introduce ideas “associated with investment in education and other related forms of human capital” (Olssen, 2010:9) Perhaps, it represented a very much earlier sign that education “would be seen through a

¹⁴ See footnote 12.

decidedly different lens” (Hyslop-Margirson & Sears, 2006:13), even though such analysis has been overshadowed by the onset of neoliberal economic policies introduced by the military dictatorship during the 1970s and 1980s.

Towards the Silent Revolution

How can the process of modernisation during the military dictatorship be explained? Van der Ree (2007) argues, “the Bureaucratic-Authoritarian regime of Pinochet itself developed a project of modernisation [...] which would become known as “the Silent Revolution” (p.185). It might be related to what Harvey (2006a) has claimed was “the first great experiment with neoliberal state formation [...] after Pinochet’s coup on the little September 11th of 1973” (p.12). Van der Ree (2007) identifies this “Silent Revolution” as a social transformation of Chilean society:

The neo-liberal revolution [...] not only produced economic results but also promoted individualism and competitive relations between individuals. As a result, the collective outlook of social organisation in Chile rapidly gave way to a more individualistic orientation” (p.210).

What is the scope of the definition of neoliberalism in the context of the Chilean experiment in education? Brenner et al. (2010) argue:

Controversies regarding its precise meaning are more than merely semantic. They generally flow from underlying disagreements regarding the sources, expressions and implications of contemporary regulatory transformations (p.182).

Neoliberalism represents an economic framework focusing on “intensification of market rule and commodification” (Brenner et al, 2010: 184) that is traceable to Friederich von Hayek’s intellectual project on the development of an “economic theory of liberalism” (Olssen, 2010:23) in the early 1940s to “de-legitimate the post-war theory of interventionism and oppose the extension of welfare rights through society” (ibid.). Hayek’s concerns about “the limitations of reasons guiding human action” (ibid.) and therefore the impossibility of the state “acquiring knowledge of the situation” (p.24) links with his theory on individualism. In opposition to “pre-social and ahistorical” (ibid.) conditions of individuals, Hayek (1949) attributed such conditions to “their existence in society” (p.6):

[...] there is no other way toward an understanding of social phenomena but through our understanding of individual actions directed toward other people and guided by their expected behaviour (ibid.).

On the impossibility of the state leading, designing and planning reforms on social institutions, it is the principle of “spontaneous order in human affairs” (Hayek, 1967: 162) that often leads to the creation of greater things “which are the result of human action but not the result of human design”(Ferguson, 1767:187 quoted in Hayek, 1949:7):

For Hayek the doctrine of spontaneous evolution attests to his distrust of the processes of state action of deliberate human design. In his view complex institutions such as economies are the outcome of spontaneous evolution which demonstrates the superiority of unregulated markets for creativity and progress as against all conceptions or models of centralised planning. A spontaneous societal order such as a market order can utilise practical fragmented knowledge in a way in which a deliberately planned order cannot (Olssen, 2010:26).

In *Capitalism and Freedom*, Milton Friedman (2002) argues that in *The Road to Serfdom*, Hayek’s emphasis was on “economic freedom as a means toward political freedom” (Friedman, 2002: ii):

Viewed as a means to the end of political freedom, economic arrangements are important because of their effect on the concentration or dispersion of power. The kind of economic organisation that provides economic freedom directly, namely, competitive capitalism, also promotes political freedom because it separates economic power from political power and in this way enables the one to offset the other (p.9).

Whilst connections between economic and political freedom rely on the market “as a direct component of freedom, and then the indirect relation between market arrangements and political freedom” (p.12), this relationship does not entail the elimination of government:

[...] government is essential both as a forum for determining the “rules of the game” and as an umpire to interpret and enforce the rules decided on. What the market does is to reduce greatly the range of issues that must be decided through political means, and thereby to minimise the extent to which government need to participate directly in the game (p.15).

Lee Mudge (2008) argues, “neoliberalism is rooted in a moral project, articulated in the language of economics” (p.706) and based on “the moral benefits of market society [...] as a necessary condition for freedom in other aspects of life” (Fourcade and Healy, 2007:287). The creation of the Mont Pelerin Society in 1947, “a small and exclusive group of passionate advocates – mainly academic, economists, historians, and philosophers” (Harvey, 2005:19) which included among others the economist Milton Friedman from the University of Chicago School of Economics – represented, along with “its Anglo-American anchored transnationality” (Lee Mudge, 2008:708), “neo-liberalism’s intellectual face” (ibid), which could explain its rise and ascendance. Chile was the setting for initial projects of this group of intellectuals.

In the 1950s, a US government-sponsored covenant between the *Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile* (The Pontifical Catholic University of Chile [PUC]) in Santiago de Chile and the School of Economics at the University of Chicago was set up for training one hundred postgraduate students in economics between 1957 and 1970. Klein (2007) argues:

By selecting Chicago – to train Chileans – a school where the professors agitated for the near-complete dismantling of government with single-minded focus – the U.S. Department was firing a shot across the bow in its war against developmentalism, effectively telling Chileans that the U.S. government has decided what ideas their elite students should and should not learn (p.60).

Chile was “the epicentre of the Chicago experiment” (p.63), although it is often not mentioned. Rather the history of neoliberalism starts “with Thatcher and Reagan” (Klein, 2009)¹⁵ because, as Klein (ibid.) continues, “it is much more flattering in that way”. Chile became an undebated example among neoliberal political economists because of the level of authoritarianism and lack of political freedoms in which Milton Friedman’s theories were imposed and tested.

As decades have passed neoliberalism is, as Peck and Tickell (2002) argue, “no longer a dream of Chicago economists or a nightmare in the imaginations of leftist conspiracy theorists; it has become a common sense of the times” (p.381). But neoliberalism was also “part of a Cold War programme to counteract left-wing tendencies in Latin America” (Harvey, 2005: 8). In Chile it was a locally

¹⁵ <https://vimeo.com/26718047>

contextualised project which echoes broader patterns of transformation of society (Peck, 2015):

This means walking a line of sorts between producing, on the one hand, overgeneralised accounts of a monolithic and omnipresent neoliberalism, which tend to be insufficiently sensitive to its local variability and complex internal constitution, and on the other hand, excessively concrete and contingent analysis of (local) neoliberal strategies, which are inadequately attentive to the substantial connections and necessary characteristics of neoliberalism as an extra local project (Peck and Tickell, 2002:381-2).

The foundation of a new Chilean form of neoliberal democracy was defined by Pinochet, in his speech at Chacarillas¹⁶ in 1977, as “authoritarian, protected, integrated, technical and authentic social participation”. The neoliberal project in Chile never fully achieved total adherence to the orthodox neoliberal theories of the Chicago School. Rather, Chile turned into an experiment involving the free market “mixed with proper “Chilean” elements, such as prioritising poverty reduction and maintaining some of the planning functions of the state” (van der Ree, 2007: 197). However, the introduction of school choice reform in the 1980s reflected a much stricter adherence to free market regulation in education, although the military regime’s reform in education also exhibited contradictions and incoherencies.

The Chilean education experiment in the 1980s

The Chilean education experiment, ideologically designed by a group of economists known as the Chicago Boys – because of their attachment to the Chicago School of Economics – represented, Infante and Schiefelbein (1992) argue, “the most profound transformation ever experienced in Chilean public education” (p.4). It led to transformation of the *estado docente* reducing the role of the state through the principle of subsidiarity just to that of a “safety net [...] for those who fail to reach the minimum threshold” (Olssen, 2010:13-4). The Chilean experience constituted an experiment itself because its design and conditions of implementation deviated from the theory of market choice “almost from the beginning” (Gauri 1998:41).

¹⁶ This “new democracy” had earlier been proclaimed and presented by ministers of the regime. However, the Chacarillas Speech is usually considered to be the formal announcement of the model, because it included a time schedule and trajectory for the gradual return to democracy (van der Ree, 2007:202).

The 1979 Law of Municipal Revenues established “the legal foundation for the transfer of schools” (p.23). This entailed transferring the administration of all primary and secondary state schools from the Ministry of Education (MINEDUC) to municipal governments. This was, later known as municipalisation, and was undertaken as a way to modernise education service delivery through decentralisation. The 1979 Law assigned to municipalities responsibility for controlling and providing educational services based on the principle of “*subsidiariedad*” (subsidiarity). It was followed by the Law on Subvention in 1981 that assigned to the state responsibility for provision of finance – through providing exactly equal subventions or student vouchers to newly municipalised schools and to newly created private voucher schools or subsidised schools. In 1982, 85% of public schools were transferred to municipalities, with a view to this process being completed by 1987 (Gauri, 1998).

The economic principle within the municipalisation process was known as a “voucher-type student-based subsidy” (World Bank 2007) which “determined schools’ revenues on a month-to-month basis by total enrolments and a government-determined voucher” (McEwan and Carnoy 2000: 213). This entailed state provision of public funding in education without the state administering schools. The voucher scheme led to the emergence of a new education sector that Mizala and Torche (2012) define as “private-voucher” to be distinguished from the school categories that existed before 1981:

Before the reform, three types of schools existed in Chile: public schools (accounting for 80% of the enrolment), private subsidised schools (14%) and private fee-paying schools (6%). Both public and private subsidised schools were free and funded by the government. The latter type of school received a lump-sum subsidy, substantially smaller than the per-student spending in the public sector. Most of them were Catholic and operated as a form of charity (p.133)¹⁷.

Gauri (1998) argues, “decentralisation is continuous with privatisation” (p.20) and both constitute “the most common guises” (p.19) for supporting public choice theory that questions “the notion of public interest which had underpinned western models of bureaucracy and government from the inception of the welfare state earlier in the

¹⁷ The taxonomy of Chilean education system also includes a group of technical and vocational schools, known as *Corporaciones de Administración Delegada* (Delegated Administration Schools). They are financed by the state under the scheme of voucher-type student-based subsidy and administrated by firms or enterprises.

twentieth century” (Olssen, 2010:14-15). Public choice theory applies quasi-market procedures to make institutions efficient “based on the classical economic model of individuals as self-interested appropriators (p.15) and to make “public-sector institutions [...] subject to the similar costs and benefits as operate in the private sector” (ibid.). Its application in the field of education owes much to the influence of Friedman’s article on the role of government in education:

[...] in which he argued, as part of a broader claim about the role of government in service provision, that the existence of externalities in the education sector justifies governmental funding but not governmental management of schools (Gauri, 1998:21).

In the Chilean reforms, efficiency of self-interested appropriators is equivalent to families “as the basic social unit” (Friedman, 2002: 87). Thus, within the newly created “dualised public-private education system” (Taylor, 2006: 89), parents could exercise preferences and choices, based upon a moral if not legal right to choose the schools they want for their children, and with control of their choice through the voucher scheme. Friedman (2002) argues:

Parents would then be free to spend this sum and any additional sum they themselves provided on purchasing educational services from an “approved” institution of their own choice. The educational services could be rendered by private enterprises operated for profit, or by non-profit institutions (p.89).

The changes introduced by this set of economic and legal reforms were completed by the promulgation of the *Ley Orgánica Constitucional de Educación* (Constitutional Law of Education [LOCE]) on March 10 1990, one day before the end of Pinochet’s regime even though the military regime had needed ten years to elaborate it. The LOCE assigned to the state the constitutional responsibility for protecting the *libertad de enseñanza* or freedom to educate “as the range of choice available to parents” (Friedman, 2002: 91) and freedom to open new schools. It created the legal entity called *sostenedor* (private provider) which allowed anyone who has a high school diploma “to open a school and to receive government funding without having to conform to any standard of quality” (Elacqua, 2009:8). The concept of *sostenedor* represented adherence to Friedman’s principle of competition attempting to eliminate the “technical monopoly” (Friedman, 2002:93) of state education:

The development and improvement of all schools would be stimulated. The injection of competition would do much to promote a healthy variety of schools. It would do much, also, to introduce flexibility into school systems (ibid.).

Friedman (2002) does not deny the role of government in education but rather its role is to intervene regarding “neighbourhood effects” (p.85) and “paternalistic concern for children and other irresponsible individuals” (p.86):

[...] i.e., circumstances under which the action of one individual imposes significant costs on other individuals for which it is not feasible to make him compensate them, or yields significant gains to other individuals for which it is not feasible to make them compensate him – circumstances that make voluntary exchange impossible (p.85-6).

Thus government’s concern has to do more with schooling than education, and as Friedman emphasises, both of them have different implications, since “not all schooling is education nor all education, schooling” (p.86).

The military reforms were linked with “an extremely tight definition” (van der Ree, 2007:194) of the principle of subsidiarity in which welfare state provision was reshaped according to “social mapping techniques that differentiated the working class according to income and vulnerability” (Taylor, 2006:81):

In so doing, the regime claimed that expenditure could be targeted towards the extreme poor in an objective, efficient and apolitical manner. Introducing technically defined criteria to judge which households deserve state support and which would be excluded, the regime sought to sustain the poorest section of the working class in conditions of generalised pauperisation without politicising these relations (ibid.).

Social programmes based on targeted policies “were not new in Chile” (ibid.) and they represented, in the governments of Frei and Allende respectively, the idea of universal protection of social rights through redistribution and incorporation of marginalised groups. Yet during the dictatorship’s reform, targeted subsidies were implemented, under the ODEPLAN’s leadership¹⁸, by prioritising “the introduction of

¹⁸ The *Oficina de Planificación Nacional* (The National Planning Office) was a governmental body created during the government of Frei Montalva. During the implementation of military economic reforms, Miguel Kast, head of ODEPLAN and a Chicago Boy was, as van der Ree (2007) notes, “crucial in prioritising poverty reduction policies. Under Kast, the first “map of extreme poverty in Chile

strongly focalised expenditure” (Taylor, 2006:82). The targeted programmes, as Ruiz Encina (2011) notes, reduced the universality of social investment and social policies for the most marginalised people and consequently the principle of targeted expenditure ended up denying the universal dimension of social rights such as education. This “institutional form of state-society linkages” (Taylor, 2006:81) requires the existence of a safety net. Olssen (2010) argues:

Whether because of age, or disability, or sickness, a certain group will fail to participate successfully, and they will be caught by the “safety net” and receive a benefit to ensure minimum consumption (p.14).

The safety net reintroduced the neighbourhood effect, as the principle of subsidiarity ensures “general security but at the lowest level” (Foucault, 2010:206). Within “the principle of subsidiarity to all state activities” (Bellei et al., 2014:427), school vouchers provide “alternatives to low-resource families trapped in underperforming public schools” (Mizala & Torche, 2012:132). Nevertheless, as Foucault (2010) argues, “the economic mechanisms of the game, the mechanisms of competition and enterprise, will be allowed to function in the rest of society” (p.206) without altering the structural inequality in society but making the conditions for the spontaneous order that Hayek applied “not only with reference to economic life and the spontaneous emergence of markets but also in social life” (Olssen, 2010:26). A spontaneous order is somehow equivalent to a “Darwinian evolution” (Gray, 1984) where “selective evolution is the source of all order” (p.32). This equates to the capacity of schools to compete to be more effective, through “the elimination of unfit systems” (ibid.), within a dualised public-private market-driven neoliberal education system.

Core contradictions

The military dictatorship’s reforms sought to modernise education and were not implemented with strict adherence to “Chicago school neo-liberalism” (van der Ree, 2007:195). An authoritarian state sought to implement an economic policy for education rather than an education policy per se (Castiglione, 2001). The re-foundation of the state was based on absence of political freedoms, proscription of

was created which provided detailed and segmented information on the issue of poverty, and which offered clear policy suggestions” (p.190).

political parties and political repression. This partly explained why “the neoliberal social sector reforms went farther in Chile than in other countries” (Gauri, 1998:75). The military regime pursued the radical transformation of the *estado docente* by downsizing it. Public schools were transferred to municipal administration. Under decentralisation “control of services” was intended to proceed through local decisions, but there was no space for autonomy at the newly created Municipal Education Administration Departments (DAEMs). Many mayors “were captains and colonels appointed directly by Pinochet” (p.29). Gauri (1998) notes:

The municipalisation project suffered from a fundamental contradiction: although for the neoliberal planners in the government decentralisation was designed to increase local powers, for the military it was the lowest rung of the national command and control structure (p.30).

Parents had a little opportunity to exercise control in the process of school choice. Thus the freedom that parents might or might not enjoy in having access to information on school efficiency was undermined because of the centralised orientation of the MINEDUC. Municipalities’ lack of economic autonomy from central government to control budget deficits ended up weakening technical capacity at a local level to “internalize the competitive pressure [entailed] by loss of enrolment” (Cox, 2003:26). Gauri (1998) argues:

How can parents who want to participate in their children’s education determine whether a school is good? Most people rely on reputations. But these take time to form. And, particularly in Chile, they are frequently a simple function of the social class of a school’s student population. Traditionally, parents would try to reach a little bit higher for their children’s education, sending them to a municipality one rung up on the socioeconomic ladder (p.46).

Enrolment at municipal schools decreased from 75.3% in 1982 to 58.4% in 1990 (Cox, 2003). While this reduction in enrolment at these schools could be based on reliable information on the quality of municipal schools, having good information on quality education at newly created private-voucher schools was likely to be much more difficult, if not impossible. However, enrolment numbers in this education sector increased from 19.6% in 1982 to 32.3% in 1990. Within a context in which “about 40% of Chileans were living in poverty, a large part of them in informal economy” (p.5), does school choice create the opportunity for working-class parents to become

sophisticated consumers of education? This question entails addressing the debate on military reforms and the introduction of the market beyond the state versus market dichotomy (Wacquant, 2012), to understand “that markets are not institution-free fields of action, but rather markets themselves are political constructions and a political project” (Bockman, 2012:310).

As Foucault (2010) argues, neoliberalism is an “art of government” to align and model political power “on the principles of a market economy” (p.131) in which the distinction between a market economy and laissez-faire policies relies on understanding competition as “a structure with formal properties, [and] it was these formal properties of the competitive structure that assured, and could assure, economic regulation through the price mechanism” (ibid.). Then governmental action is being formulated in terms of how to implement this principle on the basis of already existing conditions or how “to develop in fact the concrete and real space in which the formal structure of competition could function” (p.132).

In the context of the economic reforms of the 1980s, student selection that has long existed at the group of the oldest public high schools enabled, I would argue, the capacity of military reforms to reengineer the education system. Certainly market-driven reforms transformed the education system by extending the already existing student selection to a new private-voucher education sector. New private-voucher schools were seen as the promised land of social mobility through more “efficient alternatives” (Carnoy, 1998) and paved the way to develop neoliberalism as a “new social imaginary” (Lipman, 2011) within the Chilean education system.

At the level of state policy implementation, the military reforms attempted “to reconcile the still powerful role of the state with their specifically anti-state discourse” (van der Ree, 2007:208). This led to implementation of a mixed approach of a dualised education provision of free market driven educational policy within a *subsidiary state*. On this basis, modernisation of the education sector during the 1980s became a project in which the state remained, as “the fundamental financial guarantor of education, albeit in a modified version” (Taylor, 2006: 90). Whilst military reforms sought to dismantle the public education system in order to produce profound effects on society, it would be during the governments of the *Concertación*,

which replaced the military rulers, that this process was deepened and considerably extended through a further process of privatisation of the public education system.

Growth with Equity: a reformed neoliberal template in education?

Between 1990 and 2010, four democratically elected governments from a coalition of centre-left parties known as the *Concertación*¹⁹ assumed office and led the implementation of a new programme of growth with equity. This stood between social democracy and free-market capitalism to become a “potential Third Way option for Latin America” (Taylor, 2006:5). A number of commentators on the return to democracy in Chile see a line of continuity with the reforms initiated by Pinochet’s dictatorship. Barton (2002) argues:

Clearly the shift in regime type is dramatic – a bureaucratic authoritarian one replaced by a democratic one. However, this political form does not define the state that it manages. The Chilean state retained and deepened its capitalist features during the 1990s through further liberalisation and privatisation strategies, continuing the capitalist accumulation model imposed by the Chicago Boys economic team from 1975. This can be described as continuity in the form and orientation of the state, thus *continuismo* has transcended the transition in the regime type (p.359).

Ruiz Encina (2011) shows how the adoption and naturalisation of the notion of the *subsidiary state* during the democratic transition process “as part of a strategy of continuity” (Barton, 2002: 359) between opposition political parties – which later would become the *Concertación* – drew on ideas initiated during Pinochet’s dictatorship.

However, the form of neoliberalism implemented during the governments of the *Concertación* differs from the neoliberal military reforms because the developmental strategy of growth with equity did not provide a blueprint for modernisation of the state. Rather, “the modernisation of the state became an on-going process, as the

¹⁹ Four governments of the *Concertación* assumed office between March 1990 and March 2010. The *Concertación* comprised the *Partido Demócrata Cristiano* (PDC [Christian Democratic Party]); *Partido Socialista* (PS [Socialist Party]); *Partido por la Democracia* (PPD [Party for Democracy]) and *Partido Radical Socialdemócrata* (PRSD [Radical Social Democratic Party]). The four governments were led by Patricio Alwyin (1990-1994) and Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle (1994-2000) from PDC; Ricardo Lagos (2000-2006) from PPD and Michelle Bachelet (2006-2010) from PS.

state continuously has to adapt to its new and often conflicting modernising role in society” (van der Ree, 2007: 256).

If neoliberalism could be defined as an “unstable, hybrid and contextually specific presence” (Brenner et al., 2010:184), then unpredictability would seem to underpin the capacity for continuity of the Chicago Boys’ reforms. By recognising growth with equity as a feature of neoliberalism, we need to refer to neo-structuralism, which was initially developed in Chile as a counter-proposal to neoliberal theories of development. Van der Ree (2007) argues:

Neo-structuralism was conceived and elaborated mainly as a criticism of the neoliberal paradigm. Through the construction of an alternative to neoliberalism, the neo-structural economists hoped to create a viable economic model for Latin America that would be able to combine sustainable development with a more equal distribution of wealth. However, rather than creating an antithesis of neoliberalism, neo-structuralists sought to harmonise the key themes of structuralist thought with the realities of a globalised world, and, in the Chilean case, an existing neoliberal model (p.246).

Neo-structuralism differs from neoliberal theories as it emphasises:

“[...] the inclusion of participation of population, redistribution of income, and a strong, if limited, role of the state”. However, it added to these analyses a systematic attempt to formulate economic policies that were to be effective in the short term (p. 245).

Neo-structuralism, as an approach rather than a “true development theory” (van der Ree, 2007), emphasised “uncertainty and a creative but never-ending path of finding practical solutions for complex situations” (Larraín, 2005:69). If pragmatism underpins this approach, then how did it operate within policy-making in the educational reforms of the 1990s?

In the field of educational policies, the development strategy of growth with equity was proposed as the optimal route to make quality education available for all. Such an approach reflected a new focus by the *Concertación* on social democracy and economic policies that promoted “equality of opportunities rather than of outcome” (Keaney, 2005:30). Equity in the context of the educational policies of the 1990s entailed the integration of two different meanings. On the one hand, it approached

the idea of “integration of the population, with access to the basic benefits of the state for all, in order to achieve equality of opportunity and lives with dignity for all” (van der Ree, 2007:250), and on the other hand equity seemed to suggest a much more social-democratic idea of reducing economic inequality. This intersected with two guiding criteria in the onset of educational policies: (i) the implementation of universal and comprehensive programmes to improve quality education and (ii) the development of targeted compensatory programmes to enhance equal opportunities amongst disadvantaged students at the poorest primary and secondary schools as a principle of equity (Cox, 2003).

Quality and equity entailed a rupture with the notion of the subsidiary state to adopt a most proactive role, as “a state-sponsored network of social services in the style of European welfare states” (van der Ree, 2007:250). As Osorio (2003) argues, “the state has to be strong enough to regulate the market, but also small enough to leave room for the market, as private enterprise is considered to be the motor of development” (p.136). Therefore the role of the state is a limited one, but nevertheless important and complementary within a free market-economy.

Three interrelated phases of educational policies

Progressive implementation of a set of educational policies through a most proactive role attempted to enhance equity and quality of learning opportunities. This new state approach became evident in education spending that, Gauri (1998) argues, aimed to repay “the social debt accumulated during the 1980s, primarily in education and health” (p.40). Public expenditure went from 2.4% of Gross National Product in 1990 to 4.2% in 2008.

Cox (2003) regards this process as comprising three interrelated phases: the introduction of educational policies in the 1990s, the implementation of targeted programmes to enhance equity and quality of learning opportunities, and the implementation of educational reform with a compulsory character throughout the education system (See Appendix 1). Cox (2003) shows how “a complex political economy” (p.39) led to decision-making processes becoming dependent upon three different state bodies: the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Finance, and the Executive, and with an emphasis on political consensus between the governments

of the *Concertación* and the right-wing opposition parties. This constituted, as the OECD (2004) argues, “the most politically sensitive” (p.21) matter:

a) the shift in the policy-organising paradigm away from the subsidiary toward the proactive state; b) the national vision defining a high priority for education, the framework of agreements and the low degree of conflict that accompanied and defined policies of the period, elements which all coalesced into a politically plural and very influential national commission for modernising education [...] (*Comisión Nacional de Modernización*)²⁰, 1994; c) the sustained growth in spending on education [...], and expressed in the laws on shared financing and educational donations (1993); and d), the laws defining teachers’ status, from 1991 and 1995, and the evaluation and individual incentives to the best teachers (ibid.).

The political context meant that any attempts by the *Concertación* to address deep transformations in education had to take into account an overrepresented right-wing sector because of the binominal electoral system²¹ and senators designated by the military in the Senate. This meant that the education policy-making process of the *Concertación* was focused on “rectifying years of state underinvestment” (Burton, 2012:6) rather than attempting to change the LOCE.

Implementation of programmes to improve equity and quality of learning opportunities followed the principle of selectivity and targeted expenditure that, Sottoli (2000) suggests, constitutes one of the pillars of the neoliberal approach to social policy in Latin America. On this basis, it followed a “less complex political economy” (Cox, 2003:39) as it represented inward-oriented economic policy-making under the principle of targeted social policy “within the pre-existing limits” (ibid.) of targeting policies. It was grounded on the assumption that “growth and equality could be compatible and even mutually reinforcing” (van der Ree, 2007: 249). It included the implementation of ten programmes throughout the decade 1992-2002 under the criteria of universal and targeted coverage. This onset of educational

²⁰ National Commission for Modernisation

²¹ The binominal system relates, as Siavelis (1997) argues, to “an electoral formula with two-member districts [...] designed to temper the negative consequences of the often fractious and ideological party system” (p.653). It was implemented by the military dictatorship as a system to produce “centripetal competition, party system integration, and eventually, the establishment of a two-party system or limited multipartism” (p.656). This resulted in both a “polarised competition” (Burton, 2012) between the *Concertación* and the right-wing coalition known as the *Alianza* and “an overrepresentation of the right at the expense of smaller parties and lists that are not affiliated with either coalition” (p.3).

programmes comprised a package of projects called MECE²² that sought to be implemented through steadily increased public expenditure on education that “rose from 1.5% of Gross Domestic Product in 1990 to ... 3.12% in 2003” (Tellez and Ramirez, 2012: 190; MINEDUC, 2010) (see Appendix 2)

Reforms relating to the implementation of *Jornada Escolar Completa* (Full School Day [JEC])²³ and curriculum reform at both primary and secondary education levels (1997-2002) took place during this period. The curriculum reform focused on bringing forward changes in the following five areas: (1) decentralisation through giving schools autonomy to design their own study plan or to follow MINEDUC’s study programmes; (2) the curriculum reform maintained the existing 8-4 structure²⁴. Yet it changed the start of technical and professional education from ninth to eleventh grade. The secondary education curriculum, with a common curriculum until tenth grade, was differentiated between general and specialised education at eleventh grade; (3) the curricular organisation introduced “multi- disciplinary (cross-curricular) themes” (OECD, 2004:29) such as values, as an area in which students were allowed to participate “both as citizens and economic actors [...] in a culture of democracy and social co-operation” (p. 30). It also introduced information technology and foreign language learning between fifth and seventh grades; (4) this curricular reform focused on (i) the development of skills and competencies; (ii) higher standards of achievements; and (iii) curricular relevance in terms of being linked to students’ lives. It was a reform followed by the implementation of a campaign to improve “reading, writing and mathematics from kindergarten to grade four” (p.32) and the implementation of teacher assessment to ensure “the quality of results [...] and specific performance requisites” (ibid.).

The process of making educational policy during the 1990s and early 2000s framed continuity in a market-oriented education system, as a sort of “soft neoliberalism most clearly epitomised by the Third Way” (Peck and Tickell, 2002:384). This entails understanding this onset of educational policies, “as a process, not an end-state”

²² The *Programa de Mejoramiento de la Calidad y Equidad de la Educación* (Programme to Improve Quality and Equity in Education)

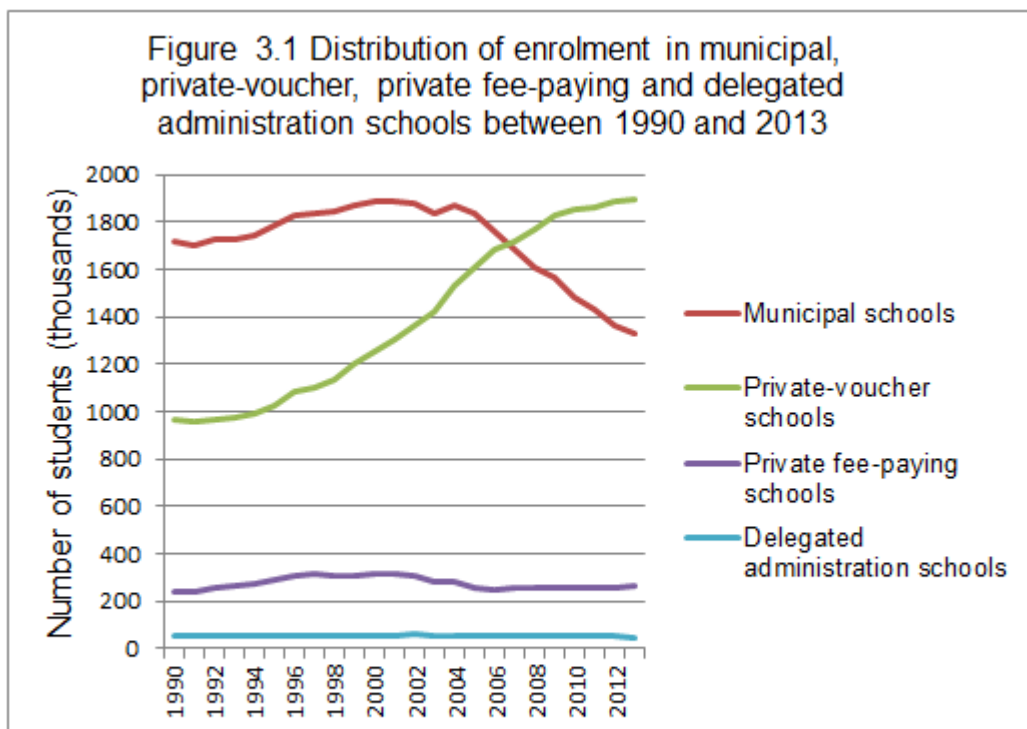
²³ The extension of school hours lengthened the school day from half to full-day. It increased the number of hours at school from 32 to 39 hours per week (Kruger & Berthelon, 2009). The JEC was implemented 1997. In 2004, the JEC introduced the creation of mandatory school councils in municipal and private-voucher schools.

²⁴ The 8-4 structure refers to eight years of compulsory primary education and four years of compulsory secondary education.

(p.383) that in its locally specific context of Chile revealed – because of “the contextual embeddedness” of neoliberalism (Brenner and Theodore, 2002) – its own contradictions.

After two decades of a mixed educational paradigm: growth and equity for whom?

The commitment of the *Concertación* to implement the changes described above is commonly attributed to a more progressive social policy agenda in sectors such as education (Taylor, 2006). If the development strategy of growth with equity aimed to increase “social and economic participation”, then educational policies of the 1990s are recognized as ones which have made significant progress in terms of expanding educational access. Enrolment at primary and secondary education levels between 1990 and 2011 increased from 2,742,743 to 3,456,945 children (Cox, 2003; MINEDUC, 2011). Expansion of the percentage of children attending primary and secondary schools, to a level of 99% of total primary education and 92% in secondary education (UNESCO, 2010), for the same period suggests a very different interpretation if the question is posed in terms of school choice opportunities. While an increase in enrolment equals significant expansion of the education system, this has been a process where expansion of the private-voucher education sector has grown at the expense of student enrolment at municipal education. As Figure 3.1 shows, enrolment at municipal education dramatically decreased from 57% in 1990 to 37% in 2013 while at the same time enrolment at the private-voucher sector increased from 31% (1990) to 53% (2013) and enrolment in the private sector was more or less constant.



Source: own elaboration based on Ministerio de Educación de Chile, Estadísticas de la Educación 2002, 2011 and 2013

Has school choice provided equitable participation opportunities for the poor? Belfied and Levin (2005) and Godwin and Kemerer (2002) argue that the effects of school choice are commonly explained in terms of quality education and efficiency, school diversity, and social equity. Central to school choice is the idea that a market-driven competitive model could lead to quality education as “competition would lead to a greater range of choice and rising efficiency and innovation in education as schools have financial incentives to attract and retain their enrolments” (Levin, 2002:159). As mentioned earlier, the focus of the policies of the 1990s was on equity as equality of opportunity rather than equality of outcome. As a consequence, expenditure on education between the 1990s and the 2000s strengthened the construction of a more proactive role in which public investment nearly doubled from 11% in 1990 to 18.8% in 2008. Increasing public investment suggests a proactive state role. But the notion of the *subsidiary state* was linked with “*selectivity* and *targeting* in place of universalism” (Raczinski, 1998; Garland, 2000; Sottoli, 2000 and Székely, 2001). Consequently, targeted programmes weakened the idea of universal social rights, replacing this just with the provision to the most marginalised groups in society.

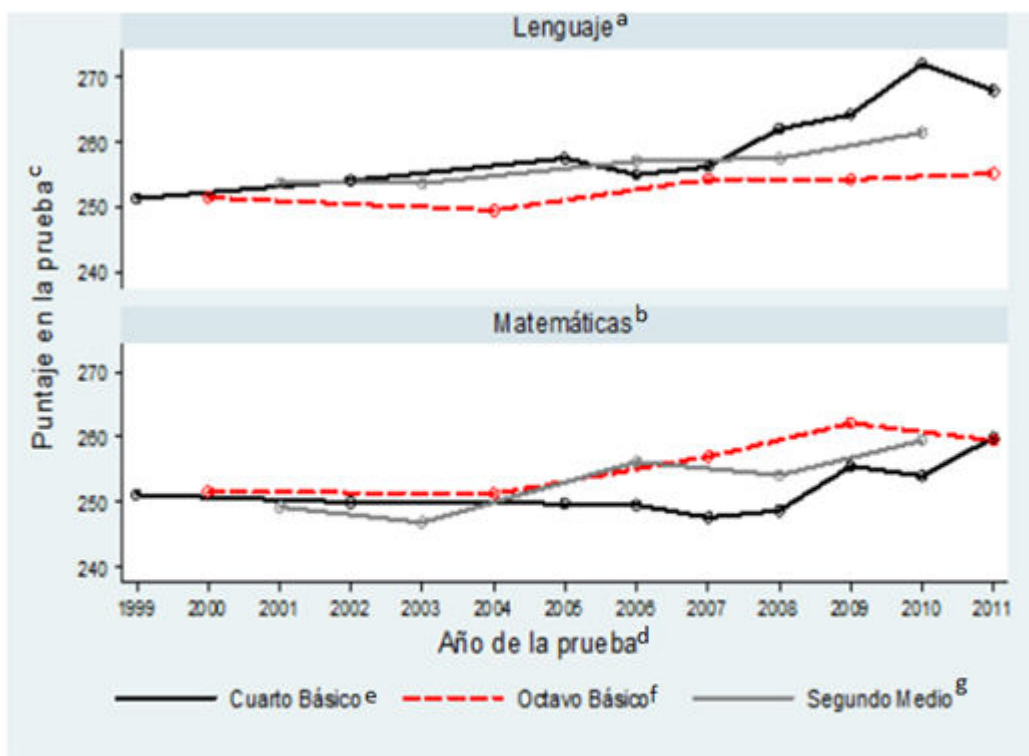
A different interpretation of a proactive state role is that growth with equity has not served to redistribute but rather to compensate “a passive outcome” (Taylor, 2006) within a “mixed educational paradigm” (Cox, 2003). Taylor (2006) argues:

In celebrating the targeting of expenditure at the poor, however, the *Concertación* is making a virtue out of necessity. The bottom three deciles of Chilean income-earners receive a greater proportion of government expenditure precisely because they are marginalised from the superior quality privatised systems owing to prohibitive costs (p.179).

While it would be feasible to propose that growth with equity has served those who are marginalised from the marketplace, it is worth asking what quality of services these groups have received. The quality of education and tensions regarding school efficiency and competition within the Chilean education system has been part of the educational debate since SIMCE's²⁵ results throughout the 1990s were analysed. The 2004 OECD Report on Chilean education policies summarised improvements in learning outcomes as a process that led to “a consistent although slight tendency for national achievement averages to improve in the first half of the decade, thus slightly closing the achievement gap between municipal and private-paid schools” (p.37) Figure 3.2 shows that there were moderate improvements in learning outcomes in all measurements related to Language and Mathematics between 1999 and 2011.

²⁵ *Sistema de Medición de la Calidad de Educación* (Education Quality Measurement System). It “carries out census-type tests on all schools and students in the country, testing Mathematics and Spanish at fourth and eighth grade in alternate years” (Mizala and Romaguera, 2000: 399). Since 2001, the test is also implemented at the tenth grade.

Figure 3.2 SIMCE test results between 4th, 8th and 10th grades (1999-2011)



Source: Duarte et al. (2013)

a) Language; b) Mathematics; c) SIMCE test results; d) Year; e) 4th Grade; f) 8th Grade; g) 10th Grade

However, this achievement did go along with a socio-economic stratification that deepened inequity within the education system. Therefore, differences in learning outcomes were highly correlated to a structural social inequality based on the socio-economic levels of students (See Figure 3.3) where correlation of student performance with socioeconomic family background is much stronger in the private-voucher education sector than in the public education system (Mizala and Torche, 2012). In addition, the achievement of a child attending a private-voucher school is more strongly associated with the socioeconomic status of her school rather than with socio-economic status of her own family (ibid.).

Figure 3.3 Enrollment in school sector by family SES^a decile (percent distribution) and test scores across school sector. 4th graders, Chile 2002^b

Household SES decile	Public	Private-voucher	Private fee-paying
1	14.5	5.7	0.0
2	14.7	5.4	0.0
3	13.1	7.5	0.1
4	12.8	7.9	0.2
5	11.3	9.9	0.4
6	10.9	10.5	0.5
7	8.4	13.7	0.9
8	7.0	15.1	3.9
9	5.3	15.8	13.1
10	1.9	8.5	80.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Mean test scores	Public	Private-voucher	Private fee-paying	All schools
Math	235	254	298	247
Language	239	259	300	251

Source: Mizala and Torche, 2012

a) Socio-economic status

b) Family SES obtained from a factor analysis of mother's years of schooling, father's years of schooling and total family income

Figure 3.3 shows, as Mizala & Torche (2012) argue, “the profound socioeconomic stratification in the Chilean educational system” (p.135):

Private fee-paying schools serve the upper class, with 94% of enrollment coming from the two wealthiest deciles. Public schools mostly serve the lower and the lower-middle class, with two thirds of their students coming from the bottom half of the SES distribution. Private- voucher schools recruit broadly from the middle and upper-middle strata (ibid.).

The 2004 OECD report emphasises that “the educational system is consciously class structured” (p.254) and therefore highly socio-economically segmented. For instance, in 2003, 86.4% of students at municipal schools came from the two lowest income deciles, compared to 67.2% of students at private-voucher schools and 17.9% of students at private-fee paying schools (Kremerman, 2007). Socioeconomic

stratification derived from “the Chilean voucher system” (p.133) constitutes the structural condition that has created the conditions for the neoliberal modernisation of the Chilean education system since the 1980s. Nevertheless, it would be misleading to understand the evolution of the Chilean education system alongside its socio-economically segmented character as just a process of “natural selection” (Olssen, 2010), in which a neoliberal market-driven education system is “assumed to operate according to immutable laws” (Brenner and Theodore, 2002: 349) and “liberated from all forms of state interference” (p.350). Rather, socio-economic stratification, along with social and academic segmentation, represents the political and ideological form of neoliberal education, forged in and through the first experiment with “neoliberal state formation” (Harvey, 2006a:12).

Thus “denationalising schooling” (Friedman, 2002) to “widen the range of choices available to parents” (p.91) represents an ideological and political strategy through which neoliberalism attempts to reframe education as an economic freedom in which the role of the market is expanded as a guarantee of political freedom. Nevertheless, the Chilean experience has not led to a more diversified process of school choice nor “a real experience” (Mizala and Romaguera 2000:393) of educational choice. Rather, as Mizala and Torche (2012) argue, “*each individual voucher school is characterised by high homogeneity in the socioeconomic status (SES) of its student body*” (p. 133, emphasis in original). In addition, “*as an ideological system that holds the ‘market’ sacred*” (Lee Mudge, 2008:706, emphasis in original), it aims at dismantling state education. On this basis, it imposes different conditions regarding regulation between private-voucher and municipal schools. While the former “can establish its own admission and expulsion policies” (Mizala and Torche, 2012: 134), municipal schools “are compelled to accept any student who wishes to enrol” (Mizala & Romaguera, 2000:395). It is this factor alongside the introduction of co-payment in 1993²⁶ (See Appendix 1) that accelerated the process of dismantling public education.

After two decades, the implementation of a mixed educational paradigm has led to a structural stratification wherein social segregation has acquired an “institutionalized character” (García Huidobro, 2006) due to the introduction of a co-payment system

²⁶ According to Valenzuela et al (2013), the co-payment was to be expanded rapidly among private voucher schools after 1993 “from 232 in 1993 to 1963 in 2006” (p.6).

in municipal and private-voucher high schools without having an effective impact on improving quality education. Mizala and Torche (2012) argue:

[...] financial contributions by parents are not associated with gains in students' achievement after the aggregate socioeconomic makeup of the student body selected by each school has been accounted for. Our finding is all the more striking if we consider that, net of their socioeconomic resources, families who are willing to pay fees may be positively selected on unobservables (if they hold education in higher value or are more motivated), which will result in our *overestimating* the association between parental tuition fees and achievement (p.140, emphasis in original).

Mizala, Romaguera and Ostoic (2005) note that student achievement could not just be explained in terms of family characteristics as they “are not the only thing[s] that matters and ... the school has a lot to do with student achievement” (p.7):

In the Chilean case, previous studies have found that besides the students' socioeconomic status, some school characteristics such as instruction time, school size, school gender, teacher experience and school location, among others, play a relevant role in explaining educational achievement (ibid.).

Schools, in other words, deploy a spatiality of schooling experience that goes beyond “the school aggregate family socioeconomic status” (Mizala and Torche, 2012: 132). Public schools are “everywhere in the country” (p.133) and their own historical trajectories articulated with geographies of schooling that can inform how and why they could perform better than private-voucher schools. In contrast, the lack of similar historical trajectories within private-voucher schools could explain why, as McEwan & Carnoy (2000) argue, these schools did not perform better than municipal schools given similar resources. Furthermore, public schools' histories could also explain how they have been affected and how they resist processes of neo-liberalisation within their communities. Analysis of efficiency and the quality of education has been, however, framed within “an inward-looking approach” (Hanson Thiem, 2009: 156) without education being analysed in an “inward-outward looking approach” (ibid.) to question “what educational institutions and practices reveal about the cultural, social, political and economic processes in which they are embedded” (p.157). The latter becomes the context of student protests in 2006 when high school students questioned the failure of the educational policies of the

Concertación to provide equal opportunities for quality education for all. By demanding that education should be a right, not a privilege, students not only questioned inequities in education but they also pushed the Chilean experiment in education to the forefront of the national political debate.

Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to provide an overview of the rise of the neoliberal education model in Chile. It has sought to explain the various stages of the development of a neoliberal market-driven education agenda since the mid-1970s, through a radical transformation of the notion of the *estado docente* led by the Chicago Boys to the development of a reformed neoliberal education agenda under the development strategy of growth with equity since the 1990s. The focus in this chapter has been on analysing inherent contradictions associated with neoliberal market-driven educational policies. It argues that the coexistence of market-oriented policies and target-oriented policies for the most deprived children and schools attempted to convert the educational policies of the 1990s into a vehicle for “fairness, justice and equality” (Olssen, 2010:11). However, a market-driven education system resulted in excluding schools that failed to compete in the way neoliberalism sought, and in doing so, created the conditions for the emergence of the Penguins’ movement.

Within this broad historical context I will examine aspects of this student movement that sought to challenge some of these effects. The following chapter sets out the research method of this qualitative exploratory study on the Penguins’ movement.

Chapter 4

Methodology

The development of the Latin American research agenda on SMs has resulted in expanding a “syncretic thought system” (Calderon et al, 1992:35). By adapting and transforming “the use of sociological approaches and concepts generated outside of the region where the research is actually being carried out” (ibid.), social sciences has been placed “in a privileged position as an extraordinary social laboratory for sustained theoretical and methodological innovation” (ibid.). Nowadays, social movement studies in the region have developed hand in hand with emancipatory practices that aim to produce their own epistemologies of the South (Santos, 2012a, 2012b). The latter, however, does not disregard the richness of the tradition derived from syncretism in Latin American social movement studies, but rather to acknowledge the existence of alternative understandings of the world. Social movements engage with production of their own theoretical knowledge, which as Motta (2011) argues “can be relational and open” (p.179). It is this idea of alternative understandings, without the production of knowledge being associated with a sense of totality and generalisation, that guides the research design rationale for this qualitative exploratory study.

Acknowledgment that social movements’ emancipatory practices engage with knowledge and theorisation of their own epistemologies entails adopting grounded theory (GT) methods. This does not mean, however, applying a research method that fits with a pure inductive process. Rather, this qualitative exploratory study adopts a constructivist GT approach by assuming that theory and data are not discovered (Charmaz, 2006;2008;2009), but are part of a social reality “mutually constructed through interaction and are therefore subject to redefinition, and are somewhat indeterminate” (Thornberg, 2012: 249).

Epistemologically, this research recognises SMs “as a social production, as a purposive, meaningful and relational orientation” (Melucci, 1996:386). Thus, the interpretative paradigm is also significant in this research in uncovering, understanding and making sense of meanings and the historical, cultural and political interpretations that participants in this research bring out. This chapter outlines the

methodology, research methods and the rationale behind this study. It addresses information on how research participants were contacted. It presents the form and content of the in-depth interviews and the analysis based on constructivist grounded theory strategies. In the final section, ethical considerations, challenges and complexities in the fieldwork are discussed.

Grounded Theory Methods: from objectivist to constructivist approaches

This research applies some specific aspects of the constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006). Grounded theory uses methods that involve “systematic, yet flexible guidelines for collecting and analysing qualitative data to construct theories ‘grounded’ in the data themselves” (Charmaz, 2006:2, her own emphasis). In *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research* (1967) Glaser and Strauss set up a method of analysis by proposing that “systematic qualitative analysis had its own logic and could generate theory” (Charmaz, 2014:7).

The extent to which Grounded Theory Methods (GTM) traversed from positivist to interpretative approaches does not entail denying the former. Rather, positivist assumptions, Charmaz (2014) argues, “still influence grounded theory. [...] more than other types of qualitative research, premises and perspectives emanating from positivism may be more transparent in grounded theory” (p.230). Within GTM a resurgence of interest in “interpretative, constructionist epistemology” (Clarke & Friese, 2007:366) aims to counterbalance positivist theories underpinning the validity of scientific knowledge and “positivistic research designs” (Charmaz, 2014:7):

[...] interpretative theories [...] aim to understand meanings and actions and how people construct them. Thus these theories bring the subjectivity of the actor and may recognise the subjectivity of the researcher (p.231).

Both epistemological approaches “claim that theory emerges from the data” (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007:32). Yet applied qualitative work, such as social constructionism does not view data as speaking themselves, but rather, “the cognizant other (the researcher) engages data in a conversation” (p.38).

A constructivist grounded theory is then focused, Charmaz (2006) highlights, on flexibility that guides this research method rather than adopting the development of a systematic approach as “prescriptions or packages” (p.9). As such, “constructivist

grounded theory adopts the inductive, comparative emergent, and open-ended approach of Glaser and Strauss's (1967) original statement" (Charmaz, 2014: 12). Charmaz (2000) also advocates a "more open-ended practice of grounded theory that stresses its emergent, constructivist elements" (p.510) in which the researcher's position is also acknowledged as a construction itself:

If, instead, we start with the assumption that social reality is multiple, processual, and constructed, then we must take the researcher's position, privileges, perspective, and interactions into account as an inherent part of the research reality too (Charmaz, 2014: 12).

Such recognition underpins the meaning of constructivism within Charmaz's approach, which notes subjectivity and the researcher's position as inherently socially produced. Within a constructivist approach, Charmaz (2006) engages in a perspective that includes "diverse local worlds, multiple realities and the complexities of particular worlds, views, and actions" (Creswell, 2007:65) more than a single process. Charmaz advocates a constructivist grounded theory that relies, as much as possible, on an interpretive approach rather than on a particular research methodology. Although she describes the practices for developing grounded theory, her emphasis is on avoiding what she defines as an attempt to gain power from the use of grounded theory:

My approach explicitly assumes that any theoretical rendering offers an *interpretative* portrayal of the studied world, not an exact picture of it, (Charmaz, 1995, 2000: Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Schwandt, 1994). Research participants' implicit meanings, experiential views – and researchers' finished grounded theories – are constructions of reality" (p.10).

Charmaz (2006) directs attention towards a grounded theory procedure that relies squarely on an interpretative approach by not minimizing the role of the researcher and by concluding that any grounded theory results are suggestive, incomplete and inconclusive.

Constructivist Grounded Theory and epistemological positions in this research

Why might constructivist grounded theory (CGT) orient the research design of this study? As Charmaz (2014) argues, CGT is focused on exploring, on explaining

“what? and how? questions” (p.228) and on theorising “why it happened” (ibid.) as both “contingent relationship between the *whats* and *hows* of social life” (Gubrium and Holstein, 1997:200, emphasis in original) and, as Charmaz (2014) and Katz (2000) argue, as social dimensions that transcend a situated action.

By focusing on the why within a contingent relationship, CGT facilitates a relationship between the meaning and orientation of socio-spatial concepts that frame the why and how of collective action within the Penguins’ movement beyond temporality. Learning why some dimensions of social life occur beyond temporally situated action entails focusing on processes and this is central for orienting the research design of this study. Thus, focus on “process, not structure” (Charmaz, 2014:9) within CGT is in line with the exploration of SMs as “system[s] of action” (Melucci, 1996: 4) that underpins the aims of this study and the research questions that it explores. These research questions focus on considering spatial aspects in the Penguins’ movement as constitutive of its “processual approach to collective identity” (Melucci, 1996: 70). This is the starting point for the study rather than an explanation based on either “structural determinants” (p.69) or “dualism between structure and meaning” (ibid.).

Research questions are less concerned with an “objectivist assumption” (p.21) of the Penguins’ movement, as a unified empirical entity and therefore presented as “always *objects of knowledge constructed by the analyst*” (ibid., emphasis in original). This last point coincides with self-reflexivity of the researcher’s own position within CGT to understand how it influences the construction of the research process in which “research acts are not given; they are constructed” (Charmaz, 2014:13). Within CGT, an interpretative approach attempts to develop a more reflexively grounded theory by which “who the researchers are and the relations between researchers and participants” (Clarke and Friese, 2007:368) are constitutive of the research reality. It does not entail recognising reflexivity as a given condition but rather as something to be constructed as part of the research reality. This implies acknowledging “what researchers and participants bring to it and do within it” (Charmaz, 2014:13). This situatedness of the researcher within the research echoes the sociological concerns put forward by Melucci (1996) regarding research practices confined within their own epistemological limits, because they become detached from acknowledging that research practice is about a relationship between research and participants:

[...] when an approach becomes the only tool for the interpretation of “a movement as such”, then it easily becomes an undue extension and generalization [...], which tends to consider it as an essential subject instead of a system of relationships. [...] What disappears from the scene [...] is a collective action as a social production, as a purposive, meaningful, and relational orientation (p. 385-86).

Melucci's concern with understanding research practice as a system of relationships echoes recognition of the “already political nature of the practices of research and interpretation” (Clarke and Friese, 2007:368). Yet within this relationship one neither sees the researcher's role as that of an expert nor does one hold the naïve assumption that the researcher comes to the field of action without any knowledge. Rather the production of knowledge is political since it is about an explicit negotiation between the researcher and the participants:

This, however, entails the assumption that the interests and roles in the play are not identical, that the researchers and the actors are not located in the same position in the social field and must therefore acknowledge and articulate their mutual differences, together with their common (and often provisional) goals in collecting and sharing information (Melucci, 1996:389).

It does not entail creating an artificial situation, as Melucci (ibid.) argues, but rather acknowledging that this relationship exists and that it is political because of difference. I acknowledge that the relationship between the participants and myself is framed as open and inconclusive, because the researcher is part of a constructed reality, I also recognise that the reasons why I decided to investigate a student movement and the way in which I implemented this research intersect with my own political trajectory as a university student involved in a grassroots autonomous political movement against Pinochet's dictatorship. I understand that both my political trajectory as a former grassroots activist and as a researcher intersect in the production of knowledge and frame my own political position in this study. This is a process in which my self-reflexivity and subjectivity, as an activist researcher committed “to confront social injustices” (Otto and Terhorst, 2011:202), is produced as a performative space, “through the citational performance of self-other relations” (Rose, 1999:248).

Constructivist grounded theory “as a set of principles and practices” (Charmaz, 2006:9) does not focus on “methodological rules, recipes and requirements” (ibid.) but rather it “highlights the flexibility of the methods and resists the mechanical applications of it” (Charmaz, 2014:13). As an open-ended practice, it resembles the epistemology of incompleteness upon which this qualitative exploratory study is based. However, it does not entail accepting that incompleteness is framed in the direction initially proposed by Glaser and Strauss “about discovering theory as emerging from data separate from the scientific observer” (Charmaz, 2006:10). Rather, incompleteness in this research and the phenomenon being studied is articulated through the idea that the production of knowledge constitutes an open process as it arises and is produced during political and social struggles. If it is open, then it develops into a living process of knowledge that in turn implies recognition of the conditions which frame the research process as a constructed reality.

CGT neglects neither researchers’ background assumptions nor disciplinary perspectives (Charmaz, 2006) that “alert them to look for certain possibilities and processes in their data” (p.16). Blumer’s (1969) notion of “sensitizing concepts” is applied in this study to give initial ideas on what is being explored through research questions. This entails combining constructivist GT with “*informed grounded theory*” (Thornberg, 2012) as a research process “thoroughly grounded in data by GT methods while being informed by existing research literature and theoretical frameworks” (p.249). As Charmaz (2006) highlights, sensitising concepts are to be used as “points of departure for developing, rather than limiting, our ideas” (p.17). In this research, two sensitising concepts are used as starting points: firstly, the definition of contemporary social movements as systems of action that assume the form of networks; and secondly, SMs existing as “invisible networks of small groups submerged in everyday life” (Keane & Mier, 1989: 6). This flexibility in GTM “describe[s] steps of the research process and provide[s] a path through it” (Charmaz, 2014:16) allowing the researcher “to follow leads that emerge” (Charmaz, 2006:14). This “inductive theorising” (Charmaz, 2014) in this research process engages with the possibility of “producing novel understanding” (p.243) to explain space and politics associated with the geographies of political construction within the Penguins’ movement.

Combining qualitative methodologies: what challenges?

A historical study might have been seen as an appropriate methodological approach to analyse the Penguins' movement. Corrigan-Brown and Ho (2013) argue:

Life history research is a useful technique in qualitative methodology. This technique is suited for researchers interested in generating rich and textured detail about social processes, understanding the intersection between personal narratives and social structures, and focusing on individual agency and social context [...]. Life history research can deepen our understanding of social processes, including social movements (p.698).

The process of political construction of the Penguins' movement is embedded within history. A focus of life history research on "close attention to detail and context" (Dill and Aminzade, 2007:269) might have contributed a deep and nuanced understanding that explains the emergence of the Penguins' movement and the dynamics of its mobilising protest. However, life history research focuses on individual biographies and is "oriented towards understanding the experiences of individual activists over time and exploring the interaction between macro events such as protests and social movements with individual actions and identities" (Corrigan-Brown and Ho, 2013: 699). This study focuses on macro events to explain new forms of political action. Its analysis is concerned more with explaining how a "collective become a collective" (Melucci, 1996: 70) rather than with examining the interaction between macro events of protests and personal experiences of activists. However, the study uses "rich and nuanced description when exploring a particular phenomenon" (Corrigan-Brown and Ho, 2013: 698) through the personal lens of activists. This research acknowledges such a rich and nuanced description as an expression of heterogeneity, and a condition of a collective process rather than one limited to individual activism. Life history research focuses on "a rich and thorough examination of individual subjectivities" (Corrigan-Brown and Ho, 2013: 699) that does not approach the construction of social movements from the perspective of a "system of action" (Melucci, 1996:4).

An emphasis in life history research on the interaction between individuals and "macro events such as protests and social movements" (Corrigan-Brown and Ho, 2013: 699) seems to limit "space/time/meaning" (Melucci, 1989:49) to the periods of

visibility. Looking at social movements during their periods of visible action, however, confines their meaning as “bounded in time and place, thus making the results of any study temporally and spatially contingent” (Snow, 2013:167). Social movements exist as submerged networks, operating as small laboratories that “question and challenge the dominant codes of everyday life” (Melucci, 1989:6) and rely “on a new relationship between the latent and visible of their collective action” (Keane & Mier, 1989:6). It is this process that this study aims to explore in the Penguins’ movement and life history research on its own is not sufficient for that undertaking.

Validity

The epistemological base of this study acknowledges that research acts are not given but constructed. Both internal and external validity as criteria of “credibility” and “transferability” (Lincoln and Guba (1985) “are essential requirements for any research whatever its nature” (McCowan, 2008:50).

Much of the discussion on validity within qualitative methods is concerned with “the distinction between quantitative and qualitative approaches, with arguments over whether or not the same criteria applies to both” (Hammersley, 2008: 42). Yet debates on validity in qualitative research interlock with a meaning that “is not a single, fixed and universal concept” (Golashani, 2003:602). Rather, validity is seen and framed “as a matter of degree rather than as an absolute state” (Cohen et al., 2011:179; Gronlund, 1981). Criticisms of the notion of a “universal set of epistemic criteria” (p.47) underpin this debate, particularly a claim that social sciences seek “to reproduce the dominant perspectives in society” (ibid.) by excluding “other voices that rely on distinctive, and discrepant, epistemological frameworks” (ibid.). The claim of “distinctive epistemologies to be recognised” (ibid.) agrees with the idea that any kind of research comes from very “context-specific settings” (Golashani, 2003:600) and the rejection of “evidence that is simply given and therefore absolutely certain in validity from which knowledge can be generated” (Hammersley, 2008:47).

Internal and external validity have been addressed in this qualitative exploratory study through a research design that involves the use of in-depth interviews and data gathered from others sources of information. These secondary documents included official documents from the Ministry of Education, editorials by academics, documents produced by student activists and local and national newspapers. (See

Appendix 3). Multiple sources of data ensure internal validity through the principle of context-boundedness and thick description (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Bogdan and Biklen, 1992). The use of multiple sources of data entailed acknowledging that in-depth interviews constitute “an element of the broader socio-political context” (Herzog, 2012:207) with which interviews are imbued. They ensure validity in this study by capturing the richness of data that is “socially situated, and socially and culturally saturated” (Cohen et al., 2011:180, Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Bogdan and Biklen, 1992). Interview location has been used to ensure validity by recognising that data is geographically located and therefore socio-spatially produced. For example, the choice of the interview site or the meaning of “home-territory” (Ball, 1994) for interviews interlocks with “multiple scales of spatial relations and meanings” (Elwood and Martin, 2000: 649) that frame “the understanding and analysis of meanings in specific contexts” (Eyles, 1988:2). Validity through richness of the spatial entails acknowledging that the meaning of the interview location is “never immanent” (Herzog, 2012). For example, the meaning of home-territory for teachers ended up being contested and challenged by students who occupied their schools in 2011. While this inevitably reduced the number of teachers to be contacted, this contested meaning of home-territory “becomes an integral part not only of the findings and their analysis but also of the construction of the reality under study” (p.207).

Another criterion for validity in this research entails acknowledging that the researcher is part of the researched world (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). Constructivist grounded theory is conducive – more than in “the Glaserian tradition” (Mruck and Mey, 2007:518) – to strengthening the researcher as the key instrument of research and to render “more reflexively ... who the researchers are and the relations between researchers and participants” (Clarke and Friese, 2007: 368). Interviews do not just produce data but rather they become the methodology to understand the natural political setting of the data. This entails “ecologically penetrat[ing]” (Goffman, 1989) the political settings and “the set of contingencies” (p. 125) that surround and forge “the circle of response” (ibid.) of participants. In this respect, validity is addressed through a fieldwork journal as “process notes” (Onwuegbuzie and Leech, 2006) on how fieldwork is proceeding as a way to ensure the researcher’s reflexivity on “what we bring to the scene, what we see, and how we see it” (Charmaz, 2014:27)

By stressing that the research process itself constitutes a construction of reality which is essentially focused on understanding a phenomenon grounded in the data, CGT addresses the aspect of validity that emphasises process rather than simply outcomes (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Bogdan and Biklen, 1992).

A core principle for validity is triangulation. This study is concerned with some ontological contradictions. The very notion of triangulation, Silverman (1985) argues, is positivistic and it is “exposed most clearly in *data triangulation*, as it is presumed that a multiple data source (concurrent validity) is superior to a single data source or instrument” (Cohen et al., 2000:115, emphasis in original). According to Denzin (1997), Silverman’s concerns relate to accepting that measurement of “the same empirical unity more than once is inconsistent with the interactionist view of emergence and novelty in the field situation” (p.320). The inductive nature of GT and the impossibility of knowing “if a recurring observation will continue to occur” (Charmaz, 2014:243) does not deny that “inductive theorising opens the possibility of novel understandings” (ibid.). Data triangulation is problematic since prefigurative epistemologies produced by the Penguins’ movement might ended up being ontologically framed within a “monoculture of knowledge” and “rigour of knowledge” (Santos, 2012b), as “non-existence” (p.52) that makes it impossible to envision other epistemologies as alternative modes of knowledge.

This study aims for “theory triangulation” (Denzin, 1978), by “using multiple perspectives to interpret a data set” (Beitin, 2012:248). It aims to theorise a “*practice*” (Charmaz, 2014, emphasis in original), which entails “practical activities of engaging the world and of constructing abstract understandings about and within it” (p.233). This entails an iterative process, which requires “going back to data and forward into analysis” (Charmaz, 2014:42). This interlocks with cross-fertilisation between sociology of education, human geography and sociology of social movements. This cross-fertilisation allows widening the “possible theoretical use of any set of observations” (Denzin, 1978:300) and making the researcher more aware of the “total significance of his empirical findings” (Westie, 1957:154).

External validity or reliability is a debatable concept in qualitative research. Golashani (2003) argues that “the most important test of any qualitative study is its quality” (p.601). Quality is associated with “generating understanding” (Stenbacka, 2001) while “comparability and transferability” (Cohen et al., 2011:186) are sometimes used

to “inject... a degree of positivism into non-positivism research” (p.187) - a misleading concept in qualitative studies (Stenbacka, 2001). Lincoln and Guba (1985) state that the researcher’s task is not “to provide an *index* of transferability; it *is* his or her responsibility to provide the *data base* that makes transferability judgments possible on the part of potential appliers” (p.316, emphasis in original). The inductive and iterative analysis process, as used in this study, is focused on producing a thick description of “settings, people and situations” (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992:45) to construct “transferability” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) of research findings.

Contacting participants

The research design uses in-depth interviews as a research method for collecting data. I initially made a list of potential participants based on prior contact with postgraduate students and academics who had already written or published on the Penguins’ movement. The list included high school students involved in the 2006 student protest, teachers who were members of the Teachers’ Union in 2006, academics and policy makers. However, I was concerned that accessing a group of participants with a high-profile role during the Penguins’ movement might prevent me from representing other different voices existing on the ground. Because many potential participants were located in Santiago de Chile, I decided to base my field work in the Metropolitan Region. I acknowledge that this decision biases my research since it reduces the scope for gaining access to other voices from the 2006 student protests beyond the Metropolitan Region. Yet because of lack of institutional funding, this research did not aim to explore the emergence of the Penguins’ movement at national a scale or to collect empirical data in the main cities across the country.

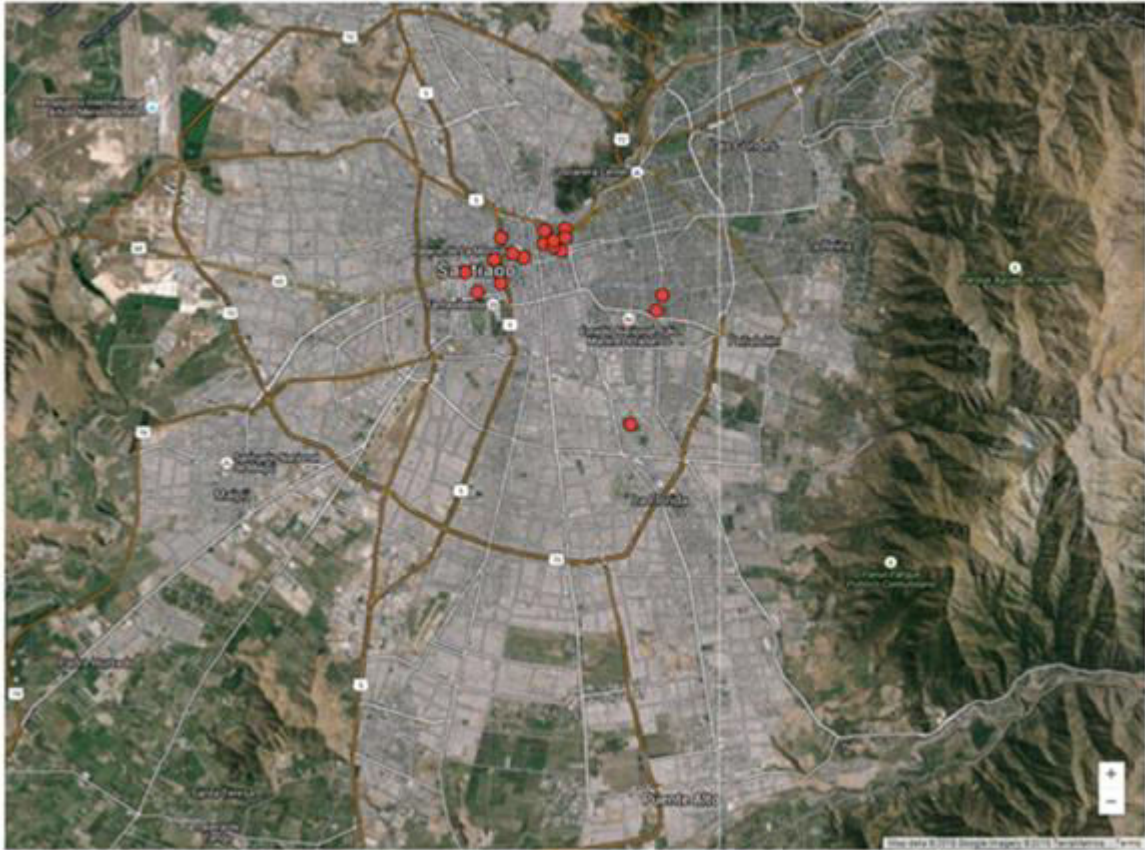
In May 2011, I contacted and interviewed a Chilean postgraduate student in the United Kingdom. She provided a list of potential contacts among high school students who had leading political roles in 2006 but with a lower public profile; she also located two high school students from the early 2000s who were involved in the reconstruction of the secondary student movement and were part of her own networks as a university student in Chile. I initially contacted and interviewed these two students, who were high school students in the early 2000s at the group of schools known as the emblematic schools in the communes of Santiago and Providencia in Greater Santiago. Through a snowball process, they suggested that I

should contact two other students from the early 2000s, arguing that they would help me with a much deeper clarification of the student movement. Their reasons for contacting other respondents partly concerned an affirmation of their own identities as respondents (Holstein & Gubrium, 1997) and partly because they recognised these as “thinkers, eggheads, or know-it-alls” (Johnson, 2001:110) in relation to the process of political reconstruction within the secondary movement.

A snowball process was chosen as the method for finding and contacting high school students from 2006. Gathering data was affected by the massive 2011 student mobilisations that took place while I was conducting the fieldwork between early July and November 2011. Because many pupils from 2006 were involved, as university students, in the 2011 student mobilisations, I decided then to approach them during local assemblies being carried out in their faculties, contacting them during the marches that students called in Santiago city centre, and attending either the Assemblies they called for at the Main House of the University of Chile or debates and seminars they co-organised at campus occupations in the communes of Santiago, Macul, and San Joaquín in Greater Santiago.

This decision is consistent with the idea that “the researcher must make a leap of faith and just dive into the process” (Johnson, 2001:108) to understand “what is happening here” (Glaser, 1978), that is, “*the* basic social process that the research discovers in the field” (Charmaz, 2014:34, her own emphasis). Twenty four research participants who had been high school students engaged in the mobilisation of 2006 were interviewed; twenty two interviews were carried out in the commune of Santiago and the other three in the communes of Macul and Nuñoa in Greater Santiago (See Map 4.1).

Map 4.1 Location of interviews conducted between July and November 2011



As the data gathering process progressed, an interesting pattern emerged relating to the residential geography of the research participants. This alerted me to the need to avoid limiting the data collection to students who studied at the group of emblematic schools. However, as discussed in chapter 6, student commuting is a historical pattern in urban communes of Greater Santiago, with student mobility pattern concentrated in the communes of Santiago and Providencia where the group of emblematic municipal high schools is located. Some students acknowledged that the category of emblematic schools intersects with residential differentiation between private schools in eastern areas of Greater Santiago and high schools in peripheral communes of Greater Santiago that they identified as *los periféricos*. Keeping in mind this emergent data, I then focused on finding participants from municipal high schools, private-voucher schools and private fee-paying schools in peripheral communes of the Metropolitan Region. This did not, however, mean forcing the data but rather leading the data collection process based on the assumption that a similar student commuting pattern would probably be identified with mobilised university students, since, as one student recognised in his interview, universities are not

located in the peripheral areas of Greater Santiago. In addition, students also differentiated between municipal high schools located in the commune of Santiago that were emblematic and non-emblematic high schools. On this basis, research participants were classified as being in one of two different groups: research participants who had been high school students in the early 2000s and high school students from 2006. Both groups were categorised according to: school category; student residential geography; and whether they studied at a traditional²⁷ or private universities before and during 2011 (See Table 4.2).

²⁷ Traditional universities or public universities refer to the group of higher education institutions that existed before the university system reform of the 1980s.

Table 4.2 Group of students from the early 2000s and 2006 interviewed between July and November 2011				
	Student²⁸	Residential geography²⁹	School category/ commune	University
2000/2001	Sebastián	La Florida	Emblematic municipal school / Santiago city centre	Traditional University
	Cesar	Pedro Aguirre Cerda	Emblematic municipal school / Santiago city centre	Traditional University
	Gaspar	Pudahuel	Non emblematic school / Santiago city centre	Traditional University
	Alejandra	La Florida	Emblematic municipal school / Providencia	Traditional University
2006	Ignacio	Independencia	Non emblematic school / Santiago city centre	Traditional University
	Vicky	Nuñoa	Non emblematic school / Santiago city centre	Private university
	Pat	Puente Alto	Emblematic municipal school / Providencia	Traditional University
	Andre	Pudahuel	Emblematic municipal school / Santiago city centre	Private university
	Denise	Unknown	Catholic private-voucher school / Santiago city centre	Traditional University
	Nick	Unknown	Private-voucher school / Santiago city centre	Traditional University
	Sol	Unknown	Catholic private school / Las Condes	Traditional University
	Bea	Unknown	Emblematic municipal school / Providencia	Traditional University

²⁸ All names of this group of research participants are pseudonyms.

²⁹ The Metropolitan Region is classified as Greater Santiago and Suburban Santiago. Greater Santiago comprises 34 communes: Cerrillos, Cerro Navia, Conchalí, El Bosque, Estación Central, Huechuraba, Independencia, La Cisterna, La Florida, La Granja, La Pintana, La Reina, Las Condes, Lo Barnechea, Lo Espejo, Lo Prado, Macul, Maipú, Nuñoa, Pedro Aguirre Cerda, Peñalolén, Providencia, Puente Alto, Quilicura, Quinta Normal, Recoleta, Renca. San Bernardo, San Joaquín, San Miguel, San Ramón, Santiago, Vitacura. Suburban Santiago comprises 18 communes: Alhué, Buin, Calera de Tango, Colina, Curacaví, El Monte, Isla Maipo, Lampa, María Pinto, Melipilla, Padre Hurtado, Paine, Peñaflo, Pirque, San José de Maipo, San Pedro, Talagante, Tiltil (Donoso & Arias, 2013).

2006	Manuel	Puente Alto	Emblematic municipal school / Santiago city centre	Private university
	Mauro	La Cisterna	Non emblematic school / San Miguel	Private university
	Carlos	Quilicura	Non emblematic school / Recoleta	Private university
	Kari	Quinta Normal	Emblematic municipal school / Santiago city centre	Traditional University
	Nicki	Ancud (Chiloé Island) ³⁰	Non emblematic school / Ancud	Traditional University
	Pep	Colina	Private-voucher school / Colina	Private university
	Nico	La Florida	Private-voucher school / La Florida	Private university
	Mati	La Florida	Private-voucher school / La Florida	Private university
	Beto	La Florida	Emblematic municipal school / Providencia	Private university
	Marco	La Florida	Private-voucher school / La Florida	Private university
	Carolina	San Bernardo	Non emblematic school / Santiago city centre	Vocationally oriented education
	Steffi	La Florida	Private-voucher school / La Florida	Traditional University
	Xavi	Unknown	Emblematic municipal school / Santiago city centre	Private university
	Rob	Unknown	Emblematic municipal school / Providencia	Traditional University
	Javier	La Pintana	Emblematic municipal school / Santiago city centre	Traditional University
Felipe	Temuco (Araucanía Region) ³¹	Private-voucher school / Temuco	Private university	

³⁰ Ancud is a city located in southern Chile in the province of Chiloé.

³¹ Temuco is the capital of Cautín Province in the Araucanía Region. It is located in southern Chile.

Another group of seven participants had been university students in 2006. They were identified through a snowball process. All seven were involved in the Penguins' movement through political militancy working with grassroots students in 2006, and were members of the same *colectivo* after June 2006. They were involved with leading university student unions in 2006 and were associated with the Penguins' movement in 2006. Six were based in the Metropolitan Region and one of them in the city of Antofagasta in northern Chile during the 2006 Penguins' mobilisations.

Although high school students' interviews generally portrayed sharp boundaries between the secondary student movement and the university student movement, I decided to interview university students on the basis of explicit recognition by some interviewees of external collaboration by some university student unions. For example, the *Federación de Estudiantes de la Universidad de Chile* (Federation of Students from University of Chile [FECH]) gave legal advice to students during high school occupations and provided technical support to mobilised students in the use of media platforms such as blogs and Fotologs. I did not aim to explore digital activism in the Penguins' movement. I wished to collect information regarding different strategic alliances that secondary students initially established with university students in 2006, in particular in some cities in northern Chile, and the creation of an alliance between university students and secondary students within what was known as the *Bloque Social* (See Chapter 5).

Teachers were key informants and I was interested in gaining access to a considerable number. However, I did not succeed in this task. Teachers are the most sensitive group because of a culture of mistrust rooted in and inherited from the history of political persecution and repression that they lived through during Pinochet's dictatorship. During the fieldwork, four teachers were interviewed. Three of them were associated with the Teachers' Union and one was a teacher at an emblematic high school in the commune of Santiago during the 2011 student mobilisations.

Four policy makers were contacted and interviewed in 2011 in order to explore how opportunities and constraints (Melucci, 1996) influenced politics within the Penguins' movement. Interviews with policy makers reflected personal interpretations regarding reasons why the Penguins' movement emerged in 2006 but also provided critical opinions on the education agenda implemented since the early 1990s.

Twelve academics were interviewed between July and November 2011. In interviewing academics, I aimed at gaining “explicit understanding of the multiple interpretations” (Johnson, 2001:107) of the student movement. I acknowledge that my decision to interview academics resembles my political decision to conduct my research by aiming to overcome the division between “thinkers and doers” (Motta, 2009:34). In relation to epistemology, I aimed to revise the emergent data and categories in terms of what had been produced by academics and to reframe my own positionality in my research to pursue a practice that, as Flacks (2005) argues “is practiced as dialogue among activist and academics” (p.17). As regards reflexivity, this practice intersected with a reflexive need to justify myself as a novice researcher interviewing experts on social movements.

As Johnson (2001) argues, “there is no specific, set answer” (p.113) regarding the number of interviews to be conducted. He highlights two processes – the idea of a learning curve in the cycle of in-depth interviewing and the researcher’s own learning or in-depth familiarity with the phenomenon being researched through which the cycle of in-depth interviewing becomes a “process of verification in the research” (p.112). A cycle or curve could be said to characterise the 52 interviews conducted between June and November 2011, but I did not base the decision about the number of interviews solely on my own interpretation of how familiar I had become with the data. The number of interviews is problematic within qualitative studies, and Beitin (2012) argues that the focus of this discussion should be on “how many participants are enough and when saturation has been reached” (p.249):

Recently, researches have considered the question “How can a sample include as many perspectives as possible on a topic?” The most common way to address this question is by relying on multiple roles. Asking who can provide a different perspective on a topic by nature of their role can be just as important as asking how many people are needed to answer the question (ibid.).

I was focused on reaching “multiple-perspective interviewing” (ibid.) by including other interviewees that could “bring a very different relationship to the topic” (ibid.). The cycle of student mobilisations set a “starting point in determining whom to interview” (p.251) and presented me with heterogeneous mobilised collective actors.

Conducting in-depth interviews

In-depth interviewing was the main research strategy used. Such interviews are often classified as qualitative interviewing. Warren (2001) argues, “the lens of intensive interview is verbal – what people say and mean – but its temporal range is biographical, extending into the past and the future” (p.85). This study considers the historical context in which the political construction of the Penguins’ movement took place, but it is not focused on developing historical research or collecting life histories in order to understand the individual actions of activists over time. The focus of in-depth interviews was on personal narratives to understand how the experiences of participants was integral to the how, what and why of the process entailed in the political construction of the Penguins’ movement. Herzog (2012) argues, “interviews are social process in themselves” (p.208) and it is this epistemological position that underpins the in-depth interviews of this study.

The interviews were linked with reflections on society. Gubrium and Holstein (2002) argue, “it would therefore be a mistake to treat the interview – or any information-gathering technique – as simply a research procedure. The interview is part and parcel of our society and culture” (p.11). The interviews were concerned with recognising that the student movement itself exists in a reciprocal relationship with society. As Melucci (1996) argues, “in affirming its difference from the rest of society, a movement also states its belonging to the shared culture of a society and its need to be recognised as a social actor” (p.74). Collective mobilisations rendered “the emergence of the self as a proper object of narration” (Silverman, 1997:248) suggesting that any research participant “has the potential to be a respondent” (Gubrium and Holstein, 2002:10) and it was this potential for the social construction of the movement that the interviews set out to explore.

Research suggests that individual interviews are more natural and less artificial than focus groups or group interviews:

One possible source of the sense that group interviews are more artificial is the effort involved in bringing together a number of people for a focus group, which is often more overt than the work that it takes to conduct a series of individual interviews (Morgan, 2002:150).

Nevertheless, I would rather change the focus of this discussion from the researcher's role in determining what type of interview to the interviewee's own decision. On this basis, the research participant's decision to have either an individual or a group interview would reflect the meaning of the interview as a social process. Thus, the what and how of this decision is an "integral part of constructing individual subjectivity" (Herzog, 2012:208) for participants and this "would be worthy of study in its own right" (Morgan, 2002:151). I recognise that the research participant's own decision reflects how I approached the fieldwork and, equally importantly, how I positioned myself in the research process, as the interviewee's decision derives from negotiation, which is at the basis of the research process itself.

Morgan (2002) notes that the "role of the moderator in focus groups is another source for the claim that they are less natural than individual interviews" (p.151). In this research, one interview was conducted as a group interview; however, during both individual and group interviews, I aimed at guiding the topic without forcing the interviewee to answer a list of questions. This did not, however, mean that I conducted in-depth interviews without an interview guide (See Appendix 4). I adopted these questions as a guide to focus the topic while allowing the research participant's data to emerge and flow during in-depth interviewing. This reflects my own research responsibility rather than my role as a moderator. I was concerned to protect a natural ethos during the interview process.

I did not follow the same strict order of questions and phrasing in every interview and I did not ask all questions in every interview. But the interview guide helped me, as the data gathering process progressed, to reframe original questions on the basis of leads that emerged during the interview. Keeping in mind that an open-ended detailed exploration relies substantially on "biographical particulars" (Holstein and Gubrium, 1997:121) that research participants raise during the interview does not entail reframing this method as an informal conversation. Rather, as was explained to participants on the information sheet (See Appendix 5), in-depth interviews aimed to gain knowledge of process and forms of political construction within the Penguins' movement. It explicitly discloses what my interests in this research were and the extent to which they could be dissimilar from research participants' interests. The "explicit negotiation" (Melucci, 1996) in this research, was intended to pave the way

for “*cooperative, mutual disclosure and a creative search for mutual understanding*” (Douglas, 1985:25, emphasis in original).

If cooperative, mutual disclosure and understanding are constantly developing, then, how do they influence my own reflexivity? While I acknowledge that in-depth interviews aimed to examine a topic in which the interviewee has substantial experience and, equally important, they become active meaning-makers on the topic, I aimed to explore rather than to interrogate. In conducting in-depth interviews, I engaged my researcher’s position with my personal and professional background as a Chilean postgraduate student with ten years teaching experience in the Chilean education system. It is through reflecting on this background that I engaged with the flow of emerging data on the role that education played in the political construction of the Penguins’ movement. Regarding the sociology of SMs, I engaged in an extensive literature review of social movement theory before conducting the fieldwork. Yet I did not take a theoretical stance to force the data in relation to “substantive content of the questions” (Cohen et al., 2011:204). Sensitising concepts, flexibility and openness were used to follow leads that emerged in the data rather than framing the in-depth interviewing to reflect my preconceived notions (Cohen et al., 2011). This is very much in line with what Thornberg (2012) defines as informed grounded theory:

[...] refers to a product of a research process as well as to the research process itself, in which both the process and the product have been thoroughly grounded in data by GT methods while being informed by existing research literature and theoretical frameworks...In contrast to the classic GT tradition, but in accordance with the constructivist GT tradition, an informed grounded theorist sees the advantage of using pre-existing theories and research findings in the substantive field in a sensitive, creative and flexible way instead of seeing them as obstacles and threats (p.249).

Through this process geography emerged as a thread in the research, reshaping the relationship between the sociology of education and the sociology of social movements. An informed grounded theory has much to do with a research project travelling, as Charmaz (2014) argues, “to new substantive terrain and scaled unforeseen theoretical heights” (p.307). How does this translate into debate on being an experienced or novice researcher conducting in-depth interviewing? Johnson (2001) addresses this distinction as the ability of a researcher as either “a neophyte

or a returning veteran” (p.108) to recognise “nuances in advance” (ibid.) and to use in-depth interviews, in the case of novice researchers, “as a way to learn the meanings of participants’ actions” (p.106). While this last point resembles the idea of cooperative and mutual understanding in conducting in-depth interviewing, such a decision is not solely subjected to the lack of “the researcher’s relationship to member knowledge and lived experience” (p.107). Rather, veteran researchers also approach participants by “subjecting yourself...and your own social situation, to the set of contingencies that play upon a set of individuals” (Goffman, 1989: 125). This is because the nature of the phenomenon being studied and the nature of interview, as a social process, derives from the “product of the unique circumstances operating at the time” (Gardner, 2006:21).

While I am aware of my former experience as a grassroots university student involved in the political protests movement against Pinochet at the end of 1980s, I did not refer to this political background when conducting the interviews. I did not wish to manipulate the orientation of respondents’ answers in relation to this particular issue. I did not want to pursue a historical comparison between the student movement of the 1980s and the Penguins’ movement. I wanted to recognise the genealogy of this movement, its conflict and forms of political actions as detached from other paths and struggles from the past. Therefore, I put myself in the position of activating the flow of narrative during the interview as an active learner within a space of autonomy in relation to the research participants. I did this while respecting the uniqueness of research participants’ own experiences. This was linked with my own “subjective lived experience” (Lillrank, 2012:281) of being part of autonomous grassroots political movement as a university student.

In-depth interviewing complements data gathered through other sources such as official documents, personal and collective documents produced by student activists and additional data such as local and national newspapers (See Appendix 3). They are constitutive of the social milieu in this research. Research participants are active interpretative-meaning makers. Research participants provided personal and collective materials that I had not anticipated, and this located research participants as active and emerging “as part of the project, not beforehand” (Holstein and Gubrium, 1997:121). Collecting data in local and national newspapers reflects the flexibility of this qualitative exploratory study to follow leads that emerge in the early

data collection process. In the interviews the *what* that research participants defined as central for the collective action in the Penguins movement emerged, but without informing the *how*. Therefore, data on school occupations was collected from local and national newspapers to analyse the geographies of school occupations in the Penguins' movement.

All in-depth interviews were conducted in Spanish, and recorded with a digital audio-recorder. Interviews with students lasted from an hour and a half to two hours whilst interviews with teachers, policy makers, university students and academics lasted from an hour to an hour and a half. (An example of a transcribed and translated interview is provided in Appendix 6.) Of 52 interviews, 40 interviews were fully transcribed. The forty represented the group of respondents who were directly involved in the Penguins' movement. They comprised two groups of participants: those, who were involved in cooperation and political negotiation before and after the emergence of the Penguins' movement and the group of high school students from 2006 who mobilised during the Penguins' movement. I decided not to transcribe twelve interviews because the information in these interviews did not refer to their own direct involvement within the movement. This, however, does not indicate that this group of respondents were less active producers of meaning, but rather that my main concern was with the process of how a "doubly hermeneutic exercise" (Giddens, 1979) operated in relation to the Penguins' movement.

Social micro-geographies of interview sites

The location of an interview is commonly framed as a logistical decision that navigates between ethical issues regarding the interviewee's safety and his or her right to choose a "*comfortable atmosphere, convenience, intimacy, or friendliness*" (Herzog, 2012: 216, emphasis in original). Whether the decision on choosing a place for an interview is based upon such considerations or negotiated with the researcher, it neither refers to location as immanent (Herzog, 2012) nor is the meaning attached to place detached from its role "in constructing reality, serving simultaneously as both cultural product and producer" (p.207). Such social micro-geographies of interview sites are not monolithic. Elwood & Martin (2000) argue:

The microgeographies of the interview reflect the relationships of the researcher with the interview participant, the participant with the site, and

the site within a broader sociocultural context that affects both researcher and participant (p.650).

While this research is ethically committed to respect research participants' rights to choose interview location, it acknowledges that this choice engages with social micro-geographies assembled during in-depth interviewing. For some interviewees, "locational choices" (p.652) intersect with continuous affirmation of their political identities and places as integral to their political trajectories. For example, Gaspar (See Table 4.2) chose his former high school as the location for the interview. In his interview, he recognised his own identity as a radical leftist militant rooted in the historical traces of the school, as the place of "significant power struggles" (p.650) with strong ties to neighbourhoods, which were actively involved in the *pobladores* movement against the military dictatorship in the 1980s. He characterised the high school as one for working-class groups because of the "social and spatial inequalities" (Warrington, 2005: 796) that have historically characterised the socioeconomic and cultural background of students. He differentiated this high school from others which were opened during the 1980s by highlighting that they neither allude to a historical political identity nor resemble similar geographies of urban development where the high school is located. The in-depth interviewing was conducted when the school was occupied by students, and this reaffirms Gaspar's own political trajectory and showed how strong the historical identity of political activism at the school was.

Andre, a militant in the Communist Youth in 2011 (See Table 4.2), suggested conducting the interview in the headquarters of the Communist Party in Santiago. His choice relates to the idea that the knowledge he produced during the interview intersects with a meaning of place operating through "multifaceted power dynamics" (Elwood and Martin, 2000:652). At a personal level, his interview engaged with a family political history of left-wing militancy that he defines as the old tradition of leftist militancy before the military coup in 1973. He linked this with a childhood marked by a clandestine leftist culture linked to political resistance against the dictatorship. He situated his own political militancy as shaped by his schooling experience at an emblematic school, more than the political biographies of his family. While Andre's choice of location could be interpreted as the legitimisation of being a communist, his family's political history located him within different social micro-

geographies of political militancy, and opened up the meaning of place during his interview to “inherent power dynamics” (ibid.) operating within his personal and political story.

For other participants, the choice of interview location was a way to protect their identities from “relationships and interactions in particular places” (p.651) to free their voice and what flows within the interview. It operates at different scales. For example, Sebastián (See Table 4.2) chose a coffee area rather than his workplace at a university. In his interview, he noted his current work mainly focused on social stratification and education even though he rather prefers talking the language of social class. He emphasised the idea that he always tries to smuggle the language of social class into his work. At that moment the interview site freed him to talk about how his own research always becomes a space for challenging dominant codes and language within academia. Likewise, he places this meaning of social class in his discussion about the student movement by arguing that it is a class conflict in formation, in particular when he highlights how old middle-class sectors existing at the university were also leading the 2011 student mobilisations.

The examples described above demonstrate how location choice is spatially constituted, and therefore research participants’ choice of interview sites is an “integral part of constructing individual subjectivity” (Herzog, 2012: 208). In analysing data I have considered the interview site and its significance as “political space” (Schostak, 2006) rather than places being acknowledged as “neutral” (Krueger, 1994) or resulting from a procedural decision taken solely upon consideration of research participants’ safety.

Processing and analysing data

All interviews were transcribed in their original language without omissions but acknowledging that “transcription is a form of *representation* and must be considered as such” (Gibson and Brown, 2009:109, emphasis in original). While this idea of representation conflicts with the notion of researcher neutrality, the transcription process aimed at pursuing both descriptive and interpretive validity by making an interpretative rendering of the data that was as close as possible to the original meaning. In the analysis process I was concerned with the “double hermeneutic exercise” (Giddens, 1979) entailed in transcribing and analysing data in the original

language but presented in English. This double interpretation in the act of translating required mapping out interviews as focused transcriptions by giving attention to how the interviewee expressed an idea even though this research was not focused on linking analysis to discourse analysis. I adapted from Dressler and Kruez (2000) some conventions and symbols for representing the transcription process (See Table 4.3).

Table 4.3 Transcription symbols adapted from Dressler & Kruez (2000)	
<i>Italicised word</i>	Stress or emphasis in the speech
...	Short untimed spaces
()	Unclear or unintelligible speech
□	Edited out word or text

The qualitative analysis interlocks with my own concern about language translation and the implications for political and social meanings of some terms. Two terms exemplify the complexity of this process: *toma* (occupations) and *colectivos* (collective). On the meaning of *toma*³², I acknowledge its political meaning rooted in the history of the preceding student movements. The reasons why I choose ‘occupations’ as the translation when referring to school occupations in 2006 (see Chapter 8) relates to differentiation. On this basis, I used ‘occupation’ to distinguish it from the historically earlier meaning of *toma* within the preceding secondary student movement and to emphasise that the current meaning of occupation within the Chilean student movement is imbued with the construction process of prefigurative radical democratic politics and the democratisation of this tactic of mobilisation (see Chapter 8).

A similar challenge was encountered regarding the meaning of *colectivo*, which can be translated into English as ‘collective’. *Colectivos* does not just mean a group but rather it is tied to political identities, to be precise left-wing political identities that

³² Occupations in Chile are known as *tomas*. The *tomas* originated in the 1950s and 1960s, and were carried out in marginal urban neighbourhoods in order to create new settlements. In the 1980s, *tomas* were adopted by the secondary student movement to protest against Pinochet’s dictatorship (See Chapter 8).

exist in the margins of traditional left-wing parties. There are methodological challenges then in translating such words. This entails looking at “the process by which it is produced” (Temple and Young, 2004: 165) and how translation carries the political and social ties embedded in the meaning of *colectivos* and their anarchist and libertarian ethos.

In the early stage of transcriptions, interviews were analysed by following a descriptive coding process to initially “sort and synthesise the material” (Charmaz, 2014:124) and memo-writing through NVivo data analysis software. In the early analysis stages I did not force the coding process to stick closely to the sensitising concepts addressed above. Rather I retained an “open mind but not an empty head” (Dey, 1993:6; 1999) to see what codes I was creating and where this coding process was leading my early research analysis. Initial coding fitted with the situatedness of the self through education, which engages with self-recognition grounded in educational family background; residential geography that directly related to problematizing the lack of quality education; and social mobility aspirations (see Figure 4.4).

Figure 4.4 Initial coding for topics and themes

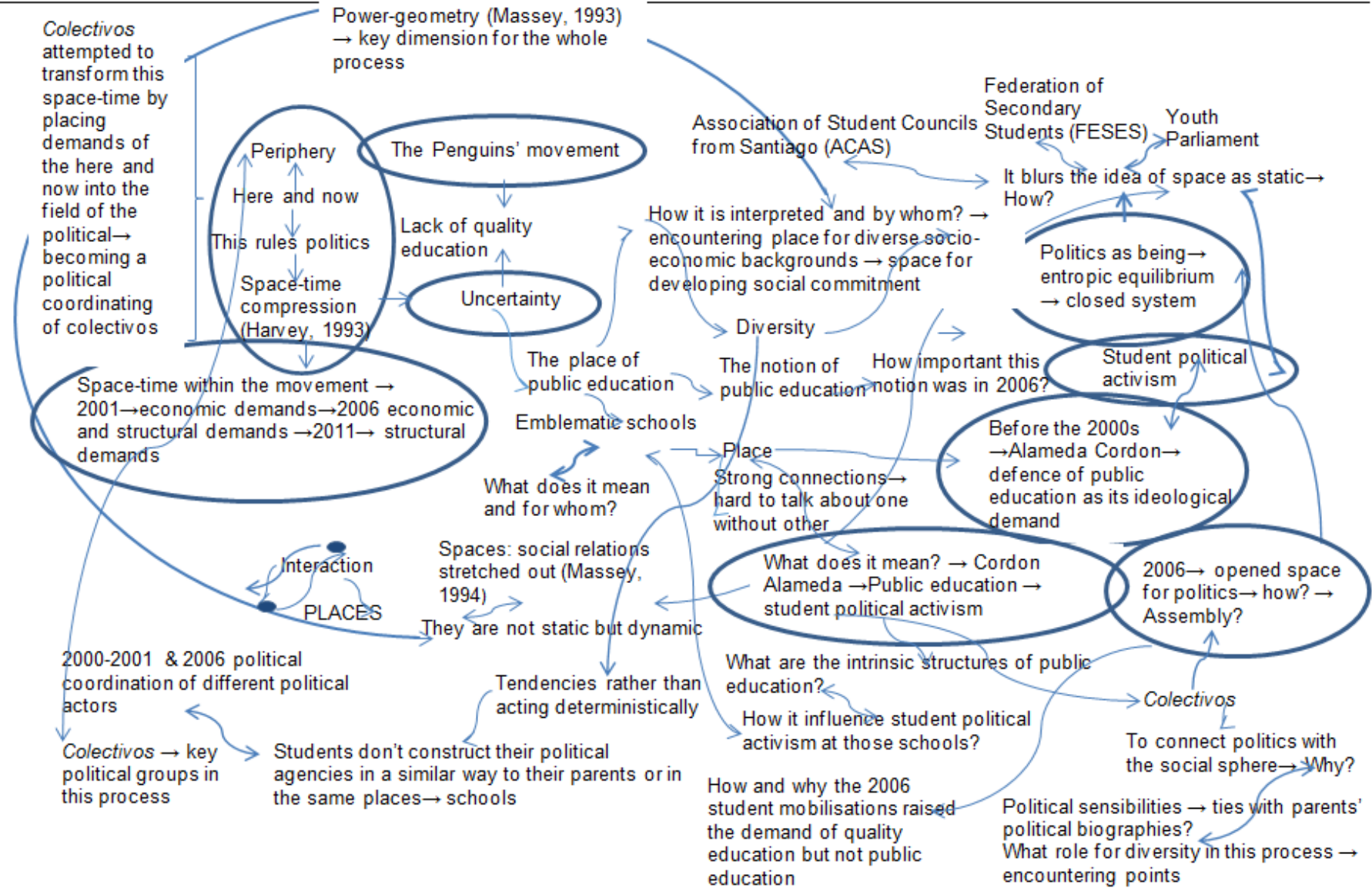


Residential geography and student commuting arose as an early sensitising core category. Centre-periphery, as the core distinction for residential geography, is therefore explicitly acknowledged as a dimension between school choice and quality education. I explored and compared this category by looking at how centre-periphery is seen within the data. While I identified high levels of student commuting as a salient aspect of schools located in central communes of Greater Santiago, student commuting is also to be found in high schools from peripheral communes of Greater Santiago. Student commuting is spatialised – through a more diverse socioeconomic and cultural composition – with a different school ethos at municipal high schools to which students commute daily. The geographical differentiation between centre-periphery led me to read literature on human radical geography and the geography of education. I located concepts such as space and place within the data analysis without attempting “to force theoretical data” (Thornberg, 2012:249) but rather incorporating them as sensitising concepts. Both concepts guided me to look at residential geography as a causal factor and to explore in what ways residential geography influenced the production of spaces and places in education. Then I looked at students’ original residential geography and identified implicit relationships between the former and parents’ school choice. This prompted me to question how residential geography influenced political construction within the Penguins’ movement.

In exploring this question, I analysed the meaning of spatial identity of public education as a historical place for class mobility. I identified this spatial identity of public education as a focused coding. I relocated this focused coding in a comparative analysis with initial codes. This process led me to identify a straightforward relationship between a more proactive parents’ agency on school choice and the former political biographies of political resistance against Pinochet’s dictatorship. The geography highlighted diverse socio-economic and cultural composition and also included students whose families did not display similar political biographies. However, this relationship, along with the high number of enrolments at the group of emblematic municipal high schools, underpinned the development of student political activism. I delineated this focused coding with clustering (See Figure 4.5), which expedites the form and content of memo-writing

that, as Charmaz (2014) suggests, “create an interactive space for conversing with yourself about your data, codes, ideas, and hunches” (p.162).

Figure 4.5 Clustering on initial coding



Clustering helped me to map the process onto the central idea of public education as a place for identity of social mobility. I identified some clustering relationships to public education and how they connect to the early stages of analysis. I did not attempt to use clustering because it “makes writing less onerous” (Charmaz, 2014: 185). Neither did I develop it in a random way to see where this cluster led my analysis. Rather, I engaged its construction with the informed grounded theory process to take into account how some clusters such as space-time compression, politics of here and now, parents’ political trajectories, place and space did further relate to the process of political construction of the Penguins’ movement. While I identified the relationships addressed above, I traced paths towards emergent elements such as *colectivos*.

Colectivos emerged as the salient element in the clustering and in engaging them in focused coding I sketched through memo-writing to locate them within the “temporal, social and situational conditions of their production” (p.189). Table 4.6 provides an example of preliminary memo-writing on *colectivos*. In this memo I identified some elements that guide the analysis of the *colectivos* as a conceptual category in order to further scrutinise them under the lens of the two sensitising concepts I introduced at an early stage: *colectivos* as small laboratories and submerged networks that operate to question and challenge the dominant codes of everyday life. In one particular memo on 16/01/2013 (See Table 4.6), I referred to two different chants of protest during the Penguins’ movement, and this prompted me to look for what it might reveal in terms of the political construction of *colectivos* and to further examine how and why they turned into submerged networks. This entails asking what the political capacity of the *colectivos* relied on (see memo on 15/01/2013) to identify its relational dimension with other political identities that exist either within or at the margins of these submerged networks. Further analysis identified this relational dimension as central for examining temporal, social and situational conditions of *colectivos* as submerged networks able to challenge and transform the dominant codes in ways of building and doing politics differently.

Table 4.6 Preliminary memo-writing on *colectivos*

07/12/2012 13:14
What about the political role of <i>colectivos</i> in articulating subsidised schools and municipal schools; Is this role mainly focused on connecting periphery and centre?
19/12/2012 14:35
To what extent did a more effective political role of <i>colectivos</i> mean to address this political diagnosis without delegitimizing the whole political system within the secondary student movement?
15/01/2013 19:46
Without the existence of spaces of participation such as the FESES, <i>colectivos</i> did not have the same opportunities to enhance their networks, so it is probably the unknown political recognition from such submerged organizations regarding their own existence themselves. It is a dialectical relationship.
16/01/2013 11:27
During the Penguins' movement, some shouts of protests were " <i>to create popular power</i> " and for some <i>colectivos</i> it was " <i>to create and to build student power</i> ". It seems that both shouts have been ingrained in very different political ideas. The first is recovering former collective historical memories from far left movements such as the MIR ³³ while the second one seems to be representative of a generation that recognises itself as very abandoned by politics and who have made themselves alone and who have developed step by step.
13/02/2013 15:15
It would be interesting to map <i>colectivos</i> ' networks by looking at schools and geographical areas in which they were located and what political discourses the <i>colectivos</i> developed in such networks.
18/02/2013 13:08
The use of a popular education approach in transmitting former experiences among secondary students; attempts to democratize this process of transmission within a context in which secondary students were quite cautious about former student experiences. It is more related to issues of power and how it could be reproduced through education. This, however, could relate to the idea of politics as learning by doing → students who were not militants

A memo on 18/02/2013 outlines the political commitment of students to teach other students about former experiences within the secondary student movement under the influence of Paulo Freire's pedagogy. As a strategy within the movement it was always emphasised by grassroots students as tensional within the movement. As focused coding progressed, I began to relate the learning process to codes such as learning by doing, the politics of here and now, and demands rooted in everyday life. However, while the codes in this group showed a strong relationship with each other, I was not able to identify what this relationship was about. Later, I integrated this question to an 'in vivo' code produced by one of the research participants. He refers to *the bio-politics of existence* as a commitment to politics in which life itself turns

³³ The *Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria* (Revolutionary Left Movement) was a guerrilla group that emerged in the 1960s.

into a political action. It becomes, therefore, a core category in the analysis since on the one hand it seems to fit the idea of temporality in the group of codes addressed above and on the other, this in vivo code gave me analytical mileage and conceptual weight (Charmaz, 2014) to continue refining analysis of prefiguration within the movement. In exploring the content and meaning of *the bio-politics of existence* I continued developing further comparisons and delineating this process with an informed theoretical discussion on space and spatiality of politics.

While an informed grounded theory process engaged my research analysis in a more developed and focused coding process and an abstract level of memo-writing, it also prompted me to critically analyse the data and to assume a “reflective stance” (Charmaz, 2014) on what theoretical discussion on space, place, territory and territoriality exists in both Anglo-Saxon geographical literature and Latin American geographical scholarship. I engaged spatial concepts of territory and territoriality with this existing theoretical discussion in order to critically interpret what was happening in the data by pursuing an in-depth exploration of social processes underpinning the production of territory and territoriality within the Penguins’ movement.

Qualitative analysis of socio-spatial concepts within the Penguins’ movement were to be compared and contrasted through the use of Geographical Information System (GIS), in particular, the field postcode directory of all educational establishments in Chile (*Georeferenciación de Escuelas y Liceos*) provided by the government of Chile³⁴. Mapping the process of collective mobilisation of the Penguins’ movement through “spatially referenced data” (Taylor, 2007), contributes to an overall understanding of the geographical and spatial process underlying the political construction of the Penguins’ movement that could explain the idea that this movement represented the emergence of a multiplicity of autonomous movements locally specific but building “a chain of equivalence” (Mouffe, 2015) between their struggles for public quality education for all.

³⁴ <http://datos.gob.cl/dataset/448>

Ethical considerations and some reflections on researcher duties and rights

In this research, ethical considerations were framed within BERA guidelines and examined within the UCL Institute of Education ethics framework. Pseudonyms were used to protect anonymity of the research participants and the choice of interview sites was primarily based on “the needs of participants” (Adler and Adler, 2001:528; Berg, 2001:99-100) where participants’ choice is seen as a matter of privacy and familiarity (Seidman, 1991). Nevertheless, as discussed in the section on interview sites, the choice for a particular location is imbued with social micro-geographies of a place that seeks to provide a sense of safety and /or becomes the site for reaffirmation of the identity of participants. In addition, the discussion on ethical considerations needs to be located beyond the duties and rights of the researcher regarding research participants’ safety to reflect on it as a negotiation that implicitly encompasses reciprocal concerns. For example, I would argue that a focus on participants’ choice as a private decision undermines the idea that the relationship between the participant and the researcher is a negotiated one. In addition, choosing a location as a reaffirmation of one’s political identity could undermine the safety of both the participant and the researcher. For example, I interviewed two students on 20/10/2011, the day that the former building of the Chilean Congress in the city of Santiago had been occupied by high school students from 2011 and other grassroots activists. The students invited me to continue the interview near the occupation to show me what was going on at that moment. While I agreed with continuing the interview near the Chilean Congress, this decision was primarily based on a wish to avoid altering the flow of the interview as a social process. Yet this decision as a researcher came into conflict with my own sense of safety, since I knew that riot police were waiting for the order from the Metropolitan Authority to disperse demonstrators and evict students from the building. This made me reflect on my reflexivity as “turning back on one’s own experience” (Steier, 1991:2) and on the limits of “the ethics and politics of knowledge construction in fieldwork” (Elwood and Martin, 2001: 651).

Regarding the limits of the ethics and politics of knowledge construction in fieldwork I recognise that the debate on ethical procedures relies more on the researcher’s duties rather than the researcher’s rights during the fieldwork. I identified this issue in

the early years of my doctoral studies when I reflected on education and how it is commonly viewed and framed within the sphere of the institutional, and then taking place in classrooms, being developed at faculties or public offices such as the Ministry of Education. Since the mainstream education research agenda is not primarily focused on analysing education through the lens of student movements' strategic praxis and forms of politics to envision new counter-hegemonic meanings in relation to global neoliberal hegemony, education is not usually located either on the streets or in an occupied school, nor is safety located in these non-formal spaces.

Informed consent was obtained from all research participants (See Appendix 7). While I acknowledge that in some contexts this does not represent a stringent practice, I introduced informed consent as a way to show transparency in the research being conducted, and therefore as a guarantee for respecting autonomy and freedom regarding participants' rights "to freely choose to take part" (Cohen et al., 2011:78) in this research. By presenting informed consent as a guarantee of transparency I aimed to undermine potential "asymmetries of power between researchers and participants" (Wax, 1982:44). Since I recognise that a research process is a negotiated relationship, I located these asymmetries at a cultural level.

The reasons students gave for agreeing to participate commonly frame their cooperation within a consequential dimension (Seedhouse, 1998), through which their participation is seen as mutually favourable. For example, their participation represented for them an opportunity for broadening the voice of the student movement. Likewise, this research becomes a space for the voice of the movement. In addition, research participants might agree to participate on the basis that the knowledge I could produce could benefit their own political struggles.

A very different relationship was established with academics. Here, the power-geometry of the negotiated relationship seems to relate to the fact that a veteran researcher was being interviewed by a novice researcher who was researching in a field in which some of them are well-known experts. The point here is that their participation represented an opportunity to corroborate their "particular interpretations of events" (Ball, 1994:98) more than seeing the interview as an interaction "between ourselves and the others" (Hastrup, 1992:117). In this respect, I acknowledge that interviews are imbued with "multifaceted power shifts" (Lillrank, 2012) in which, for example, my own position was reframed when I introduced

myself not as a sociologist, but as a teacher with a broad teaching experience in the Chilean education system and now a postgraduate student based in the UK. From this point of view, I tried to anticipate the course of this dynamic of social and interpersonal interaction by interviewing academics and policy makers after students' interviews as a way to manage and shift this dynamic from teacher-student interaction to a "conversational collaboration" (ibid.).

As mentioned earlier, teachers were the least accessible group to be interviewed. While I locate this sense of mistrust in their former experiences of political persecution during Pinochet's dictatorship, I became aware that I came with this pre-conceived idea based on my former experience as a teacher in Chile. But this experience of political persecution might not resonate with all Chilean teachers. It made me reflect that this might blur my capacity to consider other reasons why teachers were reluctant to participate in this research. For example, their reluctance might be based on their fears of losing their jobs if they expressed their political views against neoliberal reforms that transform the "nature of teacher professionalism" (Lipman, 2011:123). This could be, for example, a more sensitive issue in the private-voucher school sector in which 45% of teachers are working (MINEDUC, 2013). The difficulty in interviewing teachers also limited the possibility of understanding what new epistemologies of politics are being crystallised amongst teachers and how these epistemologies engage with the feminisation of both politics and teacher professionalism within a professional sector in which 72% of teachers are women (MINEDUC, 2013).

Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to present and justify the research design conducted in this qualitative exploratory study. This research design applied some aspects of grounded theory to explain the process and abstract understanding underlying the geographies of political construction about and within the Penguins' movement. It has justified the process of conducting in-depth interviews. Since interviews are seen as a social process, the decision to use this specific research instrument therefore not only represents an individual researcher's decision but it is also acknowledged "as an element of the broader social political context" (Herzog, 2012: 207). In this chapter I have explained the process of data collection and analysis by presenting

some examples of the coding process, clustering and memo-writing. This research design followed some classic statements of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1978): What is happening here? And what are the basic social processes? But it goes some way beyond this. By explaining the data analysis procedures this chapter has aimed to demonstrate how this research sought to ensure validity and to develop a particular perspective of geography and political construction within the Penguins' movement.

In the following chapter I put the data and the research process in context by providing a historical timeline of the Penguins' movement.

Chapter 5

A historical timeline of the Penguins' movement

In 2006 Chilean society witnessed the emergence of one of the largest social protests since the return of democracy in 1990. The rise of the Penguins' movement was unprecedented in the political context of sixteen years of democratic government led by the *Concertación*, throughout which there had been no large scale public social conflicts (De la Maza, 2010).

Between April and June, hundreds of thousands of high school students mobilised across the country to demand that education should be a right not a privilege. They marched and occupied their high schools to give voice publicly to the failure of the educational policies of the 1990s to provide social justice, thereby highlighting the lack of equal opportunities for quality education for all.

This chapter provides a timeline of the Penguins' movement. Since SMs are, as Snow (2013) notes, "nested temporally and spatially rather than randomly distributed across time and place" (p.1203), the chapter looks at the processes that led to the emergence of this student movement in 2006. It explores the dynamics of the movement by looking at how it organised from the early 2000s, and the processes of participation. This timeline extends to 2007-2008 to the continued mobilisation in the context of the General Law on Education (LGE) passed in December 2008. This discussion draws partly on newspaper reports and published accounts and partly on the data collected through the interviews.

The creation of the Coordinating Assembly of Secondary Students in 2001

The processes associated with the political construction of the Penguins' movement can be traced back to the early 2000s, when a group of students at the oldest public high schools, known as the emblematic schools, in the communes of Santiago and Providencia in Greater Santiago, set up new forms of participation. These led to the

end of the historical student organisation, the Federation of Secondary Students (FESES)³⁵.

Students at these emblematic schools had started to be politically organised around political and cultural groups known as *colectivos*³⁶ (See Chapter 7). One outcome was that the *colectivos* challenged – through prefiguration of the politics of everyday life – the FESES by questioning how detached it had become from grassroots students:

There was a federation of secondary students, the FESES; it was a *very important* student organisation in the 1970s and the 1980s. When democracy came, and I say that in inverted commas, the FESES along with other organisations become disarticulated and bureaucratised... I mean it turned into a ... it becomes detached from grassroots political student activism. Like many other organisations, the FESES becomes just an empty bureaucratic space. Later this organisation went into crisis. (Alejandra, 4 August 2011, Santiago)

In contrast to FESES, the goals, targets and tactics of *colectivos* were focused on mobilising students at the grassroots. The role of *colectivos* was confirmed through mobilisations, such as the school occupation at one of these emblematic schools in Santiago and student marches against increases in student transport pass fares in early 2000s. This allowed *colectivos* aligned with different political groups and the FESES to create the *Frente Anti-Alzas* (Anti-Increase Front). This paved the way for the end of the FESES and created the conditions for a new student organisation, the *Asamblea Coordinadora de Estudiantes Secundarios* (The Coordinating Assembly of Secondary Students [ACES]). This is discussed in further detail in Chapter 7.

³⁵ The Federation of Secondary Students (FESES) was a historical organisation in the secondary student movement. It was founded as an anarchist student federation in 1909 at the Instituto Nacional José Miguel Carrera in the commune of Santiago from Greater Santiago. In 1973, it was banned by Pinochet's regime. The reconstruction of the FESES, in the middle of the 1980s, was led by high school students at schools grouped in the Alameda Cordon in the communes of Santiago and Providencia from Greater Santiago. It followed a process of reconstruction of different territorial left-wing student organisations in Greater Santiago known as COEM (*Coordinadora de Estudiantes de Enseñanza Media* [Coordinating Organisation of Secondary Students]). In 1985, the COEM and the Group of Christian Students (*Agrupación de Estudiantes Cristianos* [SEC]) created the Committee Pro- FESES to continue building political resistance against Pinochet. In 1986, the secondary student movement gained major visibility due to mobilisations led by the Alameda Cordon against the process of municipalisation. The Pro-FESES Committee called for an open congress of secondary students to reconstitute the FESES in August 1986 (Alvarez, 2014)

³⁶ *Colectivos* constituted "smaller group of students that represented the inorganic Left" (Donoso, 2013:6) within the secondary student movement. *Colectivos* and their political role in the secondary student movement are further explored in Chapter 7.

The Assembly and the *Mochilazo* protest³⁷

The first public appearance of ACES was in 2001 when high school students mobilised against the rising costs of the student transport pass. Their protests against what they called the “*raspa pase*” (scratch pass)³⁸ were linked to the demand for a free transport pass and the de-privatisation of its administration by private bus operators. There were high levels of student support for transferring the administration of the student transport pass from the private sector to the Ministry of Education because of widespread outrage among secondary students regarding what they saw as a scam in its provision by the private sector.

Initially, the Youth Parliament (YP)³⁹ took political leadership of these student demonstrations. The end of FESES had left a space for an organisation which was recognised by political parties and the media. In early April 2001, between 7,000 and 12,000 high school students marched through the main avenue, known as *La Alameda*, in the commune of Santiago. These mobilisations were followed by negotiations held between the YP, the *Agrupación de Centros de Estudiantes de Santiago* (ACAS [Group of Student Councils from Santiago])⁴⁰ and representatives of the private urban transport sector. They agreed to a reduction of 29% in the cost of the student transport pass. Yet this agreement ended up leading to an unexpected result. There were doubts amongst some students as to whether the YP was a legitimate spokesperson since they had not negotiated for a free student transport pass, but just for a reduction in its costs. These questions led to ACES taking the political opportunity to gain more public visibility and be recognised by the media as the legitimate student organisation to spearhead the demands of the *Mochilazo* protests.

The Assembly had started to consolidate among grassroots students in the early marches and demonstrations called by the Youth Parliament. This provided a vehicle for the ACES to consolidate a leading political role and to start developing its own networks. In contrast to the centralised role played by the YP, the political leadership

³⁷ *Mochilazo* is derived from *mochila* (rucksack).

³⁸ Students called the “*raspa pase*” because when they scratched off new student transport pass they found out that old passes had been replaced with photographs of new students.

³⁹ The YP was an institutional initiative created by the Chamber of Deputies in 1997. It was made up of 121 secondary students who were representatives of 1,300 high schools throughout Chile.

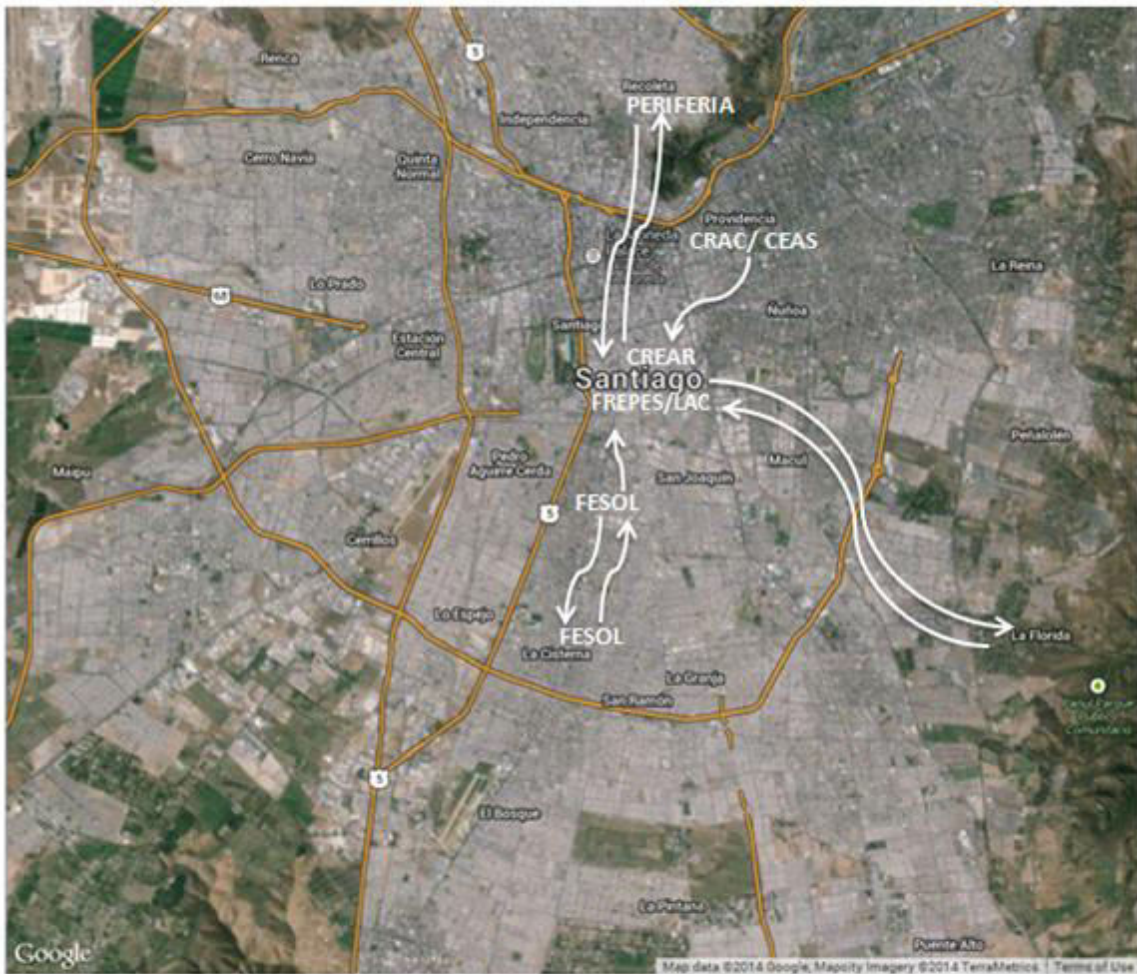
⁴⁰ The ACAS led the coordination of the group of student councils based on a decree dating back to Pinochet’s dictatorship.

of the *Mochilazo* protests was in the hands of two student organisations: ACES and the *Coordinadora de Estudiantes Secundarios Autónomos* (CESA [Coordinating Organisation of Autonomous Secondary Students]) from the commune of La Florida in Greater Santiago. These further mobilisations on April 17 2001⁴¹ led to the commitment of the Ministry of Education during the government of Ricardo Lagos (2000-2006) to take over the provision of student transport and to reduce the cost of the pass. The efficacy of the *Mochilazo* protests led to an increase in the number of schools that started to participate in the Assembly.

Before the emergence of the Penguins' movement, the continuity of the Assembly was, between 2000 and 2006, linked to the political role undertaken by *colectivos* (see Chapter 7). Through different political coordination, *colectivos* focused on developing politics in the margins of traditional student organizations in order to cultivate grassroots participation “with those who truly sustain the movement, grassroots students and students representing their local spaces” (Marco, spokesperson of press committee of ACES 2001 interviewed by Punto Final in April 2001). Between 2000 and 2006, *colectivos* existed as autonomous spaces among grassroots students and they facilitated – through different forms of coordination – the development of networks among different *colectivos* located at municipal high schools from central and peripheral communes of Greater Santiago (see Map 5.1). Different arrows in Map 5.1 show how some of these *colectivos* were connected to each other across different neighbouring urban communes in which they were located. Such networks also accounted for the centre-periphery pattern through which networks of exchanges were expanded and reproduced at grassroots levels between schools located in peripheral residential communes and the group of emblematic schools from the communes of Santiago and Providencia in Greater Santiago.

⁴¹ A mass protest on April 17 brought “together students, parents, teachers and neighbourhood organisations from the entire metropolitan region in support of student demands” (WNU of the Americas, 2001:2).

Map 5.1 Location of political coordination of *colectivos* between 2004 and 2006



CREAR (*Cordón Rebelde de Estudiantes Autónomos y Revolucionarios* [Rebel Cordon of Revolutionary and Autonomous Students]); FESOL (*Federación de Estudiantes Solidarios* [Federation of Solidarity Students]); FREPES (*Frente Popular de Estudiantes Secundarios* [Popular Front of Secondary Students]); LAC (*Las Armas de la Critica* [The Arms for the Critique]); PERIFERIA (Periphery); CEAS (*Colectivo de Estudiantes en Acción Subversiva* [Collective of Students in Subversive Action]) and CRAC (*Colectivo Revolucionario de Alumnas Conscientes* [Collective of Revolutionary and Conscious Students]).

The *Coordinadora de Estudiantes de la Región Metropolitana*⁴²

In 2005, *colectivos* organised around CREAR (see Map 5.1) set up, along with secondary students from different political groups, the *Coordinadora de Estudiantes Secundarios de la Región Metropolitana* (CEREM). Under the umbrella of CEREM, secondary students mobilised, in April 2005, against the increase in the cost of the student transport pass and demanded that the validity of the pass be extended to cover more than just two journeys per day. Students also called for the temporary

⁴² The Coordinating Organisation of Secondary Students from the Metropolitan Region

removal of class ranking⁴³ from the national college admission test results (PSU). These mobilisations led to an invitation by the Regional Secretary of the Ministry of Education from the Metropolitan Region (SEREMI) to schedule a round of weekly talks between April and November 2005. The CEREM-SEREMI Weekly Talks provided the basis for setting out the demands that students had raised since the *Mochilazo* protests in 2001 and later in the Penguins' movement. Following meetings with the authorities, eight commissions were created⁴⁴. They met weekly to debate issues students had identified as the most important to be discussed in the CEREM-SEREMI Talks.

The commissions produced a document between August and November 2005 (see Table 5.2) that took on board the diagnosis of the issues concerning education and proposals for reforming it. The former Minister of Education agreed with high school students in November 2005 to create a Ministry team to work on this final student document in March 2006. Yet the Ministry team was never constituted, and new authorities in the government of Michelle Bachelet, which took office in March 2006, were not familiar with the document (Domedel and Peña y Lillo, 2008).

⁴³ The class ranking refers "to the score associated to the high school grade average" (Cáceres-Delpiano et al, 2015:7).

⁴⁴ (1) Public education and the role of the state, (2) Full School Day Reform (JEC), (3) Sport and Arts, (4) Student Councils, (5) Community and Environment, (6) Sexuality, (7) Technical and vocational secondary education and (8) Transport.

Table 5.2 Proposal by High School Students from the Metropolitan Region⁴⁵

COMMISSIONS	DEMANDS
<p>Public education and the role of the state</p> <p>SUB-CATEGORIES</p> <p>Municipal education</p> <p>Private providers</p> <p>Corporations</p>	<p>Education should be debated by all stakeholders through a Constituent Assembly to restructure the LOCE. This entails the elimination of the binominal system⁴⁶</p> <p>The state should administer the educational delivery service in order to avoid profit in education</p> <p>The school council should have an active role as an audit body and there should be an external audit process led by DAEMs⁴⁷</p> <p>Decentralisation should be improved by an exchange of technical advice between municipalities and the Ministry of Education</p> <p>There should be a debate between social actors and the Legislative power on what changes could be implemented in the LOCE</p>
<p>Full School Day Reform (JEC)</p>	<p>The JEC should be improved through the development of workshops based on students' interests</p> <p>Workshops should be evaluated in the same way as other curricular subjects; students should have a more active role in the implementation of these workshops in order to have a more participative learning experience</p> <p>The delivery of free school meals and the infrastructure of school canteens should be improved</p> <p>Schools should be supported in the implementation of the JEC; schools that implement the JEC should start the school day later; schools should provide enough time to do homework in school; the JEC should create the conditions to help students who are talented in arts and sports to be successful both at the academic level and in other disciplines</p>

⁴⁵ *Propuesta de Trabajo de Estudiantes Secundarios de la RM, Santiago 30/11 2005*. Available at http://www.opech.cl/movisociales/propuestas/propuesta_secundarios_rm_05.pdf

⁴⁶ See Footnote 21

⁴⁷ Departamento Administrativo de Educación Municipal (Municipal Department of Education)

Sports and Arts	There should be education policies to support and encourage the creation of sport and arts schools in order to overcome the undervaluing of these areas; students with talents in the arts and sport should be supported by the introduction of strategies at schools; there should be adequate resources and effective implementation to make quality learning in sport and the arts possible; free community arts and sport workshops should be set up to guarantee the opportunity for each student to develop his or her interests; the state should take responsibility for supporting talented students in arts and sport through a fund administrated by the Ministry of Education; the creation of artistic <i>colectivos</i> and student sport clubs that aim to function as both cultural and social spaces should be supported; schools should establish particular days for sport and arts during the school year; extra academic support for students who devote a large part of their time to practicing sports should be guaranteed; the Ministry of Culture and Sports should provide students with ongoing information on initiatives regarding both physical education and sport coaching; there should be policies for high schools that do not have sufficiently good infrastructure for sports facilities to receive the support of the local community.
Student councils	There should be a webpage with much clearer information on the legal and normative framework relating to students' rights; school councils should meet every month rather than four times a year. Student councils should be allowed to take decisions more than having a consultative character; supervision by the MINEDUC should also include views emanating from both school councils and student councils; a dialogue between students and MINEDUC at provincial, regional and national level to discuss revision and reform of the education system should be established There should be a modification of Decree 524 regarding participation of students in the student councils in the seventh and eighth grades; student councils should establish relations with other student organisations; students' scores, behaviour, gender and so on should not impede students from leading the student councils; student councils should be allowed to function for two hours a week within an adequate space; the adviser ⁴⁸ of student councils should be elected by students; and both the student councils and the council of class delegates ⁴⁹ should be allowed to meet without the adviser; the commission to modify rules of student councils so that they should be led mainly by students; student councils should have legal status
Community and environment	Discriminatory mechanisms for educational selection based on criteria such as behaviour should be eliminated; schools should admit students on the basis of a wide range of criteria and interests; schools should hold open days to help students to decide according to their interests between scientific/humanities, technical/vocational and artistic tracks; schools should work with specialists to support students in order to avoid schools being stigmatised through being associated with " <i>problematic</i> " students ⁵⁰ ; a concept of

⁴⁸ The assessor of the student council is designated by the Principal

⁴⁹ *Consejo de Delegados de Curso* (CODECU [Council of Student Class' Representatives])

⁵⁰ Emphasis in original

	inclusive community to reduce all forms of discrimination through dialogue, tolerance and respect should be developed; schools should debate values, and teach ethics, personal development and theology
Sexuality	The curriculum should include debate on machismo and feminism; spaces to debate problems related to sexuality, abuse and violence should be created; the MINEDUC should develop a program of sex education to prevent teenage pregnancy; students who are pregnant should receive support at school in order to avoid discrimination and abortion; HIV/AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases should be included in the curriculum; sexual discrimination should be addressed at schools in order to recognise and respect different sexual orientations; high schools should guarantee students' access to childcare
Technical and vocational secondary education (EMTP) ⁵¹	The role of municipal high schools in the provision of good quality vocational and technical education should be supported; the EMTP should be extended to three years; the linkage between general and technical formation should be strengthened; students should be informed about the relationship between technical careers and employability; quality education through linkage between theory and practice should be improved; the provision of paid transport and food should be guaranteed to students; students who want to continue to higher education should be supported either through access to pre-university studies or by being credited in their final marks; subjects in the curriculum of EMTP should be validated by the vocational and technical training centres ⁵² ; teachers' skills and practices should be improved
Transport SUB-CATEGORY Loss of student transport pass	The use of the student transport pass beyond two journeys per day between their residential commune and school should be extended; there should be a provisional student transport pass if the pass is lost; student transport pass fares should be extended to students from EMTP during the summer term; the student transport pass should be extended to interurban commuting in the Metropolitan region; students should have a free student transport pass

⁵¹ *Educación Media Técnica Profesional* (Vocational and Technical Track)

⁵² *Centros de Formación Técnica* (CFTs)

The Assembly of Secondary Students from 2006

On 17 December 2005, different libertarian, anarchist and left-wing *colectivos* met students from the Communist Youth at the *Liceo de Aplicación* in the commune of Santiago to try to reach common ground regarding “the evolution of the secondary student movement since 2000” (Domedel and Peña Lillo, 2008: 57). In that meeting, the students agreed to propose the creation of a single student organisation. Underpinning this “strategic and political decision” (ibid.) were appeals led by *colectivos* and students from the Communist and Socialist Youth. For example, while *colectivos* agreed to negotiate with the ACAS for the creation of a single student organisation, *colectivos* aimed to use this new organisation as a strategy to transform the ACAS from within in order to transform the map of political power within the movement. Yet the Communist youth, for example, regarded this political strategy as a way of moving toward greater unity within the secondary student organisation through the creation of a federation of secondary students:

In 2005, the political dispute about aims, tactics, strategies between these political groups and us was about whether or not to have a federation. If we built a federation, these political groups would criticise us by complaining that the Communist youth, the party and the bureaucratic machine were overlooking the assembly (...). The assembly was against the idea of the federation but for us it was an important political aim as the federation allowed us to have better political coordination within the movement ... I agree that the federation represented a bureaucratic structure and it was different to the assembly...yet it helped us to work in an orderly way and to have contact with students at regional and national level. These were the counter-arguments. (Andre, 8 September 2011, Santiago)

Students from the ACAS continued to work on building spaces to take forward demands they had brought into discussion during the CEREM-SEREMI Talks. On this basis, they opened political negotiations with *colectivos* and the Communist youth to create a single student organisation that included students from *colectivos* within the political structure of the AES. This differentiated the AES in 2006 from the preceding student assemblies since the latter allowed only participation of students from representative student bodies. In March 2006, an open assembly was held at the *Internado Nacional Barros Arana* in the commune of Santiago to create the

Asamblea de Estudiantes Secundarios (AES [Assembly of Secondary Students]). The political structure of the AES was constituted by four spokespersons, from the *Liceo 1*; *Liceo Confederación Suiza*; *Liceo Carmela Carvajal de Prat* and *Liceo Valentín Letelier* from the communes of Santiago, Providencia, and Recoleta respectively and two spokespersons in the political commission of the AES from the *Instituto Nacional* and the *Instituto Superior de Comercio (INSUCO)* in the commune of Santiago (Domedel and Peña y Lillo, 2008).

Tactics, demands and dynamics of protest in the Penguins' movement

The repertoire of collective action by the Penguins' movement between April and June 2006 included marches, occupations of high schools and a round of negotiations with governmental authorities. In its early stages, the Penguins' movement seemed to engage student protests around grievances about the lack of progress on promises associated with the CEREM-SEREMI Talks (see Table 5.2):

If you have a Minister who publicly made the promise to continue working on the proposal and to schedule the accomplishment of our demands, and later he did not comply with what he promised because a new government came into office... ..well one does not expect that we would have agreed with that (...). It was like a mockery, and of course we would demand an answer, get it? (Carolina, 30 September 2011, Santiago)

While the lack of promises operated as a pivotal point in mobilising students, it also accelerated the identification of the government as the adversary. On this basis, what is “at stake in the conflict” (Melucci, 1996:293) relates to the lack of progress on promises about what was later known as the short-term and long-term education agenda (See Table 5.2). The emergence of collective action in the Penguins' movement can be linked to recognition of “we”, that is students who had been involved in the 2005 CEREM-SEREMI Weekly Talks. However, early student mobilisations in 2006 began in the southern city of Lota, located 536 km south of Santiago, when students from municipal high schools, who might not have participated in the CEREM-SEREMI Weekly Talks or heard about the short-term and long-term education agenda, mobilised to demand better infrastructure at their schools.

On 20 April 2006, students from the three municipal high schools in Lota⁵³ attempted to gather outside the *Liceo A-46* to begin a march that ended up being broken up by riot police (Domedel and Peña y Lillo, 2008). Strategies from strikes to marches were followed by a student occupation of the *Liceo Carlos Cousiño* to put pressure on the local authorities in relation to the poor infrastructure of their school, which became flooded during the rainy season. Mobilisations in Lota were a turning point for the 2006 student mobilisations. Lota activated and modified the scheduled agenda of mobilisations that students had already planned in early 2006:

As we had this short-term and long-term agenda and it had not been resolved at the end of the year we decided to continue the following year. We organised an assembly; it was perhaps one of the most significant milestones for the movement. We met at the *Liceo de Aplicación* and we planned mobilisations in 2006 involving students from different communes from Greater Santiago and also some students from the regions (...). Yet Lota was ahead in mobilisations and we needed to start mobilisations much earlier. (Andre, 8 September 2011, Santiago)

The student mobilisations in Lota sought to influence public opinion by invoking solidarity regarding legitimisation of the demands for better infrastructure that students had raised in the 2005 proposal:

At the beginning of that year the case of the *Liceo acuático*⁵⁴ in Lota was brought to the attention of the public and secondary students...it was like saying: look, we have classmates studying at a school where classrooms leak and they become sick. This resulted in the school becoming a symbol of the bad infrastructure at municipal education. (Manuel, 23 September 2011, Santiago)

The student mobilisations in Lota were followed by a cycle of marches and demonstrations across the country. Between April and June 2006, secondary students used a repertoire of mobilisations in the main streets of the cities. Initially marches appeared to be the most common form of collective action. Indeed, between 26 April and 5 June 2006, 82 marches took place across twenty two cities in the country (See Map 5.3 & Table 5.4).

⁵³ *Liceo Comercial C-47 Presidente Frei Montalva, Liceo Industrial A-46 Rosauero Santana Ríos and the Liceo A-45 Carlos Cousiño*

⁵⁴ Underwater high school

Map 5.3 Map of marches in main cities led by high school students between April and June 2006

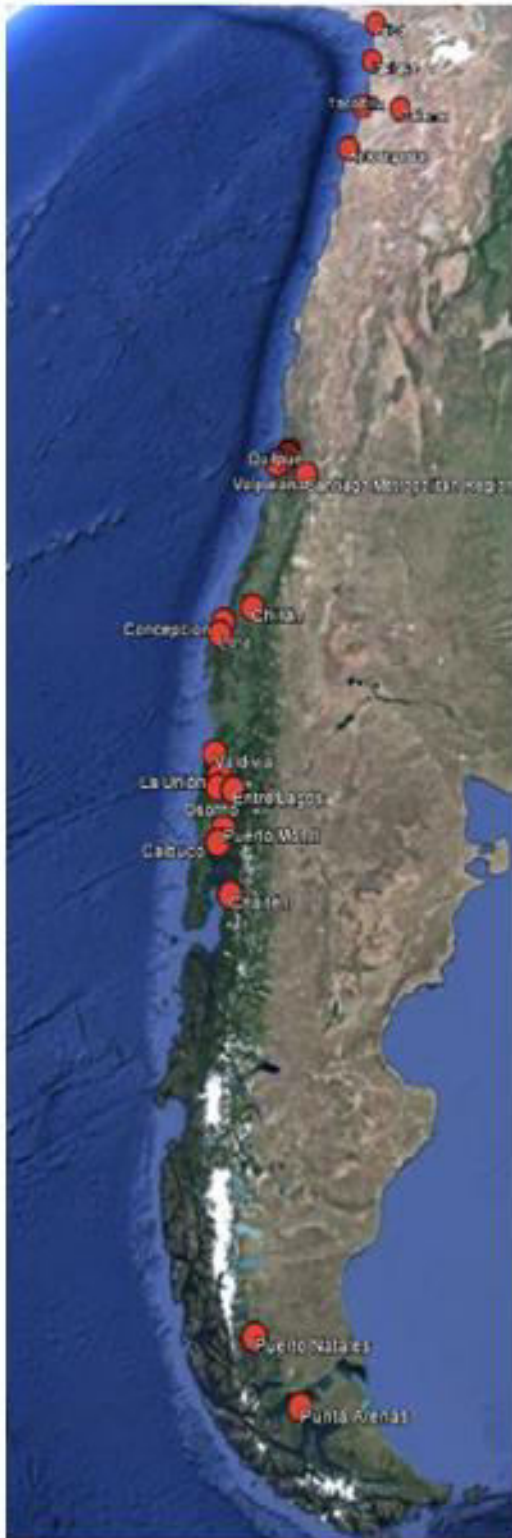


Table 5.4 Number of high school demonstrations/cities between April and June 2006

Date	Total number of marches/cities	City
20/04	1	Lota
26/04	1	Santiago
27/04	1	Concepción
04/05	2	Santiago; Iquique
06/05	1	Iquique
10/05	12	Arica; Iquique; Antofagasta; Calama; Viña del Mar; Santiago; Concepción; Lota; Valdivia; La Unión; Puerto Montt; Punta Arenas
11/05	6	Arica; Valparaíso; Concepción; Valdivia; La Unión; Puerto Montt
12/05	2	Calama; Concepción
14/05	1	Osorno
18/05	4	Arica; Santiago; Concepción; Puerto Montt
19/05	3	Calama; La Calera; Quillota; Punta Arenas
22/05	1	Valparaíso
23/05	1	Viña del Mar
24/05	2	Valparaíso; Viña del Mar
25/05	5	Arica; Iquique; Valparaíso; Rancagua; Concepción
26/05	9	Arica; Calama; Entre Lagos Metropolitan Región: Puente Alto; Santiago; Maipú; Providencia; Quinta Normal; Lo Prado
30/05	16	Arica; Iquique; Antofagasta; Tocopilla; Valparaíso; Santiago; Concepción; Chillán; Valdivia; La Unión; Osorno; Puerto Montt; Calbuco; Chaitén; Puerto Natales; Punta Arenas
31/05	4	Arica; Iquique; Antofagasta; Valparaíso
01/06	1	Calama
02/06	1	Valdivia
05/06	7	Arica; Antofagasta; Calama; Santiago; Concepción; Puerto Montt; Punta Arenas
09/06	1	Antofagasta

Both Map 5.3 and Table 5.4 show the political capacity of the Penguins' movement to extend its collective mobilisation nationally. For example, student demonstrations on 10 May, 30 May⁵⁵, and 5 June 2006 involved the largest number of cities across the country. This national character intersected with a historical role taken by the cities of Santiago, Valparaíso and Concepción which set the pattern of student mobilisations across the country. Regional cities in both northern and southern Chile mobilised in national and regional student demonstrations. Although none of this last group of regional cities called for national demonstrations, the student mobilisations in these cities seem to display a relationship between their capacity to spearhead local mobilisation and the emergence of a "multiplicity of interstitial movements" (Holloway, 2010:11).

Although it might be argued that this autonomous character cannot be entirely detached from the effects derived from the wave of national mobilisations, the repertoire of marches and mobilisations in the regions also drew attention to very local demands. At the beginning, the capacity of the Penguins' movement to mobilise students resonated with both economic and structural grievances as students demonstrated and marched to demand a free university admission test (PSU), free student transport pass and a reform of the JEC. The massive size of the student mobilisations, incidences of protests with a high number of students arrested⁵⁶ and the role of the media maximised public exposure of student demands. But support by students in the regions was not dependent solely on media attention. A process of grassroots student legitimisation relied on local demands that paved the way for the national character of the demands made by the Assembly.

For example, support for a free student transport pass on a national scale was largely reflected in local demands that varied from a call for a national student transport pass for both university and high school students to modification of Decree 20 in order to extend free school transport from primary to secondary students and the elimination of Decree 45 that established the rates for student transport pass fares (El Mercurio de Valparaíso, 10 May 2006). The demand for reforming the JEC regarding its revision, infrastructure and curriculum reform was also framed by local

⁵⁵ On 30 May 2006 about one million students were mobilised across the country.

⁵⁶ On 10 May and 18 May, the total numbers of high school students arrested at a national level were 1,042 and 702 respectively.

demands that emphasised the need for a regional perspective (El Mercurio de Antofagasta, 4 June 2006).

School occupations

School occupations sought to engage in a tactic that the student movement found suitable for accomplishing both external and internal aims. Firstly, students aimed to counterbalance the orientation and coverage of their protests in the media. Although mass student demonstrations maximised the impact of their demands and created support among the public, students acknowledged that the media generally portrayed protests as violent:

When we marched, we knew that... we always had *encapuchados*⁵⁷. This has always been the case and the media only portrayed our protests as violent. I remember that the newspaper *La Tercera* treated us like rioters with school uniform and we showed that in a very small assembly in May. We read the column and we decided to change our strategy because while the media was only showing violence and the *encapuchados* clashing with the police, the majority of us marched peacefully. Then we decided to occupy our schools. (Kari, 26 August 2011, Santiago)

But occupations at two emblematic schools in Santiago: the *Instituto Nacional* and the *Liceo de Aplicación* also aimed to put pressure on the political system to initiate a debate on structural demands for derogation of the LOCE, the end of municipalisation and reform of the JEC. As an internal aim, the occupations became the space for initiating a much deeper political debate on those structural demands within the Penguins' movement:

As mobilisations were violently broken up by the riot police we started with strikes and occupation at schools. Yet it was a different form of occupation as we occupied the JEC⁵⁸. We were on strike and we organised assemblies, debates, seminars and so on. It worked in some schools and of course, we were very focused on initiating this debate with a wider student audience across the country. We had contact with Valparaíso and Concepción, which were regional cities with stronger levels of mobilisations too. (Andre, 8 September 2011, Santiago)

⁵⁷ Masked protestors.

⁵⁸ Students used the school hours of the JEC (Full-Day School Reform) to deliberate on structural demands raised by the Penguins' movement.

At this stage, the occupation of these two emblematic schools seemed to echo an event-centred focus to the movement led by students from the most politicised schools, seeking to influence the national character of student mobilisations. On this basis, the efficacy of occupations at those schools aimed to build support using a known pattern of cycles of mobilisations, where schools with a recognised history of student political activism had historically led high school student mobilisations. Yet wider national support among high school students and invocations of solidarity relied more upon the emergence of autonomous movements in regional cities. Occupations, production of new spaces and territorialities will be further addressed in Chapter 8.

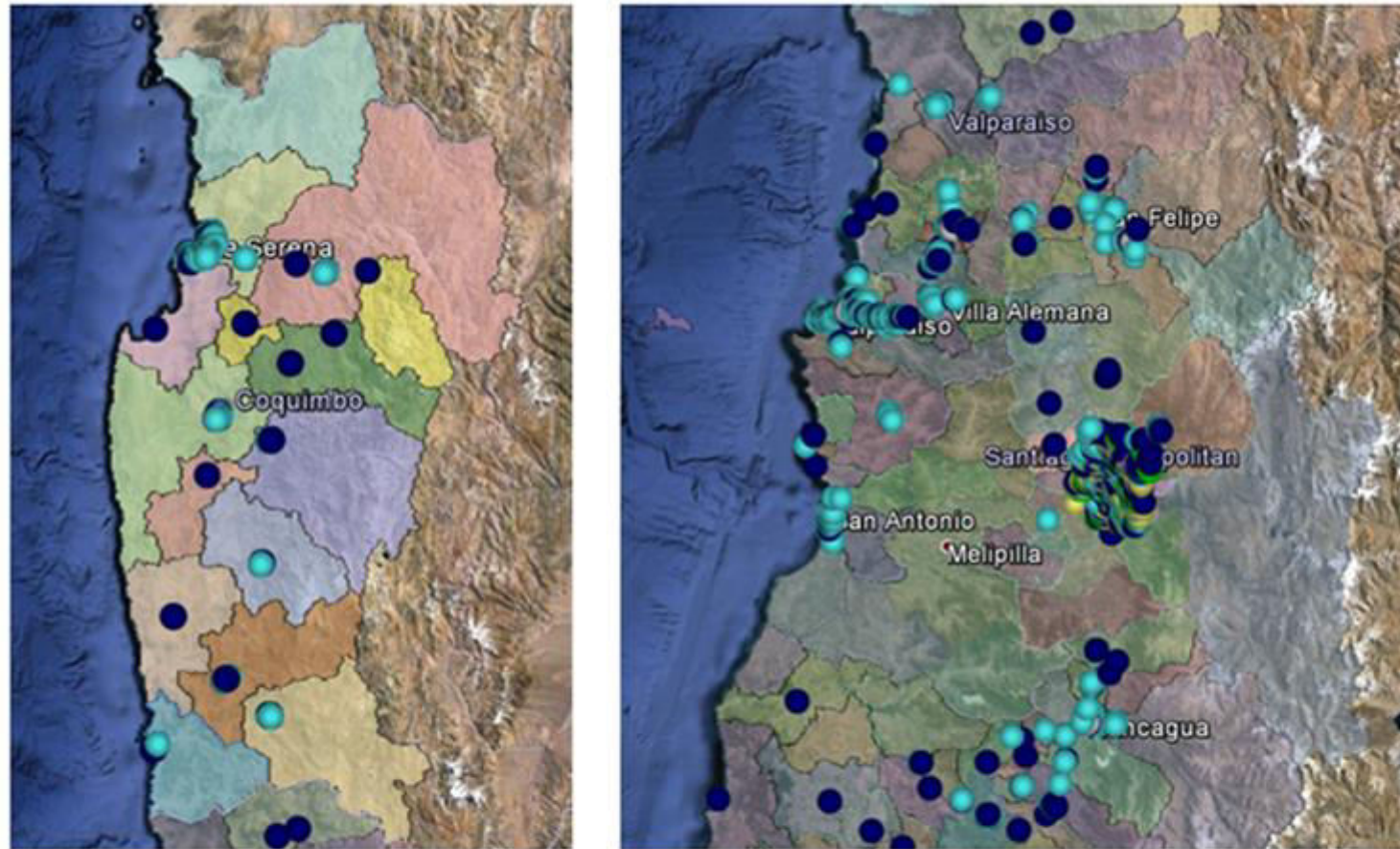
Occupations were, in the same way as marches and demonstrations, spread across the whole country, meaning that collective action in the Penguins' movement was on the rise because of the large number of occupied high schools. The dynamic of school occupations followed a pattern of multiplication, which had unexpected results. At the beginning, municipal high schools initiated and led the repertoire of this form of collective action. This set in motion a multiplication of occupations, which extended beyond the capacity of earlier mobilised schools to coordinate them:

We, who were leading this process, lost control... I remember, for example, finding out in an assembly about five schools that would be occupied. Later we learnt from the television that fifteen schools had been occupied and nobody knew where these others schools came from. In some way or another, the reality exceeded our expectations and plans. [...]. At the beginning, the emblematic schools led the process but later, a spontaneous movement arose among schools from the periphery. (Steffi, 3 September 2011, Santiago)

Spontaneity engaged with a process of national diffusion (see Maps 5.5 and 5.6) through increased waves of sit-ins at schools. For example, in the cities of Calama and Antofagasta in the region of Tarapacá in the northern Chile, the percentage of occupied schools between 19 May and 9 June rose by 49% and 90% respectively (see Map 5.7). School occupations and schools that went on strikes displayed different patterns across the country (See Maps 5.5 and 5.6). In some cases the repertoire of mobilisations could be explained by locality and distance between schools within the same geographical residential area. Yet diffusion also took place among non-neighbouring municipal schools and private-voucher schools where

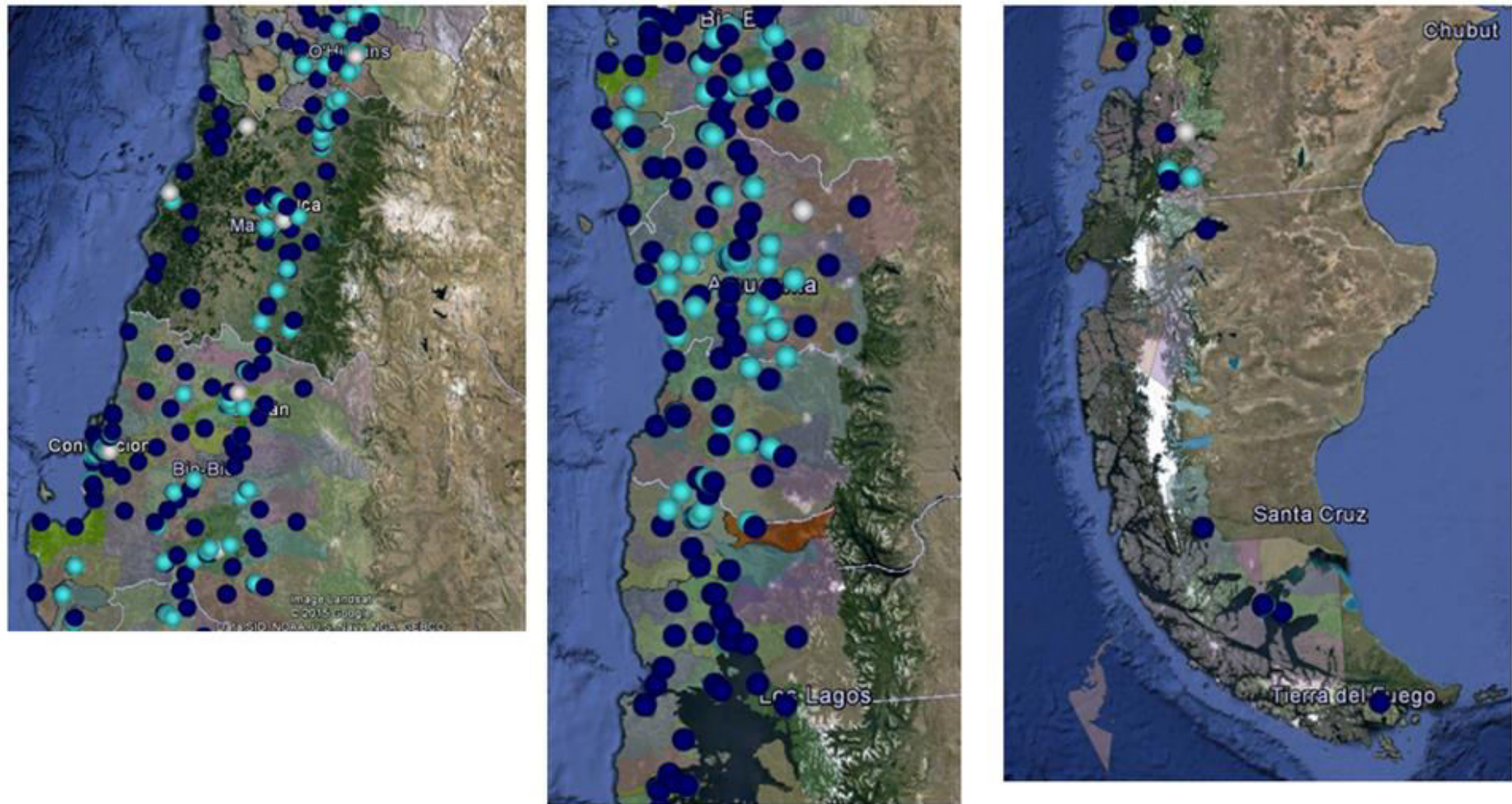
structural demands on education became a common language for the invocation of solidarity. This will be discussed in further detail in chapter 8.

Map 5.5 National diffusion of school occupations in northern Chile, Central Valley and the Metropolitan Region between 19 May and 9 June 2006



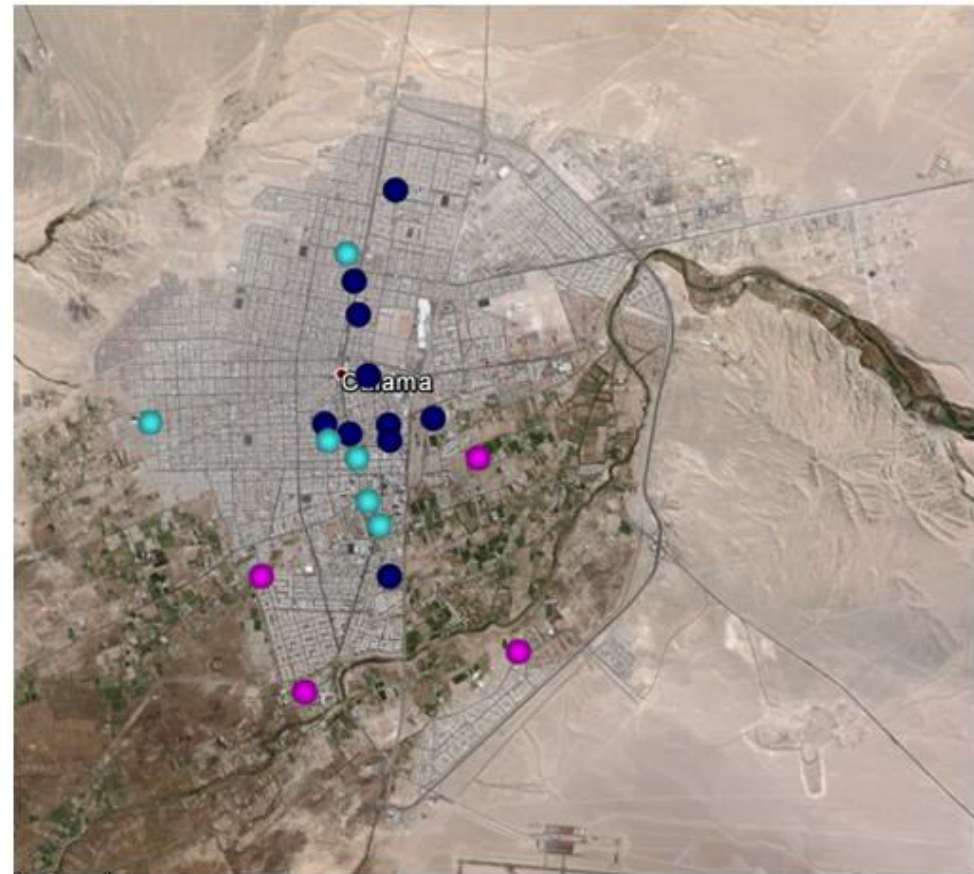
- Municipal high schools
- Non-tuition private-voucher schools
- Private-voucher schools with a monthly average tuition fee up to 25,000 Chilean pesos
- Private-voucher schools with a monthly average tuition fee up to 50,000 Chilean pesos

Map 5.6 National diffusion of school occupations in southern Chile between 19 May and 9 June 2006



- Municipal high schools
- Private-voucher schools (Humanistic & Scientific/ Technical Professional)
- Delegated Administration schools (Humanistic & Scientific/ Technical Professional)

Map 5.7 School occupations in cities of Antofagasta and Calama in northern Chile between 19 May and 9 June 2006



- Municipal high schools
- Private-voucher schools (Humanistic & Scientific/ Technical)
- Private fee-paying schools (Humanistic & Scientific)

At this stage, the process of articulation of structural demands within the Penguins' movement travelled from centre to periphery, periphery to centre and commune to commune. This interlocked with the political capacity of the movement to articulate a "networked engagement" (Chesters and Welsh, 2006:90) with civil society. For example, on 3 June 2006 over one hundred social organisations came to the Assembly organised by the AES at the *Instituto Nacional Barros Arana* in the commune of Santiago to call for a general strike on 5 June 2006 (*La Revolución de los Pingüinos*, 2008). That assembly was joined by different trade unions, environmental movements, housing activists and university student unions, to name but a few. Students called for this mobilisation to put pressure on the government, which had offered to reform the LOCE instead of derogation.

That assembly invigorated the cycle of mobilisation in the movement: the national student strike on 5 June 2006 involved the participation of other actors such as the Teachers' Union. For example, the general student strike was joined by 50% of teachers in the city of Puerto Montt (El Llanquihue, 6 June 2006) and 47% of teachers in Punta Arenas (La Prensa Austral, 6 June 2006). Such participation went alongside a wave of increasing numbers of students mobilised across the country between 30 May and 5 June 2006.

On 5 June secondary students held a nationwide strike which was supported by university students, teachers, workers and others unions, although principally teachers. This mobilisation, in different cities across the country (See Table 5.4), involved the participation of about 650,000 secondary students and 300,000 university students, and also included students from private universities (González et al., 2007). Students were at their occupied schools and universities leading and organising internal forums and cultural activities. This was a strategy within the movement that attempted to avoid collective mobilisation being linked with clashes between radical left wing protestors and the police special force.

Mobilisation of other groups changed the context in which high school students' demands were expressed. As Maria argues:

On 5 June the demonstrations became violent. It was because we could not find any solution for what we were calling for. At that moment, the assembly did not represent high school students because on that day students were not the only ones who demonstrated. Rather, people

demonstrated and honked their horns too. Then it was a social protest, a popular protest. (*La Revolución de los Pingüinos*, 2008)

Such a capacity for solidarity relied on two processes. Demands such as having better computers or more school meals connected to the condition of poverty and lack of infrastructure within poor neighbourhoods. Thus student demands mirrored the needs of the poor and excluded. Secondly, structural demands became “a catchword” (della Porta and Diani, 2006) to make visible the demands of social sectors that seemed to express – through the Penguins’ movement – the failure of neoliberalism, which had displaced these sectors through dispossession (Harvey, 2006a).

The evolution of forms of action and repertoires of mobilisation was to be developed and reframed. Diffusion of school occupations across the country and the mobilisation of new forms of collective action in the Penguins’ movement were forged in and through “a system of opportunities and constraints” (Melucci, 1996:73) on the institutional terrain.

The Penguins’ movement and the institutional terrain

In the early stages the capacity of the state to address the student conflict consisted of “policing of protest, or police handling of protest events – more neutral terms for what protestors usually refer to as “repression” and the state as “law and order” (della Porta and Diani, 2006:197; della Porta, 1995; 1996; Earl, Soule and McCarthy, 2003). Protests were dealt with by “coercive strategies” (della Porta, 1998) to disperse and control demonstrations. The number of students arrested increased. On 26 April 2006 148 were arrested in Greater Santiago. On 4 May, 600 students were arrested nationally and 1,042 students were arrested on 10 May (La Nación, May 2006). Although the number of protestors arrested decreased to 702 on 18 May, the Penguins’ movement reached its turning point on 30 May when the police tactics were publicly questioned because of the levels of brutal force used against students and the press.

Over this period the Penguins’ movement used a repertoire of mobilising tactics. Students pushed for a dialogue with the Ministry of Education in Santiago and regional cities. They wanted to set up round-table negotiations, which were not just

centrally located in the Metropolitan Region. Mobilised students from regional cities such as Arica, Valdivia, Puerto Montt and Punta Arenas set up negotiations with the regional authorities to find a solution to their economic demands. This therefore displayed a pattern of national adherence to the movement's demands and locally specific solutions for student demands in regional cities. The institutional and political response from local authorities appeared to be "more sensitive to contingent circumstances" (della Porta and Diani, 2006: 205).

The institutional and political response at regional level provided some support to the movement; however, some groups of mobilised students distrusted negotiations with the authorities. Early negotiations therefore had a differential effect within the student movement. For example, mobilised students from cities such as Arica, Iquique, and Antofagasta in northern Chile created a coordinating assembly of grassroots student organisations in an attempt to protect their autonomy from political parties and pressure groups that aimed to influence students' decision-making through a "strategy of inclusion (co-optation of emergent demands)" (p.207). As a result student organisations formed a regional assembly to give voice to demands within debates in the newly created Asamblea Nacional de Estudiantes Secundarios (ANES [National Assembly of Secondary Students]) in the Metropolitan Region.

However, the political response from the national authorities to students from the Metropolitan Region utilised a "strategy of exclusion (that is, repression of the conflict)" (della Porta and Diani, 2006: 2007) in the early stages of the student mobilisations and a "strategy of inclusion" (ibid.) because of the increased number of occupied schools across the whole country.

In the early stage of student mobilisations, the Ministry of Education invited students to take part in discussions, but this was conditional upon calling off student protests. This was required, the Ministry argued, in order to restore confidence between actors. However, on 24 May 2006, the Ministry of Education refused to negotiate with students who had occupied their schools.

National student mobilisations forced the government to set up negotiations on the economic demands students were making. On 11 May 2006, the day after a mobilisation with a large number of students arrested, both the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Transport agreed with students that unlimited use of the student

transport pass would be recognised and that the university entrance exam for the poorest students would not require a fee. However, negotiations to confirm these agreements were suspended by the Ministry of Education on 16 May to put pressure on students to call off mobilisations planned for 18 May 2006.

The growing number of occupied schools across the whole country invigorated the Penguins' movement to put pressure on the government to create an Advisory Council to debate structural reforms of the education system. A mass nationwide general strike on 30 May mobilised about one million students. This forced the government to offer some non-negotiable concessions relating to economic and structural demands. An emergency budget provided free lunches for poor students, improved infrastructure at schools and the abolition of the PSU fee for the poorest students. The government proposed the creation of a Presidential Advisory Council on Quality of Education to provide the basis for "proposed legislation that would put an end to the L.O.C.E. and create a new general Law on Education (LGE)" (Elacqua, 2009: 8).

Students agreed to participate in the Presidential Advisory Council because they thought that their participation might enhance their public visibility. While the capacity of the government to undermine the movement's level of mobilisations was considered, this decision seemed to arise more from the movement's internal conditions. As students' participation in occupations declined, this decision was a source of conflict within the Assembly because students questioned the extent to which the Presidential Advisory Council might (or might not) echo what students had debated:

They offered us this round-table and we debated in the assemblies about having a space for *participation* and debate with different social actors to formulate a proposal on education *more than having* a round-table [...]. Some of us raised the concern that our participation ended up *legitimising* a type of decision-making process with which we disagreed, and the *most important* thing was to show *consistency* with the demands we had raised (...). We *always defended* the idea that *if the LOCE* would not be *changed* according to *our logic of political participation* related to a *much deeper work* we were proposing, then we would rather prefer not to *participate in it*. (Steffi, 3 September 2011, Santiago)

Negotiations increased internal pressure within the student movement. Mobilised students established contact with some political allies to negotiate with the

government for 51% of the seats on the Advisory Council. But this demand was not met. On 7 June 2006 President Bachelet announced that the Presidential Advisory Council would be made up of 74 members with twelve seats of the Council allocated to high school students and university students (six to each constituency). The high school students were to be elected by the Assembly. On 9 June 2006, students called off student occupations and mobilisations while they emphasised that they would continue to be mobilised in a different way. Ten days later, the Assembly allocated two seats to high school students' spokespersons from northern Chile, two seats to southern Chile and two seats were allocated to spokespersons from the Metropolitan Region.

Political opportunities

Students mediated their participation in the Presidential Advisory Council through an alliance with the *Bloque Social por la Educación* (*Social Alliance on Education*) constituted by high school students, the *Confederación de Estudiantes de Chile* (CONFECH)⁵⁹, the Teachers' Union, parents' associations and other social organisations. The *Bloque Social* became a space for debate and consensus to attempt to influence the political system:

This alternative forum represents a unity agreement we had signed with all social organisations. We attempt to work together on all proposals that are going to be discussed in the Presidential Advisory Council. The Social Alliance will also represent a measure for protecting and strengthening our proposals within the Council in order to seek that our proposals end up being implemented by the government to bring about legal modifications or changes in the Law. (Carlos, interviewed by *La Nación*, 14 June 2006)

The decision of the Penguins' movement to participate in the invited space of the Advisory Council did not limit its political strategy to focusing only on this space. Students mobilised between August and October 2006. On 9 August, students from western communes of Maipú, Cerrillos, Pudahuel and Estación Central in Greater Santiago mobilised to demand more momentum in the discussions within the Advisory Council and called for the Council's explicit opposition to a market-driven education system. Their mobilisations also articulated local demands for accountability of the financial management of private-voucher schools within their

⁵⁹ National Confederation of Chilean Students

communes. On 26 September, high school students along with university students and the Teachers' Union called for a national strike. It was acknowledged as the first mobilisation led by the *Bloque Social* to demand the end of municipalisation, reform of the JEC and abrogation of the LOCE. These structural demands were linked to demands on wages, retirement and working conditions of teachers (La Nación, 25 September 2006).

The Presidential Advisory Council delivered an early report on their different commissions⁶⁰ by the end of September 2006 (Revista Docencia, 2006), but high school students rejected the report, noting its limited capacity to achieve significant progress on structural demands. Students criticised the weakness of the response to their economic demands offered by the government on 1 June 2006 (La Nación, 9 October 2006). School occupations followed in October 2006, although some high school students maintained negotiations with some MPs, independently from their participation within the Presidential Advisory Council (La Nación, 10 October 2006). They attempted to set up negotiations for the creation of a working group in the Congress to submit a proposal about the end of the LOCE and an advancement of economic demands such as a free university entrance exam, a free student transport pass with unlimited use, and an increase in both the provision and quality of school meals. This group would be composed of MPs, the government, teachers and students. The students demanded that 50% of the seats should be allocated to teachers and students (La Nación, 16 October 2006).

The Penguins' movement seemed to increase possibilities for intervening in the decision-making process, but their political opportunities "were somehow contradictory in terms of the openness/closedness" (della Porta and Dani, 2006: 204). On the one hand, openness by the executive was accompanied by forms of exclusion as the government heavily repressed and evicted students involved in school occupations in October 2006. And on the other, alliances with the *Bloque Social* were undermined. The government successfully negotiated to meet the economic demands advanced by the Teacher's Union, separating these negotiations from structural demands made by students. Many high school students saw this as a

⁶⁰ The Presidential Advisory Council was organised around three commissions: Quality Education, the Institutionalism of the Chilean education system and Legal framework on Chilean education.

betrayal of the movement by the teachers and an undermining of the alliance between students and teachers (La Nación, 19 October 2006).

On 11 December 2006, the Presidential Advisory Council delivered the *Final Report of the Presidential Advisory Council on Quality of Education* to Bachelet's government⁶¹. On 10 April 2007, Michelle Bachelet signed the project which created the *Ley General de Educación* (LGE [General Law on Education]). The Law extended secondary education from four to six years while primary education was reduced from eight to six years. It also eliminated student selection before Year 8 at private voucher schools. The LGE prohibited expulsion of students on the grounds of low performance or, at subsidised schools, for economic reasons. It established the creation of two bodies, the Superintendence of Education and the Education Quality Agency, as "part of a new education-quality assurance system" (Téllez and Ramírez, 2012: 191).

The Law was followed by a political offensive led by right-wing sectors, the so-called *Alianza por Chile* (Alliance for Chile), that refused to approve the LGE if the obligation to make subsidised schools non-profit making institutions was maintained. They argued that the LGE represented a movement towards state control of the education system (La Nación, 12 Abril 2007). The LGE was also opposed by high school students, the Teacher's Union and the *Bloque Social* that criticised it because "it does not reflect many of the Council's suggestions" (Rodríguez-Remedi, 2008: 67). García Huidobro (2008) – a well-known Chilean academic and policy-maker who, along with others education policy-makers, directed Chilean educational policies between 1990 and the early 2000s – made a similar critique in an interview in 2008:

It seems to be strange that a general law on education neither provides any definition of public education nor engages the role of

⁶¹ This *Final Report of the Presidential Advisory Council on Quality of Education* suggested the following recommendations: the use of both public and private education; greater participation by students and their families in school management; measures to encourage teachers and school directors to remain in their posts; changes to the education law to guarantee the right to education; an increase in state funds; new educational standards; an end to arbitrary forms of discrimination; and changes to the state's supervisory institutions for education (*Consejo Asesor Presidencial para la Calidad de la Educación*, 2006; Burton, 2012:11-2).

the state in contributing to a more equitable education⁶². (My own translation)

On 14 November 2007, the *Concertación* and the *Alianza por Chile* reached an agreement to end the LOCE. This negotiation occurred, as discussed in Chapter 3, on the basis “of relative strength of political representation since 1990” (Burton, 2012:2) where right-wing sectors were overrepresented. The *National Education Reform Agreement* entailed modifications in the LGE to be debated in Parliament in 2008. Such modifications were: (1) primary education was reduced to six years and secondary education was extended to six years; (2) student selection at private voucher schools was only eliminated at primary education level; (3) profit-making in education was allowed; (4) creation of curricular programmes complementary to the Ministry of Education’s own programme and (5) more public investment through an adjusted voucher law known as the *Ley de Subvención Preferencial* or SEP (Elacqua, 2009). The LGE bill sparked national mobilisations by secondary students, university students, and the Teachers’ Union against this bill. Discussions on the LGE took place in Parliament between January and December 2008. The Chamber of Deputies and the Chamber of Senators passed the Law on June 19 and December 10 respectively. The Law was promulgated on August 17 2009.

The political consensus on LGE ignored the demands that students had placed on the public agenda. This experience became central to the political learning process and collective identity-building amongst secondary students who, as university students, sought to challenge a market-oriented education system during the massive 2011 student mobilisations. This will be discussed further in Chapter 9.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided a historical timeline of the Penguins’ movement. It outlined the background of the political reconstruction of the secondary student movement from the early 2000s that paved the way for the emergence of the Penguins’ movement in 2006. It described the repertoire of protests and mobilisations, through forms of student marches and school occupations, which took place between April and June 2006. This “cyclical dynamic of protest” (della Porta and Diani, 2006:165),

⁶² Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YqWptcDr-zU>

invigorated the capacity of the Penguins' movement to put pressure on the political system. This repertoire of collective action and political decisions co-existed with a contradictory process of political opportunities linked with negotiation and alliance building. In the following chapters, I will discuss the process of political reconstruction that preceded the emergence of the Penguins' movement. I will consider the new forms of politics, as prefigurative politics of everyday life, connected with the geographical constitution of the Penguins' movement, the production of epistemologies of radical democratic politics and the demand for free public quality education for all.

Chapter 6

On places and spaces of public education

In recent years, various attempts have been made to study, explain, and theorise the Penguins' movement, and echoes of this have rippled out into the field of education policy analysis. Nevertheless, the political role that education has had in forging geographies of youth political activism in the Penguins' movement has been under-analysed. This chapter attempts to demonstrate that education has played a part in the geographies of political construction in the Penguins' movement. It explores geographies and notions of spaces and places of education and analyses the role of education through and around geography. Students' voices from interviews in 2011 describe how schools in central and peripheral communes in Greater Santiago influence their trajectories of political activism. The first section explores places and the spatial identities of public education. An identity historically forged at a group of old public high schools, known as the 'emblematic schools' in the communes of Santiago and Providencia in Greater Santiago has been discussed as the engine of working-class and middle-class mobility. The geographies of social mobility at emblematic schools operated through experiences of poverty, educational aspiration and close ties with parents' political biographies. Different geographies of social mobility underpin the production of spatial identity of public education at this group of municipal high schools. They constitute an education space of *quality education in contexts of social mixing*. In the second section, I explore the meaning of periphery by putting forward the idea that because of heterogeneity and student commuting patterns this becomes a meaning in flux. At municipal high schools in peripheral areas of Greater Santiago it represents a constructed process intersecting with geographies of exclusion and ties of solidarity grounded in the production of "counter-public spaces" (Thomson, 2007). The third section in this chapter explores how contexts of social mixing operated in the politics at emblematic schools. I examine how spatial discourses of authenticity territorialised politics and confined the (re)production of politics to pre-given identities. While this comprised what heterogeneity meant at these schools, diversity also operated by forging a spatial politics of becoming that involved re-creating mutually constitutive relationships of tolerance and acceptance. In the final section, I

discuss how geographies of social mixing at emblematic schools have been progressively undermined since the late 1990s through both a gentrification process and “the detrimental effect of creaming off” (Gamsu, 2015) with which a neoliberal market-driven education agenda is imbued.

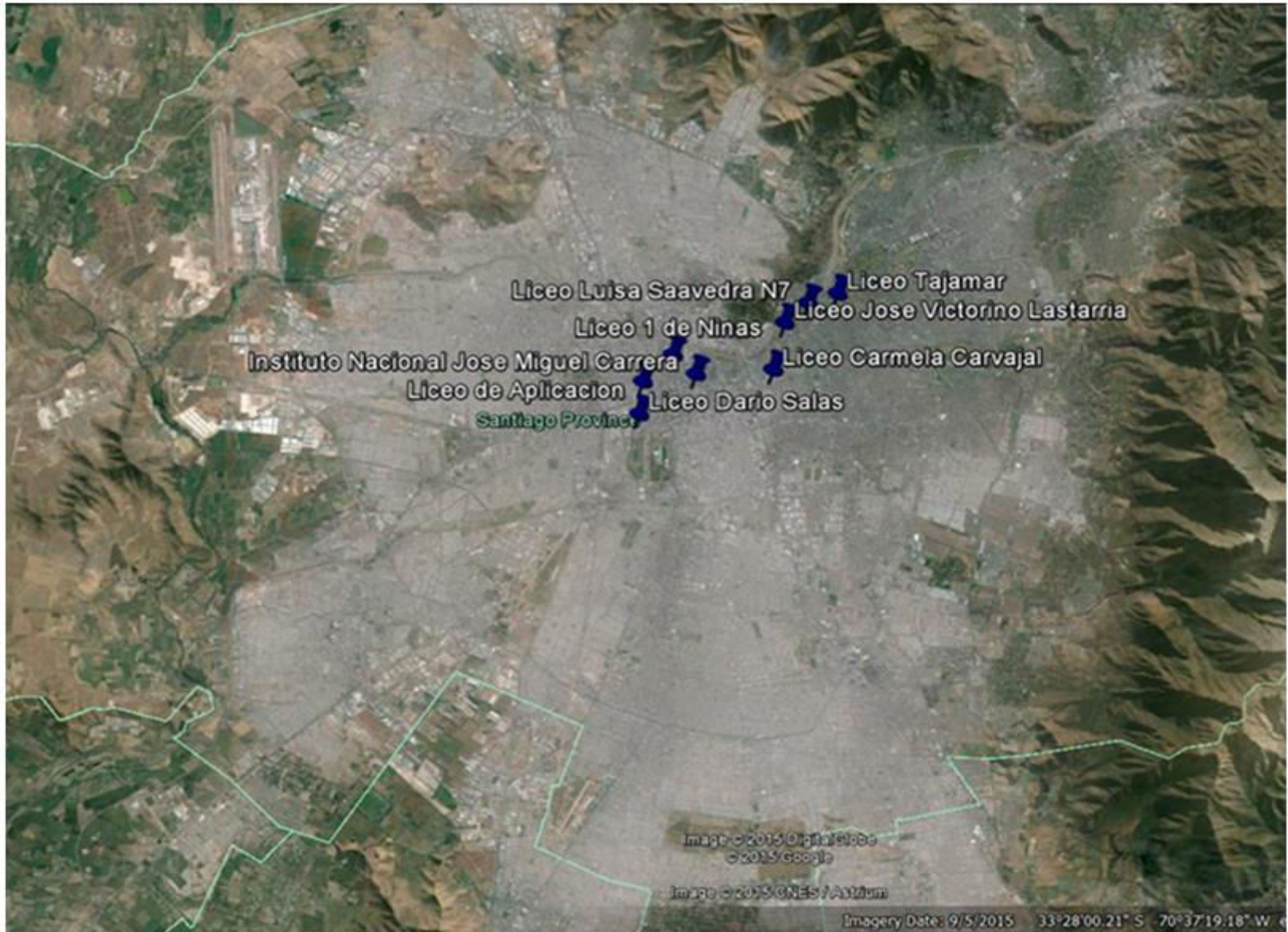
Places and spatial identities of the public education system in context

In Latin American societies, in the early twentieth century the middle class and organised blue collar workers became significant political actors, and to some extent were able to transform spaces of politics that had historically relied upon a “private domain of traditional elites” (Roberts, 2002:10). In the context of Chilean society, the rise of the middle class and the “sustained growth of the urban working class” (Taylor, 2006: 13) led to reforms and transformations of the public education system before 11 September 1973, placing education as an end in itself and part of a “national democratic development project for modernisation” (Nuñez, 1984:13). The oldest public schools across the country had been established at the beginning of the last century as places linked with ideas about public national education.

Places constitute, along with space, “a highly contested concept in the social sciences” (Robertson, 2010:15) or, as Harvey (2005:3) argues, place is “one of the most multi-layered and multi-purpose words in our language”. Yet place is frequently ascribed to a more meaningful condition than space. Thus, while space, as Massey (2004) points out, seems to be understood as an abstract condition outside of place, the latter is seen as an evocation of differentiation, meaningfulness, and authenticity of being that relies on “past traditions” (Massey, 1994).

Within a context in which political and economic neoliberal practices sought to undermine the public education system in Chile (as discussed in previous chapters), public high schools seem to be bound up in struggles for their own survival and a very different understanding of education from “the logics of commodification, marketization, competition, and cost-benefit analysis” (Apple, 2013:6). This identity of place has been discursively produced within a framework of social mobility historically forged in the oldest public high schools across the country where the most representative are the group in the communes of Santiago and Providencia, historically known as the Alameda Cordon and later as the ‘emblematic schools’ (see Figure 6.1).

Map 6.1 The emblematic schools



Social mobility at these schools constitutes “the generative past” (Lefebvre, 1991) that underpins this historical public education identity. This identity interlocks with the historical formation of the middle class and its political role in leading social movements to demand the idea that education itself has an “intrinsic value” (Sen, 1999; 2005). It is this notion that has historically been at the heart of why this middle-class group has always been mobilised:

Well the old middle-class sectors have always been mobilised; we could say the most traditional middle-class group. And they historically mobilised because they defended the idea that education is not an exchange value, that is, they defended education as a use value...I mean education worth the education. (Sebastián, 5 August 2011, Santiago)

As such, this middle-class group has historically intervened in larger social transformations of the public education system. This has led to the formation of a long-standing tradition of student political activism at the group of emblematic schools:

Well, all of them are old public high schools with fifty years of existence at least; I could tell you that the Chilean old enlightened middle class was educated here...I mean the *Nacional*⁶³, the *Liceo de Aplicación*, the public girls' high schools such as the *Carmela Carvajal*... I believe that the presidents Chile has had so far were educated at these schools [...]. There is a lot of political tradition at these schools too. Since these schools have a larger number of students, then one is likely to find militants in a class of 45 students, get it? Yet it was different in a municipal high school or a subsidised school in the periphery; I mean in a class of 30 or 28 students nobody talked about politics. Here it was another context and I think it happened in all of these older schools. (Alejandra, 4 August 2011, Santiago)

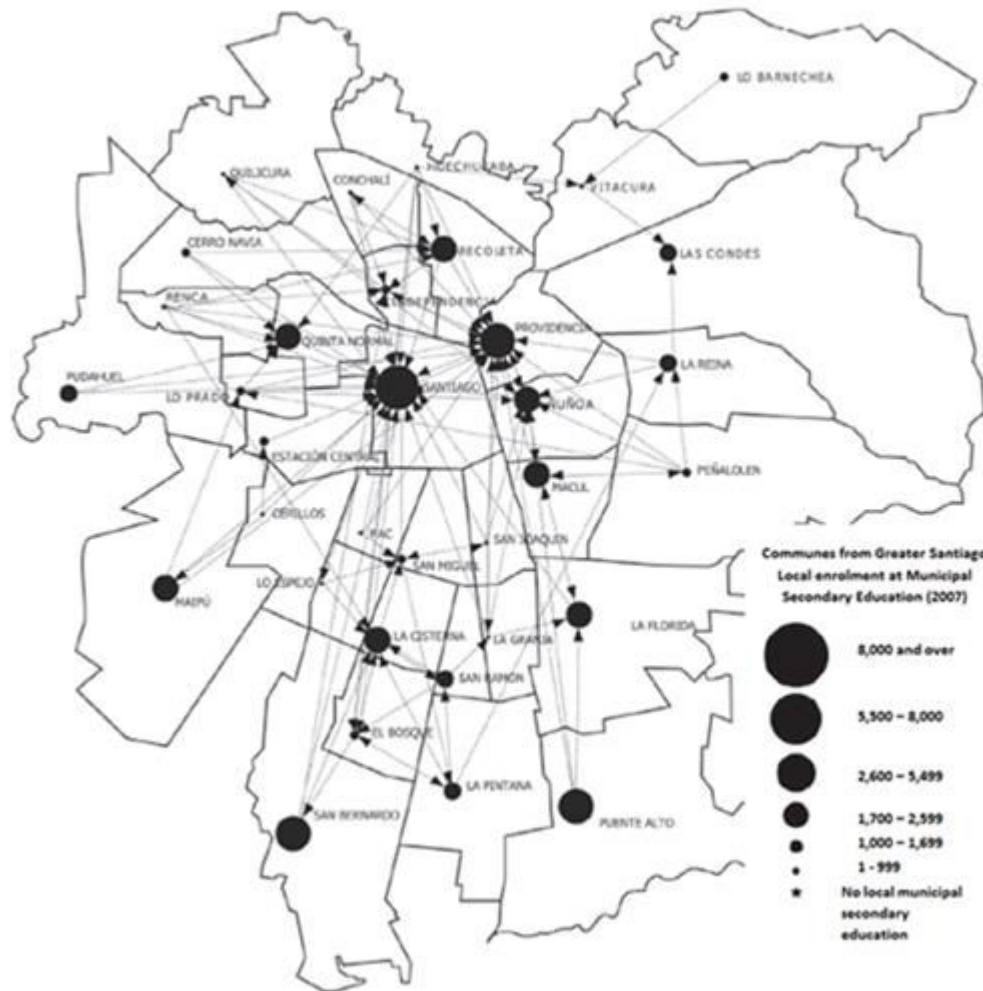
Alejandra expresses a widespread idea that students at these politicised schools commonly came either from families with a history of political involvement through militancy or grassroots activism or from middle-class families that “simply reflect the traditional inclination of the intellectual middle class to [...] participate in political life”

⁶³ The *Nacional* is a short name students used to refer to the *Instituto Nacional Jose Miguel Carrera* in the commune of Santiago in Greater Santiago.

(della Porta and Dani, 2006: 56; Bagguley, 1992, 1995, Pakulski, 1995, Bourdieu, 1984).

About 50% of students within urban communes of Greater Santiago have to commute to schools (Donoso Díaz and Arias Rojas, 2013), in particular to the central communes of Santiago and Providencia (See Figure 6.2). If many students came from peripheral areas where, as Alejandra commented, nobody talked about politics, then what does this entail for the spatial identity at the group of emblematic schools? Why did students from peripheral areas become involved in politics? What does this political tradition rely on? And what other politics exist in the margins of the emblematic schools? Further exploration of these questions entails unfolding the geographies of social mobility at the emblematic schools.

Map 6.2 High school students commuting in the Metropolitan Area of Greater Santiago (2006)



Source: Donoso Díaz and Arias Rojas (2013)

Geographies of social mobility

The emblematic schools have been recognised as places for the historical formation of a middle class that has been associated with the political leadership of the country. Institutionally, this has been a key narrative of these schools:

The *Nacional* and my school are places where they tell you that future leaders of the country are educated, get it? Then one has this burden too...like to be concerned about what happens in the country and this influences how you position yourself, get it?. (Alejandra, 4 August 2011, Santiago)

While this narrative remains a long-standing salient political identifier, the relationship between class mobility at these schools and socioeconomic and cultural heterogeneity opens discussion about how this process, at “intersecting moments” (Massey, 1994), forged class mobility as the spatial identity of public education at these schools. This neither represents a simple linear process comprising two or more factors leading to class mobility nor does it arise out of exclusion of other elements. Rather it seems to be depicted as a dynamic process interconnected with experiences of poverty, parents’ educational background, political biographies, and educational aspirations that finally end up forging different geographies of social mobility.

Some student personal biographies depict educational aspirations framed within low levels of family educational attainments and high levels of parents’ political engagement:

Thus, you know... both of my parents had been communists (...) people who know very well what being involved in politics means (...). *They lived* during the dictatorship (...). Also *it was fine* with the family whether or not one studied at university. Indeed, few of my cousins were university students ...in general my family has not had many professionals; my uncles are mechanics, they drive taxis; people without any particular talent. (Sebastián, 5 August 2011, Santiago)

A key question is why students from families with low levels of attainment in higher education should value the possibility of continuing at university. Variations in attitudes could feasibly be related to aspirations of socioeconomic mobility. Yet this is quite restrictive since it denies the role that parents’ political history might or might not have in forging educational aspirations. So the question could be posed as to how relevant parents’ political experience, as their own “political capital” (Booth and Bayer, 1998), would be in mobilising students’ educational aspirations. This turns attention to how education could become the opportunity for political commitment encoded in the personal connections that students identified with their parents’ political biographies. As Sebastián continues to explain:

I had the experience of my parents...well...the communist tradition, get it? ... about *political mass struggles and big organisations* (...). Then when I was at school I read “*El Chile actual: anatomía de un mito*” by Tomás Moulián. This motivated me a lot and I decided to study

sociology since I think I could contribute from there. I succeeded in the national college exam and studied at the University of Chile.

Parents' political histories of militancy are not the only mode of mobilising educational aspirations. Rather, family experiences forged in and through cumulative historical traces of political resistance against Pinochet in peripheral "red neighbourhoods" (Schneider, 1991)⁶⁴ might also play a role in forging educational aspirations:

I did not carry any family history of political militancy (...) I grew up in Herminda de la Victoria⁶⁵ a quite combative shantytown during Pinochet's dictatorship. Although my family did not have a more systematised political tradition there was a history of living in a dictatorship, and the history of land occupation in this shantytown was transmitted to me as an experience. I think it helped me to situate myself when I was young. I was aware of the lack of opportunities in Chile. I suffered this individually and collectively too. I studied in a primary school in the commune in which teachers never talked to us about the possibility of going to university. (Cesar, 6 October 2011, Santiago)

While Cesar's comment raises the issue of what students' family backgrounds are at the emblematic schools, recognition of how the neighbourhood history forges individual and collective awareness of lack of opportunities means that there is no single history within which poverty could be framed. Both inheritances of land occupation and parents' lack of freedom and opportunities form identities that somehow challenge, through educational aspirations, what an economic system decides as "not quite worthy" (Apple, 2013:19) in poor communes. As Cesar continues to explain:

Yet I wanted to study, and my parents supported me as they trusted me. But honestly, the future was quite uncertain and the same happens today. Someone with a similar socioeconomic condition to mine could not study.

⁶⁴ Schneider (1991) locates the red neighbourhoods in Greater Santiago's southern zone, such as "poblaciones La Victoria, La Legua, El Piñar, Guanaco, German Riesco and Villa Sur in the *comuna* ("district") San Miguel, and the poblaciones San Gregorio, Nueva San Gregorio, Joao Goulart, Yungay and La Bandera in the *comuna* La Granja (p.261). Both San Miguel and La Granja were communes used for relocation of slum dwellers during the 1970s and 1980s.

⁶⁵ Herminda de la Victoria was a "población" or shantytown, which arose among others from illegal land occupations, known as "tomas" in the 1950s and 1960s in Chile.

Geographies of social mobility also intersect with historical traces of family schooling experience in which identity formation of middle-class groups relates to the number of generations within the same family who studied at university. Thus the formation of middle-class groups is not seen as deriving exclusively from a process in which socio-economic practices give rise to class mobility. Rather class identity and social differentiation in relation to others is positioned through parents' educational attainments regardless of constraining socioeconomic conditions:

I did all my primary education at a municipal school in the commune of La Florida. The municipal education is very bad. I studied at this school because my parents were not rich people; yet both of them studied at university; thus, my formation and cultural capital was different from my classmates at the school (...). Afterwards I studied at the *Carmela*⁶⁶ where my mum, aunts and sisters had studied too. (Pat, 9 August 2011, Santiago)

The question of why students from less affluent families succeeded in studying at the most prestigious municipal schools relates to what Bourdieu (1984) calls “a natural habitus”. This is grounded in parents' educational histories that make students more likely to succeed academically. Yet these are not biographies exclusively forged in the municipal education system. Rather, students at the group of emblematic schools also came from both private-voucher and private fee-paying schools. The reasons why students chose to continue at the emblematic schools correspond for some of them to the idea of merit:

Well, I came from a hard-working family... I neither had a bad economic situation nor did I come from a rich family. I had always been an excellent student at school. I always had the first positions in the class. The Headmaster suggested that I go to the *Carmela Carvajal* (...) I did my early years in a municipal school and all my primary education at a subsidised school. I applied for a place at the *Carmela Carvajal* (...), which was always the first option. (Bea, 5 September 2011, Santiago)

In Bea's comment, merit relates to her academic ability and her success in being selected to attend an emblematic municipal high school. This academic selection, along with the competition to get into these schools, became partly counter-hegemonic to education “saturated with neoliberal common sense” (Fraser,

⁶⁶ The *Carmela* is a short name students used to refer to the *Liceo Carmela Carvajal de Prat* in the commune of Providencia from Greater Santiago.

2015:86). This is because academic selection at the emblematic municipal high schools has been historically forged through an identity of public education as an engine for both social mobility of disadvantaged students and a place for social justice through equal opportunities for quality education. In Bea's comment, this narrative is fully embedded with the historical formation of middle-class groups through public education system. As Bea continues to explain:

When we looked back either to the history of our families or to what our parents have always told us: I could study when I was your age because I studied in a free public education system. If they were not able to study in that system, then they could not have studied as they did not have economic resources (...). I chose the Carmela because I believed in the possibility of studying in a free quality education system (...).

Merit clearly stands behind aspirations of socioeconomic mobility for students from low socioeconomic backgrounds:

There were many students who were like the typical smartest student in his class in the *peripheral* commune. They took an exam to enter a school in Santiago and Providencia from which they promise you can go on to a university (...). Thus, they are people who have... they came from middle and lower-middle socio-economic groups. Then they access a socio-cultural level, which does not correspond with their own socio-economic background. (Alejandra, 4 August 2011, Santiago)

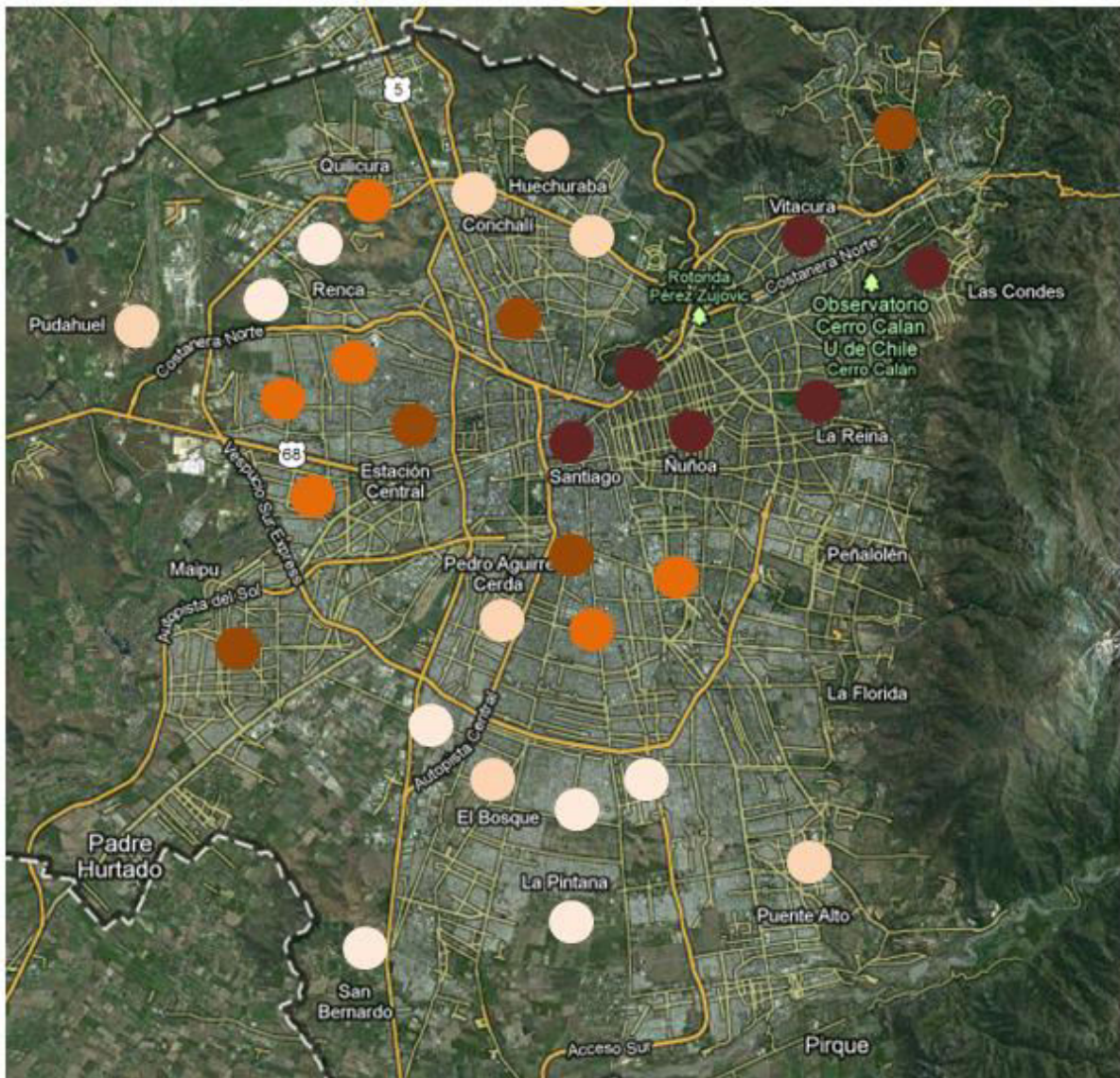
While meritocracy seems to come "to dominate the discourse and policies in education" (Apple, 2013:7), different life histories within the group of emblematic schools de-emphasise the idea that meritocracy and class mobility are exclusively grounded in either a class-based form of competition (Robertson, 2002) or aspirations of socioeconomic mobility. This does not entail, however, neglecting that spaces and places of public education identity at the emblematic schools also carry neoliberal narratives of meritocracy as an individual enterprise framed within the idea of quality education as "one's choice of products" (Apple, 2013:7). Yet within spaces in which neoliberalism attempts to open some identities "and closes down others" (ibid.), different geographies of social mobility encompass the possibility for contesting neoliberalism since these geographies of social mobility do not just refer to those who come to these schools but to why they value education. Whilst geographies of social mobility at the emblematic schools typify contrasts between

“marginality and centrality” (Lipman, 2011:4), they play out the spatial meaning of periphery because the pattern of student commuting always put this meaning in flux. This does not deny, however, the long history of emblematic schools as engines for social class mobility. This undoubtedly plays a part in forging the meaning and symbolism of identity in the public education system. But it does not explain this spatial identity. Rather, spatial identity of public education, in particular at the group of emblematic schools, is depicted as a multi-layered meaning produced through difference, specificity and politics.

Rethinking the meaning of periphery

Education, as Lipman (2007) argues is “central to struggles over capital accumulation, cultural appropriation, and domination in the city” (p.157) where its relationship to urban inequality commonly frames public education identity at schools from peripheral areas within a “presumed homogeneity” (Posey-Maddox, 2014) about what students could do (or could not do) because of the disadvantaged economic backgrounds from which they come. This is implicated in poverty and larger gaps in terms of income levels (See Map 6.3) that have profoundly shaped both inner geographies of class mobility and educational aspirations socially constrained by urban segregation in some peripheral communes from Greater Santiago. What are the implications when children from low-income peripheral areas commute? I would argue that commuting plays a role in forging construction of subjectivities and re-imagination of the self. Yet this production might display different interpretations when students commute to communes with higher, lower, or similar inner urban segregation. This is because being and coming from the periphery is not simply local but rather forged in and through trajectories and networks (Allen, Massey and Cochrane, 2000), which although they are locally influenced, are always in flow. If the meaning of periphery becomes spatial, then it is “always under construction” (Massey, 2005:9).

Map 6.3 Average incomes in urban communes of the Metropolitan Area of Greater Santiago



Average income by decile groups where 4.12 represents the bottom decile and 9.27 the top decile

- 4.12 to 5.23 (0 to 74,969 Chilean pesos)
- 5.24 to 5.61 (74,969 to 125,558 Chilean pesos)
- 5.62 to 6.06 (125,559 to 193,104 Chilean pesos)
- 6.07 to 7.58 (193,105 to 352,743 Chilean pesos)
- 7.59 to 9.27 (352,744 to more than 611,729 Chilean pesos)

Source: own elaboration based on Rodríguez (2012) and Encuesta CASEN (2011).

Different schooling experiences seem to be shaped by the idea of the centrality of socio-economic development, mainly in the urban centres of Santiago, Providencia

and Ñuñoa (See Map 6.2) where economic, social, political and cultural contexts reframed the schooling experience itself. For students commuting daily to central communes, schooling experience becomes a very different “material manifestation of social practice” (Thomson, 2007: 113) of what is “readily visible and apparent” (ibid.), something very different from what was knowable and lived by them in their original communes:

It was a big change when I studied at the *Liceo 1*. This was because it is a high school in Santiago city centre. I commuted alone and many doors are opening as one is where things happen; I had a lot of contact with another reality, with other different things, shops, and other schools. The school has more than 3,000 students, thus I knew other realities. (Kari, 26 August 2011, Santiago)

How identities and re-interpretation of the self are re-made is a process in flux, traversed and transformed by encountering points of diversity and heterogeneity. Spatiality of schooling experience seems to be depicted as an enabling process because of the very different geographies with which it is imbued and what effects it has on how students who commute from peripheral communes to Santiago city centre (re)interpret themselves:

Well I came to the *Instituto Nacional* and it was a different world. It was different travelling every day and for one hour on the bus to Santiago city centre. All my classmates were well educated [...]. At the *Instituto* I faced a different world as I had classmates from a very good economic situation and others who were very poor... or classmates who were left-wing militants and other ones with right-wing ideas. It was a very active world [...] and one very different to the world I come from in the shantytown. Yet I did not lose my sense of identity; I mean to know where I came from. At that moment I began to embrace the tradition of being a leftist militant, in particular, when I saw some classmates who in inverted commas turned bourgeoisified in these spaces. This made me very upset. (Andre, 8 September 2011, Santiago)

If identity, as in Andre’s comment, is relationally constructed, the spatial identity of being a leftist militant follows a path that is “not immutable or naturally given” (Soja: 2004: x). In addition, affirmation of where he comes from is seen as a space of resistance through which students, who recognise themselves as being excluded, might affirm themselves in a more positive sense:

The *Carmela* is the best girls' school. It is not because it has the best teachers but because it selects its students; it is very clear that the *Carmela* has a good level of education because it selects the poorest girls, the smartest poorest girls from Santiago. (Pat, 9 August 2011, Santiago)

How students from low socioeconomic backgrounds perform in such a context is commonly recognised as underpinning the spatial identity of class mobility that this group of schools has historically tended to serve. Self-recognition of being the smartest poorest girls commuting to the commune of Santiago and Providencia reveals how quality education is uneven spatially developed through “geographies of inequality, centrality and marginalisation” (Lipman, 2007: 158) that result in the distinction between emblematic schools and the periphery. Yet self-recognition as the smartest poorest students also becomes a space of resistance upon which students from peripheral areas “can collectively appropriate space” (Thompson, 2007: 123; Fraser, 1993, 1995) to produce politics through self-affirmation in order to contest and oppose an existing failed narrative of working class mobility. This does not mean to suggest that class mobility is the only factor forging a spatiality of public education at these emblematic schools. Rather, this spatial identity intersects with different geographies of social class mobility that forge identity and meaning of public education in *contexts of social mixing* at these schools. Collectively, this *context of social mixing* provided the basis for the possibility of producing spatial identities of youth political activism at the emblematic schools.

Geographies of exclusion and ties of solidarity on the periphery

Patterns of student commuting are also found in peripheral communes. They intersect with geographies of exclusion and ties of solidarity. Within low income peripheral communes, geographies of education are commonly marked with a straightforward relationship between inner urban patterns of segregation and poverty that results in a more homogeneous socioeconomic composition; however, it does not represent a unique pattern within schools in peripheral communes. Students from the four income decile groups (see Map 6.3) commute to schools in communes like Recoleta, La Florida, La Cisterna and San Miguel (see Map 6.2). As a result, municipal high schools with the highest level of student enrolment in peripheral areas lay bare a less homogeneous socioeconomic composition. This pattern interplays

with both public school trajectories over 50 years and municipal high schools in these communes that are not selective. While the absence of academic selection opens up the debate around social mobility within these schools, central to this is the idea that the absence of academic selection is the very foundation of the identity of public education at these schools.

The extent to which some of these municipal high schools still maintain a high proportion of student enrolment entails recognising “the relationship of education to ... spatialised inequalities, identity and meaning” (Lipman, 2007: 157) in those peripheral communes. This process also emphasises the meaning of periphery “as not simply a spatial solidification” (Smith, 1993:101) that divides core and periphery but rather different peripheries are to be found within the core-periphery spatial distinction. It seems to resemble the idea that core-periphery at different scales such as local and national levels operate through different “power-geometries” (Massey, 1993) that place schools and students “in very distinct ways in relation to these flows and interconnections” (p.62) with which spatiality of their schooling experience is imbued.

How does this process of spatialised inequalities operate at schools in peripheral areas? This seems to operate in the perception of students as a specific distinction between people who are like or unlike us:

I had more cultural capital than my classmates did; at the age of thirteen, I had already read the Communist Manifesto and shared some books with friends at the school. At that time, I met my best friend; we were very close friends. He came from a family with a history of political persecution by the dictatorship. He had political capital in terms of social relations, experience, and networks. So it was a different sort of capital from mine. As we become friends we ended up building our own networks. (Mauro, 14 October 2011, Santiago)

Here, distinction relies on a “mode of differentiation” (Savage, 2000) that operates as a “social filter” (Reay, 1997) to locate political and social capital among students who recognised themselves as equals to others. Similarly, a material and symbolic distinction operates as a form of exclusion of those who are different from us. Sibley (1995) notes that “geographies of exclusion” operate as “the production of bordered spaces in which only some are included” (Thomson, 2007:117). As Mauro continues to explain:

When I left the private school in Santiago city centre to continue at a municipal high school in the commune of San Miguel it was like breaking a bubble as I entered into an education space for poor students [...]. I was seen as the posh and privileged student. Although I come from La Cisterna I needed to break some barriers and to learn new codes I did not know before.

What does the possibility for inclusion of a student who comes from a different background rely on? Education plays a fuller role in this process where a limited context in which education takes place becomes at the same time an opportunity for transforming these kinds of barriers. As Mauro notes:

Well, I began to be included slowly; for me it was a long process to feel more adapted within this new space. Yet as I lived in the same commune we began to share some spaces. This also happened at the school. As I had some books that the school did not have, so I lent some of them to my classmates or they came to my house to do some homework together.

To conceive of limitation as an opportunity seems to be paradoxical. Yet this paradox resembles the idea that education as a space might serve as “control, and hence of domination of power” (Lefebvre, 1991:26), but it also “escapes in part from those who would make use of it” (ibid.). For example, whilst student commuting either to the nearest school or to the nearest commune is determined by poverty, locality and distance it also opens up the possibility, despite how education space could be constrained, for building very close friendships:

They were friends, like life-long friends living in the same neighbourhood. I had never have had friends like them; my friends lived in other communes and they commuted to Santiago just to study there. Here instead, the other guys, as they lived in nearby communes they were life-long friends, they played together, they studied and did homework together and they even drank a beer together (...). I did not have this experience so I saw them as much more fraternal and a more closed group too. (Mauro, 14 October 2011, Santiago)

Does distance shape a differentiated quality of friendship, solidarity, and affection at both schools in peripheral and central areas of Greater Santiago? Certainly, life-long friendship at schools in the peripheral areas seems to display a pattern of closeness grounded in daily practices. Yet distance limits neither the quality of friendship nor solidarity nor affection at schools with students commuting long distances. Rather, at

these schools, friendship arises as a space of resistance and a “counter-public space” (Thomson, 2007) through which students appropriate different spaces to transform the space-time of politics. This is further analysed in Chapter 7.

While historical experiences of student political activism at the emblematic schools influence the formation of a centralised “urban-based political movement” (Harvey, 2013:117), similar stories are also to be found at schools in peripheral communes. This tradition of student political activism is somehow forged in and through geographies of exclusion that can work powerfully to disrupt the production of bordered spaces, and in turn underline a spatialised politics of solidarity:

We were as fraternal to each other as we are to those excluded from the system. This was the only way to survive exclusion. There were differences among us but, above all, we were united. I think the sociological axiom is to keep closed against threat from outside, right? Because of exclusion the only way to deal with this is living together. A leftist culture has always existed at the school and I think it is because we believe in being united. It was the only way to fight for very local demands like, for example, eliminating mice at the school. These demands also led to more students being involved in politics. (Mauro, 14 October 2011, Santiago)

Since the meaning of exclusion is clearly connected to material place, for example, the lack of infrastructure at the school, being excluded might be framed in temporal terms. Yet this material place also represents a symbolic space since students reaffirm their sense of identity and their political activism. To some extent, those very local demands, rooted in what constrained their daily life, became “an extension of their new collective persona and signified materially/spatially the change in their social position in the school” (Thomson, 2007:125).

Geographies of social exclusion offer the possibility for contesting and changing schooling experience and “the production of conceived space of policy discourse” (p.126) that supposes a “presumed homogeneity” (Posey-Maddox, 2014). What is the relationship between geographies of exclusion and the possibility of producing politics at the periphery? As will be explored in forthcoming chapters, politics in the periphery involves more than local demands rooted in everyday life. Rather, they represent forms of the political that become essential for legitimisation of politics produced from the centre.

What diversities, what spatiality of politics at emblematic schools?

Diverse socioeconomic, cultural, and political backgrounds mean that we cannot attribute involvement in politics to pre-given identities of either leftist students or students coming from leftist families. Discussion of the process of how politics are produced does not mean ignoring or over-emphasising how parents' political biographies affected how students at emblematic schools became involved in politics. Yet recognition of such political biographies trajectories does not mean identifying beforehand what politics are going to be produced. A further discussion on this last point will be addressed in the following chapter.

I aim to detach the historical and political identity within these schools from the idea that they are accounted for solely by their previous history as a place imbued with “an atmosphere of earthiness, authenticity, meaning” (Massey, 2004:5). It does not deny that “every social space has a history” (Lefebvre, 1991:110) and “every society [...] produces its own space” (p.31). For example, political identity – to be precise left-wing political identity – at the emblematic schools is acknowledged as an identity endowed with a long-standing history of student political activism against Pinochet's dictatorship:

A quite well known leftist culture exists at the *Darío Salas* with teachers and students who are missing or detained people; the same happens at the *Nacional*...and at the *Aplicación*⁶⁷ too... get it? It is like a *context*.
(Alejandra, 4 August 2011, Santiago)

While the long history of social mobility and student political activism at these schools equates to the idea of a “generative past” (Lefebvre, 1991) of politics, this process represents the idea of a social reality that *per se* is neither monolithic nor static. These historical trajectories of student political activism are constitutive elements of the diversity of political capital existing at these schools. However, how this generative past might or might not forge production of politics does not reveal itself as a unique pattern underpinning a leftist identity and culture at these schools. The production of particular political class identities and their long standing historical tradition are determined by socioeconomic and cultural conditions that, for example, forge the meaning of authenticity in leftist identities:

⁶⁷ The *Aplicación* is a colloquialism students used to refer to the Liceo de Aplicación Rector Jorge E. Schneider in the commune of Santiago in Greater Santiago.

The *Darío Salas* has always been a high school for working-class sectors. High levels of student protests have taken place at the school as the *Liceo* has always represented the encountering point of different social groups. Furthermore, this has also been fed by working-class sectors with a long tradition of political struggles, like Pudahuel. No guys from the new communes that the dictatorship created after slum eradications come here where neither roots nor identity nor a tradition of political struggles exists. Here, lads come from *Estación Central*, the *Villa Francia*⁶⁸ to study at the *Darío Salas*. (Gaspar, 27 August 2011, Santiago)

While the assumption of authenticity connects political activism at these schools with the history of political struggles ‘out there’, as described in Gaspar’s comment, working-class sectors are framed as an entity in themselves. This claim for authenticity resembles to some extent the idea of a personage as an actor without action (Melucci, 1989). A further element of this is the idea of representation of these leftist identities as already “inscribed in a pre-existing space” (Lefebvre, 1991:78) and existing beyond historically changing conditions through which they recognise themselves as the inheritors of past tradition. This does not mean denying the historical and political role of the working class. Yet what is being discussed here is the idea of a bounded leftist political identity to be constructed through exclusion of others who neither share similar historical trajectories nor live in the same geographical area. Discussion of how much the historical experiences of other places and spaces might or might not interfere with the production of spatiality of politics within schools does not detach what is produced at a local level from places and spaces produced ‘out there’. Nevertheless, this recognition does not equate to understanding beforehand what spaces exist. Rather, it is about recognising how they are produced within, whether they could arise “by the specificity of their interaction” (Massey, 1994:121) with other trajectories “out there” or “by counterposition to them” (ibid.).

The long-standing recognition of the leading role of student activism at the emblematic schools also intersects with grassroots students’ own political activism:

I think the emblematic schools have a much deeper political tradition. For example, the *Liceo de Aplicación* has always boasted about having a school environment that motivates critical thinking; yet it is not

⁶⁸ Villa Francia is a shantytown (*población*) in the commune of Estación Central from Greater Santiago. It was one of the combative “*poblaciones*” against the military dictatorship.

encouraged by the school at all; rather it is a dynamic developed by students. I mean, this is a school with students murdered by the dictatorship because of their political commitment; a school that has always led the student movement. (Cesar, 6 October 2011, Santiago)

Since this recognition is directly associated with the role students' political activism has always played, it is less likely to be bound up with an essentialist meaning of identity as a particular kind of political ethos that exists and persists in time because of its historical weight. Furthermore, to be recognisable as an identity forged in and through critical thinking positions it as a process of becoming rather than being. The last point entails thinking about this identity as a spatiality of politics imbued with "the dimension of contemporaneous existences" (Massey, 2011) that resembles a particular ethos to be sustained and developed across time by students who came to the school from different residential areas. A key aspect in understanding this process is recognition that this identity is lived by students and therefore it does not exist as an abstract meaning. Rather, it is produced in the margins of "representation of spaces" (Lefebvre, 1991) that comprises the institutional signs and codes that the school has historically (re)produced as being the place for critical thinking.

These schools were recognised as the most politicised spaces linked to political identities that are (re)produced to maintain "continuity and some degree of cohesion" (p.33), or to the politics that subvert the signs and codes that this "spatial practice" (Lefebvre, 1991) comprises:

What was known as the *Alameda Cordon* includes all mobilised schools, the most politicised schools that have small political *colectivos*, which include anarchists, ex-communist militants; I mean a lot of cultures of the diverse left wing from this country (...). In parallel, a political culture comprises the traditional militants whose parents were either communists or militants in the *Concertación*. Perhaps this guy, because of either his family's political history or his own initiative followed a political career as a small politician while he was a high school student. In fact, I remembered some of them and I have heard about them in the media as they ended up involved in traditional politics and working for the government. (Alejandra, 4 August 2011, Santiago)

The most politicised schools seem to be represented as places with a meaning of politics as an absolute idea – as a "thing in itself with an existence independent of matter" (Harvey, 2006a: 121), and where spaces of politics are to be forged in particular physical places, as offices and ministries where politics ended up being

(re)produced. At the same time, the meaning of an absolute idea of politics is challenged by a recognition of the diversity that the left encompasses. As such, the production of politics reproduces, because of diversity, a similar condition to that identified by Harvey (2006a) in which “space is neither absolute, relative or relational itself, but it can become one or all simultaneously depending on the circumstances” (p.125).

Furthermore, possibilities for building spatial identity of politics and for how it is conceptualised will depend on who inhabits the space and how it is “that different human practices create and make use of different conceptualisations of spaces” (p.126). Thus, while diversity of socioeconomic, cultural, and political backgrounds is the condition in which the mixing of these different histories and human practices happens, I would suggest that it does not just refer to “things in space” (Lefebvre, 1991:37). Rather it is about how diversity engages in the production of spatiality of politics. This argument links to the idea that identities “are relational [...] constituted in and through those engagements, those practices of interaction” (Massey, 2004:1). The latter does not deny that we, as social human beings, come with personal trajectories “imbued with power and meaning and symbolism” (Massey, 1994:3) that determine to some extent what our initial position on the map of social power relationships would be. Yet what I would like to emphasise here is that diversity and the possibilities for encountering others different to us make the conditions for reframing our initial position through a process in which one re-imagines oneself and one’s social relations differently but in relation to others:

There are many people... one has to learn how to live with others who came from different communes and with very different socioeconomic backgrounds too (...). I had classmates whose parents were professionals and I had classmates whose parents sold sweets in the buses, get it? Then all this diversity gives you another social contact ... it causes you to adapt to it, to develop forms to relate to ... I think it opens your mind and consciousness in a radical way, very profound ... and it obviously gives you many more expectations and horizons in your life. (Alejandra, 4 August 2011, Santiago)

Heterogeneity and equality of educational opportunities regardless of the different socioeconomic backgrounds students come from underpin the engine of different geographies of social mobility. Yet they tell us more about things in space rather than how and what space is produced. How might these elements permeate other

different experiences at these schools? Appreciation of difference and tolerance is what has commonly been ascribed to the construction of identities and the specificity of these interactions. Nevertheless, it is, as Massey (2005) argues, “the practices and relations” and what is contained in this process that need to be taken into account. A further element of it is that both appreciation of difference and tolerance are themselves a political decision to be taken by everyone who exists in space as it entails posing the collective political question of how we, different as we are from each other, could learn to live together. Central to this, I would suggest, is the idea that this political decision is grounded in students’ own everyday practice. Neither the recognition of others as equals nor the attitude towards others that are different exist as intangible things. Rather they are imbued in what schooling experience is about, in other words what is contained in this space: the relationship of their bodies to spaces like classrooms and how they forged practices of tolerance and equal recognition of others:

One lives with different people, and one is in the same class with them, and one sits down next to them. It is a very different concept of equality learnt by boys and girls from other schools, who live in the same neighbourhood, who share the same hobbies and even look similar and who go to the slum once a month to do something about equality (...). I think they go there knowing beforehand that it is another world quite far away from their own reality (...). They could be very polite but they neither mix with others nor develop deep friendships; yet here one could have either classmates who are tall and blond or classmates who were short and with a dark skin or classmates with a surname like Pérez and another one with a “*gringo*”⁶⁹ surname. Yet all of us were equal. (Bea, 3 September 2011, Santiago)

Diversity, as described in Bea’s comment, exemplifies what is perceived as the engine of class mobility underpinning the notion of public education at the group of emblematic schools. Yet within a discourse of quality education clearly defined by a narrative of meritocracy, equality is commonly understood as geographies of social mix without spatialities of social mixing. Then there is little room to consider that what is lived at the emblematic schools is about *spaces of equal opportunities for quality education in contexts of social mixing*. Social mixing is what allows the repositioning of equality as a lived rather than a pre-given condition. To live equality, to be sitting down next to others different to us, is what makes the conditions – when “the lived

⁶⁹ *Gringo* is a colloquialism that refers to a foreign person.

body experience is concerned” (Lefebvre, 1991:40) – for producing spaces. I would argue that any lived experience contained in this space is what finally translates both tolerance and learning with others into a political decision. It is because not only is it based on a rational decision but it is also rather grounded in an everyday practice embedded in the conflict with which the constitution of subjectivities and spaces is imbued. On this basis, friendship acquires a political dimension too. This will be discussed further in chapter 7.

Gentrification and shifting patterns of social mixing at emblematic schools

Research on social exclusion has consistently shown, as Warrington (2005) and Higgs et al. (1997) suggest, that educational attainments are strongly determined by the effects residential areas have in producing different geographies of education. As Garner and Raudenbush (1991) argue:

Neighbourhood contextual effects on educational attainment could potentially come from a wide variety of processes, ranging from individual personality development to direct environmental influences. However, they will most plausibly work through the social milieu of the neighbourhood, rather than being direct effects of the physical, residential environment (p.252).

This is, for example, largely applicable to the communes of Santiago and Providencia, two of the most important urban centres that have historically led the economic development of Greater Santiago (See Map 6.2). So the way in which a much-centralised pattern of socioeconomic development dominates these urban communes might influence the emblematic schools. Yet this neighbourhood effect becomes contested by “a neoliberal urban development” (Lipman, 2007:158) process of gentrification that sought to transform “the configurations of territorial organisation that underpinned the previous round of capitalist expansion [...] in order to establish a new locational grid for the accumulation process” (Brenner and Theodore, 2002:355).

Lipman (2007) argues that “[v]ast tracts of gentrification radiate from the city centre through neighbourhoods across the city” (p.156). So geographies of education are in flux and traversed by a neoliberal market-driven agenda in which “third wave

gentrification” (Hackworth and Smith, 2001) becomes “a central motive force for urban economic expansion, a pivotal sector in the new urban economies” (Smith, 2002:447). This process has led to restructuring of spatial identity of public education at the group of emblematic municipal high schools:

I had classmates from Maipú, La Florida, Macul...middle class people but I also had classmates from La Reina, Providencia and even from Las Condes (...). Yet I could say that this phenomenon is gradually disappearing as the emblematic schools are much more precarious now and the intellectual elite has progressively left these schools and returned to their private religious and non-religious ghettos such as Saint George, Santiago College or Opus Dei schools, do you understand?. (Alejandra, 4 August 2011, Santiago)

This extract depicts a shift away from social mixing as the engine of identity of public education at the emblematic schools. It reveals how a market-driven education system has gradually ended up transforming the socioeconomic composition at the emblematic schools where the intellectual elite, as Alejandra’s comment states, has left these schools and returned to their wealthy communes. However, this is not the only factor in this restructuring process. Urban development and social differentiation in students’ residential communes might also explain a change in the socio-economic composition at these schools (see Table 6.4).

Table 6.4 Average socio-economic status at the group of emblematic schools in the communes of Santiago and Providencia (2000-2013)

Name of High Municipal School/Year	2000	2001	2003	2004	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2012	2013*	2013**
Instituto Nacional José Miguel Carrera, Liceo Ex A-0	D	C	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	C	D	D
Liceo de Niñas Javiera Carrera A-1	D	C	C	D	D	D	D	D	D	C	D	D
Liceo de Aplicación A-9	D	C	C	D	C	D	C	D	C	C	C	C
Liceo 7 de Niñas A-43	D	C	C				D		D	C	D	C
Liceo Carmela Carvajal de Prat A-44	D	C	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D
Liceo José Victorino Lastarria A-45	D	C	C	D	D	D	D	D	D	C	D	C
Liceo Darío Salas A-16		C	C	C	C	C	C	C	B	A	B	B
Liceo Tajamar B-42		C	C		C		C		C	C		N/A

Source: own elaboration based on Ministerio de Educación de Chile, SIMCE Reports 2000, 2001, 2003, 2004, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2012 & 2013

Identification of socioeconomic groups is based on SIMCE's classification: A (Low); B (Low Middle); C (Middle); D (High Middle); and E (High). They are based on four variables: parents' educational level, family income and school vulnerability (OECD, 2004).

SIMCE 2013*/2013** includes tests to eighth and tenth grades respectively.

N/A: Information not available

As Table 6.4 shows, a prevalence of one or two socio-economic groups seems to restructure the historical identity of public education at emblematic schools. This identity, as an engine for working-class and middle-class mobility, is redefined by a prevalent concentration of middle and high-middle socio-economic groups. This emergent pattern produces new geographies in education that express a “core-periphery polarisation and socio-spatial inequality” (Brenner and Theodore, 2002:355) and how the relationship between education and the city has been transformed. Education is deeply implicated in restructuring “the relations of power in the city” (Lipman, 2007:157) through the municipalisation process that exemplifies enabling or constraining conditions of residential space and “gentrified neighbourhoods” (Lipman, 2007):

The municipalisation is perverse...I mean the school where I studied was a good one just because it was in Providencia; yet at a municipal high school in La Pintana one could only expect to finish secondary education. It is unfair as many people went there to have free school meals rather than to study. (Alejandra, 4 August 2011, Santiago)

In addition, the prevalence of middle and high-middle socio-economic groups reflects how the performance of a middle-class engagement intersects on the one hand with an uneven geographical development of centrality and marginalisation within peripheral communes from which students come. As such, socio-spatial inequality results in patterns of a more homogeneous composition in the centre. And on the other hand, education like cities “capture [s] some salient features operating in society as a whole” (Harvey, 1973:16) and it reflects “the locus of the accumulated contradictions of society” (ibid.).

By pursuing their own survival, public schools engage in a marketised logic of competition, efficiency, and effectiveness through which they play “major roles in transforming the public into the private” (Apple, 2013:6). This engages, I would argue, with a shift away from social mixing and the idea of quality education with a sense of social justice to quality education within the logic of the market, reinforced by urban segregation. If contexts of social mixing tend gradually to disappear, then the peer-effect factor would be framed in conditions of homogeneity. This new spatial variation worsens the geographies of unequal socio-spatial development of communes in which schools exist, as this shift away from social mixing installs the

narrative that “every person has a *place* in the social order” (Massey, 1999:112 emphasis in original).

Gentrification is central in defining uneven material and cultural development of the city, and it defines what has happened in education: geographies of inequality and exclusion between schools in central and peripheral areas:

For many students to come to emblematic schools means to access a cultural level that does not correspond to their socioeconomic backgrounds, get it? Yet the peripheral high schools are excluded from all of this. These students face much more precarious conditions (...). They come from schools with dirty toilets and with teachers who come late and scold them instead of teaching them. There is neither pedagogy nor didactics; all is about exams and to repeat things. Then they have zero possibility of getting a place at university. (Alejandra, 4 August 2011, Santiago)

The multiple spatial scales upon which “neoliberal economic and social processes” (Lipman, 2007:170) operate show that education is both an expression of the transformation of the city and an “arena of struggle over the constitution of urban space as a site of capital accumulation and cultural significance” (ibid.). As discussed above, shifting patterns of social mixing at the emblematic schools illustrate that the upper middle class has begun progressively to abandon these schools and return to their residential communes wherein they transform the main narrative with which the emblematic schools have been historically imbued. As Alejandra continues to explain:

I think that from now on presidents of Chile are not going to study at the *Instituto Nacional* nor at the *Liceo 1* as Michelle Bachelet⁷⁰ did. Perhaps, they are going to be like Piñera⁷¹ who studied in a private school, do you understand me? It is the reason why I talked earlier about precariousness at this group of schools. We also experienced this as many students were dissatisfied with the failed idea of meritocracy and social mobility that they were told about at these schools.

An inward-looking analysis (Hanson Thiem, 2009) could suggest that this shift towards prevalence of one or two socio-economic groups at the emblematic schools

⁷⁰ Michelle Bachelet Jeria was a former Chilean president (2006-2010). In 2014, she was elected to serve as President of Chile between 2014 and 2018.

⁷¹ Sebastian Piñera Echeñique was elected in 2010 to serve as President of Chile between 2010 and 2014.

(See Table 6.4) and the effect this has on quality education at these schools equates to “the detrimental effect of creaming off” (Gamsu, 2015) of a neoliberal market-driven agenda. This entails that education has been ideologically re-shaped, within the wealthiest communes (See Map 6.3), as a “push factor” (Posey-Maddox, 2014) to deepen the geographically uneven urban segregation that the social, political and economic neoliberal order encompasses. Yet it is this failed promise of social mobility that ended up being contested by the most politicised schools in 2006. This shows that such a contradiction resulting from the gentrification process connects with geographies of dispossession in schools from peripheral areas and opens up the possibility of prefiguring alliances and invocation of solidarity within the Penguins’ movement to demand equal opportunities of quality education for all.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed spaces and places of public education. I have considered what spaces education makes at municipal high schools located in the central and peripheral urban areas of Greater Santiago. Historically, patterns of residential geography and student commuting have been forged both by geographies of social mixing at schools located in Santiago and Providencia and by geographies of exclusion and ties of solidarity with those who are recognised as equals in urban peripheral areas. Do these urban geographical differentiations undermine the possibility for invoking solidarity across different education spaces? In pursuing solidarity and the prefiguration of an egalitarian political student movement spatiality across different social geographies of education is a key relationship. This process is explored in the following chapter by looking at prefigurative politics and its contribution to the emergence of the Penguins’ movement.

Chapter 7

***Colectivos* and prefiguration of a more egalitarian political movement**

Students who were interviewed in 2011 recognised close connections with their parents' political biographies, but those connections seemed to be located primarily at a personal level. In this chapter, these connections to their parents' past political experiences are seen as a generative past that students have taken as an example to contrast with a narrower and more closed politics that has been evident since the 1990s. Parents' political biographies are also used to illustrate how important it was to re-connect politics with the social sphere. This links to a political practice that connected political militancy to grassroots activism. However, recognition of parents' political biographies did not seem to operate as the pivotal reasons of why students ended up being involved in politics. Rather, self-affirmation and autonomy are acknowledged by students as the reasons why they engaged in politics.

Why did students, who came from very politicised family backgrounds, break with a generative past of parents' political biographies? This question is explored in this chapter by looking at the emergence of *colectivos* as groups expressing political and cultural identities. These groups aimed to be detached from old practices on the orthodox left and to reconstruct the secondary student movement. *Colectivos* connected politics with the social sphere through prefiguring politics rooted in everyday life. *Colectivos* exist as "submerged laboratories" (Melucci, 1989) where they prefigure politics of the present as politics of the here and now (Gordon, 2005).

In this chapter I unpack this process by explaining how different *colectivos* began, in the margins of traditional politics, to transform their local spaces from within and below through prefiguring and locally enacting egalitarian political relationships. While friendship is a key condition for politics to have a location in ordinary people's lives, politics as cultivation of commonalities, for example, as what constrains the everyday experience of schooling, paved the way for the political role of *colectivos*. They became a cornerstone for the reconstruction of the secondary student movement through the development of egalitarian political relationships, and this led to a transformation of politics within the movement.

I explore the political capacity of *colectivos* for transforming the “power-geometry” (Massey, 1993) of politics by negotiating from within the FESES the creation of the Coordinating Assembly of Secondary Students known as ACES. I analyse the political capacity of the Assembly, as a “building alternative” (Yates, 2015a), to become a sustainable political organisation within the movement through the production of a politics of the here and now. This is a process that cannot be seen in isolation from “the political territoriality” (Raffestin, 2012) in which the *colectivos* were involved between 2000 and 2006. As such, territorialisation, deterritorialisation, and reterritorialisation of politics or the TDR process paved the way for a political articulation of *colectivos* that went beyond the group of schools referred to in chapter 6 as the Alameda Cordon. In the last section, I analyse some elements of the prefiguration of deliberative democracy within the Assembly. I put forward the argument that deliberative democracy aimed to prefigure a contestation of the lack of capacity of the political system to resolve student demands. As prefiguring deliberation is about politics of self-representation rooted in the present, it is depicted, therefore, as “always in process” (Massey, 2005:11). As such, tensions and unequal results within deliberation are seen as embedded in what constitutes learning “in movement” (Zibechi, 2012) with regard to how to construct a more egalitarian political movement. It was part of a learning process through which high school students sought to create their own way of doing politics. As such, they acknowledged that their primary political task was about breaking with the patterns of an orthodox left.

Not carbon copies

As with other social movements in the Latin American region, the reconstruction of the secondary student movement since the early 2000s traversed new paths. It aimed neither to become a carbon copy of the praxis and meaning of the politics of the preceding secondary student movement reconstructed during Pinochet’s dictatorship nor to be reduced to a deterministic approach derived from “the knowledge and practices of the old left” (Zibechi, 2005a:15). On the contrary, students aimed to break up a closed system of practices and knowledge, in particular those existing in the FESES, to create the conditions for reconstructing the movement. On this basis, students who participated in this process recognised that

this political task was premised upon the capacity of high school students to reconnect politics with the sphere of everyday life that schooling experience comprised:

The common diagnosis among different political youth organisations and groups, I mean from the *Concertación* to anarchist groups, was the need to rearticulate social forces, which were organised at these schools; and we concluded that we could not do it through the FESES (...). The FESES' demands were from the 1970s and the 1980s and were detached from problems students faced in their daily schooling experience. For example, a lack of good infrastructure, such as bad toilets ... or that some students were expelled from their schools because they wore piercings. None of these problems was addressed by the political bureaucracies, which mainly concentrated on ideological and political demands. They were not able to make a link with daily life. We acknowledged that the LOCE promoted marketised education, and strengthened private education, private providers, and so on. Thus, we believed it was coherent with repression at schools, and with student activities; the precariousness of teachers and classrooms; lack of leisure time; all of these issues were related to each other...thus we decided to build a discourse that could address both the problems of daily life as well as political and ideological issues. (Alejandra, 4 August 2011, Santiago)

Such an attempt relied on a common diagnosis by students of how older forms of doing politics were disconnected from the sphere of daily life and how essential daily life was for building politics. The reconstruction of the movement therefore did not aim to relocate a historical political praxis of doing politics or to relate this praxis to what contemporary secondary students faced in their daily schooling experience. Rather it was about reinventing new ways of doing politics by which, as some of them argued, the politics should be rooted in daily life and therefore be produced through the social sphere as an everyday experience. This was the aim that students at the most politicised schools had had since the early 2000s. How did secondary students from different political backgrounds manage to achieve a common political diagnosis of how to reconstruct the secondary student movement? In what ways did different student political backgrounds influence this process? What underpinned this process? These are all questions that are explored in this chapter by analysing the ways in which the political biographies of students' parents might have influenced (or not) students' commitment to politics, forms and dynamics of political participation and the way in which they influence reconstruction of the secondary student movement.

Unfolding the generative past of politics

The reasons why secondary students ended up being involved in politics that paved the way for the reconstruction of the student movement cannot be detached from traces of history as a “generative past” (Lefebvre, 1991) or “historical political agency” (Deneulin, 2008:120) in which politics is embedded. Secondary students, who had been mobilised from the early 2000s onwards, recognised themselves as a generation that did not have ties with the recent political period of dictatorship. The most recent context in which students could locate their past related to their parents’ experiences. This is displayed in Table 7.1 which summarises the ways that students recognised their families’ political backgrounds.

Table 7.1 Past political biographies of student's parents

LEFT WING POLITICAL MILITANCY

Thus, you know... both of my parents had been communists (...) people who know very well what being involved in politics means, as nowadays people think to be involved in politics means to write in a blog. They lived the dictatorship.(Sebastián)

My parents, my family...were a deeply left wing family (...).I mean my parents were militants of the PCR, the Communist Revolutionary Party...the Maoists in Chile...my aunts were militants of the Communist Party and the Socialist party (...). After the military coup my family ended up alone as many of their friends were missing detained (...); they thought they could change the world and everything hit them; their friends were killed, others fled the country...my parents could not flee the country because they were poor (...); they worked for Allende's campaign as they are in their sixties now... but then it all broke down. (Pat)

Honestly, I had a very political family. My great-grandfather was a militant in the Socialist Workers Party (POS). When the killing of San Gregorio happened in 1925, he was already a militant in the Communist Party. In some way, our family militant tradition came from him (...); you know the tradition of militancy at that time. I mean all my family ended up involved in political militancy (...).Well there was a split from the political militancy...my grandparents left their communist militancy after the military coup...my mum continued her political militancy. (Andre)

RIGHT WING FAMILY

My family is very ... they are a right-wing family and a very conservative catholic family although I think they are apolitical as

LEFT WING GRASSROOTS POLITICAL ACTIVISM/ AND GRASSROOTS POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS

I do not know...what I had was a family political background. I come from a family that was involved in the political resistance against Pinochet's dictatorship. Furthermore, we lived in a shantytown in which grassroots political organisation was strong; my mum was involved in this at that time. Thus, there was closeness and knowledge about political organisations and projects that ended up disarticulated after the end of the dictatorship. (Gaspar)

What I am in politics and how I understand the world is because of my parents; both of them became politically involved in Christian-based communities especially during the dictatorship. Thus, I recognise that they influenced me a lot (Carolina).

My father... came from a family without a history of political militancy...in fact he was the first who was involved in politics...he was a member of the *Frente*⁷² and he was also a militant in the MIR and the *Jota*⁷³ too. My grandmother was also involved in politics ... she had an aunt who was an activist working with Elena Caffarena, Ariel Marchant, Amanda Labarca for women's suffrage... well I grew up in a very tense family environment; I mean my father was living clandestinely...perhaps when I was 5 years old I knew what my father's real name was. (Andre)

I mean, my mum is a missing detained; she was a member of the MIR...well I knew about it when I grew up; but it was always an issue on the table; I have always been linked to the left; I mean to the more radical left. (Ignacio)

About political activism in my family... my parents were quite involved in the *poblador* movement against Pinochet. My dad was a militant in the

⁷² The *Frente* is a nickname leftist circles use to refer to the *Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez* (FPMR [Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front]). This was a guerrilla group within the Chilean Communist Party (ChCP) that emerged in the 1980s to lead a military strategy to overthrow Pinochet's dictatorship

⁷³ *Jota* is nickname for the Communist Youth (JJCC).

they do not understand very well...I mean they could recognise themselves as right-wing people but they do not understand right wing ideologies; it is the reason I say they are apolitical (...) but they are like...in fact my mum worked for Pinochet's family. (Marco)

To be honest, I did not belong to anything, I was 13 years old, and I was not militant in any political party. My family was quite politicised. They were not a left-wing family; they were a right-wing family; in some ways when you are raised in a political environment, you understand a bit about the reality you are living in. (Valentina)

MAPU⁷⁴ and my mum was a militant in the Socialist party. She led a women's grassroots organisation in the land occupation in the commune of La Pintana... it was a well-known land occupation in Chile... I think it was the first occupation during the dictatorship. Thus, my family has always been very politicised and since I was a child we talked about politics at home. (Manuel)

⁷⁴ *Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitario* (MAPU [Popular Unitary Action Movement]) was a leftist political group established in 1969.

Table 7.1 illustrates a generative past of the political biographies of students' parents. This relates to a historical political agency that suggests "what individuals can do in the socio-historical reality in which they are living" (Deneulin, 2008:120). This historical agency depicts a varied range of histories from left-wing political militancy and grassroots political activism to right-wing militancy, and political support for the dictatorship. Regarding the meaning of politics, in particular on the left-wing side, this historical political agency ended up being redefined after 11 September 1973. Before this date, it was a space produced through a long-standing link between the political parties and grassroots political militancy. As Sebastian's, Andre's and Pat's comments illustrate, family political biographies relate to politics rooted in grassroots militancy that had historically ascribed politics with some "continuity and some degree of cohesion" (Lefebvre, 1991:33). This "spatial practice" (Lefebvre, 1991) of politics, understood as "the level of *competence* and a specific level of *performance*" (p.33, emphasis in original) was to be transformed and challenged by suppression of political freedoms after 11 September 1973. As Gaspar's comment exemplifies, politics ended up being produced at the level of grassroots political activism against Pinochet's dictatorship in shantytowns and peripheral areas with historical ties to left-wing groups that had existed since the 1950s (Schneider, 1991). In addition, an unpredictable consequence of the military dictatorship was to put the production of politics in the terrain of "social life [comprising] housing, consumption, popular culture and religion" (Evers, 1985:46). For example, Manuel's comment shows how, "representational spaces" (Lefebvre, 1991) of politics were lived as political expression of self-organised communities within the "*poblador*" (shantytown) movement articulated through Christian base communities (Drogus and Stewart-Gambino, 2005).

Recognition of families' political backgrounds extends and reproduces a generative past of politics with an autonomous existence, as it exists beyond individuals but owes its existence to individuals (Deneulin, 2008). How could this generative past influence student political activism and politics within the secondary student movement? This generative past exists and operates, I would argue, at an individual and personal level. Students, in particular those who do not recognise ties with the recent political period of Pinochet's dictatorship, located recognition of this generative past in an individual and personal sphere. These ties seem to function, as Bourdieu

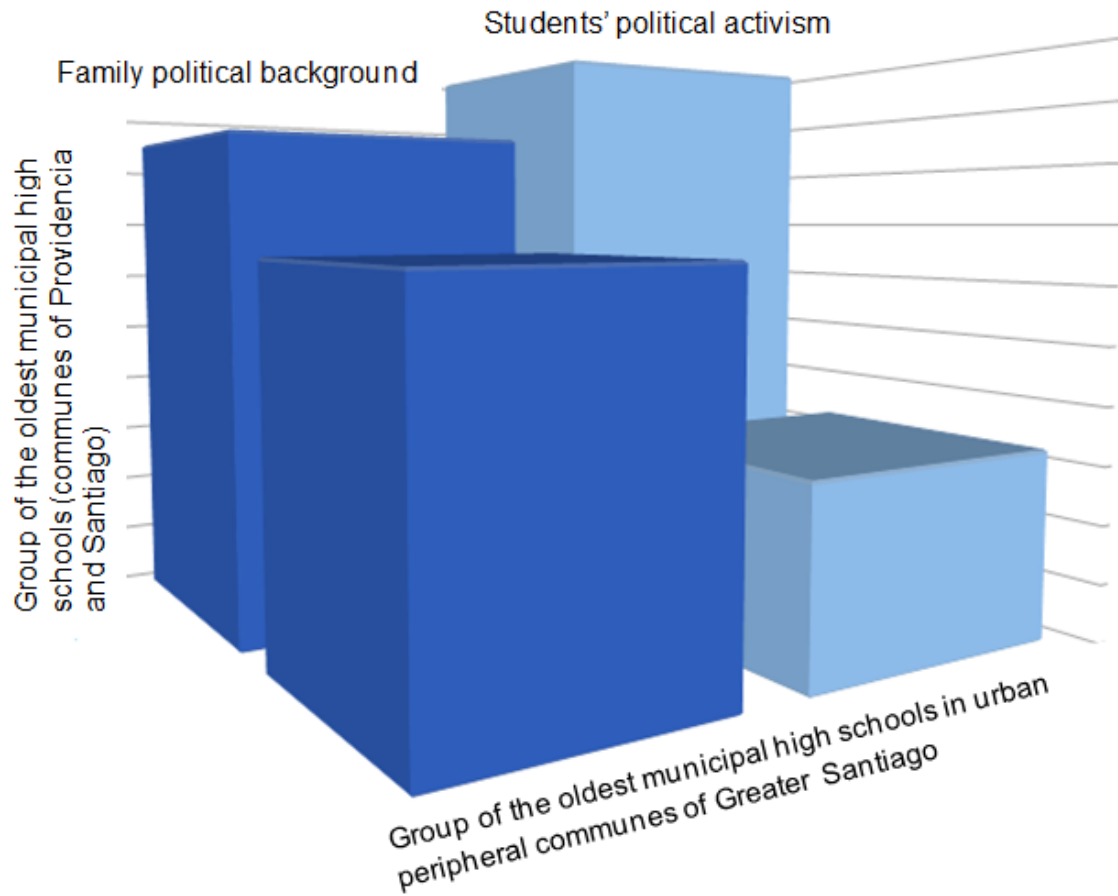
(1984) argues “below the level of consciousness and language and beyond the reach of introspective scrutiny or control by the will” (p. 467) and “without [...] ever having to be formulated other than in the socially innocent language of likes and dislikes” (p.243). For example, Sebastian exemplifies in his comment his opposition to what politics means today, based on the value he attached to his parents’ political biographies. This represents a kind of emotional connection he attaches to what he understands as the meaning of politics.

Spaces and places of grassroots political activism in the shantytowns interlock with practices that attached meaning to politics. Within a deterministic approach, structural determinants predetermine construction of a collective actor that could “find application beyond the historical context in which they were produced” (Melucci, 1996:84-5). It would be expected then that student political activism displays similar political practices, and places them in the same neighbourhoods and communities from which the political practices of their parents came. However, the interviews indicated that student political activism was produced not in the shantytowns but at schools as a “key location” (Zibechi, 2012) of political reconstruction of the secondary student movement.

Self-affirmation and autonomy

Figure 7.2 shows that municipal high schools were places where students with different family political histories met each other and developed student political activism. While a high level of student political activism is to be found in the group of oldest municipal high schools that included the group of emblematic schools in the communes of Santiago and Providencia, the oldest municipal high schools in the margins of both communes also constituted places for the production of politics.

Figure 7.2 Student political activism at municipal high schools in communes of Greater Santiago (2000, 2001 and 2006)



Source: own elaboration based on twenty eight interviews conducted between July and November 2011

Levels of student political activism at schools in peripheral communes of Greater Santiago were linked with students' family histories of political biographies similar to those found at the emblematic schools. At the group of municipal high schools in peripheral communes, similar family political backgrounds seemed to comprise cumulative historical traces of political resistance against Pinochet in peripheral "red neighbourhoods" (Schneider, 1991)⁷⁵. Different levels of student political activism in central and peripheral communes of Greater Santiago might also be explained as the consequence of both a larger number of students enrolled at municipal high schools in the communes of Providencia and Santiago and a steady decrease of enrolment in

⁷⁵ See footnote 64.

the municipal education sector between 1992 and 2010 within urban peripheral communes from the Metropolitan Region (Fundación Sol, 2011).

A structuralist analysis might interpret the levels of student political activism shown in Figure 7.2 as a direct consequence of parents' political biographies that students bring to their secondary schools. Yet an emphasis on structural determinants blurs other important reasons why students ended up being involved in politics. This does not explain, for example, what kinds of politics were produced at these schools nor how parents' political biographies influence these politics. A distinction also has to be made, Melucci (1996) argues, between the conceptual level and the empirical analysis of contemporary collective actors. Conceptually, collective actors constitute a category commonly taken for granted and assigned with a "quasi spontaneous attribute, a kind of essentialist existence" (p. 84). Yet students provide other reasons why they became involved in politics (See Table 7.3). They primarily looked for their self-affirmation and autonomy as "what one lives" (Zibechi, 2012:52) rather than affirming themselves through the political backgrounds of their own families.

Table 7.3 Students' reasons for self-affirmation and autonomy

SELF-AFFIRMATION & AUTONOMY	<p>Emotional relationships/self-definition Look, I am from the north of Chile; I came from the city of El Salvador. I arrived in Santiago in 1991...no, in 1993. I was provincial and it was quite hard to be in ...to come to Santiago as it is a very different society. I think it provoked in me some degree of maladjustment. Thus, I do not know...so when I entered school...I was at a high school in the centre of Santiago...the <i>Liceo de Aplicación</i> (...). It turned into a... a sort of motivation to do things. Finally, it was ... a sense of rebellion against teachers rather than a rehashing of left-wing tradition that I have inherited from my parents. (Sebastián)</p>
	<p>Self-definition Thus, I clearly came with this family background...but I did not participate in...but there was no...I mean there was a clear political orientation but I didn't end up involved in politics because of my family; I did it myself alone, do you get it? It was because there was no organic connection to any movement or political party... So I could not inherit any experience from my family. The organic left, I mean the revolutionary left has not existed since 1994, 1995. As it was too fragmented it was impossible to keep any organic continuity. (Gaspar)</p>
	<p>Self-definition At a personal level I was interested in politics a lot; I already had some straightforward ideas about politics; I had a position but without having clearer ideas. As I gradually became more involved in politics I was able to better understand these ideas...I met people (...) with whom we finally ended up constructing ourselves in politics. (Cesar).</p>
	<p>Psychological needs/self-definition When I started secondary education I began to open my world...it is because of your needs as a human being. It is also about your age; I started to know the hardest politics and what it meant to be in politics; I also started to open myself psychologically; I discovered myself and others; thus while there are young people who ended up interested in music, poems and so on I became involved in politics. (Carolina)</p>

As is shown in Table 7.3, self-affirmation is dependent upon the capacity of students autonomously to transform or control self-definition, emotional relationships, and even psychological needs (Melucci, 1989) as “the conditions of personal existence” (p.46). While these spheres could operate either as interconnected or single spheres, the prevalence of one sphere over others has to do more with the process of constructing identity intersecting with both autonomy and self-affirmation.

Self-affirmation and identity are interconnected processes that cannot be detached from how they are shaped by the context in which they are located. For example, in Gaspar's comment, identity is constructed out of a process based on personal awareness regarding the absence of the grassroots political structures of a more

radical left. While self-affirmation, autonomy, and construction of identity shift attention to individual action, they also challenge the way in which individuals, who mobilise based on what they experience, become involved in politics by connecting a prefigurative politics of everyday life to collective action. In doing so, students needed to create new alternative ways of being and doing politics as political practices immanent to the existence of *colectivos*.

The emergence of *colectivos*

Although there is no rigorous study of when *colectivos* emerged, they seem to date back to the early 1990s and to be recognised as groups comprising a multiplicity of different subcultures:

A number of subcultures began to appear, like movements, I do not know if they were movements but they represented more rebel cultural identities. For example, punks, hard cores, skaters, rappers. Youth began to adopt these cultures; there were a lot. I remember there were girls who practiced skating; girls who were punks (...) girls who made graffiti. I was a student at a girls' municipal high school (...) all of these happened in the Alameda Cordon, thus this youth had expression in these high schools and in the *colectivos*. I remember that I went to meetings in which many students were punks. They combined the school uniform with this. Thus, they came from school to the political meeting to organise a march and they came with funky hairstyles and piercings; there were also students that did not follow this style and identity. (Alejandra, 4 August 2011, Santiago)

Where did the capacity of *colectivos* to articulate spaces of different subcultures come from? This question might echo, as in Alejandra's comment, the symbolic value students attach to the Alameda Cordon as the place where *colectivos* exist. This symbolic value, however, does not just refer to the geographical location of *colectivos* but rather it intersects with the political argument that the most politicised schools became the "geographical source of meaning" (Massey, 2005:5) of more rebel cultures. The latter does not, however, frame this meaning within an essentialist idea of place as the "comfort of Being" (Massey, 1994: 119), of political and cultural identities assigned with "an essential character prior to social interaction" (Massey, 2004: 2). Rather, *colectivos* expressed themselves as spaces of contestation of "*entropic equilibrium*" of politics (my own emphasis) where "entropic equilibrium" (Smith and Jenks, 2006) means that any system that is unable to "draw

energy from its environment is entropic equilibrium: it will cease to be dynamic or, in the case of the living, it will die” (p.6). This means that an *entropic equilibrium of politics* operates as a closed system from within without being constructed and/or reconceptualised through its interaction with the surrounding environment:

Thus as I told you I had the tradition of my parents... the communist tradition, get it? About political mass struggles and *big organisations*. Then I came to the school with a very developed political consciousness and I found out that this tradition does not exist anymore. Rather what still existed in the left were small groups from the Communist party *without the capacity* to organise and represent other people’s demands. People were concerned about other things. I mean, the Communists *came with a hyper-structured* political discourse on public education... the left came with certain cultural matrices for example, the music of *Victor Jara, Violeta Parra, Quilapayún*, socially ... they made “*peñas*”⁷⁶, get it? And all of this was for such a small group. Then as I came from my parents’ tradition, I thought it was a *very unpopular left*, get it? Within that context I did become involved in many things, I participated in a *colectivo* ...there were many at that time. I was involved in anarchist groups...I have read about anarchism a lot, *but because of the cultural crisis of the left* I mean to close in on *itself* there was a proliferation of these groups who embraced some anarchist ideas, although there were also radical left-wing groups within these *colectivos*. (Sebastián, 5 August 2011, Santiago)

The emergence of *colectivos* seems to be understood as arising out of a binary relation, which was at the basis of an identity on the left, in particular the orthodox left, which become spatially apart and distant from people who were unlike them. This relates to political class identities imbued with “foundational essentialisms” (Massey, 2004) as a political class identity that establishes a distinction between people who are like them and unlike them. Such an oppositional relationship, however, does not relate to what position *colectivos* had on the geographical map of political power in the secondary student movement. Indeed *colectivos* did not run student representative bodies. Since claims of “identity/difference” (Massey, 1999) are seen, as in Sebastián’s comment, as resulting from an *entropic equilibrium of politics* that is, a leftist tradition that closes in on itself, *colectivos* seem to be framed in temporal terms. As such, their existence is to be conditioned by the potential change of this *entropic equilibrium* rather than being recognised as different. Did this temporality limit the political capacity of *colectivos*? Certainly, their leitmotif was

⁷⁶ The *peñas* were inaugurated in the middle of the 1960s to revitalise Andean music. During Pinochet’s dictatorship, the *peñas* became clandestine places for folk music and the New Song linked to political resistance against the military dictatorship.

about building, from below and within, egalitarian political relationships. This challenged and transformed hierarchies within the secondary student movement through opening politics to multiplicity and difference even though *colectivos* were not the only places for multiplicity and difference. *Colectivos* developed themselves into political groups in which spatial politics was to be constructed in and through practices of interaction among students who joined and co-existed in these groups.

This view of politics would be, as Mouffe (1995) argues, “always potentially conflictual” (p.263) since challenging *the entropic equilibrium of politics* came to mean attempting to transform how “politics” (Mouffe, 1995) was to be conceived and produced within such small groups on the left, as Sebastian’s comment suggests. So *colectivos* cannot be explained in temporal terms, that is as a group just emerging by happenstance as encountering points of different students’ biographies. Rather, *colectivos* emerged to counterbalance “the political and the politics” (p.262) as the very condition of identity within some left-wing political groups. This counter-hegemonic political task led by *colectivos* draws attention to the identities they comprised:

The Alameda Cordon gathered almost all mobilised schools, which had small *colectivos*; I mean from anarchist groups, ex-militants from the *Jota*... many cultures that were representative of the diversity on the left in this country...some of them led student councils and others were in opposition to the latter, get it? But they were people who in some way or another organised and mobilised students. (Alejandra, 4 August 2011, Santiago)

An important feature of this leftist diversity is that it does not owe its identities solely to family ties, but rather identities are relationally constructed wherein the Alameda Cordon becomes the place for building identities through “intersecting social relations, nets of which have over time been constructed, laid down, interacted with one another, decayed and renewed” (Massey, 1994:120). The extent to which such intersecting moments led to the production of the identity of the Alameda Cordon relies therefore on the cultural and political diversity found in this group of schools. This represents an essential component of the condition of becoming the most politicised schools, since “without space no multiplicity; without multiplicity no space” (Massey, 2005:9).

While cultural diversity on the left evokes parents' political biographies, their recognition, as above discussed, is placed at a personal level. As such personal political ties seem to operate as modes of being and doing politics rooted in the "classed nature of particular social and cultural practices" (Bottero, 2004:989) for students who became involved in *colectivos*:

So there were people who were linked to other cultural traditions in which I was interested too, for example punk music. I was interested as I think it seemed to be representative of the present time because many people liked this music the most, rather than the music of the *Quilapayún* and all this stuff... So I had begun to be involved in these groups. (Sebastián, 5 August 2011, Santiago)

Social and cultural practices, such as being with others who share similar interests to us, connect on the one hand with comparisons regarding those who do not share similar preferences. And on the other hand this connection operates as an "individualised distinction" (Savage, 2000) deeply embedded in space-time and related to defining oneself in the here and now. It does not happen as a hierarchical distinction between those who are above and those who are below. Neither does the cultural dimension counterpoise to the political dimension, nor does it confront the political. According to Melucci (1996), the production of cultural codes more than the political is what is at stake in the "principal activity of the hidden networks of contemporary movements and the basis for their visible action" (p.6). However, it is the production of such cultural identity that becomes, as Mouffe (1995) argues, "both the scene and the object of political struggles" (p.264) wherein *colectivos*, I would argue, constituted cultural identities rooted in social and cultural life as an essential component of spaces of contestation against the political and cultural matrices with which the left was entangled. Neither their struggle for identity nor self-affirmation become antinomic. Rather the capacity of *colectivos* to articulate struggles for identity upon individualisation is based on the "tendency to perceive everyone as similar to oneself" (Evans et al., 1992:465).

This horizontal recognition is reproduced on the one hand as a conflict of identity rooted in everyday social and cultural practices. And on the other hand, it is encoded in "the classed nature" (Bottero, 2004) of certain political practices, trajectories and identities. For example, in Sebastian's comment the decision to be involved in groups wherein music and culture were representative of the present time because many

people were involved is encoded in his parents' political biographies, which he recognised earlier on as the old communist tradition of big mass struggles. For *colectivos*, culture and identity are inherently political since their recognition is detached from the idea of ascribing a "natural condition", but relates to culture and difference as a "political construction" (Smith, 1999:130). This suggests that culture and identity become politicised not just because they constitute the *leitmotif* of *colectivos* but also because culture and identity within *colectivos* entail recognising "otherness" and "difference" (Harvey, 1993b). For some of them this political task entails prefiguring politics of commonalities as a way to challenge an essentialist idea of politics as "pre-given identities" (Massey, 2004) within the secondary student movement.

Prefiguring politics as cultivation of commonalities

The political task of *colectivos* was about connecting and producing politics expressed in everyday life. This constitutes the place for democratising politics by challenging the traditional spheres where politics was commonly both to be found and produced:

We began to discover that students who we thought should be organised were neither located within institutionalised rituals nor came from those sacrosanct spaces but rather they were outside of those very structured spaces. They lived a daily life that we could not even live because of our political tasks and responsibilities; but when we found each other we realised it was a much more normal dynamic than we would expect to find. They were neither in the political youth headquarters nor in institutional spaces provided by the state like the youth parliament. (Cesar, 6 October 2011, Santiago)

The multiplicity that *colectivos* comprise became a condition for the possibility of producing politics. Politics as rooted in everyday life relates to its production as "a commitment to anti-essentialism" (Massey, 2005:10). Within *colectivos* this commitment entails producing politics located outside of sacrosanct places, to which Cesar's comment refers. This relates to politics produced in everyday life. This politics resembles a more normal dynamic which, as in Cesar's comment, encompasses a politics that is "affective, subjective and collective" (Motta, 2011:179).

Such a politics and “its stress upon the relational constructedness of things” (Massey, 2005:10) do seem to be defined on the basis of a fragmented condition among different leftist groups:

Then, we met other students at other high schools through anarchist students who were part of an anarchist organisation called “neither helmet nor uniform”; they knew students from the Communist Youth as they shared common spaces like studying at the same high school, and the Communist Youth had other spaces in other schools; there was also contact with some left-wing students who ended up being orphaned from any political leadership; they came from different left-wing organisations; I mean subjectivities or cultural matrices fundamentally detached from the MIR⁷⁷, and there were also some students who embraced the ideas of the Lautaro youth movement⁷⁸. Nevertheless nothing fitted within a structure. (Gaspar, 27 August 2011, Santiago)

The possibility for building a politics of interrelations therefore seems to be linked with fragmentation. While Gaspar’s comment refers to what is at the basis of multiplicity within the secondary student movement, those fragmented students’ political biographies might (or might not) be “reconceptualised in relational terms” (Massey, 2005:10). Furthermore, recognition of multiplicity does not, however, mean completely reinstating, as Bauman (1993) argues, what has been dis-embedded. As such, some of these identities, in particular those of the anarchist groups, do not focus on building politics entrenched within old former axioms but rather they operate through existing conditions to reconfigure counter-hegemonic politics. The latter relates to what Raffestin (2012) identifies as the TDR process of politics that *colectivos* were involved with since the early 2000s. This is discussed throughout this chapter.

Interrelatedness is imbued with power relationships wherein politics of interrelations cannot be detached from different “geographies of the necessity of their negotiation” (Massey, 2005:10). So what mediates the political capacity of those students and *colectivos* to become noticeable on the map of traditional politics relates to “cultivation of new forms of commonalities” (Critchley, 2013) or what they have in common with others. For many of these groups, what constrained their daily

⁷⁷ See footnote 33

⁷⁸ *Movimiento Juvenil Lautaro* (MJL [Lautaro Youth Movement]) was a left-wing political movement that arose in the 1980s. According to Faure Bascur (2006), the main ideology of the MJL embraced the following principles: class struggle; socialism; and the armed struggle as a legitimate mechanism to fight against dictatorship and a viable way to build transformations in society.

schooling experience became an important component of politics as cultivation of commonalities:

People are interested in other things... I mean, the Communists came with a *hyper-structured discourse* on the public education (...). However, my classmates were worried about other things...the problems of my classmates were that they *had bad teachers*; they did not have *good quality education*. In the meantime, the school was more worried about things like haircuts and tidy appearance rather than being concerned about quality education. (Sebastián, 5 August 2011, Santiago)

Both cultivation of commonalities and multiplicity of different trajectories are co-constitutive of the political capacity of *colectivos* to challenge “the power geometry” (Massey, 1993) of politics within the secondary student movement. As Sebastián continues to explain:

Then, I began to be involved in these groups, and I do not know how it happened... I mean it was not my own idea. But these groups started to introduce those demands I already mentioned to you like quality education; wearing long hair and the like. They were very concrete things, which were quite far away from what the Communist party’s discourse was.

The unpredictable in Sebastián’s comment relates to the idea that politics arising out of individual commitment is no longer opposed to the sphere of collective action. This entails recognising that “individuals’ control of action is a necessary condition for the formation of collective mobilization and change” (Melucci, 1989:49). While the unexpected locates the political capacity of *colectivos* as “integrally space-time” (Massey, 1999:284), the latter is determined by the cultivation of commonalities as prefiguration of politics rooted in the present. As such, their political capacity to transform the power-geometry (Massey, 1993) of politics is co-constitutive of prefiguration as produced “day-by-day and moment-to-moment” (Sitrin, 2011:257).

To speak of unpredictability, however, does not deny the role that the diverse leftist groups within *colectivos* played in prefiguring politics. Rather, prefiguring politics came to be their leitmotif. What seems to be a key aspect in their political task is the production of politics as space with “a degree of mutual autonomy” (Massey, 1999:281) between different trajectories that intersect with demands located in everyday life:

We connected two things: on the one hand, an anarchist vision of a critique of old political parties, I mean vanguardism, verticalism ...the main defeats on the left throughout the twentieth century. And on the other, we linked the latter to social demands that people valued ...thus it was a connection of two cultures. Then, our *colectivo*, a small one...a *colectivo* of students who were vegetarian, punk...and all that stuff ran for the student council and we won with a political discourse I could define as a kind of populist anarchism. (Sebastián, 5 August 2011, Santiago)

Spaces of reciprocal autonomy and “genuine plurality” (Massey, 1999) pose the question of why students who came from very different trajectories were able to co-exist within common spaces and produce a spatiality of politics that relies upon trajectories that are necessarily not “alignable into one linear history” (ibid.). Was it a pre-established political goal among the most mobilised students? Was it exclusively confined to *colectivos*? A key aspect of this process is that the cultivation of commonalities, the location of politics in everyday life, and values such as affection and commitment are imbued with a new anarchism defined by Critchley (2013) as the political articulation of ethics. Yet it is not confined exclusively to some particular political identities within *colectivos*, such as black/red left-wing groups or anarchists. Rather, “neo-anarchism” (ibid.) refers to politics as a daily practice, how people relate to each other, and politics as an ethical responsibility towards others. Cultivation of commonalities became both the location and a practice of politics where both multiplicity and (equally importantly) friendship as a politics of affection and commitment paved the way for politicising spaces of daily life.

Friendship

Commonality did not just mean recognising a common demand among students but rather how students within *colectivos* positioned themselves in relation to others. Cultivation of commonalities became important in transforming the patterns of students’ participation; yet it did not primarily seem to come about as an instrumental political strategy to create the possibility of collective mobilisation on the basis of what constrained students’ daily schooling experience, but rather a relational and socially constructed process that placed friendship as the main space for a “true democratic politics” (Rancière, 1995). Commonalities meaning “Aristotle’s view of what friends share and live” (May, 2013:65), seem to be forged through “practices, trajectories and interrelations” (Massey, 2004:1). However, friendship has commonly

been divided between the public and private spheres. May (2013) has recently challenged such a spatial division by re-positioning friendship into dialogue with politics. This idea connects with “the relationship between friendship and political resistance” (p.59) and how conditions of commonality, affection, and commitment are essential in order for friendship to become a space of alternative forms of politics of resistance.

Friendship ended up transforming the map of political power within the secondary student movement. Yet it did not end up being forged as a process of calculation between the winners and losers in the terrain of political negotiation within the movement. Rather, it was about infusing the production of politics with affection and a commitment to “the special relationship a friendship involves” (p. 65):

So, what happened was...I believe we were friends above all. And it is about friendship, which obviously shares common problems relating to politics within the secondary student movement. It allowed us to have common spaces that we looked for anywhere. (Cesar, 6 October 2011, Santiago)

As such, affection and commitment are integral to the production of geographies of politics located in places students recognised as common ones. As Cesar continues to explain:

The spaces become like multiple ones. One space could be any initiative from the student representative body that could be joined either by students who were most committed to be mobilised or by *colectivos*. Other spaces were very diverse (...). I think that politics in the secondary student movement was designed in walks between the school and our houses; it was debated in the classroom, at the school or during times when we were not in class; it happened in public spaces like squares; thus it was not a formal space at all.

In other words, friendship turns attention to “geographies of relations” (Massey, 2005:10). These geographies of relations become integral to the process of territorialisation of politics in which its production, on the basis of students becoming friends, was articulated in relation to social and cultural life:

Thus, the first political steps were cultural ones, breakaway movements, *barra brava*, *Los de Abajo*⁷⁹ where I met some anarchist groups. They had

⁷⁹ *Los de Abajo* (From the basement) is linked to the *Barra Bravas*. The latter emerged at the end of 1980s as marginal groups in peripheral areas of Greater Santiago.

very little connection with anarchism ... an issue much more linked to punk rock music. I mean my first year at the *Liceo* was to come here and be involved in *Los de Abajo* and to clash with the cops. It was my political activity if I could define it as such. I came from la *barra brava*. I came from the stadium, and at the *Liceo* I met other students who heard the same music and went to the stadium too. Thus, all together celebrating in a party and going to the stadium, get it?. (Gaspar, 27 August 2011, Santiago)

As described in Gaspar's comment, the reasons why they met, how, and where intersect with the geography of social relations upon which friendship forges egalitarianism because cultivation of commonalities are rooted in a "voluntary choice" (Friedman, 1993) and this is equally important in framing places of politics:

Because of its basis in voluntary choice, friendship is more likely than many other relationships, such as those of family and neighbourhood, to be grounded and sustained by shared interests and values, mutual affection, and possibilities for generating reciprocal respect and esteem" (p.298).

Commonalities and cultural political practices exemplify the production of politics at a small-scale and they become the terrain upon which friendship ended up building "a route into a democratic politics" (May, 2013:71):

We set up a space for political debate as we believed that we should stop pranking; being hippies and criticising only for the sake of criticising. Rather, we should contribute and show political commitment. Thus, we created a *colectivo* by following some ideas from other *colectivos* (...) it was called the *Dario Rebelde*⁸⁰ (...). We ran for the student council based on principles of horizontality and autonomy from institutional power that we learnt from other *colectivos* or we had already reflected on with other students (...). We went to every class and explained to students that the assembly was the only project we had, and the decision of the assembly would be based on what each class proposes, and unexpectedly we won by an absolute majority. (Gaspar, 27 August 2011, Santiago)

As such, friendship offers the possibility for *colectivos* to know how to use their political capacity, to know how to connect both the micro- and macro-political to transform the flow and movement of the power-geometry (Massey, 1993) of politics within existing spaces for student representation. This represents a rootedness of place-based politics in which *colectivos* began the transformation of politics from within by attempting primarily to territorialise daily schooling experience with new

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political practices and forms of social relations. Attempts to instil the assembly within student councils, based upon prefiguration of a horizontal democratic decision-making process and autonomy, as described in Gaspar's comment, resemble at a small scale a picture of what transformation of politics within the secondary student movement looked like.

While commitment played a key role in articulating such conditions, commonalities and friendship seem to be "often founded on a rich past" (May, 2013:68), which at the group of emblematic schools seemed to resemble the idea of coming from families with histories of political activism (see Table 7.1). Students recognised this rich past as close ties, "which continue to shape individuals' everyday understandings, attitudes and actions" (Reay, 1998:267) towards politics. Did such common underpinning trajectories enclose friendship in a specific geographical area?

Certainly, ties between friendship and politics seemed to be often found at the most politicised schools and within *colectivos* that represent the diversity of leftist culture. Yet as Figure 7.2 shows, student political activism was also to be found in high schools in the margins of the communes of Santiago and Providencia in which friendship might also have the potential capacity of becoming a space of political resistance. Yet what is at stake in this geographical differentiation is how friendship at the group of the most politicised schools became a potential space, because of the existing political traditions of student activism at these schools, for building a more egalitarian political movement within a "relation of equality" (Kant, 1991:213) with others.

It is interrelatedness rooted in "embedded practices" (Massey, 2005) of cultivation of commonalities and egalitarian political relationships that allowed *colectivos*, for example, to be engaged in the unexpected that resulted in challenging and transforming – upon the principle of autonomy from the institutional power – the "power-geometry" (Massey, 1993) of politics within the secondary student movement. On this political map, *colectivos* became visible and recognisable by others:

We met organised *colectivos*, they came from the *Liceo de Aplicación*, the *Liceo Darío Salas*... and they were very connected with each other to the extent that I could say they shared political and aesthetic identities; they were *colectivos* of punk and anarchist students. (Cesar, 6 October 2011, Santiago)

For *colectivos*, the unexpected opened up the possibility of engaging with the transformation of relationships and spatiality of politics within their own local spaces such as the student representative bodies. In an organic bottom-up process, *colectivos* catalysed the cultivation of commonalities and the unexpected with which this process was imbued. *Colectivos*, along with other political groups, created a new student organisation, known as the Coordinating Assembly of Secondary Students (ACES) to replace the existing FESES, based upon the principles of *horizontalidad* (horizontality), direct democracy, and autonomy that they had already installed in their local spaces. At this stage, *colectivos* used the political virtue of friendship “for forming egalitarian political movements” (May, 2013:73) to pave the way for building the Assembly as an alternative student organisation within the movement.

The negotiation of the Coordinating Assembly of Secondary Students: a politics of openness

The creation of the Assembly marked an important generational hallmark within the secondary student movement. It represented an attempt to strike a balance between traditional political groups and *colectivos*, to transform the power geometry of politics within the secondary student movement by infusing the production of politics with “a libertarian and egalitarian ethos in the movement’s own structures, social dynamics and lifestyle” (Gordon, 2005). The Assembly neither emerged spontaneously nor was it the only agenda of *colectivos*; rather it derived from a negotiation process between the latter and the traditional political groups committed to re-legitimising and widening the scope of student participation. While negotiation seemed to echo the political capacity of *colectivos* to transform the map of political power within the movement, this capacity was also integral to spatiality of the politics of openness at both micro- and macro-political level that *colectivos* pushed forward:

The FESES was led by the Communist Youth; we approached the Communists as we were not too sectarian; we did political work with them to convince the Communist Youth to open the FESES. (Sebastián, 5 August 2011, Santiago)

Openness resembles multiplicity and difference as essential conditions for the production of both spatiality of politics (Massey, 1999) and a terrain upon which an “anarchist political *culture*” (Gordon, 2005, his own emphasis) operates to demand

political openness for students who neither felt represented by traditional politics nor existed in those sacrosanct spaces for politics. On this basis, *colectivos* aimed to open politics by transforming the mechanisms that ruled participation within the FESES. As Sebastián continues to explain:

The FESES plenary was apparently attended by all schools from Santiago. For example, there might be about 80 students at the FESES plenary and half of these students were militants at the Communist Youth. They voted by hand, so one person was equal to one vote. So it was quite easy. Then we introduced the principle of voting by school. It meant they had to win their position at their schools. By such a principle the power of this group fell drastically.

The introduction of the principle of voting by school rather than by militancy illustrates the efforts of *colectivos* to transform the map of the power-geometry of politics within the FESES by changing who moves and flows on this map. This last point is not intended to undermine participation through militancy, but rather this principle relates to the process of transforming political participation through legitimisation at grassroots student levels. As implied in Sebastián's comment, it resembles the idea that representativeness, even for students who came from political militancy, should be constructed out of winning a position within schools as their local spaces. As such, participation and politics within the movement became territorialised. By transforming both locally-based participation and the decision-making process within the FESES, territorialisation of politics remained central in connecting the micro- and macro-political and opening up the possibilities for transforming the power-geometry of politics within the FESES. This process did not relate to the political capacity of *colectivos* in isolation. Rather, transformation of the power-geometry of politics derived from "the openness of political opportunities and the availability of allies" (della Porta and Diani, 2006:228) that *colectivos* found within the FESES:

I have gradually abandoned...and it was not just me as a group of militants from the Communist Youth and I finally understood that we needed to do something with the FESES. In doing this we opened up to organisations which do not fit the traditional organisations and political parties of which the FESES comprised. I mean the FESES convened mainly student representative bodies led by leftist Youth such as the Socialists and the Communists. (Cesar, 6 October 2011, Santiago)

If, as suggested earlier, politics within the FESES moved towards an entropic equilibrium through which it ends up being locked in on itself, the need to do something with the FESES, as Cesar's comment mentions, might resemble the need for politics to "evolve itself, from within" (Mason, 2008:17). However, it also seems to engage, I would argue, with a political articulation of ethics that, as in Cesar's comment, is manifested as a political responsibility to openness to other political identities in order to create a different space for politics.

For some of those political subjectivities, neo-anarchism becomes an inseparable aspect of the politics produced within the secondary student movement. It refers to "interstitial spaces" (Critchley, 2012) through which both *colectivos* and students from the FESES created spaces for autonomy to transform the FESES from within. In March 2000, they set up an *Anti-Increase Front* gathered by *colectivos* along with other political groups to demand an end to rising fares for student transport passes. This represented a negotiated created space for participation:

The Front was created as a space for political representation of both the FESES and *colectivos* who did not like to be part of the FESES but wanted to do things. In this way, the Front became the space of participation and representation of both of them. (Cesar, 6 October 2011, Santiago)

Mutual autonomy became central to the political negotiation that led to the creation of the Front. On the one hand, it represented a survival niche for the FESES, and on the other the Front became the interstitial space through which *colectivos* aimed to transform the FESES. The effectiveness of the Front relied on making space for a demand of horizontal participation that seemed to be widely supported by students. As such, its capacity for turning into a space for transforming the FESES relied on the principle of egalitarian political self-representation that it aimed to install. As Cesar continues to explain:

Open assemblies were spaces that allowed other actors to come. Even the nature of meetings changed in the assemblies. I mean the FESES' meetings were organised like a traditional classroom; the assembly expressed, however, a demand for horizontality that we knew how to develop, even though many of us were not accustomed to this way of organisation.

Within the Front, political self-representation presupposes "the equality of anyone and everyone" (May, 2013) and this principle of "true democratic politics" to which

Rancière (1995) refers adds a degree of unpredictability by opening the map of power-geometry of politics to self-representation of other political subjectivities in the margins of traditional politics and even beyond the geography of politics produced in the Alameda Cordon.

Prefiguration of egalitarian political relationships within the Front alongside political negotiations within the FESES paved the way for the creation of the Assembly in October 2000. This was led by five spokespersons instead of having a leadership committee. This new structure aimed to represent on the one hand the multiplicity and diversity that the secondary student movement encompassed. As such, the spokesperson committee consisted of three students who came from anarchist and radical left-wing *colectivos* and two spokespersons who were Communist militants. And on the other hand, it aimed to introduce non-hierarchical structures of participation and horizontal organisation that prefigured an egalitarian political movement. The Assembly existed with a certain relatively stable continuity between 2001 and 2004 and was led by different political coordination of *colectivos* in central and peripheral areas of Greater Santiago (see Chapter 5).

The Assembly and the production of politics of the present

A central discussion within prefigurative politics differentiated it as both “building alternatives, and the contrast between it and actual mobilisation or strategy” (Yates, 2015a:4). Yet this differentiation, as Maeckelbergh (2011) argues, seems to be misunderstood prefiguration as it “is strategic because the creation of new political structures [is] intended to replace existing political structures” (p.7). As a political alternative for student participation the Assembly engaged with identities and their simultaneous pursuits to re-frame participation based on a self-representation rooted in a leaderless organisation:

I am not in favour of the assemblies and nor were we even in 2001. Yet we realised that within a scenario of social disarticulation the assembly represented the only space that could have some legitimisation among social actors. It was because the assembly entailed having neither a president that they had not elected nor a caudillo that they never choose. Rather, in the assembly students came to represent themselves.
(Sebastián, 5 August 2011, Santiago)

While the Assembly becomes a means to widen student participation, its instrumental function was enclosed with temporality either because of the political fragmentation on the left or because of social disarticulation. Did these conditions undermine the capacity of the Assembly to become a long-term student organisation? Certainly, the Assembly reflected identities committed to producing new politics to activate student mobilisation within a scenario of social disarticulation, as Sebastian's comment suggests. While an instrumental function of the Assembly tends to be framed within sectorial demands and mediated by the political role of *colectivos*, its continuity is influenced first and foremost by student participation cycles within the movement:

Between March and June there is a boost in participation with assemblies joined by hundreds of students where everyone wants to talk; but between August and November I could say that there are two people coming to the assembly, get it?. (Alejandra, 4 August 2011, Santiago)

Although the Assembly is built upon an instrumental function, it is not limited to it. From a different perspective, the Assembly did not emerge as a way of articulating what had been disarticulated politically and socially. Rather, it arose as a mode of collective political organisation in which self-representation refers to a form of political action of new emerging political subjectivities. As such, the Assembly prefigured a "present-tense politics" (Gordon, 2005) but above all it became the space for a generation who looked for its political self-affirmation rooted in the present and detached from the political narrative of the earlier secondary student movement:

We recognised that former generations had lots of murdered students, get it? I mean it was people who came with the burden of understanding human rights as not being murdered, get it? But we did not have the same burden; for us human rights meant to have...of course it was important that this did not happen again but it also meant having the student transport pass, free education, and so on. Demands of the present, and I think it was fundamental for our generation; it would not be a main issue for all who marched but it was a key issue for those who led the movement, get it? For us it was clear that if we did not want to be the FESES 2.0 we needed to deal with this new reality and this new actor we aimed to involve in the movement. (Alejandra, 4 August 2011, Santiago)

The accomplishment of political demands relating to the here and now resembled the political task of connecting politics with the social sphere which *colectivos* alongside other political groups aimed at developing within the secondary student movement. As Alejandra continues to explain:

We understood that we needed to connect and reconcile politics with the social sphere. By doing this, we should incorporate and re-signify practices that had been taken away from the popular field in Chile; for example, to have parties, to have pragmatic demands and to politicise them. I mean practices and things that the over-ideological narrative on the left had discarded as they saw them as counter-revolutionary.

Thus pragmatic demands, detached from practices of the orthodox left, retained their instrumental function of reconciling the social sphere with politics, as Alejandra's comment explains, while student mobilisations entailed prefiguration of political demands related to what constrained daily schooling experience. For example, the *Mochilazo* protest in 2001 (see chapter 5) engaged political mobilisation with the demand for a free student transport pass based on what constrained day-to-day student commuting. As Alejandra continues:

At that time, it was quite common to begin the academic year and then have to wait for three months to receive a student transport pass (...); thus, you got on the bus, and the bus driver did not allow one to get on it. You had to bring proof to show one was student. You know the typical problems of day-to-day student life...at that time the student transport pass was to be administrated by a small private transport sector; thus, it was privatised...it was not a right. Thus, this idea of being a right and a guarantee to study created a lot of noise among secondary students; we agitated a lot around the demand of the student transport pass as a right because it was quite a sensitive one. Students get on the bus every day and in doing this they have to deal with many problems.

So the politicisation of the demand for a free student transport pass as a right was the path through which political mobilisation of secondary students was to be activated. Yet this did not mean placing this grassroots student demand as a political strategy to legitimise a more elaborated political demand. Nor did this demand exist in separated spheres. Rather, it represents a process through which this demand becomes political because it is grounded in legitimisation by grassroots students of what constrained their daily schooling experience. It represents a politics that is "subjective and collective" (Motta, 2011:179), since it is produced through wide

acknowledgment of what constrained everyday student commuting and schooling experience. On that account, it would be feasible to argue that empathy, understood as one's capacity to recognise oneself in the same position that others suffer, is an integral condition for invoking solidarity, involvement and social legitimisation by other students beyond the margins of the Alameda Cordon. This process was essential to how social demands were raised and politically transformed in the Assembly during 2001. However, this denies neither the role played by the most politicised students to raise political and pragmatic demands nor the co-existence of pragmatic demands with ideological ones:

The existence of the LOCE was already called into question at that time. It was because...you should consider all the left wing and anarchist *colectivos* always had this political discourse. I mean the LOCE, education, the process of privatisation of education, the municipalisation (...) all of these were our demands too (...) but we ended up negotiating in relation to student transport, as the majority of us mobilised for this. (Alejandra, 4 August 2011, Santiago)

Do the pragmatic demands of the politics of here and now annihilate a long-term political process within the Assembly? Certainly, what pragmatic demands reveal is the political task led by the most politicised students. But more importantly, space-time is a key condition upon which different political groups aimed to ensure continuity of the Assembly. This relates to the possibility of connecting the realm of more pragmatic demands to the politics of openness and multiplicity. This strategic praxis within the secondary student movement resembles the political task led by *colectivos* to reframe the meaning of politics by connecting and producing it through the social sphere. The possibility of continuity of the Assembly does not deny that time is integral to the production of space and politics as much as the Assembly is committed to politics of anti-essentialism (Massey, 2004). This, however, does not entail disregarding that multiplicity and co-existence with others comprise political identities that might claim "heritage" (Massey, 1993) within the Assembly. Massey (ibid) argues "instead of refusing to deal with this, however, it is necessary to recognise it and to try to understand what it represents" (p.65). This involves politics that attempts to transform "relatedness and connectedness" (Massey, 1999:289) where friendship and politics of commitment became a cornerstone through which *colectivos* created new alternative ways of negotiating with these identities.

Territorialisation, deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation of politics

It could be argued that *colectivos* sought to balance the continuity of the Assembly and the internal times that influence the periodically recurrent cycles of mobilisations within the secondary student movement. This process intersected with what Raffestin (2012) identifies as a TDR process, that is, a process of territorialisation, deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation of politics. Territorialisation of politics proceeded in different ways. One process is linked to waves of mobilisation and cycles of protests within the movement. This territorialisation is of crucial importance within the movement since cycles of mobilisations opened up the possibility of creating linkages amongst different students. Another form fostered the TRD process of politics through different political coordination roles set up by *colectivos* between 2001 and 2006. For example, territorialisation of politics was associated with a political coordination known as CREA (create), which arose as a space differentiated from the Assembly in 2001. For *colectivos*, the CREA became the sphere in which different political groups and political subjectivities met up in order to produce a politics of openness and mutual autonomy where ideas or concepts were still to be created:

At the beginning was a word, a concept (...). Within the CREA we were able to achieve... the synergy, the dialogue between different political and cultural identities. In the CREA there were anarchists, ex-militants from the Communist and Socialist youth; there were also guys from the radical left who came from shanty towns and lads who were not militant but they were critical of many things. (Alejandra, 4 August 2011, Santiago)

Such differentiation based on recognition of plurality and openness to others, contrasts to what differentiation meant to some left-wing groups within the CREA. While the CREA was initially produced as a concept related to creating something, some left-wing groups claimed that it should be recognised as the *Coordinadora Revolucionaria de Estudiantes Autónomos* (Coordination of Revolutionary Autonomous Students [CREA]). If territorialisation of politics within the CREA entailed politics of openness and the spatial, as the co-existence of difference, such claims for differentiation within some leftist groups went alongside deterritorialisation of politics within the CREA. As a result, this space ended up being entangled with a restricted meaning of a more orthodox left-wing identity. As Alejandra continues to explain:

This space became increasingly much more restricted; a lot of political readings and diagnosis of the present situation from Marxist-Leninist ideas... Then if someone had not read some particular books... he or she was out of this group.

Consequently, the political task of connecting politics with the social sphere was to be progressively abandoned because of its counter-revolutionary meaning within a revolutionary discursive practice. As Alejandra notes:

The idea of connecting the political with the social sphere ended up being abandoned as it was considered counter-revolutionary; it was not a priority as one should be more radical in this space. Thus, this space was weakened by a more radical left-wing narrative and co-opted by a far-left sector that still fetishises itself as clandestine.

Deterritorialisation was inherently entangled with a restricted meaning of how spatiality of politics could be imagined, who imagined this, with whom, and what the boundaries were. This, however, does not mean denying that territoriality of politics, which is no longer adapted to the process of deterritorialisation of politics, disappeared. Rather, politics “have been transformed” (Raffestin, 2012:129). Therefore, changes in political territoriality arise as a process of reconfiguration of territorialities based on previous ones. *Colectivos* linked their political coordination to *Liceos* or high schools that they recognised as the natural territories of students’ struggles. By following a “pedagogical intention” inspired by Paulo Freire’s pedagogy, political coordination of *colectivos* engaged in a continuous process of transformation that might lead to new territorialities of politics. These new territorialities entailed that what is produced by *colectivos* in such a differentiated space resembles the idea that politics, as Smith (1999) argues, “is embedded in, and articulated through, the negotiation, articulation, and mobilisation of sameness and difference” (p.130).

These new territorialities were forged in and through “latency periods” (Melucci, 1989). This integral condition of *colectivos* allowed them to continue to exist as submerged laboratories where *colectivos* territorialised their local spaces within “periods of apparent quietude” (Chester and Welsh, 2006:29). This led to transformation of the map of political power-geometry through different *colectivos* set up in peripheral communes such as Recoleta, La Florida, San Joaquín and La Cisterna in Greater Santiago (See Map 5.1). In 2004 these different *colectivos* arranged the creation of a new political coordination known as CREAR. Under the

umbrella of this new political coordination, autonomy is reframed in relation both to the Assembly and to *colectivos*. Reterritorialisation entailed, therefore, understanding the autonomy of the Assembly as the space in which representatives of student bodies led the democratic decision-making process while *colectivos* neither replaced them nor participated in the Assembly. Rather, they contributed to the development of a grassroots student movement. Yet reterritorialisation, as an attempt to re-install spaces of autonomy and genuine plurality, was also to be mediated by different conditions.

At a structural level, territoriality within *colectivos* was forged through geographies of “relatedness and connectedness” (Massey, 1999:289) underpinning spatial identity of public education at the emblematic schools:

We were connected with emblematic schools and it is a historical connection. It is always going to exist even though we do not like it. It is because your boyfriend studies at the *Instituto Nacional* and your brother attends the *Lastarria*⁸¹ and your best friend studies at the *Aplicación*; then your former classmate who did not enter the *Carmela* is studying at the *Liceo 1*. In that way it is impossible, we are all connected within the emblematic schools. It is not just a geographical connection, it is demographic too. (Pat, 9 August 2011, Santiago)

Do these geographies of interrelatedness and connectedness undermine reterritorialisation of politics within the movement? This question turns attention to *colectivos* and how prefiguration of the politics they produced within CREAR entailed opening up the possibility of different political identities co-existing in this space. As Pat continues to explain:

In the CREAR we were many *colectivos* (...) many anarchist and libertarian *colectivos* (...) following similar political lines ... well who are we? We are the CREAR, the Cordon of Revolutionary Students...I do not know what the acronym ended up meaning but I think the word came first and the acronym later. Thus, it was CREAR as we always said “to create and to build student power”. I mean we were the typical *colectivos* that gathered at every march and we met there.

A prefiguration of politics through encountering particular points, as described in Pat’s comment, does not relate to a single narrative. Within the CREAR this meant that reterritorialisation of politics could be produced either through the sphere for

⁸¹ Lastarria is a short name for the Liceo Jose Victorino Lastarria located in the commune of Providencia.

territorialising politics through creating student power or as the space for revindication of some leftist identities and a kind of “definition of difference” (Massey, 1999:281) as the Cordon of Revolutionary, Autonomous and Rebel Students. Furthermore, processes of reterritorialisation through multiplicity interlock with political subjectivities that claim politics of self-representation on the basis that such a politics does not seem to collide with the collective representation to be found in some traditional spaces such as the student representative body:

It was expected that only student representative bodies could participate in formal spaces such as the ACAS. Yet this dynamic was challenged through self-representation. One realised that being a representative of students did not undermine one’s self-representation. At that moment, new spaces began to appear in which one’s self-representation or one’s representation of 10 or 100 students was equivalent to being a representative of students at your school. (Carolina, 30 September 2011, Santiago)

Colectivos, as demonstrated in Carolina’s comment, reterritorialised formal spaces for student participation through the politics of self-representation. This was in line with their political task of transforming both student representative bodies by instilling – through egalitarian political participation from within – assembly structures that worked in a way that was somehow equivalent to the experience of the ACES 2001 and their marginalised political representation within the institutional arena. Reterritorialisation led to the creation of CEREM (see Chapter 5) and gave *colectivos* greater visibility within the institutional arena because of their recognition and legitimisation among secondary students. As a former adviser of CEREM-SEREMI’s Weekly Talks explains:

Look, at that time we said...well it was true that the Ministry of Education privileged the student representative bodies as they were recognised as formal spaces by the institution. Yet these student organisations did not lead student protests. Rather, student protests were held by groups known as *colectivos* and by other political groups. Thus, we decided to invite both organisations... honestly, we asked students who they wanted to participate in these talks (...); at the end, more *colectivos* than student representative bodies ended up leading representation. (Antonio, 21 October 2011, Santiago)

This public recognition placed *colectivos* on the map and this turned out to be the path for reterritorialisation of spaces such as the ACAS since the latter ended up

negotiating with *colectivos* the creation of the *Asamblea de Estudiantes Secundarios* (Assembly of Secondary Student [AES]) in 2006 (See Chapter 5).

Prefiguring egalitarian deliberative democracy: some challenges

A new democratic participatory process was at the core of the political task that *colectivos*, alongside other political groups, began to instil during the early 2000s within their local spaces by questioning the legitimisation of democracy based on the nature of the process and who was involved in it:

The stakes and the struggle of the left and libertarian social movement thus invoke an ancient element of democratic theory that calls for an organisation of collective decision-making referred to in varying ways as classical, populist, communitarian, strong, grassroots, or direct democracy against a democratic practice in contemporary democracies labelled as realist, liberal, elite, republican, or representative democracy (Kitschelt, 1993:15).

While political self-representation sought “to switch the decision-making process to more transparent and controllable sites” (della Porta and Diani, 2006:240), it seemed to be still limited by what was described above as historical geographies of relatedness and connectedness. It is certain that territorial division of the Assembly changed the map of the power-geometry of politics in 2006 by allowing the emergence of new educational realities within the movement (see Chapter 8). On this new map, furthermore, school occupations engender much deeper and stronger grassroots participation that interlocked with autonomous and egalitarian participation (see chapter 8) through the emergence of “a multiplicity of interstitial movements” (Holloway, 2010:11) within the Penguins’ movement. In what ways did decentralisation influence egalitarian decision-making within the movement?

This question turns our attention to the deliberative process within the Assembly and how its condition became nurtured by “the principle of co-existing heterogeneity” (Massey, 2005:12):

A more open logic engages with the inclusion of other people, other political identities and other ways of leading conversation and organisation within the Assembly where it comprises neither just spokespersons nor a spokesperson committee, but rather it has different geographical zones. (Carolina, 30 September 2011, Santiago)

It is through this geographical division alongside the increased number of school occupations that the Assembly engaged in a process of democratising deliberation through flows of communication “under conditions of equality, inclusiveness, and transparency” (della Porta and Diani, 2006:241). As Carolina continues to explain:

When we occupied our schools we realised we had different demands. Then we understood that we needed to explain to ourselves why we demanded what we demanded in order to achieve a common demand among schools (...). Then it was good to have a group, or even better many groups of students, who knew the demands, going to every school to explain to students and to invite them to be part of the movement. I think it is the reason why the Assembly expanded so fast; it is because information was shared among grassroots students on the basis of self-representation too.

While the capacity of “associative networks [...] “to build democratic skills” (Offe, 1997:1023) nurtured the process of deliberative democracy within the Assembly, the latter did not exclude those participants who came to the Assembly without being involved in a former process of debate within their local spaces. On this basis, self-representation equals the principle of egalitarian political participation:

It was the moment in which everyone who wanted to participate, no matter if they were representatives of their student councils or not, came to the Assembly. The assembly represented this opportunity because self-representation was the only way to expand participation and deliberation without giving importance to one actor over another. (Steffi, 3 September 2011, Santiago)

The Assembly turned out to be a space for developing democratic egalitarian political participation. It expressed a critique of contemporary democracy since self-representation, direct democracy and non-hierarchical structures aimed to challenge representative democracy and its lack of political capacity to resolve demands from social movements. As Steffi continues to explain:

The assembly comprised a political commission and spokespersons (...), which could be revoked at any time; we applied the principle of horizontality as many of us believed that traditional political parties did not know how to resolve our demands. Thus, we neither believed in representative democracy nor could we achieve something different working in the same way.

While egalitarian political participation opens the possibility for building a heterogeneous movement, the quality of deliberative democracy is challenged by what is flowing in the process of communication and participation on the ground. Firstly, hidden hierarchised speeches operated within assemblies as a way to manipulate participation in their favour through disregarding different voices. As Steffi notes:

Although assemblies were a space for a more diverse dialogue, different voices, in particular those voices that came from different political opinions other than the left, were disregarded by the majority of the assembly.

Secondly, political self-representation might lead to consensus within the assembly that was far from being representative of a process of equal participation. As Steffi remarks:

I think there was a utopian ideal of self-representation (...). It is because under egalitarian political self-representation it did not matter whether a student came to the assembly to represent himself or a group of students because both are participating in a horizontal discussion. We always questioned whether or not the vote of some student representatives reflected the opinion of the student body. For us it was better if grassroots students came to the assembly. Yet one could find a student in the assembly defending his vote on the basis of a collective discussion he had held at his school and unfortunately that collective political reflection was equal to someone who voted to represent himself.

And thirdly, very often openness became the terrain for representatives of political parties to come to the Assembly to manipulate political consensus either by voting or blocking some decisions of the Assembly. As della Porta and Diani (2006) argue, “heterogeneous actors, pay great attention to the quality of internal communication, but with unequal results” (p.244). Did the latter undermine what the Assembly attempted to instil within the movement? Prefiguration of deliberative democracy based upon egalitarian political participation stressed in its early stages the aim of connecting politics with the social sphere. As an alternative form of politics within the movement it progressed from prefiguring political participation within local spaces to become the democratic structure for participation during the Penguins’ movement. Prefiguration of direct democracy, egalitarian political participation and non-hierarchical structures became an identity politics within the movement to the extent that the assembly was no longer counterpoised by leftist groups but rather it became

the normal political structure within the movement. As such, what the *colectivos* prefigured within their local spaces ended up paving the way for the development of a more egalitarian political movement.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed *colectivos* and their role in prefiguring a more egalitarian student movement. I have explored the emergence of new political subjectivities by arguing that although students recognised ties with their families' political trajectories, they ended up involved in politics because of self-affirmation and autonomy. Within an organic bottom-up process, students began to be organised around *colectivos* to transform politics from within and below by prefiguring more egalitarian political relationships. Politics, as the cultivation of commonalities alongside friendship, became the cornerstone for transforming the power-geometry map of politics through the creation of the Coordinating Assembly of Secondary Students. While the capacity of the Assembly to become a "building alternative" (Yates, 2015a) within the movement relies on producing politics of the present, this does not deny the political role of *colectivos* in building political territorialities during the "latency periods" (Melucci, 1989; 1996). Neither is the Assembly detached from this role nor can its continuity be understood just in terms of the role played by *colectivos*. Rather, prefiguration of egalitarian political participation and democratic deliberation within the Assembly become a spatial identity of politics within the movement because it intersects with the emergence of new political subjectivities that the Penguins' movement succeeded in revealing in 2006.

The following chapter will address high school occupations from 2006 to point out that new political subjectivities arising in 2006 relate to the emergence of the periphery as geographically specific interstitial movements that give rise to the Penguins' movement.

Chapter 8

The geographies of school occupations in the Penguins' movement

At the beginning of the 2000s, students at the *Liceo de Aplicación* in the commune of Santiago occupied their school. This was acknowledged as the first school occupation that had taken place since the 1980s. The central focus of this mobilisation was on demands linked to what constrained everyday schooling experience. From this perspective, this mobilisation seemed to resemble the grassroots political work led by *colectivos* in producing alternative forms of politics grounded in the spaces of everyday life. Students occupied the school for two hours to demand changes in school dress codes (such as the length of boys' hair and wearing piercings), access to computer rooms, the use of playground for playing football as well as more participation on the formulation of school policies. Nevertheless, it was an occupation that challenged the hegemonic meaning of the occupations or *tomas*⁸² known as "*chapazo*"⁸³ within the earlier secondary student movement. This occupation marked a shift in terms of reframing legitimisation of this form of mobilisation since it was joined by 2,000 students. Legitimisation through massive student participation came to mean, however, more than this. This entailed prefiguring the transformation of power relationships by which occupation was about "power with" rather than "power over" (Colectivo Situaciones, 2001; Holloway, 2002).

On this basis, this occupation intersected with politics of self-affirmation and prefigured transformation of the power-geometry (Massey, 1994) of social relationships with which the schooling experience was imbued:

We occupied the Liceo (...) but it was a *social* mobilisation in which *all normal* power relationships were subverted at school. I remember that there was a very fascist teacher at the school (...) and students were free to decide about supporting *this strike*. On that day that teacher stood in front of the door looking at the students and waiting for them to enter the classroom. Yet they decided *not to enter* the classroom and support the strike. The school was a very authoritarian one and such attitudes represented a revolution for *us*. (Sebastián, 5 August 2011, Santiago)

⁸² See Footnote 32.

⁸³ *Chapazo* or locked door was a tactic used by the secondary student movement in the 1980s. The *chapazo* was a form of action led by small groups of secondary students. They occupied the group of schools known as the *Alameda Cordon* in the commune of Santiago to protest against Pinochet's regime and to demand democratisation of student representative bodies.

This occupation, along with politics of self-affirmation and the free democratic decision by fellow students to support occupation and thus a student strike, seemed to pave the way for the political reconstruction of the secondary student movement:

That occupation was very important for us as it became a starting point for the rest of the colectivos. We always looked at that experience when we planned... to do something at our school: well they achieved, after meetings, debates, political agitation, internal student demands, etc...they succeeded in building a process in which they achieved something. This was crucial for us and for the ACES for the same reason. (Alejandra, 4 August 2011, Santiago)

New forms of action that replaced old patterns of occupations coalesced with a student movement that did not seem to carry ties with the past, even though students leading this mobilisation acknowledged some connections:

We occupied the Liceo de Aplicación but it was an occupation with no connections to past school occupations...I mean as it happens right now it was a social movement with no ties to the past student struggles and yet we did have some connections. Then, the Principal offered to negotiate our demands on condition that we persuaded the encapuchados⁸⁴ who were on the rooftop...when I looked up I saw ten guys fooling around; it was not the ultra⁸⁵, which had positioned encapuchados to defend the occupation with Molotov cocktails. Rather these guys were throwing balls that were on the rooftop after twenty years playing football in the playground and that was all. (Sebastián, 5 August 2011, Santiago)

Did the occupations from both the early 2000s and 2006 have some common patterns? The school occupation from the early 2000s did not delineate “a definitive account of the actions of the movement” (Chesters and Welsh, 2006:2) but “an analytical account of the process of emergence” (ibid.) of a new political actor who did not carry ties with the past, but who was engaged in prefiguring occupation as the production of a new spatiality of politics. This chapter explains this process by arguing that the initial political decision to occupy some emblematic municipal high schools in 2006 intersected with the emergence both of massive school occupations and of collective actors in the periphery that relate to the new geography of politics in the Penguins’ movement. This chapter explores the different patterns underpinning the unexpected level of nationwide diffusion of a massive number of occupied

⁸⁴ See footnote 58

⁸⁵ Ultras is a category students use to identify far-left political groups within the student movement.

schools across the whole country. It concludes that occupation in peripheral areas in the Metropolitan Region and school occupations in regions across the country unveiled the emergence of “a multiplicity of interstitial movements” (Holloway, 2010:11) within the Penguins’ movement. It argues that school occupations became the territory for the production of more egalitarian political relationships by prefiguring communities and the self, in which the capacity of the movement to produce politics beyond the here and now relies upon a collective actor that has turned its own life into political action.

Reasons why schools were occupied in 2006

The decision to occupy the emblematic municipal high schools in Santiago on 19 May 2006 resonated with the repertoire of mobilisation that students had planned in early 2006:

We have had assemblies *before* where we planned to occupy the *Instituto Nacional*, the *Liceo de Aplicación* and the... *Confederación Suiza*... any night, what day, when, we did not know but we *knew* that it would happen when mobilisations became more *agitated*... Yet this decision should be taken by every school. (Andre, 8 September 2011, Santiago)

On this basis, school occupations aimed to optimise the efficacy of political expression and mobilisations within the movement. Yet this political decision did not aim to give emblematic municipal high schools a central role. Rather occupations at these schools seemed to be framed within what had characterised the cycle of student mobilisations every year and the capacity of these schools to be connected with student mobilisations in other regions. As Andre continues to explain:

We had *contact* with other *regions* too; we knew what *was going on* there and what was going to *happen*; we were *coordinated* regarding occupations [...]. We understood that this mobilisation would be of *transcendental importance* when *regions* were mobilised too and we assigned them an *important role*. We believed that we had *accomplished* an objective when occupations took place across the whole country after two or three days of occupations in Santiago.

Students planned occupations of the emblematic municipal high schools as a tactic both for putting pressure on the government regarding the lack of response to their demands and for counterbalancing the denial of legitimacy by authorities of student

mobilisations. Heavy-handed police tactics and the increasing number of arrested students justified school occupations as a political strategy to guarantee safety of the students from riot police tactics on the basis of a discourse of victimisation. As Andre comments:

Because of police *repression*, we decided... to occupy the schools. It is because when we are on the streets they *hit* us. A discourse about *victimisation* that allowed *us* to legitimise... the occupation like poor boys, it is much safer if you stayed at *schools*.

While occupations seemed to serve a political discourse of victimisation, they also arose as a practice of “care of the self” (Besley, 2005). Such a practice intersects with self-affirmation of a generation who did not grow up within the dictatorship/democracy dichotomy. On this basis, the decision to occupy their schools aimed to counterbalance the hegemonic idea of society, regarding the denial of a validated demand for safety during demonstrations, as students from 2006 did not live the experience of the dictatorship:

After all, the violence and aggression by the police, particularly the riot police, was *quite violent*; perhaps people who lived through the dictatorship think that we are not really putting our *lives* at risk; yet we were at risk as the way in which they *treated us* was *very violent* (...). I think... it was for that *reason* as we were tired of being *hit* on the streets, being arrested for four hours and we could not do anything about it (...). We did it for that *reason*; I mean to change the focus on violence and to show we neither were *thieves* nor took the streets to *steal* and destroy what was in front of us; to show that *we were not* attacking the police but rather it was just a strategy of self-defence when you are on the streets. (Carolina, 30 September 2011, Santiago)

Here the practice of protecting the self is built upon self-affirmation both of what students lived and experienced when they took to the streets to raise their political voices and of the dichotomy of streets as safe public spaces versus unsafe spaces. This engages with a generational breakdown that raises a counter-discourse, which attempted on the one hand to legitimise social mobilisations in the post-Chilean democratic transition society and on the other to problematise the level of repression in relation to the fundamental right to protest. Occupations as a political strategy aimed to legitimise the political agency of a generation that was born in democracy to bring about a change regarding negative public opinion towards student

mobilisations. Yet occupations did not just come to express, as a repertoire, an instrumental role for the efficacy of the movement but they referred rather to new geographies of politics within the Penguins' movement.

Unfolding unpredictability in school occupations

While it is hard to isolate the emergence of the Penguins' movement from the role played by *colectivos*, the scale of the 2006 student occupations shows an unpredictable massive student participation even beyond the political role *colectivos* might have played in this process:

Pat: The student mobilisations ended up in *mayhem*. I believe it was part of a process; yet it was not deliberately built by us... we were *so inside* it that we were not able... to determine the *space* (...). But I think it was... I do not believe in supernatural phenomenon but I think it was massive enough ... it moved forward on its own. I knew that some Socialist and Communist militants... were leading some spokespersons in the movement; yet I *think* they *neither* had nor were the producers of this process. I think they just joined it.

IH: Who were the producers?

Pat: I think us, the students who participated in this...

IH: You mean *colectivos*

Pat: No... it was *beyond* the *colectivos*. I am sure about *this* because we *had never seen* such a *level* of convening power. (Pat, 9 August 2011, Santiago)

In Pat's comment, such a level of convening power refers, I would argue, to the unpredictable in terms of both increased number of school occupations and mobilised students. This relates to the emergence of a political actor that exists on the edge of the historical centralised node of high schools with a major tradition of student political activism and whose collective action was commonly associated with spontaneity:

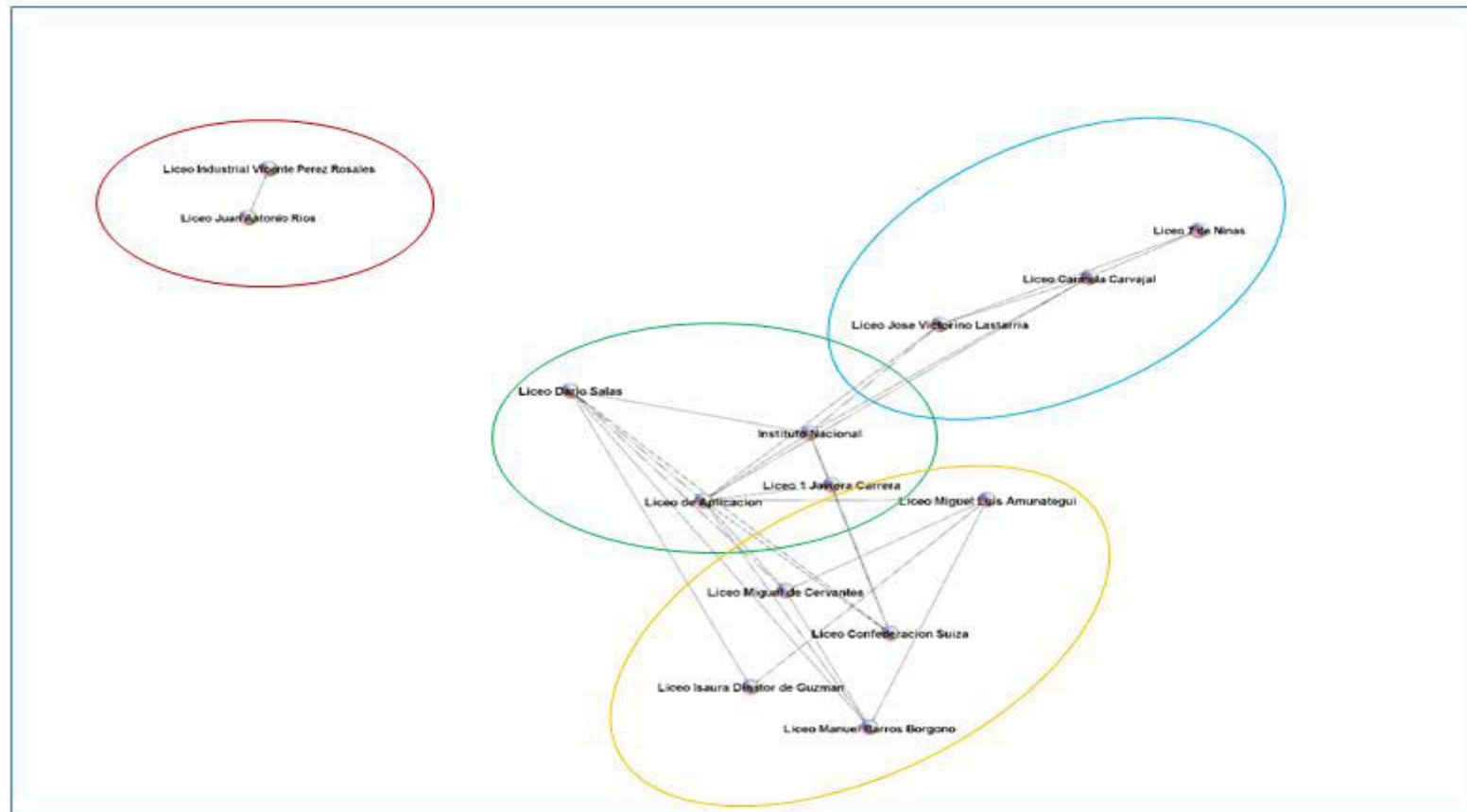
Mobilisations led by a school were always followed by an explosion of mobilised schools. At that time, *spontaneity* was the main *pattern*. We always knew that mobilisations led by the *Instituto Nacional* were followed by twenty or more schools. We, along with other schools, always *led* this process. (Andre, 8 September 2011, Santiago)

School occupations between 19 May and 23 May exhibited, as Andre's comment suggested, such a predictable pattern of mobilisation led by municipal high schools with a major tradition of student political activism in the communes of Santiago and Providencia (see Figure 8.1). At an earlier stage, two of the emblematic municipal high schools were occupied in order to put pressure directly on national authorities on 21 May 2006 when Chilean president Michelle Bachelet made a national speech at the National Congress in the city of Valparaíso. Occupations therefore activated a political strategy within the movement to call for the state to be a political ally in relation to the movement's demands.

While these two occupations are aligned with a tradition of student political activism, the capacity of mobilisation and invocation of solidarity at the emblematic municipal high schools was not based on "relatively simple rules" (Eve et al., 1997:31) of historical political leading roles, and their mediation as powerful actors to set in motion an increased number of school occupations. Rather, this tradition intersects with a pattern of locally based student mobilisations mediated by the effects of neighbouring schools. For example, school occupations at the *Instituto Nacional* and the *Liceo de Aplicación* (see Figure 8.1) were followed by occupations at a group of old municipal high schools. These schools displayed a similar historical tradition of student political activism and were located in the same commune of Santiago (see Figure 8.1). Therefore school occupations at the *Liceo Manuel Barros Borgoño*, *Liceo Miguel de Cervantes*, *Liceo Confederación Suiza*, *Liceo Miguel Luis Amunátegui* and *Liceo Isaura Dinator de Guzmán* (see Figure 8.1), along with occupations at two of the emblematic schools, followed a pattern that was as much geographical as historical. Within this historical and geographical context, the role of neighbouring schools in assembling the locally based mobilisations at this group of most politicised schools operated through networks that exhibited a geographical and demographic pattern among the emblematic schools and the oldest municipal high schools in the communes of Santiago and Providencia (see Figure 8.1). While this pattern of neighbouring schools seemed to engage in a wave effect of new school occupations located in the same geographical residential commune of Santiago and Providencia, school occupations in these communes were followed by occupations at the *Liceo Industrial Vicente Pérez Rosales* and the *Liceo Juan Antonio Ríos* (see Figure 8.1). Both these municipal high schools (each with two different strands

(humanistic-scientific and technical-vocational) were located in the commune of Quinta Normal in Greater Santiago.

Figure 8.1 School occupations in the communes of Santiago, Providencia and Quinta Normal



- Group of emblematic schools in the commune of Santiago
- Group of emblematic schools in the commune of Providencia
- Group of municipal high schools in the commune of Santiago
- Group of municipal high schools in the commune of Quinta Normal

What mediated mobilisations beyond the group of the emblematic schools? This dynamic of local diffusion could be seen as resulting from nodes and links already developed by different political coordinating of *colectivos* that existed between 2001 and 2006 (See Chapter 5). Therefore school occupations arose as a result of taking action through networking. Yet a widespread opinion on the unpredictable dynamic of 2006 school occupations assigned the media a role in spreading and facilitating the increased number of occupied schools:

Many guys who *had never* before talked about *politics* came to the Assembly because television was showing occupations as a “*boom*”.
(Carlos, 25 September 2011, Santiago)

Undoubtedly, the media played a role in facilitating the visibility of student mobilisations and this led it to become therefore “the main arena for the public expression” (della Porta and Diani, 2006:220) of the Penguins’ movement. But it had not become the main space for “opinion formation” (ibid.) nor had it replaced the role of the Assembly in instilling a more egalitarian democratic deliberation process within the movement. The reasons why students, who were in the margins of the emblematic municipal high schools, decided to occupy their schools or the potential linkages amongst occupied schools in peripheral communes related to locally based demands that articulated the emergence of a multiplicity of autonomous movements in 2006:

At the *liceo* the demand for a free student transport pass was not an issue, as many of us live and study in Quilicura. Likewise, the demand for a free entrance exam did not raise any interest among students, as the *liceo* did not prepare us for the PSU. Yet when municipalisation was included in the secondary student petition, we mobilised in Quilicura (Gutiérrez and Caviedes, 2010:95).

These movements created the conditions for the capacity of the Penguins’ movement to politically legitimise – based on the autonomy grounded in locally based demands – the demands elaborated from the centre. As a result, mobilisation of schools in the periphery of Greater Santiago and regions across the country ended up reframing the legitimisation of the historical leading role of schools in the centre, based on the capacity for mobilisation of the periphery:

I think that schools in Santiago city centre have a *deeper* political tradition [...] that allows them to *connect* to a widespread *discontent* in order to elaborate a political demand. This is something students at the emblematic schools could do *every year* because of their *political capital*. However, a *deciding* factor with other school occupations is that students *who did not elaborate* a demand decided to occupy their schools because they knew that the education they had received was worthless. This gives a much deeper legitimisation to the movement and allows students from the emblematic schools *to lead* the process. (Cesar, 6 October 2011, Santiago)

This process leads one to suggest that legitimisation of school occupations in the periphery was as important as the political capacity of these mobilised schools to show that unequal opportunities for quality education happen “in certain places” (Pickerill and Krinsky, 2012:280). This paved the way for political demands from the centre to be widely legitimised by the periphery.

The extent to which school occupations engaged with a cross-local diffusion pattern within the urban area of Greater Santiago seemed to be also invigorated by the political decision of dividing the Assembly into five different zones: northern, southern, eastern, western and centre. Later, this division also included regions outside of the Metropolitan Region. This geographical division aimed to enlarge both the capacity for cross-diffusion of the Assembly and student participation:

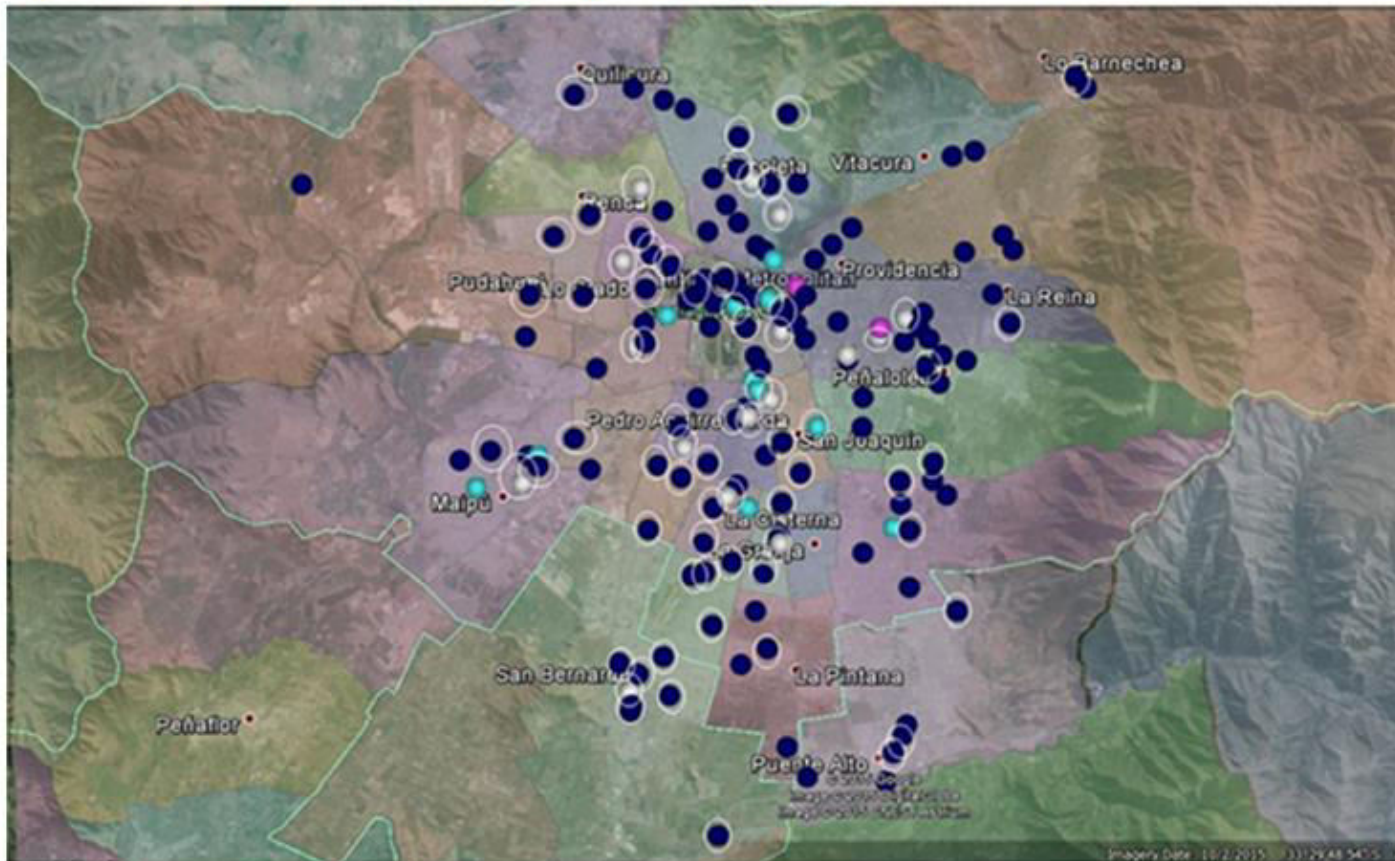
From its *origins*, division of the Assembly was a *strategic* decision rather than a *political* one. It aimed to reach *more schools* and to avoid overloading the *central* cordon. A second purpose was about facilitating the conditions for participation and *debate* with all... *sectors*. This division became later the *way to undertake* the decision-making process in the Assembly in which representatives of the different zones and the four *national spokespersons* of the Assembly led political negotiations. (Steffi, 3 September 2011, Santiago)

This entailed “important implications for the spatial strategies” (Miller, 2000:28) within the movement. For example, decentralisation of the Assembly made the conditions for distributing power to the periphery (della Porta and Diani, 2006) and enlarging its participation in the decision-making process regarding school occupations. Yet it does not just entail having more opportunities for participation but rather broadening the inclusion of other voices, which had normally been disregarded in the decision-making process within the Assembly. As Steffi continues to explain:

The assembly from the centre zone or just one assembly was always led by *three or four voices* who were almost *always* students from the *emblematic schools*. Thus they voiced an *opinion* that reflected just one reality and if a student talked about a *very* different reality to that of the emblematic schools, his opinion was disregarded. Nevertheless, it changed when the AES was divided into four territorial zones. Through division of the AES, new territorial educational unities emerged. Many more of these territorial unities shared *common* educational realities, which allowed both the demands and mobilisations of these sectors to become visible

What emerged then was a territorial decentralisation of the movement in which legitimisation of locally based demands alongside the emergence of place-based contextual educational realities led to an increased number of school occupations that were similar to the pattern of unpredictable cross-local diffusion of collective action (See Map 8.2).

Map 8.2 School occupations in urban areas of Greater Santiago



- Municipal high schools (Scientific- Humanistic)
- Private-voucher schools (Scientific- Humanistic)
- Private fee-paying schools (Scientific- Humanistic)
- Delegated Administration schools (Scientific Humanistic and Technical-Professional schools)
- Municipal high schools (Technical and Professional)
- Private-voucher schools (Technical and Professional)

This unpredictable pattern of cross-local diffusion was to be forged in and through “place-specific conditions” (Miller, 2000) of location and distance that resulted in shaping collective action amongst neighbouring schools from peripheral communes:

For example, the occupations and strikes... *they went* from their schools to help other students to *occupy* their schools without *having participated* in the discussion of the assembly... in the centre zone. It was also because the assemblies were... *always* at schools such as the *Liceo de Aplicación*, the *Instituto Nacional*, and the *Barros Borgoño*⁸⁶...that are located in Santiago. Yet there were students who were supporting... an occupation in Maipú and they did not have *time* to come to the Assembly... and debate for five hours and later on to come to their *school* and continue *debating* with their classmates. Thus, they started to *meet each other* and organise... *mobilisations*. (Steffi, 3 September 2011, Santiago)

Here territorial decisions seem to rely primarily on practical considerations relating to locality and distance as the principal drivers in spearheading locally based school occupations. Yet location also encompasses “social and economic processes” (Agnew, 1987:28) around which school occupations seemed to reveal why they take place where they do. For example, a larger number of Technical Professional (TP) schools were occupied in low-income communes (See Map 8.2 and Map 6.3). As discussed in chapter 6, geographies of exclusion intersect with a collective appropriation of space through which students – who recognised themselves as excluded from the system – build close ties, long-term friendships, and “hidden solidarities” (Spencer and Pahl, 2006):

We were a very poor school and... few of us could access privileges such as computers, internet, and all that stuff; we grew up *together* and within a sense of community. (Mauro, 14 October 2011, Santiago)

What is central in this self-recognition is how the demand for equal opportunities of quality education for all connected students from peripheral areas to political demands produced in the centre. It entailed legitimisation of their identity through a sense of autonomy within their local spaces by which students invoked solidarity across the movement. As a result, occupations that took place at both scientific-humanistic and technical-professional secondary schools across different communes in Greater Santiago (See Map 8.2) constitute a “*sense of place*” (Agnew, 1987:28

⁸⁶ The *Barros Borgoño* is a short name used by students to refer the *Liceo Manuel Barros Borgoño* located in the commune of Santiago in Greater Santiago.

emphasis in original) around which students activate and legitimise their demand for equal opportunities for quality education.

What underpins the mobilisation of private voucher schools in the same peripheral communes? It could be argued that private-voucher schools had, since the middle of the 1980s, become an identity-building place of a new emergent middle class:

I mean we belong to a *middle-class* school and there are *many* of these schools in *Chile*. This middle class *emerged* in the nineties and... schools, hospitals, and the basic services were built for this *middle class* [...]. I studied at the same school and it was a school without any interest in *politics at all*. They just taught you the curricular programmes of the Ministry of Education but they did not teach you beyond this (...). It was not like other traditional schools where people are more critical (...) but there were a *few schools, traditional* ones that have always been engaged with a history of political participation. (Marco, 10 October 2011, Santiago)

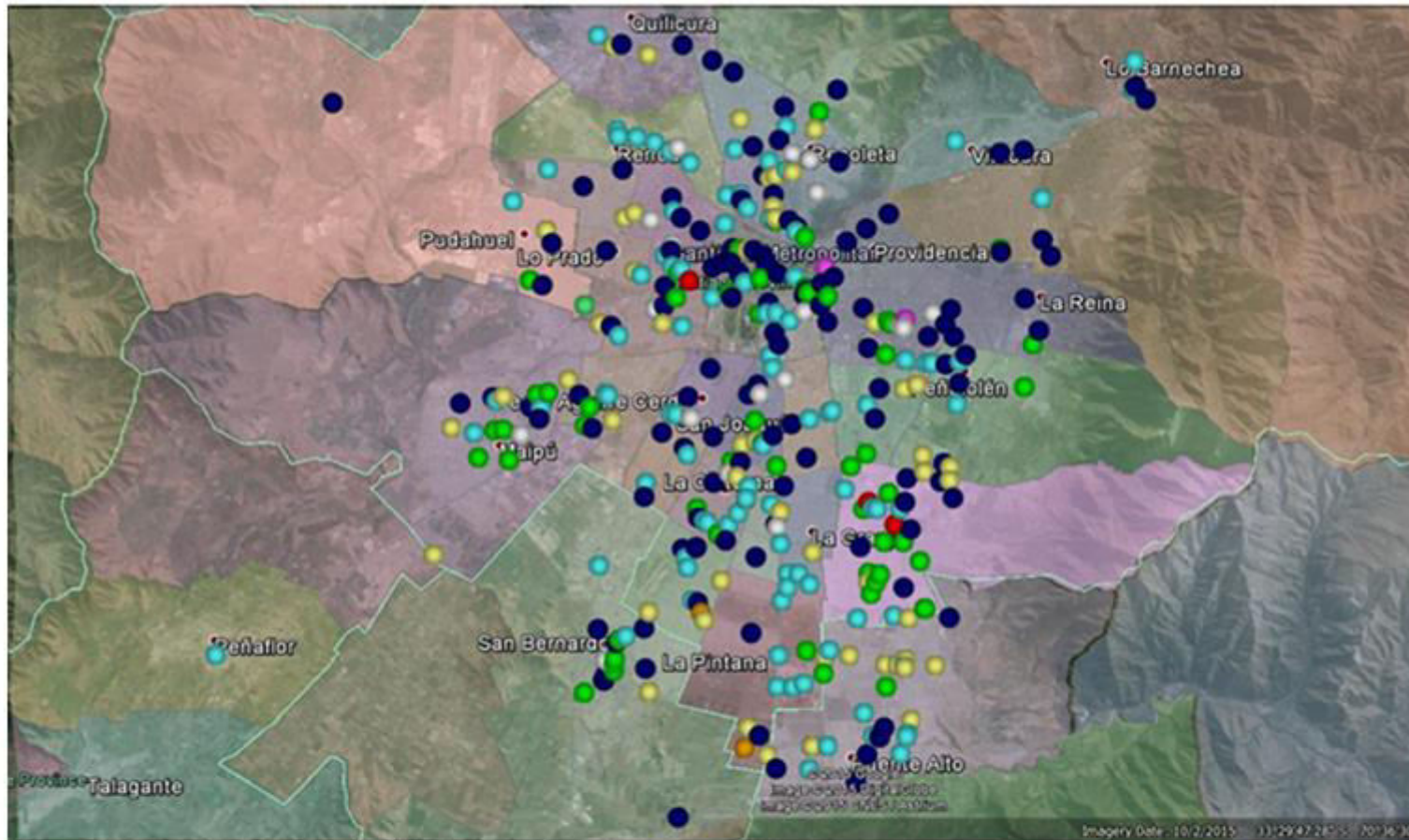
On this basis, private-voucher schools became conceived of as the site for giving meaning to a differentiated class group identity that operated as a social filter that created a distinction between groups. Education, as described in Marco's comment, became an important component of this distinction. If education is the main factor in terms of class distinction, then why did education end up invoking solidarity among different groups who occupied their schools? Diffusion of occupations among municipal, private-voucher, and even private schools could be seen as directly dependent on widespread student support for the demand for quality education for all linked to a sense of students' dissatisfaction regarding the quality of education they had received:

I think that the generation from 2006 was very concerned about facing an *uncertain future*. They studied within an education system which had promised them as a *new* thing, an education able to provide more *opportunities* and to *resolve problems* through *curricular innovation*, the JEC, but this did not happen, however. When the demand for quality education began to be debated, in particular at... the *subsidised...* schools⁸⁷ that represented the *innovative* side of the educational reform where the quality of education was *put in question* at that moment, the movement erupts. (Cesar, 6 October 2011, Santiago)

⁸⁷ "Subsidised schools" refers to private-voucher schools.

Which private-voucher schools were mobilised in 2006? Analysis in the urban areas of the Metropolitan Region shows that the neighbouring school effect is also implicated in extending occupations at private-voucher schools in some communes such as Santiago, Maipú, San Joaquín (See Map 8.2). This is a pattern that intersects with a component of class identity formation at these schools, in particular at the group of older private-voucher schools created between 1981 and 1996. This class identity seems to be “embedded within specific kinds of socio-economic practices” (Devine and Savage, 2000:194) that might explain why older free-of-charge private-voucher schools and older private-voucher schools with an average monthly tuition fee of between 10,000 and 100,000 Chilean pesos per student were occupied across different urban communes of Greater Santiago (See Map 8.3). As a result, mobilisation of private-voucher schools ended up being of crucial importance to understanding the dynamics of the Penguins’ movement as the emergence of geographically specific interstitial movements in both urban and non-urban communes of Greater Santiago and regional cities.

Map 8.3 Private-voucher school occupations in urban communes of Greater Santiago



Patterns in the nationwide diffusion of school occupations

School occupations in the regions interlocked with a nationwide diffusion of student mobilisations in 2006. Geographically, patterns of school occupations in regions are crucial to understanding on the one hand the implications they have for the Penguins' movement mobilisation, and on the other, the geographic scale of public and subsidised schools that were mobilised across the country and set in motion the emergence of interstitial autonomous movements in the regions.

It might be argued that the massiveness of the 2006 student mobilisations relied on the capacity of the Penguins' movement to mobilise beyond the Metropolitan Region:

As I told you, we had an Assembly in *January*, which included participation of some regions too. *We had considered mobilisations beyond the Metropolitan Region, this was one of our objectives, and we had planned the mobilisations across the whole country.* When I say Lota was ahead in mobilisations ... I mean it was *amazing* that it happened in *Lota*, which was the cradle of workers' unions... and social *movements*. (Andre, 8 September 2011, Santiago)

The extent to which student mobilisations in Santiago might have influenced the cycle of collective action in regional cities seemed to be mediated by either long-standing political articulation between students from Santiago and regional cities such as Valparaíso and Concepción or the political capacity of these regional cities to activate mobilisations among their neighbouring communes. Yet, as Andre commented, Lota was ahead in mobilisations. As discussed in chapter 5, mobilisation of a municipal high school, known as the *Liceo Acuático*, became a turning point within the movement for the legitimisation of its demand for quality education for all. In other words, mobilisation of this municipal high school won sympathy within the movement as the *Liceo* was a loser within the neoliberal market-driven education system. What did this entail for locally based mobilisations across the country? Firstly, student mobilisations in the city of Lota appeared to be the beginning of the interstitial autonomous movements that the 2006 student mobilisations comprised. And secondly, they became legitimised, as student mobilisations in Lota were “the political expression and mobilisation” (Norris, 2002:221) of municipal education across the country. This last point does not disregard the influence that private-voucher schools might have had in invigorating student mobilisations in regional cities. Neither is the discussion about the monopoly

that municipal schools might or might not have had on student protests. Rather, municipal school mobilisations in the regions were central for the Penguins' movement in seeking nationwide support, given that regional cities comprise the largest proportion of municipal education (see Appendix 8).

Occupations at municipal high schools set in motion a process of self-recognition of working class-based identity in which municipal high schools became nodes for a place-based identity of poor students:

We are poor and we want to study for free and without the JEC as we are human beings [...]. Municipal schools nowadays are for poor students. We are fighting for the interests of poor people not for the rich (Manuel interviewed by *La Estrella*, 12 May 2006).

The extent to which poor students sought to mobilise support across other regional cities and the Metropolitan Region might suggest that this process was about the political capacity of powerless actors to “mobilise the support of more powerful groups” (della Porta and Diani, 2006:168). However, school occupations in regional cities were about the emergence of a multiplicity of autonomous movements wherein school occupations represented “thousands of thousands of cracks” (Young and Schwartz, 2012:221) through which mobilised students prefigured an alternative post-capitalist education. The emergence of such movements does not undermine, however, the role that municipal high schools – with a long-standing political tradition – could have played in spearheading school occupations in regional cities. Solidarity seems to be at the basis of cross-local diffusion of student mobilisations across municipal, private-voucher and private fee-paying schools in regional cities. However, solidarity alone does not produce mobilisation (Miller, 2000):

Mobilisation is also affected by the prospects of success. Expectations of political efficacy foster mobilisation, while unfavourable prospects may prevent mobilisation even when solidarity is relatively strong (p.63).

Central to the pattern of cross-local diffusion of school occupations in cities and communes on the edges of the historical nodes of student political activism is that it gave rise to different geographies of mobilisation within the Penguins' movement (see Maps 5.5 and 5.6). As della Porta and Diani (2006) argue, “geographical proximity, historical interaction and structural similarities all tend to produce language and norms which facilitate direct contacts between the activists of parallel

movements” (p.187). On this basis, the neighbouring school effect seems to underpin the capacity within the movement for extending a pattern of cross-location diffusion across different regional cities. While this might be acknowledged as a common feature in reproducing a national pattern, it is occupations of both municipal and private-voucher technical-professional schools in rural areas that also mediate and set in motion the nationwide diffusion of student occupations across the country (see Maps 5.5 and 5.6). Similarly, school occupations in the regions spread through private-voucher schools that displayed similar features to the group of mobilised private-voucher schools from the Metropolitan Region. This is not to ignore the fact that private fee-paying schools were also mobilised during the 2006 school occupations. Mobilisations, in the private education sector, both strikes and occupations, interlock with an invocation of solidarity among students that recognised the demand for quality education for all as a cross-cutting issue:

How is the demand for equal opportunities seen by posh students? I came here because of my merit and it does not mean I am an exploitative person I am studying here because of my own efforts. So why wouldn't I like others to have the same? Then a split within this group happened since they certainly believed in the idea of meritocracy, I mean the good technocrat. (Sebastián, 5 August 2011, Santiago)

Since this demand was horizontally positioned as a collective demand for all and raised in terms of unequal opportunities, solidarity among students at private schools seemed to be “raised in relation to the processes generating unequal outcomes rather than to inequality per se” (Bottero, 2004:995).

To sum up, the nationwide diffusion of school occupations engaged in dynamics whereby school occupations across municipal, private-voucher and even fee-paying private schools intersected both with taking action by networking and with networking by taking action. However, nationwide diffusion of school occupations in 2006 also relied upon a massive involvement of students who had not had previous experiences of student political activism.

What does periphery mean in the Penguins' movement?

A repertoire of school occupations across the country engaged with a national diffusion of centre-periphery and periphery-centre patterns, which included school occupations in rural areas. Yet what does periphery mean within the Penguins' movement? As discussed, success in a repertoire of mobilisations has been addressed in terms of the capacity of the Penguins' movement to engage with a massive number of school occupations across the whole country. However, when evaluation of efficacy within the movement is assessed in terms of the capacity for articulating political demands from the centre towards the periphery, a different understanding emerges. It is characterised by a limited capacity from the centre to articulate deeper political work with the periphery. A principal problem that students identified was a geography of unequal development of politics between schools located in central and peripheral areas:

We started to talk about the *JEC*, the *LOCE*, and the end of municipalisation. For us it was not *unusual* given that I *came* from a school where we *talked* about these *issues*. But I would not be *honest* with you if I *told* you that at the *liceo A-7* or *A-20* they also talked about these *themes*. It is because they are high schools in which students have *never* talked in their whole student life about a *regulatory framework*, the *LOCE*, and so on. (Carolina, 30 September 2011, Santiago)

Recognition of limits is particularly important in understanding how such an uneven development of politics is forged in and through different geographies of schooling opportunities and places where politics happens. As Carolina continues to explain:

I studied at a school in Santiago city *centre*; although it was not an *emblematic* school...it was *surrounded* by emblematic schools where politics is a kind of *day-to-day* practice. Then... you have a *very* different opportunity from those students who... attended a *liceo* in *Renca* for example. It was definitely not the *same*, as one who studies here is close to a range of schools with a political tradition, with a different social and educational ethos; it is *very different*.

Politics produced at these schools claims to have a meaning of authenticity where differentiation of politics acquires such a meaning because of the place in which it is produced. However, such differentiation is inevitably "spatially and relationally" (Massey, 1999) produced by the flow and circulation of schooling opportunities surrounding other schools, as Carolina's comment exemplifies.

While strategies for initiating debate on structural demands at occupied schools resonated with the idea of flow and circulation of politics, this strategy within the movement intersected with a plurality of actors and voices expressing different understandings of structural demands. As Carolina remarks:

At some high schools, debates about the LOCE were like talking about *bread*. In other high schools, it meant asking us *what the LOCE is*. It is the reason why the famous phrase “*Solo se que no LOCE*”⁸⁸ appeared everywhere. While some schools, like *mine*, came to the assembly with demands about *food* at schools, others like the *Instituto Nacional*, the *Liceo 1* came with demands about the *LOCE* and the end of municipalisation.

Did this plurality undermine the success of occupations? For the movement, recognition of a plurality of actors and voices engaged with the possibility of invoking massiveness. However, plurality does not seem to compare with a “co-existing difference” (Massey, 1999:280). Rather, recognition of plurality relied on a political strategy within the movement for achieving massiveness while demands for food or bread, as in Carolina’s comment, seemed to be acknowledged as being “behind or backward” (ibid.) in comparison with those structural and political demands elaborated from the centre. Yet the plurality of different demands relates to “Lefebvre’s assertion that the production of space is the production of differentiated space” (Zibechi, 2012:209). Having such differentiated political spaces does not mean being opposed to the politics that were produced in the centre, but rather it is consistent with the emergence of new political subjectivities.

Consequently, evolution of the conflict during school occupations, with demands popping up everywhere as Carolina’s comment exemplifies with the famous phrase *Solo se que no LOCE*, pointed to a different process of political construction. It is about an actor who, as Cesar reflected in his interview, “has not become politicised himself through traditional politics, rather it is an actor who has followed a different way since this actor has politicised his own reality”.

New political subjectivities do not just refer to the idea of difference but rather they are about the constitution of political identities as *the bio-politics of existence* that in

⁸⁸ All I know is that I know nothing about LOCE.

Cesar's comment relates to the idea of a new political actor politicising his own reality:

The guys ended up transforming their life into political action and I think it is quite *powerful*. Furthermore, *one cannot understand this* without... taking into account that they have... an *ethical idea* about politics as your existence, as a human being, not *dissociated* from your *own practice* (...). As a whole, the guys *experience the politics* and organisation as life itself; as such, it is an idea of the *bio-politics of existence*. (Former adviser of CEREM-SEREMI Weekly Talks, 21 October 2011, Santiago)

To think of new political subjectivities as *the bio-politics of existence* entails reframing the notion of periphery not through “the closures of counter-positional boundedness” (Massey, 1999:288) as in the margins of what politics are produced and where. Rather, *the bio-politics of existence* opens up the possibility for recognising other peripheries as alternative forms of being and doing politics. It is this recognition upon which these other peripheries are located in the centre. As such, *the bio-politics of existence* engages with the production of politics not through denying grand narratives attached to historical traces of student political activism, but politics as being both relationally and spatially produced through co-existence with others.

Occupations and new democratic practices of decision-making

Strategically, school occupations became an achievement of the Penguins' movement since they sought to challenge the institutional sphere: by occupying their schools, students, for example, threatened municipalities because the municipalities stopped receiving subvention payments, which are a “per-student subsidy” (Mizala and Torche, 2012) estimated on the basis of month-to-month student attendance. But school occupations were also as strategic as they were symbolic, since students sought to change the attitude of public opinion towards student mobilisations by showing society that they wanted to continue being mobilised but in a different way. So far, the discussion on school occupations has focused on the increased number of occupied schools and how an unexpected nationwide diffusion pattern of school occupations relates to the emergence of the periphery as an autonomous collective actor. However, the capacity of the Penguins' mobilisations to be spread across the whole country does not just relate to the efficacy of organisational structure and strategies within the Penguins' movement. Rather, school occupations became

central for the capacity of collective action within the movement because they represented the production of new spatialities of politics.

As in the early 2000s, the Penguins' movement turned the meaning of occupations on its head. While occupation at the *Liceo de Aplicación* sought to challenge forms of occupation that had been adopted within the secondary student movement by seeking to reframe the occupation as a form of social protest, occupations in 2006 were owned by students as they reframed this repertoire of mobilisation by placing occupations in the sphere of the democratic decision-making process:

Well the occupation at our school was very *interesting* as it was *voted* by students; someone could say why have a vote for an *occupation* as this means you are announcing that you will occupy the school while one should not announce the occupation beforehand. Well, the occupation was voted and this *marked* a shift as it meant you could go ahead with a more radical mobilisation without *imposing* one's will on *others*. Rather, it arises out of consensus. This allowed us to be *better positioned* in front of media and public opinion as we occupied our school (...) and it was *democratically voted* by a majority of students. (Manuel, 23 September 2011, Santiago)

This democratic vote entails reframing occupations as not just simply sit-ins but as the spaces for building a politics of self-affirmation where a democratically voted occupation relates to the production of a new spatiality of politics. The reason why students voted for the occupation was, as Manuel's comment makes clear, not just as an instrument for efficacy in changing public opinion. Rather, a democratic vote intersects with the claim for recognition of a generation that either carried no ties with past forms of political action within the secondary student movement or began to be detached from the old patterns that had characterised the political resistance on the left during Pinochet's dictatorship:

At that time we still maintained some traditions... from the left... during the *dictatorship*... like being and acting clandestinely; *it was more common* in 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004... we were *very clandestine about everything*...yet in 2006, *we broke with this*; I mean we *went on to the streets with our bare hands and unveiled faces*; it was very *interesting too*. (Andre, 8 September 2011, Santiago)

It might be argued that this politics of self-affirmation represents the sphere of a new spatiality as "the strengthening of the self, which originates from collective action" (della Porta and Diani, 2006:91). Yet politics does not exist without location

(Critchley, 2013) in particular, without schools where the politics of high school students takes place. For some schools this might come to mean claiming to be the places for the politics of exclusiveness and belonging (Massey, 2004), rooted in historical trajectories of student political activism. As Andre continues to explain:

The politics was very diverse at the *Instituto Nacional*. It is quite *interesting* because you could participate *in whatever* it was because it was an *open space*. Well, you know it was also the argument that the *Instituto Nacional* attempts to maintain; they said if the *Instituto* wants to *educate* future *deputies, judges of the Supreme Court...* it must make room for student participation.

While politics at the *Instituto Nacional* might be understood as “a claim to a place” (Massey, 2007:216, emphasis in original) for producing politics in a more open way, it also becomes a site populated with politics as “spatial strategies of disruption” (Pickerill and Krinsky, 2012). For example, students occupied different existing spaces for student participation in order to talk about and explain the reasons why they wanted to occupy the school:

A group *led* this process and... I was part of this group too (...); well we decided to *introduce* discussions about *mobilisations* within CODECUS⁸⁹ (...).*Here* the leadership of some students was essential to talk about the occupation with *well-developed* ideas and political arguments that students accepted very *euphorically*. (Manuel, 23 September 2011, Santiago)

Students leading this process understood the need to create and reinforce both internal solidarity and alliances where the specific strategic action was about democratising, through the inclusion of the majority, the public debate and decision-making process regarding occupation. While inclusion of the majority is about plurality, democratisation of this process becomes a strategy in itself to challenge and contest existing governmentalities. As Manuel continues to explain:

At that time, it was difficult to *convince* students about the occupation (...) in some ways we *broke a barrier*; I mean the *fear* of being mobilised; the *fear of being repressed* because you mobilised; the *fear of being expelled* from the college if you participated in the occupation. We...were *breaking* with all this stuff as it was not *easy* to convince *presidents* of all classes to...vote for *an occupation*.

⁸⁹ See Footnote 49

This new spatiality of politics was about transforming the power-geometry of “meanings and symbolisms which people attach to places” (Massey, 1994:118). This was what remained as a common pattern of occupations at different schools despite different conditions for the democratic decision-making process. An interesting example was the occupation at the *Liceo Carmela Carvajal de Prat* in the commune of Providencia from Greater Santiago. In contrast to what characterised participation at the *Instituto Nacional*, the former was characterised by a very repressive climate:

I did not like that school. I had a very bad time there because (...) I had horrible moments as it was a very *repressive* school and I have always been very *critical* (...). It was quite *complicated* for me because I came from a *leftist* family so it seemed to me that all my *common* sense was... repressed (...); the statute at the school did not allow you to make political propaganda. It was in *the statute*. It was a very repressive school. (Pat, 9 August 2011, Santiago)

Although there was a lack of institutional commitment for widening, extending and guaranteeing a more democratic ethos, student political activism and grassroots student political organisations were, as Pat acknowledged throughout her interview, very strong at this emblematic school. As Pat continues to explain:

P: I mean there were at least three political *colectivos* at the school. And it is a very *uncommon* thing in a school. In fact when I came to the *University* people asked *what's going on at your school?* But the existence of these *colectivos* seemed to me quite *normal* (...).

IH: What *colectivos* existed at the school in 2006?

P: The *Jota*, I mean the Communist Youth... the *CRAC* the *Colectivo Revolucionario de Alumnas Conscientes*⁹⁰ and the *CEAS, Colectivo de Estudiantes en Acción Subversiva*⁹¹.

The development of grassroots student organisations such as *colectivos* and the production of politics relate to “occupy[ing] spaces that were previously denied to them” (Cornwall, 2004:77) through which students politicised their schooling experience. These *colectivos* seem to resemble a “homeplace” (hooks, 1991), a space “where one could resist” (p.42).

⁹⁰ Collective of Revolutionary Conscious Students

⁹¹ Collective of Students in Subversive Action

The extent to which such a level of grassroots student organisations and politics seemed to be quite uncommon at this girls' emblematic municipal high school intersects with gender. Then the contrast between the level of student political activism at the *Liceo* and the label of "an uncommon thing", as referred to in Pat's comment, resonates with the widespread idea that higher levels of political activism are commonly produced and set up at boys' municipal high schools, such as the *Instituto Nacional*. Therefore the production of politics as "*the appropriation of the spatial*" (Price-Chalita, 1994:239, emphasis in original), intersects with the production of "radical possibility" (hooks, 1990) for challenging this generalised idea. Likewise, it engages with spatiality of politics of gender equality where the production of politics at grassroots level is detached from differentiated gender positions within the map of the power-geometry of the production of politics. As Pat highlights, producing such a level of politics was quite common for girls at the school.

The occupation at the *Liceo* was led by some of these political *colectivos*. As Pat explains:

Well we planned the occupation between two *colectivos* and typical students who did not belong to any *colectivo* but who were super *activists* at the school; we... *met* to organise the occupation (...); we thought we would *resist* and we even imagined something like a *war* (...). We were quite *afraid* of this; we wanted to occupy the school but we did not know how to do it.

Political decisions about occupation aimed to reinforce internal solidarity and alliances based on the existing linkages between students involved in the occupation and some school staff by privileging a peaceful occupation. Students undertook a democratic consultation at the CODECUS assembly and while it displayed a similarity with what other students did by legitimising occupation through a democratic process of voting, for students at the *Liceo* it represented the sphere of self-political affirmation, as a space of resistance against a repressive and authoritarian school environment. As Pat continues:

The occupation was approved *unanimously* by all presidents at the CODECUS assembly. I mean delegates voted on this with the Vice-Principal in the meeting as you were not allowed to do it alone. It happened in this way, all students voted by showing their hand and saying they were in favour of the occupation. We did this with the Vice in our meetings that is, *zero* level of autonomy and we always ran the risk of

being expelled from the *school* as one could be accused of doing political propaganda.

The key point, whether the school ethos was oppressive or more democratic, is that self-affirmation ended up challenging what governs the practice of freedom (Foucault, 1997). Hence, direct democracy reveals itself as the pattern for the emergence of self-affirmation, and occupations ended up becoming the place in which such practices of freedom were rooted.

To occupy education

On 30 September 2011, Carolina reflected on reasons why students decided to occupy their schools in 2006:

A group of high schools put forward the idea of *occupations*. Yet 50% of students were *against* this idea as they believed it was a more *radical* mobilisation while the *other* 50% were in *favour*. They argued that occupations were neither a *radical action* nor *drastic* but rather a *coherent* idea. It is because for many of us the school *has* to be our *space* where one could *think, create and do*. It is not about sitting down and listening to a *good or bad* teacher and receiving information. So, it seemed to us a *very good* idea to *occupy our house*; the school became like your *house* during the occupation

Occupations become a key factor in taking control of education through reframing the school as the place of new spatialities of schooling experience where mobilised schools produced “its own space” (Lefebvre, 1991:31). The latter might be epistemologically coherent with the idea that schools become, as Zibechi (2012) argues, “a key location in the battle between the community and the state, and so the battle takes on a territorial character” (p.28). Yet the terms territoriality and territory have been dissonant with human geography since the 1980s, because of their conceptualisation as a “*bounded* and in some respect *homogeneous* portion of geographical space” (Painter, 2010:1091, emphasis in original). A different understanding, however, represents territory “as a bounded portion of relational space” (dell’Agnese, 2013:116). As such, occupations primarily aimed to occupy schools as territory, as “a physical space that is at stake, and that is fought over” (p.118), as in Carolina’s comment when she refers to the idea of occupying schools because they understood school as their house.

It has been within this particular physical space where students, as subjects, either “recognise themselves or lose themselves, a space which they may both enjoy and modify” (Lefebvre, 1991:35). It is what spatiality came to mean at some school occupations:

The funniest thing during the occupation was... that we could do whatever we wanted to do at school because the school was *ours* (...). Because of the *level of repression* at the school *all of us wanted to do many things, we wanted to be in those places we were not allowed to be*, for example, at the school offices, *everyone wanted to be on the roof, walking on the roof*. I remember how a girl who was very skinny broke *a small window* and she went through this hole into the offices and opened the door. (Pat, 9 August 2011, Santiago)

Spatiality in Pat’s comment is about modifying the relationship between a subject and education space that implies, as Lefebvre (1991) argues, transforming “his relationship to his own body” (p.40). In this perspective, occupation is about occupying education by challenging what has been socially imposed as education space that is, “prohibition [...] the dislocation of their most immediate relationship” (p.35). To walk on the roof and to be in the school offices constitute themselves as forms of political action to reconstruct education and challenge the power relations through which it is produced.

If occupations are engaged in the production of new education spaces then this relates to the production of both new social ties and “the sphere of the possibility of the existence of multiplicity” (Massey, 1999:279) since multiplicity does not exist without space nor space without multiplicity (Massey, 1999). Education becomes, during school occupations, the sphere of possibilities for encountering points of different biographies. It is upon such a condition that students reframe their own political participation as being with others. To be precise, if occupations in 2006 entailed building new social relationships, then this meant that students needed to examine the mentalities that governed them. The following passage, taken from an interview with students at an occupied school in the southern zone of Greater Santiago in 2006, shows the possibilities opened up by occupations for making spaces to examine students’ own mentalities of governing, as there is no possibility for transformation without recognising what governs us:

The relationship has been developing among all the students from the double shift schooling get it? It was a problem before as we did not like each other, get it? The relationships were not good between those who attended the morning and evening half-day shift classes. *Now the guys have been getting on very well...they are like children playing football and skipping with the rope (...)* get it? Things that *I thought would not happen*. Honestly, I was not interested in being involved in the occupation because I thought it would end up provoking internal conflicts between the students. Yet the experience of spending the time together *has been excellent...* the same, thinking like in the future, after this, get it? Getting back to the school for those who have been here, sacrificing ourselves for the movement is not going to be the same again. I believe that we have all developed affection towards the school. Although we hate it when we are in class, now it is our home... now ... school will really be our second home... now yes, it will be a different story.⁹²

Students questioned their mentalities of governing by building spaces populated with a commitment to the process of “instantiating friendship, exercising sociability, or consolidating a sense of community, purpose, and cooperation [...]” (Alkire, 2002:131). On this basis, it might be argued that what this student reflected on resonates with the idea of new forms of building social relationships in which students changed the way they related to each other. As Critchley (2013) argues, “there is no politics without location” and the new spatiality this student referred to came about through and was produced during school occupations. As such, what students re-invented and re-imagined in the political and social spheres happened at schools. Occupations did come to mean more than a massive protest of school sit-ins as they ended up developing into a re-appropriation of schooling experience as a differently produced social-spatial positionality of those who were involved and committed to the movement. Therefore, it was about re-appropriating education by breaking down those “constitutive relations” (Staehele, 2003) governing the spatiality of schooling experience before occupations.

Prefiguring community and new political meanings

Students who were involved in the occupations defined themselves as autonomous communities. A common sense understanding might attach the idea of autonomous occupation to a “bounded space” (Elden, 2010:13) characterised by fences built up by students to block the entrance of occupied schools with chairs and tables. As

⁹² Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZvyHZYBdzOM>

above discussed, the notion of school occupations as a territory might resemble the idea that what is at stake is the sense of occupying and claiming our school as our house. However, autonomy intersects with the idea of prefiguring communities, forged in and through new horizontal relationships, “rooted in the practice of democratic decision-making process” (Sitrin, 2011:8):

In the *occupation* we worked with *horizontal* dynamics (...). The occupation worked with a *completely* horizontal structure... we had assemblies that lasted until 5 o'clock in the morning where we analysed the *LOCE* and the *Constitution*... It was a very *interesting* moment. Nowadays, one reflects about this and says: never before was there so much *will* to do something that perhaps *did not finish* as we would wish. But I think we had a kind of *existential commitment* to the movement. I mean our school was like an *autonomous* community. Well... the idea... we had the typical commissions: kitchen, security... and so on... everyone should participate in the assembly. (Pat, 9 August 2011, Santiago)

In this way, the commissions became the horizontal structures through which mobilised students organised different responsibilities and tasks. Different commissions became the space for prefiguring both communities and a new meaning of politics. Within occupations, the existence of committees came to mean “alternative living arrangements” (Yates, 2015a:2), that entail prefiguring “egalitarianism in domestic work” (Yates, 2015b: 238.). This last point does not mean, however, that domestic work was just a space in which gender equality in politics was possible. Nor does it mean that domestic work was framed within a “gendered construction of public space” (Hanson Thiem, 2007:20) in which “it is often the characteristics of places – the physical and social characteristics and meanings – that deny or limit access to certain types of people [...] and thereby limit or constrain the public” (Staeheli, 2003:116). Rather, egalitarian political relationships reframed the meaning of those places through committees that resulted in paving the way for gender equality in politics.

As they were rooted and produced as politics of everyday practices, a political geography of egalitarianism is therefore produced through *the bio-politics of existence* that in Pat’s comment is equated with an existential commitment and the construction of new political identities “based on the reconfiguration of previous ones” (Zibechi, 2012:28). As Pat continues to explain:

P: The occupation was *marvellous*. It has been one of the experiences that helped me a lot; it has strengthened my development...

IH: Political?

P: I would say it was not political as I believe it did not represent a political moment in my life. Rather it was a very *internal* moment; it was a *turning point* I could say. I used to work in the *colectivo* on the *basis* that we could not change anything. Yet during the occupation I ended up full of *hope*; it was not an *individual* process but a very important *collective* one.

Newly produced meanings of politics are prefigured as a sense of conscious transformation of the self, which is a reconfiguration of older political practices. Could a very internal moment, as described in Pat's comment, be a condition for mobilisation? While it would be feasible to argue that what happens within the internal sphere resembles the idea that life itself becomes a political action, the capacity for mobilisation, rooted in what is prefigured in everyday practices, is mutually constitutive of mobilisation. Melucci (1996) argues:

The molecular change brought about by the hidden structure should not be seen as a "private" and residual fact, but a condition for possible mobilisation (p.116).

To re-envision the self through collective action poses the question of how prefiguration of the collective as "an ever-present potential of social interaction of here and now" (Gordon, 2005) could be re-appropriated within the movement as a learning process of becoming a collective. This question turns attention to *the bio-politics of existence* as both the genuine location from which politics could be engaged with the collective and a space which is above all "a product of relations" (Massey, 2005:11):

One could... do *things* I do not know how to explain this but... I learnt that the *political* work *bears fruit* and one is able to influence...one is able to make *oneself* through *political* reflection and to *invite others* to participate in this process and this means that we are *united* by the desire to do something, we are part of a *process*. The *occupation* meant that we were no longer *alone*. (Pat, 9 August 2011, Santiago)

Pat's comment exemplifies the capacity of politics in the Penguins' movement to prefigure what Gordon (2005) recognises as a "present-tense politics" forged in and through "an ongoing process" with others. Was a present-tense politics able to travel beyond the fences of chairs and tables that protected occupied schools? This

question draws attention to the periods of latency (Melucci, 1989) in which the Penguins' movement continued to carry on new forms of politics, as a process of expressing a collective identity that allowed high school students from 2006 to articulate their collective action during the massive 2011 student demonstrations. This is further explored in Chapter 9.

Occupations and their instrumental function: tensions

In 2011, Andre reflected on what school occupations engendered within the Penguins' movement:

The *organisation* had achieved...a different level (...). I remember one night during the occupation we received a call from an occupied school in the commune of San Bernardo. They were *upset* as no one had come there to give them *answers* on a very specific issue; they felt ignored by the Assembly. Well we went to this school at three o'clock in the morning; it was in a very poor... shantytown with problems related to *drug trafficking*. Students were *waiting* for us *demanding* an answer from us. They were very organised through different committees. Yet what most drew my attention was how they listened to us. Normally in a *classroom* in schools like that a teacher could not *manage* to have a *quiet class*, but we achieved this at that very moment. They listened to us *quietly* and in an *orderly way*...it made me ask myself what that was? And what was going on at that moment. For me it was about understanding that we could do things. (Andre, 8 September 2011, Santiago)

Occupations, then, set in motion a very different level of organisation in which, as in Andre's comment, this represented an unexpected pattern of mobilisation different from the historical role taken by schools in central areas of Greater Santiago. As discussed above, the increased number of school occupations in the regions and peripheral areas from Greater Santiago revealed that the capacity of mobilisation in 2006 was not directly influenced by the historical political role of the emblematic municipal high schools. It rather relied on the emergence of a new political actor that had not even been visible on the map of the power-geometry of politics within the secondary student movement. While their recognition was indeed crucial for contributing to the legitimisation of the demands produced from the centre, the very fact of being included on the map of politics within the secondary student movement aimed to influence the course of political decisions to be implemented by the

Assembly. From this point of view, occupations turned into a political advantage for the militancy of some spokespersons:

I remember... seeing how two spokespersons, who were militants in the Communist and Socialist Youth respectively, attempted to call off *occupations* at every school before... the assembly took the decision of *calling off* school occupations. (Steffi, 3 September 2011, Santiago)

As an instrumental political decision, the how and why of calling off school occupations intersected on the one hand with different political demands that “try to maximise changes of success among those capable of granting goals” (Lipsky, 1965:163) and on the other with demands that related to a more autonomous movement. Movements, as Rochon (1988) argues, are inescapably imbued with “not entirely compatible demands” (p.109). Yet autonomy within the movement ended up being constrained because the political decision to call off school occupations and “take a break” (Max, *La Revolución de los Pingüinos*, 2008) would appear to be linked to both interest groups within the Assembly and awareness by students about the movement’s “internal times” (Zibechi, 2012). This does not mean assuming that this political decision ended up favouring the movement’s success in achieving some demands.

The idea of internal times raises the question of what the limits of occupations are, since as a repertoire of mobilisations they also seem to be “finite, constrained in both time and space” (della Porta and Diani, 2006:181):

As we were in *occupations* for a long time it was *time-consuming* for the movement, and there were high levels of *tiredness* among many *occupied schools* that were led by only a very few students. (Steffi, 3 September 2011, Santiago)

Thus, occupations seemed to display a pattern that in its early stages relied on peaks with massive number of students being and supporting school occupations and wound down in terms of the number of students holding school occupations. Within the Penguins’ movement this form of protest is imbued with very different meanings because of the multiplicity of actors involved in the movement. For some students, the decision to call off their school occupations expressed itself as a symbolic protest upon which they articulated its instrumental function:

When we decided to *call off the occupation* because of the decision of the *movement*, we did it through a *peaceful and artistic act*. We played music and made a circle around a *bonfire* where we burnt the *Constitution...* and the *LOCE...* and everyone just went back home. (Pat, 9 August 2011, Santiago)

This instrumental function was also conceived and practiced as a strategy of students to “gain visibility, to make themselves present” (Zibechi, 2012:79) in order to reassert both “the spatial dimensions of exclusion and inequality” (Pickerill and Krinsky, 2012:280) in education and recognition that exclusion and inequality happen “in certain places, and that places can be named, located and objected to” (ibid.). Yet occupations as a repertoire within the movement were also constrained by the weight of leftist historical identities that ascribed occupations with a meaning of being valuable *per se* without linking their instrumental function to political transformations “out there”.

These different understandings are part of what multiple trajectories, with their own internal times, come to mean in the Penguins’ movement. School occupations became “the sphere of meeting up (or not) of multiple trajectories, the sphere where they co-exist, affect each other, maybe come into conflict” (Massey, 1999:283). Therefore discussion on occupations and their instrumental function in being successful (or not) is shifted from a finite and constrained capacity in time-space to recognition that they represented the learning experience through which the meaning of collective was reframed. As such, school occupations exist, as a learning experience, on a variety of levels and timescales. This condition underpinned the collective identity of actors who integrated past and present elements to continue being mobilised during the 2011 student demonstrations.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed school occupations in 2006 as a form of collective action that displayed the production of new geographies of politics within the Penguins’ movement. By exploring patterns of local and national cross-diffusion of school occupations this chapter has sought to explain that the massive number of school occupations in 2006 revealed that the Penguins’ movement entailed the emergence of a “multiplicity of interstitial movements” (Holloway, 2010:11). Student mobilisations in both Greater Santiago and regional cities revealed the emergence of a new

political actor on the map of the power-geometry of politics within the student movement. When looking at the particular within school occupations it is feasible to conclude that they became the place for producing a new spatiality of politics as *the bio-politics of existence*, rooted in prefiguring a new sense of community and reframing the self through the collective. In the following chapter, the process of collective identity of the Penguins' movement in the context of the 2011 student demonstrations is explored.

Chapter 9

Unfolding the collective identity of the Penguins' movement

In August 2011, Beto, a university student from a private university, reflected on what the Penguins' movement engendered:

In 2006, many people gathered in the movement even though *they did not understand* very well the demands. It meant that many of them became interested in knowing more about these demands and *meeting other people* with whom we shared some common points, although... not all of us thought the same, but the idea was *fighting* for these...common points. It is because these are things about common sense (...). Look, we were in our first year of secondary education in 2006 and *now we continue struggling* for the same things, breathing... *tons of tear gas* and even exposing ourselves to the risk of being detained and being *treated as delinquents*. (Beto, 19 August 2011, Santiago)

A central question within NSMs relates to the capacity of a group of social actors to become a collective and therefore to produce collective identity. In Beto's comment, collective and individual experience in the Penguins' movement interlocks through co-existence of difference and with broadening student participation and with democratising the learning process relating to the students' demands. These dimensions are constitutive of collective action upon which mobilised students from 2006 produced collective identity which enabled them to engage their political capacity for continuity through "cognitive definitions, networks of active relationships and emotional investment" (Melucci, 1996:71). This process of collective identity allowed them to affirm – as students interviewed in 2011 stated – that the 2011 student mobilisations would not have been possible without the Penguins' movement. This chapter examines the collective identity of the Penguins' movement by exploring how activists from 2006 recognised themselves in the mass student demonstrations in 2011. Firstly, it analyses the capacity for political action of collective actors from 2006 by arguing that the idea that the Penguins' movement failed is framed within a "revolutionary approach" (Melucci, 1996). Such an approach limited the political capacity of the Penguins' movement to a temporal dimension by disregarding the co-existence of a multiplicity of trajectories within the Penguins' movement. It sought to relocate the discussion of political capacity within this multiplicity by explaining that it represents a "spatial fracturing" (Zibechi, 2012) within

the Penguins' movement, since this movement represented the emergence of grassroots students who were invisible on the map of politics. Here the attention is on a generation who, despite not being deeply politicised, ended up transforming the political map in 2006 and became the real producers of the Penguins' movement. Then I focus on analysing the processes and forms of learning resulting from the 'mistake' in which the 2006 student mobilisations were seen to have culminated. This relates to the process of collective identity as the ability of this collective actor to autonomously integrate its former experience in the Penguins' movement into its political capacity during the 2011 student mobilisations. It led to the production of new territorialities that entailed reframing identities of collective actors from 2006 in a relational dimension to society, and territorialised the conflict on education in 2011 as not being framed within a binary relationship of inside-outside, but rather as being articulated through convergence spaces. In the last section, analysis focuses on the process of building the political demand for free public quality education for all that students raised in 2011. Discussion on the process of how this demand interlocks on the one hand with "politics of agonism" (Mouffe, 1995), and on the other with the political capacity of the movement to reframe its relational dimension to the political system. The dynamics of social mobilisation in 2011 allowed mobilised students to reimagine the political demand for free public quality education in spatial rather than temporal terms. As such, the student movement ended up being detached from the idea of failure as it was socially constituted with others through processes in which spatiality of politics within the movement was always recognised as a process of becoming (Massey, 1999).

Re-locating discussion of the failure of political capacity in the Penguins' movement

In early June 2006, Carlos, a former spokesperson of the Student Assembly, spoke with the press to explain that not only were they mobilised to call for economic demands but also they linked their mobilisations to produce a policy reform relating to demands that entailed a radical overhaul of the Chilean education system. They called for a national strike of secondary students on 5 June 2006 alongside the efforts to continue working, as he emphasised, on specific proposals regarding derogation of the LOCE, the end of municipalisation and reform of the JEC. Students

expressed their political decision to continue negotiations with the government while they anticipated the continuity of their mobilisations as they had done before and as students will continue doing in the future. Students called off the occupations on 9 June 2006, explaining that they had decided to continue being mobilised in a different way and to agree that they would participate in the Presidential Advisory Council on Quality of Education (see Chapter 5). In August 2009, the government of Michelle Bachelet replaced the LOCE by passing the *Ley General de Educación* (General Law on Education [LGE]). However, while the LGE was presented as an educational policy reform derived from a major national agreement between the *Concertación* and the right-wing political opposition, it ended up being recognised as a betrayal of the Penguins' movement since the LGE did not meet the demands that students had raised in 2006 nor did it ban profit-making in education. Did this represent a failure for the Penguins' movement?

A common understanding of the political capacity of social movements relates to how successful or not collective actors are in negotiating with the political system. It is frequently regarded as a "revolutionary approach" (Melucci, 1996) through which the political capacity of SMs is gauged in their ability "to modernize institutions or to produce political reform" (p.2). It is through this approach that the idea of failure of the Penguins' movement has been commonly framed. Thus the political capacity of student's mobilisations from 2006 is understood as a lack of experience regarding, on the one hand, how to move on the terrain of political negotiation and, on the other, how to lead political negotiations with some level of "*competence* and *performance*" (Lefebvre, 1991:33, emphasis in original) to implement policies that met the students' demands. On this basis, lack of experience in the Penguins' movement interlocks with a historical contingency:

There was *no experience of negotiation in former democratic periods*. The *traditional* student movement was *neither* like the ACES *nor* like us. The former secondary students, who *had existed* in democracy, were the representation... of political parties with *massive* participation during the government of *Unidad Popular* and without massiveness *throughout the 1990s*. (Cesar, 6 October 2011, Santiago)

In addition, lack of experience could not be detached from recognition that the secondary student movement is continuously being redefined because of short transitions to which it is exposed. Hence, the more the movement is exposed to

continuous renovation, the more difficulties student movements face in persisting across time and transmitting former experiences to produce “spatial practice” (Lefebvre, 1991) of politics and some degree of continuity. Thus the time-space of politics is framed within short-term transitions that force student movements to negotiate. As Cesar continues to explain:

I think the student movements... are *inherently dependent* on external limits within which they could grow. I mean, they could develop within *the period of a single academic year*. They are movements with *continuous cyclical renovation*. *This means* that ... they are *forced to negotiate*.

Discussion should be located in the effective capacity of social movements to transmit some sort of legacy, for example student organisations, to the following generations. However, “links postulated by social actors with certain historical experiences and with certain groups, appear, in fact, always to be contingent” (della Porta and Diani, 2006:92). Consequently, the capacity of the student movement to hold political negotiations will always be led by different actors rooted in very different historical and political contexts.

Yet a counter-argument could recognise that the multiplicity of political subjectivities within the Assembly in 2006 led to the production of spatiality of politics of co-existence and paved the way for expanding experience of political negotiation within the Penguins’ movement. A further element of this is that this learning experience of political negotiation through difference was not limited to internal deliberative processes in the Assembly but was also forged in and through a relational dimension of the movement through negotiations with the political system. Yet negotiations among these different political groups seemed to be, however, a long way from consensus. In the context in which the multiplicity of political imaginaries and forms of political action forged a differentiated process of political construction to those to be found in traditional politics, “plurality of actors makes it more difficult to attribute success or failure to one particular strategy” (p. 228).

While engagements with experiences of political negotiations were something forged both ‘in here’ and ‘out there’ (Motta, 2012:88), the factors that did or did not lie at the core of the reasons for involvement in political negotiations are revealed as differentiated within the Penguins’ movement. Did this lead to different conflicts within this movement? Certainly, the conflict was about education; yet differentiation refers

to how the conflict was understood and framed by different political groups in 2006. The reasons could come from very different angles and they intersect with what grounded spatiality of these different political subjectivities, their strategies and political action within the movement. A distinction therefore arises between traditional political groups, who were in favour of resolving student conflict via political negotiation in parliament, and left-wing *colectivos* and other students, who rejected negotiation with the political system:

C: We were not interested in the Presidential Advisory Council (...) what we wanted... or what the guys who *were* in the Council, I mean the Communist... and *some left wing sectors*, was... without any doubt to decide in *the parliament*

IH: And?

C: But we think it was also... a *mistake*

IH: What did you want?

C: We were not interested in building deep reforms... in the *education system*

IH: What were you most interested in?

C: We were interested in building *more student organisations* as... within a *neoliberal state* you are neither going to have an education... in a *welfare state* nor in a socialist state even though some guys believed in that possibility. (Carlos, 25 September 2011, Santiago)

The political commitment to build and strengthen organisations by students in the margins of traditional political groups captures some key aspects regarding their rejection of political negotiation with the system and what this came to mean in 2006. Firstly, this intersects with political affirmation of a left-wing political identity bound up with a narrative against inclusion and inherently detached from other narratives on the left that pursue breaking down the exclusion. As Carlos continues to explain:

Many social organisations that have been involved in social conflicts... in Chile are not looking *to be included in the system*, get it? Here the guy from electioneering left... talks against the exclusion; yet many social organisations *on the left* are not interested in being... included. Rather they work upon... the idea of *transforming these ways of life*, get it? It is because capitalism is not just... *economic* but rather it is also *cultural* and as such, it produces... *forms of life* that sustain the model itself.

And secondly, the rejection of political negotiation came to affirm differentiation of these political actors along with others that existed within the system but were against it. Here the Assembly became the space for affirming these political identities as well as forms of political action through which they aimed to transform from within the system the forms of life to which Carlos refers. As Carlos also remarks:

Upon this, we impressed... a style, get it? I mean these ways of organisation; the values and other things...for us, it was the possibility of producing a different organisation, get it? I mean the idea... on the left to build socialism in our time.

As discussed, left-wing groups in the margins of the traditional parties of the left rejected negotiation with the political system as they argued that there was no possibility of radical transformations in education within neoliberalism. While building socialism is an important political demand in the secondary student movement, a different understanding could place this demand as a strategy within these left-wing groups for influencing the flow and movement of the power-geometry of politics to their own political advantage. They thereby became locally specific in their political action without being able to install this demand as a cross-cutting issue within the movement.

Other students expressed rejection of political negotiation, raising doubts in relation to the Presidential Advisory Council on Quality of Education as an “invited space” (Cornwall, 2002) truly committed to widening social participation. While doubts raised by these political actors became an important component of their self-affirmation within the system, their rejection of participation in this institutional invited space relates to the conditions offered for political negotiation and to the possibilities (or not) of creating either a space for true social participation from within or a space for political co-option within the movement. In other words, it is not about rejecting political negotiation *per se* but the possibility of modifying the boundaries of participation within the institutional invited arenas by transforming political negotiations into a process of widening and deepening from within the democratic debate on education.

Plurality of political actors within the Penguins’ movement is also an important factor in the analysis of the capacity of political calculation with regard to the decision to negotiate with the political system. The Penguins’ movement is acknowledged as a

“spatial fracturing” (Zibechi, 2012) of historical patterns of student political activism produced from the centre wherein massive grassroots student participation was unpredictable across the movement:

I think about 2006, when there were about *one million* mobilised students across the whole country, we realised *what was going on*; what we had done *without intending it*. As I told you, we had planned mobilisations (...). Yet we never ever thought that an occupation could last one month... or even to achieve such a level of...political *agitation*, massive *mobilisation*, and student *participation*. (Andre, 8 September 2011, Santiago)

The unpredictable in Andre’s comment relates to spatial fracturing of what could be the predictable pattern of mobilisations within the movement. This is a fracturing that resulted in instilling new territorialities within the movement. Yet different “internal times” (Zibechi, 2012) among a plurality of actors collided with a more well-established political tradition within the movement because the emergence of a massive collective actor in the margins of the most politicised schools did not result in producing its own political proposal. As a result, the widespread discontent that underpinned the massive grassroots student mobilisation ended up being framed and politically channelled by students at schools with a more political tradition. In this way, spatial fracturing and internal times of the movement ended up being undermined by tradition, that is, how politics had been traditionally carried out. As Andre continues to explain:

I think... there were many things that ended up *undermining* this movement *at this early stage*... we were unable to have either *immediate, concrete, and workable* responses or the capacity to say we are going to continue *mobilisations* as has happened this year. Well, a work-table has been created but we keep our mobilisations *until the LOCE is repealed* or we continue with our occupations and we are going to look for more support *until we achieve a 24-hour student transport pass from Arica to Magallanes. Why weren't we able to do it differently?* I cannot... give you an answer. Perhaps... it represented... how we *understood the mobilisation* at that moment... it does not mean we were not audacious; rather I think we were in some way, but...the *tradition* played against us: well, let’s negotiate with the government and call off mobilisations.

Tradition to some extent created the conditions for the political system to govern, according to its own internal times, the decision-making process within the movement. As Andre remarks:

It was complex...well there were different *stages* but I could tell you it was so... *fast*. Perhaps the current student movement has been here for four *months* but in 2006 everything was much shorter and happened *very quickly* (...) as the conditions... changed from one day to the other... answers needed to be *as fast as possible*. Later, when we returned to *schools*, we continued... with negotiations; but I think we were neither strong enough... nor adequately prepared... At that moment, *nothing was enough* and the answers to Bachelet... were like what it is happening today. I mean “our objective is the LOCE and *we want responses on this*”.

While analysis of the possibilities and limitations of political capacity within the Penguins’ movement seems to be confined, as above explained, to a “revolutionary approach” (Melucci, 1996), it could be contrasted with listening to what the Penguins’ movement said before “its direction and content has become clear” (p.1):

I think... the Penguins’ movement *had some conditions* but at the same time, it was not aware... *of this*. I think we *tackled these conditions* without *being aware* and *without developing an important political reflection* as we would have now. I think it was less *reflective* and much more *intuitive*. I could say it was not like the movement we had right now. Yet we addressed an *important issue* about the end of profit-making in education and I do not know *how many of us* were conscious at the end of the day that the profit was the *backbone of the current neoliberal system*. Perhaps, *we wanted to tear something down*, which was the main axis of the system, *without being too conscious about it*. (Pat, 9 August 2011, Santiago)

Did imperceptibility limit the capacity of collective and political action in the Penguins’ movement? In Pat’s comment, intuition more than a reflective political capacity underpins the process through which students ended up challenging a neoliberal “governmentality” (Foucault, 2010) by questioning the promises of quality and equity that the neoliberal agenda on education from the 1990s failed to bring about. Dean (1999) raises the point that mentalities of governing may not necessarily be “examined by those who inhabit” (p.16). Yet when students mobilised and demanded that education should be a right, not a privilege they also reclaimed, as happened during school occupations, the right to occupy education and to redefine what and how education governs the spheres of daily life and personal autonomy. The extent to which the Penguins’ movement morphed, as Pat’s comment expresses, into a demand that questioned profit-making in education interlocked with a political subjectivity that turns life itself into political action through *the bio-politics of existence* in order to continue redefining its own identity. How was this political subjectivity

engaged in the continuity and constructive process of collective identity after the Penguins' movement?

Learning through making mistakes

On 23 August 2011, Nicki reflected on how politics was to be understood by secondary students who were mobilised in 2006:

We were very young and there was a political innocence in our belief...that we were right and we did the right thing; yet later one realised that *it was not enough* (...) that politics did not work in that way. I mean if we want to fight... politically, we need to be aware of how politics works too. We realised *at that moment*...I personally understood this and as I told you before that it was *our mistake*; there were many others but in some way they are related to this *political innocence*; it was like coming out of the shell... to realise that things are *much more complex*, in order to win.

This reflection raises a very different understanding of what has been discussed in this chapter as a generalised idea of the failure of the Penguins' movement. While its lack of experience is commonly associated with not knowing how politics works, political innocence refers to a very different understanding of what politics meant for students from 2006. It calls attention to an ethical commitment to be involved in politics as it is the right thing to do. Therefore, it would be misleading to talk about the meaning of politics without acknowledging that collective action in the Penguins' movement interlocked with political affirmation of a generation that had neither grown up within the dichotomy between dictatorship and democracy nor been involved in a traditional process of political participation. Rather, politics for those who were involved in the Penguins' movement was about the affirmation of a subject of rights:

My generation was neither special nor different to other ones, but we had the possibility of showing society that we were not *apathetic at all*. *We recognised ourselves as being in the same position as others*...I mean with more or fewer responsibilities to be taken; with the same rights as other people right now but above all, we are *human beings who feel, believe, and think*. So we have the right to say both *what we like and what we dislike*. (Carolina, 30 September 2011, Santiago)

It is upon such indivisibility between self-affirmation and the subject of rights that students locate their political action for education as a right. In the realm of traditional politics, it would be expected that the learning process of these collective actors

could be translated into political competences. Yet to come out of the shell, in the words of Nicki's comment above, represented for students from 2006 the opportunity to learn from their own mistakes how to move in political spaces 'out there' without abandoning the ethical commitment, self-affirmation and indivisibility as subjects of rights that underpin both identity-building and political action. These three conditions, I would argue, relocate the idea of making a mistake within a continuous learning process. As such, collective identity becomes detached from its temporality since it is reframed within a meaning of always becoming the possibility for changing things:

I believe that there were *more mistakes than successes*... with all the emotional implications this has (...) yet it *was also valuable* as our mistakes have helped us *today* (...). At that time we were young but all of us were interested and we *had the opportunity to channel this*; we were able to do it. Now we are in the second attempt; of course, *we have learnt from our own mistakes*. (Nicki, 23 August 2011, Santiago)

In the constructive process of collective identity, recognition of mistakes is a precondition for opening up possibilities for learning. Yet this does not relate to a linear process by which mistakes could implicitly lead to opportunities for learning. Rather, mistakes are positively reframed as they are attached to an emotional investment with which any collective action is endowed. On this basis, emotions and feelings could potentially mobilise learning as "there is no cognition without feeling and no meaning without emotion" (Melucci, 1996:71). This learning process did not follow an identical trajectory for students involved in the Penguins' movement. Does it entail the idea of atomisation of collective actors? Certainly this is not the case for students from 2006. Rather, different ways of building and doing politics were to some extent compatible with the idea of an evolving political learning process through which students continued to be engaged within their spaces. They continued to exist as submerged networks where students reinvented and produced new codes in a very quiet way. As Nicki continues to explain:

A *very quiet process* took place. It was about *waiting* and I think *it was not bad at all* to do it in such a way. It was like waiting for the moment in which it could emerge again. I mean to assess the possibility of raising again this demand with more widespread social support. I think... *it was valuable* to take the time from 2006 and to wait quietly until now.

Yet what, how and where such experiences were to be developed and grounded did not seem to replicate what students involved in 2006 student mobilisation actually did:

I was in my last class in 2006, the last year... at the school and now I am in my *last year* at the university. I think... it does not mean repeating a *process*, rather it is about building a process and *networks*; yet these networks are not just about building friendships but they are networks of *common sense* as spaces of reflection, *common reflections* about processes... which happens here and out there. (Pat, 9 August 2011, Santiago)

According to Pat's comment, the difference between the idea of creating new ways of doing politics and not just repeating a process places collective actors at the centre of constructing collective identity. This process relates to an "interactive and shared definition [...] regarding the *orientations* of their action and the *field* of opportunities and constraints in which such action is to take place" (Melucci, 1996:70, emphasis in original). Central to this process is the capacity for continuity of these collective actors "upon activation of the relations that bind actors together" (ibid.). How did this come about within a movement in which collective actors followed very different trajectories after 2006?

Being on the margins as a site of resistance and latency

Collective actors from 2006 located themselves in a period of latency emotionally attached to disillusionment. It is through this feeling that students relocated their political action. This represents a "process of re-vision" (hooks, 1990:145) in which one comes to spaces of resistance:

[...] through suffering and pain, through struggle ... We are transformed, individually, collectively, as we make radical creative space which affirms and sustains our subjectivity, which gives us a new location from which to articulate our sense of the world (p.153).

Yet it does not necessarily happen as very conscious reflection, but rather it comes out as an intuitive capacity grounded in everyday life and practices rather than a deliberate decision:

I think it is *something* inherent to the whole process. It did not come out after a deep reflection but rather as *an experiential process*. To some

extent, I detached myself from *theory* and thoughtful decisions, I started sensing, and... participating in those places where *I felt myself committed to doing so*. I effectively left... the big *scenarios* of participation. I realised that one needs neither to be in the biggest scenarios for participation nor *to be a leading spokesperson or political leader*. Rather, it is about *working with and for people*. (Steffi, 3 September 2011, Santiago)

This intuitive capacity intersects with *the bio-politics of existence* to re-vision what is one's "politics of location" (hooks, 1990). What activates this process of re-visioning is not linear and might be expressed as the need to locate oneself within spaces of belonging in order to reproduce the feeling of safe spaces of identity:

I started to work in a *colectivo* that worked on popular education. In effect we did *very depoliticised things*. It was like an *ethic of the left* without doing politics. We worked in *Villa La Reina* with shantytown dwellers and housing activists. (Pat, 9 August 2011, Santiago)

A more romanticised left-wing idea might argue that the presence of university students and their political work in the shantytowns represents the possibility of activating and legitimising "new sites of contestation, knowledge, and cultural production" (Feldman, 2002:31). On this basis, there could be no denial of the possibility of building new relationships and practices within such spaces. Yet new relationships and practices might also engage with the essentialism of political identities that inhabit this territory. As Pat continues to explain:

I think that our *colectivo* was a group of *disenchanted fools* as we hated the faculty of law and we moved to the "*pobla*"⁹³ as this faculty was "*facha*"⁹⁴. Thus, we were there to be with the shantytown dwellers and people who were *struggling*.

Yet to be in the margin, which "one chooses as site of resistance" (hooks, 1990:153), neither entails abandoning one's local spaces nor involves changing the conflict upon which political action is called. For students involved in the Penguins' movement, in particular those who did not come from an experience of political militancy during the 2006 student mobilisations, such a meaning of space entailed reframing their own political action within their own local spaces. As such, being in the margins was

⁹³ The "*pobla*" is a colloquialism commonly used by popular sectors to abbreviate "*población*" or shantytown.

⁹⁴ The "*facha*" is a colloquialism to identify a right-wing person or group of people.

about continuing to transforming education through creation of spaces of resistance from within. As Pat remarks:

We realised that we needed to be here *at the faculty* as we could not be there. I mean to do territorial work was *cool* but we needed to learn being here at the faculty too (...). *We came back to the faculty* and we raised a mobilisation... in 2009 about internal issues. We were in an occupation... lasting forty-three days (...). But we always made a *correlation* between faculty... university... country... faculty... university... country.

In this way, students began to connect spatialities so that their participation and forms of political actions from within were not detached from the struggles taking place out there. As Pat adds:

We always understood this. It was very clear and I think it helped –*at least at this faculty* – to avoid making a... differentiation between being *on the streets* demanding free education and being here *without doing anything*. We always demanded... dual things... well if we are demanding free education, *what we are doing at this faculty in order to make steps towards this*; what we do in order to *give form* to the demand of free education. Well, reforms in the access system... transformation in the curriculum programme... it was always about being in both spaces.

As such, the construction of the demand for free education is no longer imagined and produced in terms of students' territory. Rather it is territorialised through a new geography of the conflict wherein students occupy both "the centre and the margin, the inside and outside" (Rose, 1993: 124-5). This new territoriality of the conflict intersects with a new geography of political action of this collective actor that reframed its political identity based on recognition of its relational dimension to society:

We realised that we were not only students... but we are part... of society. It is about positioning... the identity of students as being *committed* to contribute too. It represents the first step. Today I think this identity is about recognising ourselves as part of society and what we do... it's about society where we live. We are not isolated, and I think this is clearer than in 2006. (Nicki, 23 August 2011, Santiago)

Re-imagining student identity relationally is political as it entails reframing how students relate to others. hooks (1990) argues that marginality as space of resistance is about the possibility for creating and imagining "alternatives and new worlds"(p.152) in which "one needs a community of resistance" (p.149). Then

discussion is focused on how collective actors from 2006 recognised their relational dimension to society and how this self-reflective ability reframed their own political and collective action in 2011.

What did the Penguins' movement produce in society?

The extent to which students could reframe their own collective identity as relationally produced is grounded in their own self-reflective ability to recognise what they had produced in 2006 and what effects their mobilisation had had in society:

I think the 2006 student protests helped *people* to believe in mobilisations...I mean we could achieve something when we were mobilised and then it was *possible*. It seems that before people had been paralyzed by fear... they carried forward from the dictatorship. So, I think that 2006 was a very *important* breakthrough for Chilean society and *not just for the student movement*. (Nico, 19 August 2011, Santiago)

While the different repertoires of mobilisations within the Penguins' movement ended up legitimising social mobilisation in the post-Pinochet democratic transition period, such an impact was not only limited to the sphere of public opinion. Rather, it was about challenging forms of building and doing political participation by developing "a new conception of democracy" (della Porta and Diani, 2006: 239):

I think it was a *blow for old-fashioned structures of participation*. It was a blow as nobody *has seen it before*. My dad did not know what a *colectivo* was; he did not understand what the *functionality of the assembly* was even though he is a *left-wing person...they did not understand*. Thus... it is a blow for old-fashioned structures of political... and *social participation* as I think there was a *kind of take-off* from the idea of political participation being detached from social participation. It is a blow as it is telling you that *political participation has to be social too*. (Pat, 9 August 2011, Santiago)

On this basis, students who mobilised in 2006 attributed their legitimacy to alternative forms of democracy. This legitimacy is, above all, about socialising politics by being grounded in and produced through social participation. The extent to which forms of direct democracy and socialising politics ended up being legitimised by society was consciously engendered by the Penguins' movement by developing politics through the expansion of social participation from being just within the movement to being 'out there'. As Pat continues to explain:

What we proposed at that time was a... *different form of political reflection*. I mean how we could build up political reflection from our houses; how we could include our parents... our sisters, and brothers in this movement.

Democratising politics at the level of ordinary people's spaces ended up reframing the power-geometry of political mobilisation that had characterised social movements during the 1990s:

Within a *demobilised* neoliberal context that atomised social organisations, a new actor - who responds to the dynamic of this *current time* - has emerged. The actors we wanted to be mobilised since 2001 onwards *were not the typical youth from left wing families...they always mobilised*. Rather we wanted to see *mobilised students whose families were in debt; students from the periphery; students whose families did not have the money to pay for their education or families who were brought into debt to pay for education; students who studied at a very bad school which does not help them to define their future*. Ultimately, *we wanted to see the family – that neoliberalism had produced – emerging as a critical social actor of the system itself (...)*. And I think, it has been the actor who *emerged here*, the one *we wished to emerge* at that time. (Cesar, 6 October 2011, Santiago)

This new power-geometry of politics might be understood as the direct result of the process of egalitarian political relationships that students had attempted to instil since early 2000. As in Cesar's comment, those who mobilised from 2001 onwards have learnt that mobilisation is the public sphere in which they came to "be given sufficient respect and recognition so as to be able to influence decisions that affect them in a favourable direction" (Bohman, 1997:524).

While legitimisation of social mobilisation and new alternative forms of democratic participation relate to what the Penguins' movement brought about within post-Pinochet society, to reframe the social also resonates with the capacity of this student movement to engender direct and participatory democracy within other social movements:

Some sectors that *have been able to install* other... democratic forms of participation *have ended up reproducing the ways proposed by the student assembly*. In my opinion, it is very interesting to see *the transmission* from... the student movement to the workers' movement, in particular the subcontracted workers from CODELCO⁹⁵. While the

⁹⁵ *Corporación Nacional del Cobre de Chile* (The National Copper Corporation of Chile).

miners' union is a very traditional sector, the subcontracted workers are a new social actor. *They are neither miners nor do they represent the workers' aristocracy working for CODELCO.* Rather they are subcontracted workers *who earn less money*, etc. When they organised *they also followed similar forms* to those the Assembly began to instil... since 2001. (Cesar, 6 October 2011, Santiago)

On this basis, what the Penguins' movement produced from within intersected with the creation of new public arenas for deepening the democratic process of deliberation. The extent to which the movement was aware of what they had contributed to creating in the public sphere and/or promoting within other social movements relates to the self-reflective ability of its relational identity. Also, it created the conditions on which the movement began to "create and practice new meanings" (Melucci, 1995:114) of its public mobilisations.

Territorial assemblies as convergence spaces

Students engaged in what Routledge (2003:345) defines as a "convergence space", that is the space in which "activists from participant movements embody their particular places of political, cultural, economic and ecological experience with common concerns". Efforts to engage with other struggles were based on the ability of students to recognise other social actors and "act as collective bodies because they have completed, to some extent, the constructive process of collective identity" (Melucci, 1996:72):

Chile was a *very indifferent country* before 2006 and perhaps today it still is, but I believe that there are *more organisation* and *more networks* undermining such indifference today (...) we trusted that people *were* questioning things. (Nicki, 23 August 2011, Santiago)

A convergence space has implications for political agency (Routledge, 2003) and the geography of collective action. This relate to the possibility for re-thinking the functionality of territorial assemblies within the student movement as politically and relationally embedded with other struggles. Firstly, territorial assemblies were to be articulated as spaces for producing "politics of solidarity" (Routledge, 2003) upon which horizontalism ended up being reframed:

This mode of *horizontal* work does not mean... discussing with others in a horizontal way but rather moving in different *spaces*, within spaces,

which are horizontal, themselves. I mean, we are part of a *network*... that works on a *specific* struggle but... we also support other social struggles that exist in the commune of *La Florida*. For example, we joined an assembly in which people were discussing the motorway and we *explained to them* why we are against the motorway too. It is about the *same common sense* (...). Thus, it has a lot to do with *whom I want to work with*; with whom I want to have a relationship in my working environment, my social relationships, and my life. (Steffi, 3 September 2011, Santiago)

To reframe horizontalism does not entail questioning its initial meaning that is rooted in “a critique of hierarchy and authority” (Sitrin, 2011:8), but rather horizontalism is re-imagined in a different way. This suggests rethinking about the capacity of horizontalism to articulate forms of political action amongst collective actors from 2006. It could be argued that this meaning entails expanding “spatiotemporal horizons of responsible action” (Reid and Taylor, 2000:440) with others. As such, horizontalism relates to the political capacity of collective actors to territorialise different local struggles to articulate with others the production of ties of solidarity.

Secondly, students aimed to build territorial assemblies where they did not exist. While this potentially facilitated the possibilities for networks and “multi-scalar political action” (Routledge, 2003:345), students also engaged in building territorial assemblies as the way to disperse concentration of power within the movement. As such, “the dispersed use of space” (Zibechi, 2012:69) did not come about as a consequence, but rather as a precondition for building other possibilities for collective action out there:

I know about some faculties at the University of Chile, which are... organising this issue and setting up some assemblies. For example, the faculty of medicine... in the southern area of Greater Santiago or the faculty of architecture here in Santiago centre; they... are in the centre and we are in Recoleta in northern Greater Santiago. It is because we have been invited to participate here...yet it might have meant... continuing to *centralise* the process and the idea was to work beyond *the commune of Santiago*. (Nicki, 23 August 2011, Santiago)

The possibilities for dispersed collective action facilitate the production of politics by which convergence spaces become the terrain for the process of “communication, information sharing, solidarity, coordination and resource mobilisation” (Routledge, 2003:345). As Nicki continues to explain:

The idea is to mobilise those sectors that *have not been mobilised* yet by encouraging them to question *their own reality* rather than to go there and tell them *what to question* or *what to do* (...). In the territorial assembly of Recoleta, we organised workshops with... *workers* on labour law based on *what workers think* about how to conduct a critique of the right to work. I mean we also question... *what we learn at the faculty*... as we want to know how this works and to help from *there*. I mean to have *all the necessary tools* for... building and producing changes.

What underpins this process is on the one hand the idea of “education in movement” (Zibechi, 2005b) and on the other recognition of education as “a political activity that is fundamental to produce change in society” (p. 3). While communication and interaction might activate “different place-based struggles together” (Routledge, 2003:345), differentiated access to material resources and discursive power might lead, as Routledge (2003) argues, to uneven processes of facilitation and interaction. However, the existence of territorial assemblies to encourage mobilisation neither relies on producing panoptic control of “space-knowledge-power” (Soja, 1999) nor neglects “the autonomy of the subjects” (Zibechi, 2012:69). Rather, assemblies are grounded in recognition and respect in situations of “mutual implication” (Massey, 2011) to build tools, as in Nicki’s comment, based upon mutual recognition of a collective common reflection.

A third aspect relates to the condition of mutual implication that students understood as fundamental for connecting their collective action to “localized global actions” (Routledge, 2003:346). While such a relational position intersects with how students reconfigured their political agency after the Penguins’ movement, it also represents a political stance regarding how they have reframed the conflict on education since 2006:

Today we attempt to lead the conflict *outside*. The same is true about building *territorial assemblies*... I mean assemblies link to the idea that this conflict is not just about *us*... I mean education is not just an issue happening at schools, at universities and or *the Ministry of Education*, students, and parents. *It is a social issue*. (Nicki, 23 August 2011, Santiago)

The need for linking mobilisations to other political actors might be commonly associated with instrumental coalitions to “enable the sustainability of activist and movement identities, and practically and symbolically articulate the common ground

shared by different placed-based social movements” (Routledge, 2003:346). The student movement seems to be politically engaged with developing a common ground for collective political action; however, it is less likely to build itself as a self-referential “movement network” (Diani and Bison, 2004). Rather, collective actors aimed to become a “coalition network” (Diani, 2013) in which territorial assemblies became mutually constitutive of the social dimension of the conflict on education. On the one hand, territorial assemblies become “articulated moments” (Massey, 1994) in which students measure the strength of other grassroots movements. And on the other, assemblies are projected within the movement in its capacity to “facilitate multi-scalar political action” (Routledge, 2003: 345) on education as a social conflict in movement.

Convergence spaces resemble how the student movement challenges dominant forms and practice of politics that form the basis of expanding the movement’s collective action. This resembles elements of continuity from the Penguins’ movement where territorial assemblies interlock with the movement’s struggle for deepening deliberative democratic participation. A key aspect in this process of continuity of collective identity is the capacity of grassroots students to articulate this identity to the production of an “intercultural translation” (Santos, 2012b:58). Santos (2012b) argues, “[t]he work of translation aims to clarify what unites and separates the different movements and practices so as to ascertain the possibilities and limits of articulation and aggregation among them” (p.61). Within the movement this requires horizontal relationships of “reflexivity and collective self-consciousness of movement activists” (Mukherjee et al., 2011: 150) when they engage with other struggles.

Building the demand for free public quality education for all

In early March 2011 students from Universidad Central⁹⁶ mobilised to reject the potential sale of their university to a business group known as *Norte Sur*. This was a strategic partner of the Christian Democratic Party that attempted to position the university as a top-ranking private institution:

⁹⁶ The Universidad Central was the first non-profit private higher institution founded after the 1981 higher education reform.

We learnt about this sale *in the press* last year (...). *This year* we began to ask ourselves about *what the status of this university was* and *how the whole higher education system was constituted in Chile*. We know... that our university was a *non-profit organisation* and this could change when an external partner comes in and the university receives a budget of *35,000,000 Chilean pesos*. This also changes our status as we will no longer be considered as student *but rather as clients*. Then we started a *strike that lasted three months*; we mobilised before the *national movement* arose and we did not even know that students from traditional universities had been organising the movement since the previous year. I think *it was good news for them* to know about our mobilisation. (Marco, 10 October 2011, Santiago)

Students at Universidad Central mobilised to demand that education should not be about making profit. Although their demand was less publicised by the media, their mobilisation seemed to activate support from the movement led by traditional universities by producing a “spill over effect” (Whittier, 2004) in the massive public support student mobilisations achieved in 2011. Between April and November 2011 the student movement called for mobilisations that were increasingly national in character. The cycle of student mobilisations, in particular demonstrations, showed “the numerical strength behind” (della Porta and Diani, 2006:171) the student movement. The number of adherents increased from 8,000 on 8 April 2011 to about 200,000 on 16 June 2011, and 400,000 demonstrators marched across the country on 30 June 2011. Massive marches also took place on 22 September 2011 and 19 October 2011 where a total of 300,000 adherents gathered at national demonstrations (see Table 9.1).

Table 9.1 Number of demonstrations and protestors between April and October 2011

Date	Type of mobilisation	Number of adherents	Demands
28/04	Student demonstration	8,000 (Metropolitan Region)	To demand an increase in state funding for public education To demand a restructuring of the System of Student Scholarships and Assistance To democratise the admission process for the lowest quintiles by developing new admission policies in higher education Internal democratisation of higher education institutions
12/05	National strike	100,000 (across the country)	To end profit-making at private universities To demand an increase in state funding for public education Equity in access to higher education To democratise decision-making at higher education institutions
26/05	National strike	Unknown number	To recover a free public quality education system To end profit-making in education at private universities To increase state funding at public universities
01/06	National strike	20,000 (Metropolitan Region)	To recover a free public quality education system with equitable access for all students, and where the state plays the main role as guarantor of education delivery services
15/06	Secondary student demonstration joined by CODELCO	10,000 (Metropolitan Region)	This mobilisation was led by the ACES and FEMES ⁹⁷ and joined by CODELCO's works to call for cross-sectorial demands (See Appendix 9)
16/06	National strike	200,000 (across the country)	To demand free public quality education and to end profit-making in education
23/06	Secondary student demonstration	25,000 (Metropolitan Region)	To call for cross-sectorial demands (See Appendix 9)
30/06	National strike	400,000 (across country)	To demand structural reforms in education
14/07	National student demonstration	150,000 (Metropolitan Region)	To demand free public quality education To reject the governmental proposal known as GANE ⁹⁸ (See Appendix 10)
04/08	National strike	Unknown number	Two marches were called by secondary students and the CONFECH in the Metropolitan Region. Demonstrators were warned by the government that the demonstrations were illegal. Students called for a national protest, known as <i>cacerolazo</i> ⁹⁹ to defend the right to protest. Demonstrations and clashes erupted in twelve cities across the country. More than 900 people were arrested.
07/08	Family	60,000	

⁹⁷ *Federación Metropolitana de Estudiantes Secundarios* (Federation of Secondary Students from the Metropolitan Region)

⁹⁸ *Gran Acuerdo Nacional en Educación* (National Agreement on Education)

⁹⁹ The "*cacerolazo*" was a popular protest during Pinochet's dictatorship. It was mainly found in shantytowns and peripheral areas of main cities across the country when dwellers protested by hitting saucepans to demand "bread, work, justice and freedom".

	demonstration to support education	(Metropolitan Region)	To demand free public quality education
10/08	National strike	150,000 (Metropolitan Region)	To demand a radical overhaul of the education system To reject the 21 reforms put forward by the government (See Appendix 11).
18/08	National strike	240,000 (across the country)	Students marched against profit in education and demanded equal access to education. This mobilisation was known as “the march of the umbrellas” as demonstrators mobilised despite the cold and rain.
21/08	Student demonstration	1,000,000 (Metropolitan Region)	Students called for a Family Sunday for education at O’Higgins Park in the commune of Santiago.
22/09	National strike	300,000 (across the country)	To end profit-making in education To demand free public quality education
29/09	National strike	230,000 (across the country)	To end profit-making in education To demand free public quality education
06/10	National student demonstration		Students were denied permission to demonstrate in different cities across the country
19/10	National Strike	300,000 (across the country)	To end profit-making in education To demand free public quality education
09/11	Student demonstration	30,000 (City of Valparaiso)	To demand a radical overhaul of the education system To reject the education budget
18/11	Student demonstration	10,000 (Metropolitan Region)	To re-emphasise demands already raised by the student movement. This demonstration was led by the <i>Mesa Social por la Educación</i> ¹⁰⁰
24/11	Latin-American student demonstration for education		Different student demonstrations took place across Latin-American countries such as Chile, Colombia, Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Ecuador, Venezuela, Costa Rica, Paraguay, El Salvador, Bolivia, Uruguay, Guatemala and Puerto Rico. Students mobilised to support the struggle led by the Chilean student movement and against neoliberal market-driven educational policies in the region.

On 28 April 2011, the *Confederación de Estudiantes de Chile* led its first demonstration (see Table 9.1). This march was joined by 8,000 people and included participation by university students from both traditional and private universities, high school students, the Teachers’ Union, the *Asociación Nacional de Empleados Fiscales* (National Association of State Workers [ANEF]) and the *Consejo Nacional de Trabajadores de las Universidades Chilenas* (The National Council of Workers from Chilean Universities). While the plurality of actors seemed to reflect the

¹⁰⁰ Social Alliance on Education

meaning of the politics of solidarity within the 2011 student mobilisations, it was the emergence of university students from private higher institutions that ended up transforming the geography of politics within the student movement. One aspect relates to the condition of massiveness by this new actor that represented 70% of enrolment in the higher education system. While massification is undoubtedly the most visible pattern of this new geography within the movement, the legitimisation of 2011 student mobilisations also relies on its capacity, because of students from private higher institutions engaged in collective action, to make the question of profit-making in education a catchword within the movement. Yet the political demand to end profit-making in education neither arose in 2011 nor was led exclusively by students from private higher institutions. Rather, it arose in 2006 even though the Penguins' movement was less politically prepared to elaborate this demand. The extent to which it gained wider support across students from both private and traditional higher institutions relied upon the ability of collective actors from 2006 to integrate learning experiences from 2006 "and the emerging elements of the present" (Melucci, 1996:75) within a process of collective identity through which they developed "unity and continuity" (ibid.) in relation to the development of the demand. This process became crucial for invigorating the political demand to end profit-making through education and for producing a common ground for collective action in 2011. These conditions, alongside the charismatic political leadership by some students from traditional universities ended up strengthening the widespread social legitimisation of the students' demands.

As della Porta and Diani argue (2006), "the greater the participation of ex-activists in subsequent mobilisations, the greater will be the continuity with the past" (248). As an ex-student leader from the 2011 student demonstrations explained:

We recognised that this is the same generation who mobilised during the Penguins' movement in 2006, and today a majority of them either are university students or *are dropping out* of higher education or are *indebted to higher education*. They clearly give to the movement and to grassroots students a lot of strength and an important degree of experience that they did not have before (*La Primavera de Chile*, 2012).

How is this experience incorporated in the process of producing the political demand for free public quality education for all? This question turns our attention to the ability of collective actors from 2006 to recognise "a notion of causality and belonging"

(Melucci, 1996:73) within contemporary struggles in which they were involved during 2011. To connect the demand for equal opportunities for quality education that the Penguins raised in 2006 to the demand for free public quality education in 2011 does not, however, just mean evoking “the continuity and solidity of allegiances over time” (della Porta and Diani, 2006: 92). Rather it refers to the production of cognitive definitions, which entailed “recurring modifications” (p.93) within the movement. On this basis, the demand within the Penguins’ movement for equality of opportunities for social mobility is reframed by the 2011 student movement. This process interlocks with the self-reflexive ability by which collective actors from 2011 constructed the coherence of the demand for free public quality education for all on the basis of how a free market-oriented education constrains social mobility. This entails filtering and redefining the demand for education as a right around the political demand to end profit-making in education:

It is a political movement; it has a clear and unambiguous position on asking the other side: well, are you in favour or against profit-making in education? Then this question represents... its own ideological position. In 2006 we did not have strong ideological questioning of the model; even some... far left-wing sectors did not engage in a discourse such as: yes the neoliberal system is destroying our education and... you're the right wing ... of course, when we questioned the LOCE we also questioned... other things. We also talked about profit-making in education yet we debated about freedom of education as unequal opportunity for parents, because their unequal economic conditions, meant they could not choose the school they want to send their children to (...) and how the state did not guarantee parents' school choice as a right (...). Yet this student movement has raised this debate and it represents progress in its own reflection, discourse, and mobilisation. (Andre, 8 September 2011, Santiago)

The capacity of the movement to articulate the demand for free public quality education for all was also grounded in the development of key alliances between high school students and university students. This alliance led some student unions in the CONFECH – with a stronger presence of ex-student activists from the Penguins’ movement – to adopt the demand that the ACES raised between 2010 and 2011 for free state and secular quality education for all:

V: *Some universities* adopted the petition of the Assembly

IH: which universities?

I: *Some federations* at the University of Chile, *the UAH*¹⁰¹, *the UTEM*¹⁰². Well this petition *began to be circulated* and other universities approached us to know more about our petition. *This allowed* some student unions – that knew the ACES’ petition – to place this demand *within the CONFECH* to put pressure on it to vote for the demand for free education. (Vicky, 20 October 2011, Santiago)

While widespread support for free quality education for all relates to the capacity of the student movement to “articulate collective visions” (Routledge, 2003:345), such alliances are also entangled with “contested social relations” (p.346), based on claims of authenticity of some leftist political groups, who claimed that the demand for free quality education for all entailed rejecting recognition of the private education system within the CONFECH:

We managed to enter the *CONFECH*, where *only* student federations from traditional universities were allowed. And some of them were *very critical* of students from private universities or private higher institutions; today... we have *entered this space* to *criticise a model* that sustains the existence of private universities *from which we came too*. (Marco, 10 October 2011, Santiago)

The claim for essential identities relates on the one hand to multiple trajectories flowing within the student movement. Heterogeneity, on the other hand, is what underpins the process of producing collective identity that comprises, as Melucci (1996) argues, “different and sometimes contradictory definitions” (p.71). Collective actors from 2006 onwards have shown that the production of politics has been grounded in recognising that the co-existence of multiple trajectories within the movement is about interrelatedness as “power relations of a variety of sorts” (Massey, 1999:289). Yet “affirmation of difference” (Mouffe, 1995:263) for collective actors entails producing politics, as in Marco’s comment, through recognition of “an adversary, somebody with whose ideas we are going to struggle, but whose right to defend those ideas we will not put in question” (ibid.). This politics of agonism more than antagonism (Mouffe, 1995) allows the capacity of this collective actor to continue producing and reframing their local spaces such as the CONFECH, as described in Marco’s comment. As such, collective actors in 2011 became an educational subject themselves through which they developed and activated “*in*

¹⁰¹ Universidad Alberto Hurtado.

¹⁰² Universidad Tecnológica Metropolitana.

movement” (Zibechi, 2012:24, emphasis in original) ties of belongingness and solidarity within society.

To occupy the streets

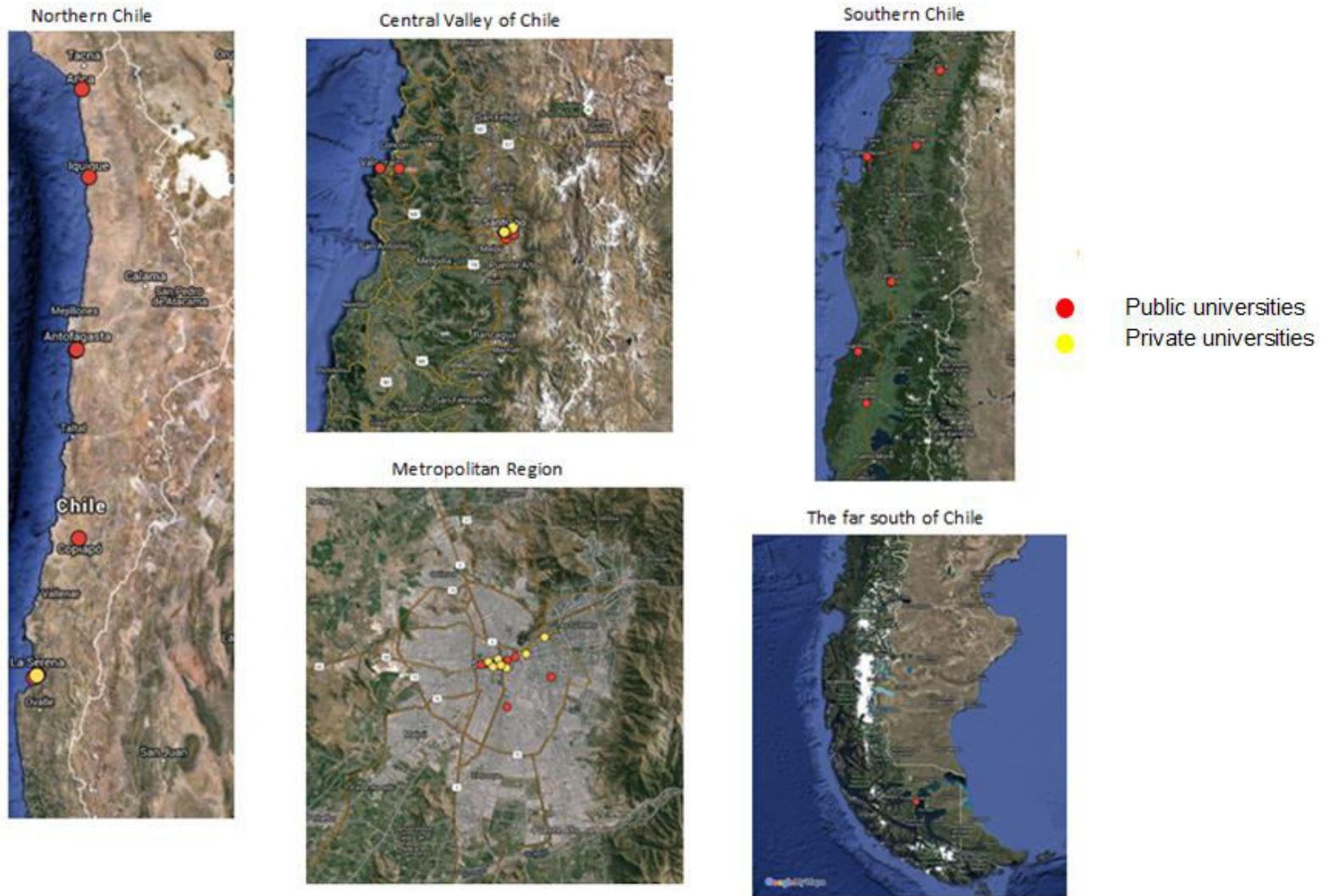
Between April and November 2011, students called for about 24 national student demonstrations across the whole country. For seven months students along with other collective actors marched to slogans such as “end profit-making in education”; “defend public education”; “education is not for sale”; “one million students, one million dreams, one million indebted families”; “tax reform and egalitarian education”; “renationalisation of copper for free education”; “grandparents support our grandchildren”; “mobilised parents supporting our children”; “feminist march as the struggle continues without capitalism and machismo”; “plebiscite now”. These different slogans alongside the increased number of demonstrators showed both the heterogeneity within this student movement and the high level of participation during 2011 student demonstrations. Heterogeneity and the capacity for activating involvement of a variety of actors seemed to represent an unexpected result for this student movement. Yet this capacity to mobilise different groups such as the Teachers’ Union, workers, feminists, academics, and environmentalists along with families also connects with the learning process of secondary students from 2006 who reconfigured and reimagined their identities as relational and being part of society. This resulted in reterritorialising the meaning of “we” within mobilisations:

Today all citizens are happy with this *movement*. They feel involved *in the movement*. With occupations, the citizens *were not part of the movement*; with occupations, they were *parents*. It was... my son is in an occupation. But today it is “I am on the streets with my grandchildren, my sisters” (...) thus, it has turned into something different. (Pat, 9 August 2011, Santiago)

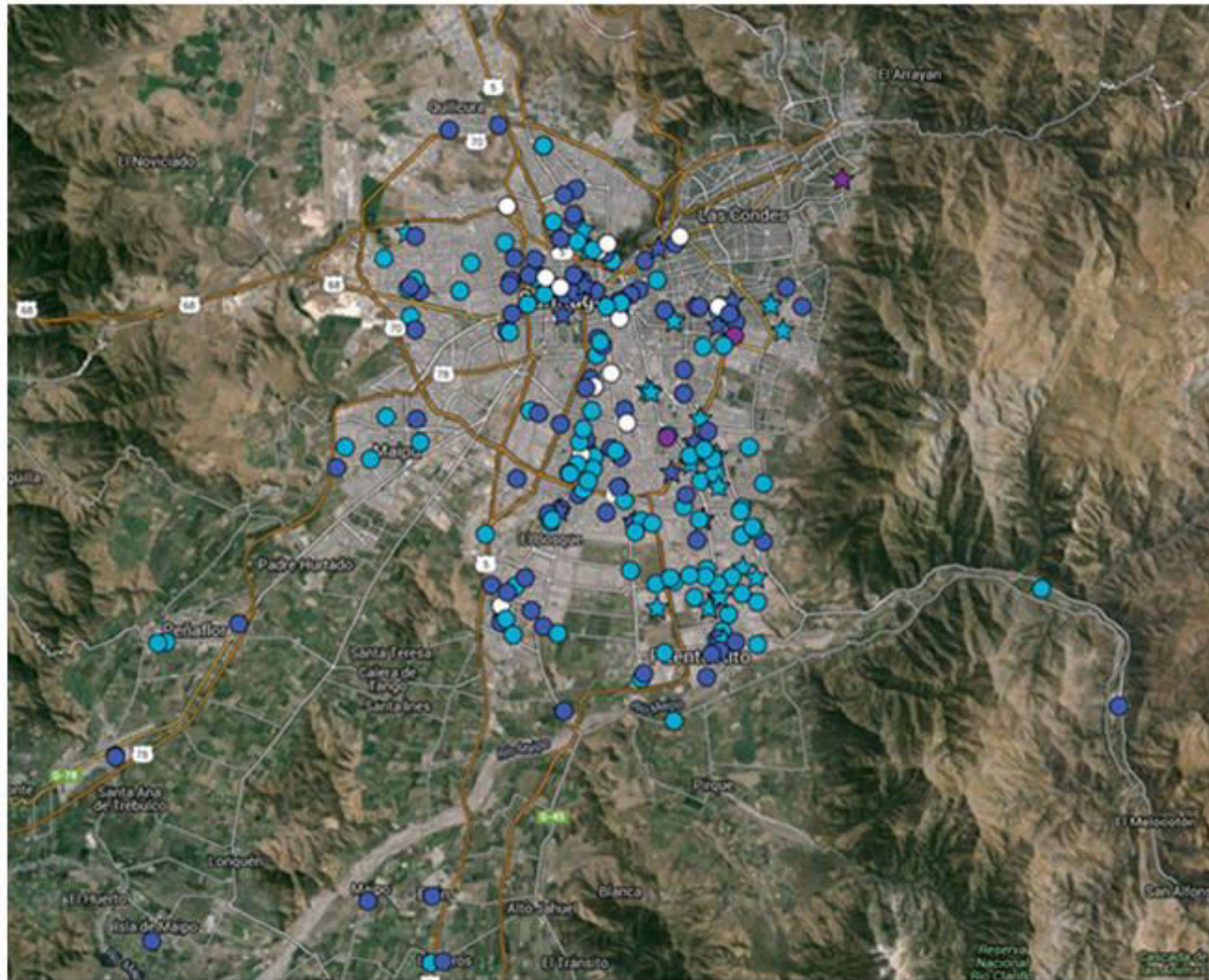
The participation of society illustrates legitimisation of the social protest that the Penguins’ movement engendered. Such legitimisation of social mobilisation did not disregard, however, the role that occupations played in nurturing and sustaining the process of political reflection through which both high school students and university students “articulate[d] goals and [chose] strategies so as to maximise their public exposure through communication media” (della Porta and Diani, 2006:178). Student occupations in 2011 displayed a nationwide diffusion pattern (see Figure 9.2, Map

9.3 and Figure 9.4) in which massiveness and duration of occupations at both high schools and universities seemed to “have profound effects on the group spirit of their participants” (Rochon, 1998:115).

Map 9.2 University student occupations between June and November 2011



Map 9.3 High school occupations in the Metropolitan Region between June and November 2011



- Occupations at municipal high schools
- Occupations at private-voucher schools
- Occupations at private-fee paying schools
- Occupations at delegated administration schools
- ★ Municipal high schools on strike
- ★ Private-voucher schools on strike
- ★ Private-fee paying schools on strike

Map 9.4 National diffusion of mobilised high schools between June and November 2011



Occupations alongside marches produced a new geography of social mobilisation in 2011. This relates to a process in which the meaning of collective is reframed through the right to occupy streets as public spaces. This meaning seems to be the direct result of learning experience among collective actors from 2006 who integrated their former experience from school occupations in the Penguins' movement by changing the exclusionary idea that the occupation entails not being mobilised 'out there'.

In this new geography, the 2011 student occupations became the space where political demands were, "constantly expressed, articulated and objectified in terms of cultural forms and performances" (Cohen, 1993:8) 'out there'. Then flash mobs, performances, and video-activism, as new forms of political activism, were added to the repertoire of mobilisations. While they are seen as an expansion of different types of repertoire, they did not aim to replace other existing forms of political participation. Rather, they came, I would argue, to re-signify politics. By combining the cultural with the political, students aimed to locate politics in public places, such as streets or squares and therefore as something people could find in their daily spaces. This represents both a symbolic and material occupation of public spaces through which students aimed to open their political demands to a "democratic mass public" (Barnes et al, 1979:524).

Within these new repertoires of mobilisations, performances expressed the affirmation of political subjectivities that re-signify marches. They use humorous and joyful forms such as carnival, street theatre, drummers, and masquerades to articulate their political voices through the cultural. Some groups of students dressed in black clothes with their faces painted to perform the funeral of public education while others dressed as clowns to express that both the government and the political class were a joke. They occupied the streets and therefore their politics had a location where it happened. This represented a material and symbolic occupation of the streets where festive forms related to a political subjectivity that echoes new-anarchism (Critchley, 2012) as it expressed its political action as an affirmation of being in the system but against it. For example, students built up a cardboard water cannon and they marched dressed up like riot police with a written message on their protective shields: "*the violence of \$hile*". They did performances as riot police, hitting their saucepans and therefore dramatizing repression during the march. Later they

burnt this cardboard figure while they shouted “*Pinochet’s education will fall*”. They ritualised the burning of figures they built during the marches and in doing so they transfigured the meaning of the barricade, as an old tactic of popular protest, into a non-violent expression, as a “new language of civil disobedience” (Graeber, 2002:66).

As Smith (1999) argues, “festive forms rely on spatial strategies [...] to engage in a struggle for space which symbolizes a range of wider social and political contests” (p.139). These are complementary to the capacity of this collective actor to learn in movement how to respond to the political system and how to use political opportunities in pursuit of their political demands and legitimisation of their social mobilisation.

Reframing the relationship with the political system

As discussed earlier, a widespread opinion about the Penguins’ movement is that it failed in its capacity to produce the structural reforms in education and that this experience reconfigured the relation of mobilised actors in 2011 to the political system:

This movement has learnt from the experience of 2006. Today, the unwillingness to negotiate the demand for free public quality education echoes this learning experience grounded in a failed political negotiation due to the lack of previous experience. Yet today this experience exists and therefore it is at the basis of the rejection within the movement that it is expressing itself in a very rigid way. (Cesar, 6 October 2011, Santiago)

If rejection of political negotiation of the movement’s demand arose as a common ground of political learning within the movement, then how did students reframe their relational dimension to the political system? This question entails addressing different levels of analysis that allow us to understand what the political learning process within the 2011 student mobilisations was and how it influenced its relational dimension with the political system.

As discussed above, students from 2006 changed the view of the Penguins’ movement by associating it with the possibility of learning from mistakes and continuing their collective action. This process interlocks with the production of new “symbolic orientations and meanings” (Melucci, 1996:73) through which they

reframed their “relational dimension” (ibid.) within the system regarding “opportunities/constraints” (ibid.). For example, on 28 June 2011, the Ministry of Education decided to anticipate the brief winter recess in order to undermine student occupations at both high school and universities across the country (see Maps 9.2 and 9.4). Yet students protested against this decision by recreating a beach outside the main building of the University of Chile and calling their protest “*The beach for the Minister of Education*”¹⁰³ whilst occupations of high schools and universities lasted seven months. Occupations displayed long-lasting waves of student mobilisations and this is a pattern intersecting with learning experience from 2006. On the one hand this revealed that political negotiations within the movement did not entail calling off student mobilisations. And on the other, this resonates with how collective actors from 2011 reframed their collective action within this relational dimension to the political system. This relates to a collective actor that has learned to challenge the system by disregarding its power within the movement.

In addition, the openness of the institutional system through attempts to set up talks with mobilised students appeared to be used by the movement as a political opportunity to delegitimise the role of the former Minister of Education, Joaquín Lavín, an erstwhile Chicago Boy, and to use this opportunity to gain general support from the public. Thus, the prevailing strategy within the movement was to use the media as a platform for publicly denouncing the various means through which the Minister of Education had broken the law by making profit, as a former owner of a private university, before entering the Ministry of Education. Students called for his resignation based on his lack of political legitimacy to lead negotiations in a conflict which was about ending profit-making in education. This showed that rejection of early negotiations became a political strategy for the movement in order to set up different political conditions rather than to disregard negotiation itself.

Students used institutional space, such as the Parliament, as a channel for both accessing “institutional decision-makers” (della Porta and Diani, 2006:212) and gaining some allies within the arenas of the institutional. By doing this, the student movement integrated its former experience from the Penguins’ movement through a prevailing strategy of leading the political discussion and debate on the political demand to end profit-making in education when they entered into political discussion

¹⁰³ *Mal Educados! El problema de la educación en Chile*. Available at <https://vimeo.com/27372214>

with the political class. The political experience from 2006 influenced how mobilised students approached the institutional arena in 2011. The movement adopted a political strategy of linking the political demand to end profit-making in education with technical analysis to show how private-voucher schools and private higher institutions represent sites of profit in education (Ball, 2007; Burch, 2009). In addition, they produced and incorporated technical evidence to support how privatisation, deregulation, and profit-making in the Chilean education system have simply not brought about quality education. This did not entail, however, disregarding ideology within the debate. Rather, the production of knowledge reinforced the ideological position of the movement internally and related to its ability in using “hegemonic tools in a counter-hegemonic way and with counter-hegemonic ends in view” (Santos, 2012b:47). It also, conversely, worked in favour of the movement by showing that political persistence in maintaining this model of education, through different proposals presented by the government (see Appendices 10 and 11), relied upon an ideological decision to perpetuate a market-driven education system, even when it showed signs of being exhausted and having failed.

Although both political openness to set up talks with the student movement and the political decision of the movement to be involved in these talks could also explain the course of social mobilisation, this also relied upon the internal capacity of the movement to transform constraints into a political opportunity. For example, on 4 August 2011, students called for a national protest known as “*cacerolazo*” to demonstrate against heavy-handed police tactics and to demand the right to protest (see Table 9.1). This “*cacerolazo*” in turn had an unpredictable wave effect of solidarity among the public, who gathered in the main squares, and shantytowns, that played out a historical role in the resistance against Pinochet’s dictatorship. Protests extended to the main cities across the country where protestors gathered on the streets, set up barricades, hit their saucepans and shouted “it will fall, Pinochet’s education will fall”.

The capacity for political response also intersects with the learning process through which the 2011 student movement reoriented space-time that underpins its relational dimension to the political system. What accounts for this relational dimension with the political in terms of space and time? Based on their former experience of learning through mistakes, collective actors from 2011 reframed their collective action through

the possibility of waiting to emerge stronger again, and by doing so they tied their collective action to the production of politics as becoming. What does this entail for the conflict students raised in 2011? In the first place, the conflict within the movement is no longer thought of in temporal terms. And secondly, since the 2011 student movement has been detached from the idea of failure it has begun to be conceived of as the possibility for progressive accumulation of learning experience with others. As a result, it becomes spatial:

In 2006, I became *empowered* with the idea that we were effectively political actors of change and *we could transform the reality*. Although *I ended up depressed* because of how it finished, today I am at a *more developed stage of political reflection* and I am part of a *very good political reflection group*. I continued with the *same conviction* and if this does not finish as we would like and we do not achieve free quality education for all I know *it is part of a big process in Chile*. This is not stopping here but it will continue...I have the certainty that the only thing we must continue doing is to work... and fight for a better country. (Pat, 9 August 2011, Santiago)

To envisage the possibility of continuing a process beyond an attitude of conflict to be resolved here and now is to confront the neoliberal order of TINA¹⁰⁴ – in which many of these mobilised students grew up – with the possibility of building other alternatives detached from temporality. It became spatial when students re-imagined their political demand for free quality education for all as a social struggle to be held by the whole of society as it opened up to the simultaneity of different actors and voices intersecting within this conflict. The spatial is therefore conceived within the movement and the 2011 conflict as being detached from temporality. As a result, the demand for free public quality education is reframed within the idea of an ongoing process of political maturation of a collective actor that has learnt to reimagine its political action with others.

Conclusion

This chapter sought to relocate discussion of the construction of collective identity for mobilised students who were involved in the Penguins' movement in 2006. It addressed the discussion of the political capacity of these collective actors by arguing that a “revolutionary approach” (Melucci, 1996) disregards the message that

¹⁰⁴ There Is No Alternative.

the Penguins' movement announced "before its content and direction has become clear" (p. 1). Conversely, an "attitude of listening" (ibid.) shifted the focus from failure to a multiplicity of trajectories that the Penguins' movement produced. Did this multiplicity successfully overcome the idea of failure in the Penguins' movement? Certainly it broadened the spectrum of different interpretations of what the Penguins' movement was, without excluding either the meaning of failure for some political identities or the conflict these identities might create. On the attitude of listening, more importantly, the Penguins' movement came to reveal a "spatial fracturing" (Zibechi, 2012) in the production of politics within the movement that intersects with the unpredictability of massive mobilisation and the emergence of a new political subjectivity in the margins of places where politics has been traditionally produced. What is the effect of this spatial fracturing within the movement? It relates to the construction of a political subjectivity producing *the bio-politics of existence* through which it frames life into political action.

By learning from mistakes, collective actors from 2006 reframed their political action in the Penguins' movement as a key experience for the continuity of their collective action in 2011. On the one hand, they located their political action as a site of marginality in which they began to build new territorialities of education by transfiguring the geography of binary thinking of inside/outside. And on the other, from these sites of marginality collective actors set up territorial assemblies as convergence spaces that reframed their collective identity as relationally produced within society and as the sphere of the production of "more radical politics" (Mouffe, 1993).

Did the collective actors from 2006 become the main architects of the 2011 student demonstrations? They provided experience to the movement and it turned into a process that grounded its capacity for reflecting and connecting the political demands to end profit-making in education and to have free public quality education for all with a fundamental question about neoliberal common-sense. In doing this they have learnt "in movement" (Zibechi, 2012) and become a subject of learning for the movement. As students did in the local spaces, the 2011 student mobilisations amplify the production of new territorialities of politics through which students re-signify and democratise politics as something people could find in their ordinary everyday common places. They have reframed in movement their relationship with

the political system by reaffirming its relational dimension through constraints and opportunities from the system. In so doing, the 2011 student demonstrations echoed the learning experience from 2006 by understanding that their movement and demands were no longer attached to temporality and the idea of failure but rather they re-orientated and re-imagined education as spatial because it was recognised as a conflict to be resolved by the whole of society.

Chapter 10

Final considerations, limitations and further research

This thesis has aimed to explore space and politics in the Penguins' movement and the role of the movement in shaping the geographies of political construction of the Chilean student movement more broadly. Social movements, popular insurrections and waves of resistance against neoliberalism were not new in Latin America; however, the Penguins' movement was the first high school student movement in the region to raise its political voice against neoliberal education reforms and to demand that education should be a right, not a privilege. As explained in Chapter 1, the echoes of the Penguins' movement have rippled through the research agenda of policy-makers and academics who have studied this student movement and have had an impact in the field of education policy analysis. Nevertheless, sociological analysis framed it as a 'failed' student movement since the demands of mobilised high school students from 2006 were met with only limited technocratic and economic reforms. This thesis sought to analyse and explain the emergence of the Penguins' movement beyond temporality, in other words how it ended up being recognised as 'backward' in its political capacity to produce structural changes in the Chilean education system. The thesis has been concerned with understanding the dimension of process underpinning the social forces that were crystallising within the Penguins' movement.

This thesis has attempted to unfold the forms, meanings and direction of collective action within the Penguins' movement. It has sought to open up the analysis of collective identity within the movement and explain how collective actors from 2006 reoriented and reframed their political action, and recognised themselves in the well-known massive student mobilisations in 2011.

This thesis has made two major contributions. The first contribution is to the development of new and different knowledge of the forms and processes of political construction of the Penguins' movement. It has sought to show the socio-spatial constitution of this collective actor and how geography structures forms of collective action and articulates the process of collective identity that enabled this movement to find recognition within the 2011 Chilean student movement.

Through exploring the process of collective identity it has found that the linkages between ends, means and field of collective action within the Penguins' movement are immanent to the production of space and territoriality. Firstly, geography structures the process of political construction, in and around urban educational inequalities. Secondly, through spatial practices students prefigured the development of a more egalitarian political movement. Thirdly, geography is crucial to understanding the territorialisation of politics within the movement. School occupations in 2006 are of crucial importance to this territorial dimension of politics. Thus the emergence of a multiplicity of autonomous movements intersected with a spatiality of politics produced and grounded in everyday life, articulated through *the bio-politics of existence*, drives political action. Fourthly, geography is at the heart of the learning process of collective actors from 2006 through which students expanded the horizons of their politics beyond temporal terms. In detaching the student movement from the idea of failure during the 2011 student mobilisations they re-configured the movement's struggle for free public quality education for all as spatial since students expanded the horizons of their social mobilisation through reimagining a collective vision with others. Lastly, geography within the movement does not only relate to a form of collective action that rejects neoliberalism. Rather space and territoriality articulate the movement's struggle against a neoliberal market-oriented education system. This struggle is seen as the path forward to the development of a political alternative to the global hegemony of neoliberal capitalism.

The second contribution of this thesis is a theoretical one resulting from cross-disciplinary research. By developing a theoretical-empirical dialogue involving sociology of education, radical and political geography and sociology of social movements this thesis has sought to claim that the spatial in social movement studies is pivotal to the study of the formation of student movements' struggles for the right to free, public and democratic quality education.

This final chapter begins by reflecting on the research questions. The next section discusses space and politics and considers the implications of the student movement articulating the demand for free public quality education for all as a political project for social transformation in relation to policymaking. It will then draw out the spatial constitution of social uprisings across the globe and the tensions and the challenges

that they pose for social movement studies. It also addresses limitations of this research and potential areas for further research.

We are going slowly because we are going to go far

This was a message written on a banner on the wall of an occupied high school in 2011. It provides an example of how the spatial has transcended temporality within the student movement and prompts discussion of the research questions explored in this thesis:

1. How did space, culture and politics influence the construction of the Penguins' movement?
2. What forms of spatiality and politics did the Penguins' movement produce through their repertoire of mobilisations?
3. What forms of collective identity did the Penguins' movement create and how did they influence the 2011 mass student demonstrations?

These research questions aimed to guide and stimulate the research process rather than to confine it. The main focus of these questions was on understanding the origins of the Penguins' movement and the nature of its political construction, and on making a case for a different approach to the Penguins' movement. This resonates with the possibility of imagining, through this research, a different politics of knowledge. As stated in the Introduction, there was a need to democratise the knowledge construction in this research through "a horizontal relationship of mutual learning" (Motta, 2011:196) that overcame a hierarchical differentiation between theoretical and empirical knowledge. The use of two sensitising concepts in this research, social movements as submerged networks and small laboratories operating in the spaces of daily life attempted to deal with this ontological distinction by "developing, rather than limiting" (Charmaz, 2006:17) the whole research process.

The first question acknowledges the role of space in structuring the formation and emergence of the Penguins' movement. If space is at the same time both the product of interrelations and the producer of multiplicity, then space is a different and complementary lens for exploring and examining the formation of social movements as fragile "heterogeneous social constructions" (Melucci, 1989:4). Multiplicity and interrelations are at the core of the political role led by *colectivos* in transforming the "geometries of power" (Massey, 1993) of politics within the secondary student

movement. It is culture as a political expression of otherness that forms the basis for imagining a different politics. This, however, is not to deny the role of traditional politics, but it is relatedness, negotiation and therefore the spatial upon which politics are constructed that acquire a centrality in re-imagining the political. In so doing, the *colectivos* paved the way for building an egalitarian political movement.

Both the second and third questions unfolded the political learning process that articulated collective identity in the Penguins' movement. This suggests that what characterised so much collective action in the Penguins movement was territorialised through an unpredictable number of school occupations. Nevertheless, school occupations do not just relate to forms of collective action within the Penguins' movement, but to territoriality as the possibility to reframe – through politics of affection and new anarchism (Critchley, 2012, 2013) – the meaning of collective. This leads to the suggestion that territoriality in the Penguins' movement was not just about expanding the horizons of collective action with others, but about how mobilised students from 2006 learnt to relate their collective action to the political question of living together (Massey, 2011). This constitutes the meaning of space that engages with the construction of collective identity and within the Penguins' movement spatiality is immanent to the movement's struggles for radical change in education.

How the student movement could successfully articulate its demand for free public quality education for all – as a political project for social transformation through the spatial – remains central for the definition of movement identity. Within the movement this definition represents an open and relational learning process that encompasses, because of the spatial, a radical transformation of politics and democracy.

Reflections on space-time and politics

Concrete political experiences foreground the production of counter-hegemonic meanings of politics and democracy with which the movement has been enmeshed since 2006. New alternative forms of building and doing politics forged the political demand of the student movement for a radical transformation of education and shaped the political learning process within the movement as transforming education through politics and politics through education.

Geographical differentiation between centre and periphery historically influenced the production of politics within the movement. Education played a part in structuring the geographies of youth political activism. It was *the condition of social mixing* at the group of emblematic schools that historically enriched the trajectory of student political activism at these oldest municipal high schools. Yet prefiguration of egalitarian political relationships did not annihilate the distinction between centre and periphery. Such prefiguration was more attuned to the political articulation between centre and the margins based on unity through heterogeneity.

A key aspect in prefiguring politics is time and the extent to which it could end up undermining politics within the student movement. Time should not be regarded simply as a factor that reduces the scope of politics within the movement. Politics of the here and now draws attention to the scope of prefigurative politics that relies on “a non-political terrain: the need for self-realisation in everyday life” (Melucci, 1989:23). This consideration, however, does not suggest the end of politics but rather redefining politics in a radical way. The idea that the production of politics within the Chilean student movement displays a radical redefinition relies on exactly this non-political terrain where it is produced, and time, I would add, has become integral to such production of politics.

The political construction of collective actors from 2006 and later their relationship with the 2011 Chilean student movement display a trajectory in which politicisation of spaces of everyday life became a cornerstone for the process of collective identity within the movement. Friendship is an example of how politics came to be produced through personal and non-political spheres, and how important friendship turned out to be for prefiguring the development of a more egalitarian political movement in 2006. Time is an important component of this process through which students built politics, for example, during commuting or even in the playground. However, time seems have been more constrained for students attending full-day schools, and it is through the school occupations during the Penguins’ movement that time became linked with the possibility of configuring the production of politics through transformation of social relationships.

Space and politics interlock with time through the emergence of a political subjectivity that links its political action to *the bio-politics of existence*. This is immanent to concrete experiences of daily life where political action does not exist in

an abstract way but in very concrete terms. It is therefore *the bio-politics of existence* –transforming life itself into political action – that arises as a central condition for the continuity of collective action and becomes essential for broad social legitimisation of political demands grounded in what constrains daily life. This does not mean disregarding the role of traditional politics. However, trajectories of political construction within the movement have revealed the importance of traditional politics inasmuch as it connects with grassroots students.

Students at the oldest municipal high schools in Greater Santiago and in main cities across the country have historically led political mobilisations, whether this political engagement is grounded in historical trajectories of student activism or ties of solidarity forged in and through geographies of social exclusion. The issue is that a leading political role has ended up involved in producing counter-hegemonic meanings of politics through co-existence with others rather than through claiming a meaning of politics because of history. This possibility of radical democratic politics would always be embedded with the co-existence of a multiplicity of identities, and within the movement their constitution was imbued with different and opposite meanings. For instance, the construction of the meaning of territory for some radical leftist groups seemed to represent the realisation of “one story and no real spatiality in the sense of difference” (Massey, 1999:287). Nevertheless, grassroots students who occupied schools in 2006 produced a meaning of territory that interlocked with a meaning of schools as their homes. Territory became political as it was forged in and through recognition of others and transformation of social relations in which schooling experience was embedded.

Territorialisation of politics, through which mobilised students from 2011 reframed their political action in a relational dimension to society, is immanent to radical democratic politics. It involves moving ahead with the demand for free public quality education for all as not being framed within the binary relation ‘inside-outside’, but rather as being produced through convergence spaces built around unity of common struggles based upon heterogeneity. Central to spatiality of radical democratic politics through difference and interrelations is learning through experience by detaching collective action from the idea of failure and accepting that mistakes always contribute to the learning process. Connectedness is constitutive of the orientation of this learning process and within the movement this relational form is

built in through a political subjectivity that has learnt to exist within the system but at the same time against the system.

To re-envision new democratic forms of policymaking

Analysis of the political capacity of the Chilean student movement to have an impact on policy reforms and legislation could be easily exemplified by the creation of the Presidential Advisory Council on Quality of Education in 2006 and the legislative reform that replaced the LOCE and passed the *Ley General de Educación* (LGE) in 2009. Yet as has been thoroughly discussed in Chapter 9, this experience of political negotiation confined the Penguins' movement as backward in its political capacity to successfully enforce the agenda of the political system towards structural changes in the Chilean education system.

Today this failed negotiation has been incorporated within the movement as a learning experience that remains central for a non-negotiable demand for free public quality education for all. This does not entail, however, neglecting political negotiation. The student movement is now more aware than in 2006 that political negotiations are not always enough. These negotiations could simply end up legitimising technocratic solutions that suit targeted policies in opposition to the general demand of education as a right articulated through free public quality education for all. The student movement has incorporated the learning experience from 2006 by understanding that a more successful strategy of putting pressure on the public agenda does not entail calling off mobilisations to favour political negotiations along with parliamentarian lobby activities. Mobilisations could also lead to specific incremental reforms. Yet the role of social mobilisations is not just limited to being instrumental, but social mobilisations also link to a broader process, the affirmation of a generation that was born into democracy without ties with the recent political past, a generation that has come to challenge neoliberalism through alternative forms of politics.

Within the movement, the demand of education as a right could be effectively attained as long as the student movement re-envisioned the political debate on education as being as important as technocratic and economic debates have become in the field of educational public policies. Attempts to legitimise the political debate on education illustrate how the movement has tried to transform

policymaking. To re-envision politics within the institutional arenas requires creating more spaces for deliberative democratic decision-making linked to those horizontal forms of political participation that the movement has consolidated in its local spaces.

This political strategy by which the student movement aims to articulate this demand for new forms of democratic practices in the political arena involves the acceptance of difference and the production of “politics of agonism” (Mouffe, 1995). The extent to which politics of agonism could open up the possibility of democratising the debate on a reformed neoliberal agenda beyond the realm of technocracy and economics remains an open question within the political agenda of the movement. This is politically and intellectually embedded in the spatial dimension underlying the political capacity of the student movement to articulate through education a political project for social transformation.

Attempts to legitimise decision-making through new alternative forms of democratic practices express a critique of representative democracy and make the overall aim of the student movement the transformation of how the democratic system functions. Yet this political strategy is not limited just to this. Rather, being in either the political or policy arena also represents an opportunity for the student movement to produce its own intellectuals.

This strategy elucidates the fact that the student movement’s political struggle for education as a right constitutes an epistemic struggle upon which the movement envisions new alternatives to fracturing neoliberal hegemony. This is particularly important for the movement’s attempts to minimise the risks of being forced to negotiate without being equipped with technical and political expertise. This political strategy of becoming an intellectual producer for the movement itself is simultaneously constitutive of the spatial. Yet spaces of democratic deliberation within the movement could also be at risk of being undermined by the “geometries of power” (Massey, 1993) with which these spaces are embedded. A collective identity has produced alternative forms of politics, horizontality and direct democracy with which the movement has prefigured an egalitarian political movement since the early 2000s. The focus is, however, not on a matter of principle as the student movement has engaged in more decentralised forms of participation through territorial assemblies since 2011. Rather, the focus is on acknowledging that democracy also

has a territorial dimension. Therefore the challenge within the movement is to give equal voice to different territorially-based unities within the policymaking process. This implies not regarding the demands of these communities as being either less technical or less politicised, but acknowledging that the meaning of public education that these communities are willing to defend and reconstruct within their local spaces engages with the spatial. This entails recognising “how certain political questions are formulated” (Massey, 2005:9) within the movement.

The socio-spatial constitution of social uprisings across the globe: challenges for social movement studies

When the Chilean student mobilisations emerged in 2011 they coincided with a wave of anti-austerity protests taking place in southern Europe, London and Wall Street in New York City. The dynamics of their locally specific mobilisations triggered either by the financial crisis or by illegal profit-making in education have in common the way in which space articulated their collective action. Occupations of public spaces such as high schools, public and private universities and main squares as a protest tactic structured the collective action of these different social movements. Politically, they mobilised against the global hegemony of neoliberal capitalism. However, their political protests have not aimed to continue reproducing the existing model of politics but rather to reframe the meaning of politics as an alternative through which it is possible to build and live a decent life.

As an activist researcher from the global South, but based in Great Britain while researching a student movement from the South, I have developed a different perspective on the Chilean student struggles. I have concluded that the 2011 student protests in Chile pointed to a global crisis of capitalism, which expressed itself as locally specific but resembles globally a crisis of unequal distribution and a further dismantling of welfare policies and programmes. Consideration of the global context creates challenges and tensions in the social movement studies’ research agenda.

Theoretical approaches to social movement studies are likely to develop an interdisciplinary dialogue with disciplines such as political economy in order to better understand the dynamics of mobilisations in times of austerity. Yet looking at anti-austerity movements through a lens of political economy might end up with them being framed within contingent temporalities. As a result, the socio-spatial

constitution that these contemporary movements not only reflected in their forms of collective protests in 2011 but also in the social forces they were crystallising before 2011 is overlooked and their forms of collective action confined just to spontaneity.

Politics do not exist in an abstract way but rather have a location. Occupations within anti-austerity movements as well as in the Chilean student movement become the place of politics, but also a tool and a goal for spatiality of politics upon which movements articulate political projects in the here and now that are alternatives to neoliberal hegemony. To acknowledge common forms of collective mobilisation does not mean to fully explain and confine emerging social movements against the current crisis of global hegemony of neoliberal capitalism as an entity. Rather, the socio-spatial constitution of collective mobilisations taking place in locations as far apart as Madrid, Santiago de Chile or Syntagma Square in Athens might be understood not as a counter-opposition of the local to the global but as a path forward. It is through this path that social movements have begun to crystallise from their locally specific struggles a globalised alternative to the development of the hegemony of neoliberal capitalism.

Sociological debate on new social movements has been largely focused on determining what is new within these movements. This sociological analysis is also undertaken in relation to the Occupy movement, the *Indignados*, the Arab Spring and the Chilean student movement, and seems to categorise them as youth and political movements that have no connections with preceding social movements. Yet sociological debate on newness within contemporary social movements could be contextualised and conceptualised beyond historical terms. A disciplinary cross-fertilisation on geography of social movements might contribute to understanding that history within current social movements is spatialized. Debates on newness within movements relate then to spatiality of politics as the sphere of openness where different collective actors, with different historical and political trajectories, co-exist. Difference and multiplicity challenge academics and researchers within social movement scholarship by asking them to be politically committed to territorialise their research knowledge production about contemporary social movements. This challenge calls for a prefigurative research practice embedded in and resulting from a mutual learning process about how contemporary social movements develop

identity through spatiality and produce knowledge based on their own political struggles for a project of social transformation.

Some implications, limitations and areas for further research

Since I collected my data in 2011, the student movement has continued to be mobilised. Two years later, the election of three former student leaders as MPs turned international attention to them as their running for election was interpreted as a “hope to dismantle the system from inside” (The Guardian, 2013). As a researcher exploring and analysing the geographies of political construction of the Chilean student movement I was very cautious, for example when invited to talk about the Chilean student movement, about concluding that their election represented a new stage within the student movement. This, however, does not mean disregarding the idea that their election is a visible manifestation of recognition of the student movement’s legacy. Although the political trajectories of the newly elected MPs are rooted in the university student movement and linked to political *colectivos* within the movement, the diversity of the movement is not limited to them nor did they come to be elected as its representatives. This last point does not mean that the movement is about a collective actor that does not want to have anything to do with traditional politics. Indeed, the election to office of student activists could become crucial for the movement in creating opportunities for the political debate on education.

Given the geographical turn within this research project, there are some methodological limitations that need to be acknowledged. For example, the notion of periphery and the multiplicity of interstitial movements could have been enriched if I had been able to travel to regional cities to collect a similar body of data on collective actors from 2006 who were involved in the 2011 students’ mobilisations. Similarly, extending my fieldwork beyond the peak of student mobilisations would have allowed me to access those quiet periods within the 2011 student movement and to produce additional data within an area that is less explored in social movement research. What happens when students return to their local spaces? How do they continue working in their submerged networks? What happened with the territorial assemblies they created in 2011? In what way does this latency period explain the cycle of mobilisations between 2012 and 2015?

Questions and arguments in this chapter could be the basis for further research in the sociology of education, human geography and the sociology of social movements, three disciplines that intersect in this thesis. It might not be possible to address such issues within the boundaries of an individual disciplines, so an interdisciplinary approach would probably be required. Further research could be conducted into school choice and the spatialisation of urban inequality in Chile, in addition to international comparative studies. Further research on geographies of municipalisation could be undertaken to explore and analyse the geographies of a neoliberal city forged in and through municipalisation. Such research could investigate the impact on politics and practices of the current project to reform municipalisation led by the government of Michelle Bachelet (2014-2017).

Another area for research could be the development of a curriculum for citizenship education and the implications of prefiguration of horizontal and egalitarian political relationships within the movement. This relates to other forms of involvement with political participation and building citizenship.

Research could also explore political participation among high school students. A longitudinal study would bring to the fore reasons why students become involved in politics, similarities with former generations of secondary students involved in the Penguins' movement and how differentiation between centre and periphery is reproduced and contested within political student organisations.

Territoriality acquired an epistemological centrality during the 2011 student mobilisations and seems to be grounded in the production of autonomous spaces and their ability to challenge the global hegemony of neoliberal capitalism. This notion of territoriality within the Chilean student movement could be further explored through a comparative study of social movements across the Latin American region. Furthermore, it might be interesting to develop a comparative sociological and geographical study of the notion of territorial assemblies produced by the Chilean student movement and the notion of neighbourhood assemblies within some European anti-austerity grassroots movements, and how education intersects in the debate of local and global issues within assemblies.

Since 2011 students in Colombia, Canada, Spain, the UK, the Netherlands and South Africa have been mobilised to demand free, democratic, public education. It

would be interesting to develop a comparative study between these different student movements and the Chilean student movement to see how the latter has influenced the process, direction and meaning of the demand for free education raised by student movements in opposition to stepped-up privatisation and marketisation of education.

This thesis has aimed to explore and analyse the geographies of political construction of the Chilean student movement through the lens of the Penguins' movement. Geography is deeply ingrained in the political construction of this student movement, and both the Penguins' movement and the 2011 mass student demonstrations revealed the emergence of a collective actor that has produced its own epistemologies of spatiality and territoriality. The most striking finding in this research is how this collective actor detached the Penguins' movement from the idea of failure in order to understand that it was a necessary experience for paving the way for the 2011 mass student mobilisations. It has been a collective actor that has reframed its collective action from temporal to spatial terms by expanding the horizons of its collective action with others. By doing this, the Chilean student movement opened up the cage of the very first experiment with neoliberal state formation by understanding that they could also be the first to change it.

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Appendix 1

Chile's educational Policies and Reforms of the 1990s and early 2000s

YEAR	POLITICAL, FINANCIAL AND LABOUR CONDITIONS	PROGRAMMES FOR IMPROVING EQUITY AND QUALITY OF SCHOOLING	CURRICULUM REFORM AND SCHOOL-DAY REFORM
1990	Change of educational policy paradigm, leadership role for the State; education for quality and international competitiveness; equity, affirmative action	900 schools programme ¹⁰⁵	
1991	Teacher's Statute (No. 1)		
1992		MECE-Primary Schools (1992-1997) ¹⁰⁶	
1993	Shared Financing: Tax incentives for donations to education		
1995	Consensus building: national commission for modernising education; agreement among political parties on an Educational Agenda Teachers' Statute (No. 2): more flexible; collective performance incentive (SNED) ¹⁰⁷	MECE-Secondary Schools (1995-2000)	
1996		Fellowships for teachers to study abroad	New curriculum for primary education

¹⁰⁵ The Programme of 900 schools or P900 was implemented in line with the principle of positive discrimination in favour of the ten per cent of municipal schools with the lowest SIMCE fourth grade students' results in mathematics and language. The P900 was based on experience drawn from a popular education project called the Learning Workshops initiated by the *Programa Interdisciplinario de Investigaciones en Educación* (PIIE [Interdisciplinary Program on Education Research]) and developed in Chile during the 1970s and 1980s (Vaccaro, 1990).

¹⁰⁶ The Ministry of Education implemented the MECE-*Básica* (MECE-Primary Schools and MECE-*Media* (MECE-Secondary Schools) between 1992 and 2000. It was based on the principle of universal coverage to improve the learning conditions of primary and secondary municipal schools, private-voucher schools and secondary schools. Both programmes were funded by the World Bank.

¹⁰⁷ *Sistema Nacional de Evaluación Docente* (National System of Teaching Assessment).

1997		<i>Montegrande</i> project. Massive application of <i>Enlaces</i> ¹⁰⁸ . Teacher reinforcement; initial training programmes; training in new curriculum	Law for the Full-School Day. National Survey on the new secondary curriculum
1998			New curriculum for secondary education
2000	Ministry-Teachers' Union agreement: individual performance incentives. Law to improve wages; teachers' network; individual performance assessment	Strategy focused on reducing secondary education drop-out rates (Liceo para Todos [High schools for All])	New curriculum for pre-school education
2002	Voluntary system for evaluation of teachers of excellence is implemented	Campaign for reading, writing and mathematics in kindergarten and the first four years of schooling	
2003	Reform to the Constitution of 1980: extension of compulsory education to 12 years		

¹⁰⁸ The *ENLACES* (*LINKS*) programme was part of the MECE-Básica Programme. It provided schools with equipment and teacher training to introduce "information and communication technologies (ICT) into the school system" (OECD, 2004:22).

Appendix 2

Programmes for improving educational quality and equity: components, coverage, and annual resources

	Programmes	Components and/or distinctive strategy	Schools/teachers covered	Percentage coverage	Average annual resources (b)
UNIVERSAL	Primary Education MECE 1992-1997	Infrastructure: PME(c), Rural(d), Enlaces, Preschool, Text books, Classroom libraries, Educational material, School health care	8,000 primary schools	100% primary school enrolment	USD 32 million
	Secondary MECE education 1995-2000 ¹⁰⁹	Enlaces, textbooks, libraries, PME, professional working groups, young people, infrastructure, technical assistance networks	1,350 general and technical secondary schools	100% secondary school enrolment	USD 34.5 million
TARGETING PROGRAMMES	P-900 1990-post 2000 Primary education	Learning workshops and community monitors, material and technical assistance focusing on language and mathematics, teachers' workshops, support for school management	1,200 primary schools	11% primary school enrolment	USD 4.8 million
	Rural Education 1992-post 2000 primary education	Support for rural schools with one, two or three teachers, local training opportunities "micro-centres", <i>ad hoc</i> curricular and educational material for the rural medium	3,285 small rural schools	5.9% primary school enrolment	USD 3.2 million
	Montegrande 1997-post 2000 secondary education	Substantial resources and technical assistance for an innovative institutional project. Administrative autonomy	51 secondary school anticipating reform	54% secondary school enrolment	USD 6.4 million

¹⁰⁹ The *Programa de Mejoramiento de la Calidad y Equidad* (MECE-Media [Programmes for Improving Quality Education and Equity]) included all municipal and private-voucher high schools.

	High school for all, 2000-2006 Secondary education	Educational support and special assistance to reduce drop-outs and improve learning	432 secondary schools suffering from educational and social poverty	33% secondary school enrolment	USD 3.5 million
TEACHER TRAINING	Initial teacher training 1997-2002	Substantial resources for a project at teacher training centres involving institutional and curriculum renewal	17 education faculties	79% of enrolments of teacher training institutions	USD 4.9 million
	Fellowships abroad, 1996-post 2000	Fellowships to study abroad for six to eight weeks, and six-month diplomas, 3 months abroad and 3 in Chile.	800 teachers per year	3.8% total teachers from 1998-2001	USD 5.4 million
	Curricular training 1998-2000	Training in new studies programmes by universities	44,000 teachers per year	100% of teachers involved in implementing the new curriculum (1997-2002)	USD 7.5 million
INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY	Enlaces ("Links") 1992-post 2000	Computer laboratory for each school, two-year training for the teaching team, university network providing technical assistance	8,300 primary and secondary schools	92% of total enrolments of publicly funded system (2003)	USD 20.1 million

Appendix 3

List of secondary documents

Local and regional newspapers

La Estrella de Arica
La Estrella de Iquique
El Mercurio de Calama
El Mercurio de Antofagasta
El Mercurio de Valparaíso
El Diario Austral de Valdivia
El Diario Austral de Osorno
Diario EL Llanquihue de Puerto Montt
La Prensa Austral de Punta Arenas

National newspapers

Diario El Mercurio
Diario La Nación
Diario El Mostrador
The Clinic
El Ciudadano
Punto Final

International Newsletters

Weekly News Update of the Americas: Nicaragua Solidarity Network of Greater New York

International newspapers

The Guardian newspaper
El País: Periódico Global

Online mass media

BBC

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/5042758.stm>

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/5049540.stm>

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/5041730.stm>

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/5066358.stm>

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-latin-america-15028214>

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-latin-america-14459281>

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-latin-america-14412646>

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-latin-america-14041949>

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-latin-america-15431829>

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-latin-america-16361117>

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-latin-america-16420413>

Documentaries

La Revolución de los Pingüinos <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BRRMrZyQYxU>

La Primavera de Chile <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oeGjsPgDm-I>

MalEducados! El problema de la educación en Chile <https://vimeo.com/27372214>

Chile se Moviliza: Estudiantes <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T6yVNjL8gFE>

Fault Lines: Chile rising <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tu4tPw5ND7M>

Reports

Informe de Avance Consejo Asesor Presidencial para la Calidad de la Educación

Informe Final de Consejo Asesor Presidencial para la Calidad de la Educación

Specific documents produced by the student movement

Propuesta de Trabajo de Estudiantes Secundarios de la Región Metropolitana

Resoluciones Primer Congreso Nacional de Estudiantes Secundarios

La crisis educativa en Chile: Propuesta al Debate Ciudadano

Appendix 4

Interview question outline

Personal and social background:

Could you tell me a bit about yourself and your educational and family background?

Education and student activism:

Why did you become involved in politics?

In what way did your school experience influence your involvement in politics?

Did you have any experience of political participation before the Penguins' movement? And where did it come from?

The Penguins' movement

Could you tell me about the 2006 student mobilisations?

What did this student movement intend to break or transform?

Why did you decide to be involved in this student movement?

Did friends, classmates and your school influence your participation in this student movement?

What participation did you have during the 2006 student protests?

What values of political participation did the Penguins' Revolution attempt to hold?

In your opinion, what were the main structures of participation and decision-making processes in this student movement?

What is your opinion about these structures of participation?

What do you think was the basis of the extensive support for the Penguins' movement amongst secondary students?

Did you feel as a student that you had equal opportunities to voice your concerns and participate within these structures of participation and decision-making processes?

Could you identify some positive and negative aspects within these structures in the student movement?

How did you manage those factors that might have constrained participation in the student movement?

Student identity

How would you describe student identity before the Penguins' movement?

What do you think about the categorisation of secondary students as "the Penguins", and what do you think about the categorisation of this student movement as "the Penguins' Revolution"?

In your opinion what was the main contribution of this student movement to youth political activism?

Collective identity

What did you learn from your participation in the Penguins' Revolution?

What were the fields of action of this student movement beyond the Penguins movement?

What do you think was the impact of the secondary student movement?

Would you like to add anything else?

Appendix 5

Information for participants

Doctoral research on the Chilean student movement: the case of the Penguins' movement

(January 2009-December 2013)

You are invited to participate in this research. Before you decide whether or not to participate you might want to understand why this research is being done and what it will involve.

My name is Ivette Hernandez. I am currently a doctoral student at the Institute of Education, University of London. This leaflet will provide you with information about my research. I hope it is useful and I would be pleased to answer any questions you might have.

Why is this research being done?

In 2006 the Chilean secondary students demanded a structural change in the Chilean education system because they argued that education perpetuated the lack of equal opportunities for quality education among student from the most socio-economic deprived groups. Therefore this is qualitative research that attempts to investigate the process of political participation in this student movement known as the Penguins' Revolution. It is a qualitative study that will employ in-depth interviews as its main method for collecting data.

Who will be involved in the project?

I intend to invite secondary students from 2006, teachers at mobilised schools, parents' delegates, and authorities from educational departments of Santiago, policymakers, academics, journalists and documentary makers.

What will happen during the research?

In-depth interviews will be undertaken between July and November 2011. They will be individual interviews, each lasting about one and a half hours. It is expected that each interview will be conducted in one session. Interviews will be tape recorded. The information will be used as a primary source in the research.

What questions will be asked?

In-depth interviews are based on 12-15 questions. The main questions are about personal background, opinions on education, student identity, the process of political participation and collective identity.

What will happen to you if you take part?

The interview will be undertaken on an individual basis. If you agree, I will tape record some of the sessions and type them up later. I am not looking for right or wrong answers, only for what everyone really thinks.

Could there be problems for you if you take part?

I hope you will feel comfortable with the decision to participate in this research. You are entitled to ask me to stop the interview if you are feeling uncomfortable about some issues or if you feel that the place you have chosen is not providing a total guarantee of privacy and confidentiality.

How will being involved with the research help?

Your participation will be important in this research. The research expects to produce a nuanced understanding of the process of political construction of this student movement. The study also intends to contribute to the analysis of current student mobilisations.

Who will know that you have been involved in the research?

I will guarantee the anonymity of your participation and/or I will change the names of the research participants in the written reports. I could also inform you about the need to contact a legal advisor if I consider that some of the information provided could be potentially dangerous for other people.

Will you find out about the research results?

You will be informed about the results of the research. You will receive a summary of the research findings, translated from English to Spanish, via your e-mail address.

Do you have to take part?

If you decide to participate you will be asked to sign a consent form. After you decide to participate in this research you are still free to withdraw at any time. If you have any problems you can tell me and/or you can write to me at my e-mail address (ihernandez@ioe.ac.uk)

Who is funding the research?

The research is self-financed.

This project has been reviewed by the Faculty Research Ethics Committee.

Thank you for reading this leaflet

Ivette Hernandez S.
Department of International and Lifelong Education
Faculty of Policy and Society
20 Bedford Way
London WC1H 0AL

Appendix 6

Interview Transcript (Original language)

Excerpt from interview with Carolina at Barrio Lastarria, Santiago de Chile

IH: ¿Qué entrega el movimiento del 2006 a esta identidad de estudiantes secundarios?

Carolina: Aun no lo sé [...] es demasiado amplio, es demasiado amplio porque hablando de educación, entrega la posibilidad de decir soy un estudiante chileno, que quizás no tendré muy buenas notas pero si a la hora de preguntarme porque no estoy de acuerdo con la educación soy capaz de responderte... porque la mayoría de las otras organizaciones estudiantiles lo únicos que respondían eran básicamente sus dirigentes. En cambio en mi generación te *podíai* encontrar con gente que te podía hablar desde la constitución hasta el inciso no se *cuantito*, y decirte por el modelo y por esto y por lo otro, así como también te *podíai* encontrar con gente que te iba... te lo iba a plantear desde el sentimiento, porque también es una generación que sin querer hace que... despierta emociones, para mí por lo menos en lo personal es fuerte porque *empezai* a darte cuenta también de una realidad que no tiene mucho que ver con la educación sino que tiene que ver con la historia del país, te *empezai* a dar cuenta que por ejemplo, cuando el 4 o 5 de Junio, nos reunimos en el INBA y llego gente, *te empezabai* a darte cuenta que los obreros no es solo la palabra obrero, porque el obrero estaba ahí, *empezabai* a darte cuenta que el extranjero que justo le coincidió sus vacaciones fue para allá, *empezabai*, no se... es raro porque *empezabai* a reconocer a Chile, entonces como te lo puedo explicar, no sabría cómo explicártelo pero creo que el 2006 sin querer abre algo que tampoco sabría decirte que es

IH: ¿Una lectura política distinta, mas consciencia de tu participación, de tus espacios?

Carolina: Puede ser, puede ser que sí, puede ser que no, porque al final y al cabo lo que pasa con el 2006 queda *pa'* la experiencia personal de cada uno también. Hay gente que lo ve como la forma de poder manifestarte después de dictadura, hay otras gentes que lo ven como la forma de demostrar que no somos estudiantes tontos, hay otras personas que lo ven como la forma de la verdadera construcción democrática social, del asambleísmo, desde la construcción personal a la construcción colectiva y quizás tiene desde todo *po'* tiene un poco de todo o es todo, pero no me atrevería a decirte algo porque de verdad personalmente no lo sé [...]

IH: ¿Qué sientes cuando, por ejemplo, lees lo que se ha escrito sobre Ustedes?

Carolina: yo trato de no hacerlo, pero si, y todavía me da la misma sensación que me daba en el 2006, como de rabia porque...por ejemplo, me carga mucho la gente que...cuando te reconoce te dice que gracias y otras cosas más, porque al final y al cabo tú te preguntas ¿por qué entonces no me apoyaste más? ¿Por qué entonces no construyes diferente tú día a día? ¿Por qué si hay tantos libros dedicados a nosotros de agradecernos y mil cosas más y de escribir sobre nosotros, hacer documentales sobre nosotros entonces no?, ¿por qué te *quedai* en el

agradecimiento y no *hacis* una construcción personal desde ti, desde lo que supuestamente te gusta, porque si lo agradeces se supone que te gusta, lo avalas

IH: Claro

Carolina: La mayoría de mis amigos me cuentan así como de libros que han salido, documentales o cosas raras pero es raro, es raro entender que fuiste parte de la historia, que lo quisiste pero que fuiste parte de la historia, es raro entender que quizás tu forma de ser frente al mundo eh...es reconocida pero es invisible, ¿se entiende?

IH: Si, te entiendo

Carolina: Por lo tanto lo que puedan o no puedan escribir si a alguien le sirve bien... pero como decía un amigo, eh...yo no desperté un día a la sociedad porque leí un libro que me inspiró o porque escuché una canción revolucionaria, yo de verdad desperté porque un día me di cuenta de que ya no quería vivir esto [...]. Entonces lo que puedan escribir sobre nosotros con respecto a vivencias personales o con respecto a modos políticos, etc., está bien pero aun no entiendo para qué sirve, ¿se entiende?

IH: Si

Carolina: O sea lo encuentro tremendamente válido porque tiene que haber un registro, porque tiene que haber algo que te construya, porque tiene que haber una huella, el tema es que me cuestiono para que existen huellas si las personas no son visibles a esas huellas, está bien, pero quien tendría que ser el receptor de eso es a quien critico profundamente

IH: ¿Quedaron lazos después del 2006? ¿Quedaron amistades con los otros estudiantes que participaron de este movimiento estudiantil?

Carolina: Así como genere lazos, genere rechazos, con la MJ por ejemplo, políticamente hablando, no hay por donde cuadremos, no, no... su forma es tremendamente violenta y la mía es tratar de evitar la violencia, eh...personalmente hablando podemos sentarnos por horas, hablar de la vida y todo, pero políticamente hablando chocamos [...] obviamente cuando voy a regiones siempre hay alguien a quien ir a visitar porque al final y al cabo eh... fue tanto el tiempo que viviste en asamblea que es casi como una gran comunidad

IH: Claro, claro

Carolina: Es como... como nos molestaban unos amigos, como el *neohippismo*

IH: *Neohippismo*... interesante ese concepto

Carolina: Es como... no sé... se generan hartos lazos y no solo con gente de tu edad, con gente también de otras edades, con dirigentes de la salud, entonces es bonito también

IH: Interesante crear lazos... ¿cuáles fueron las principales debilidades del movimiento del 2006?

Carolina: *Ah*...muchas la principal... una debilidad que obviamente se tenía que dar era inmadurez por nuestra edad, el ego provocado por la inmadurez, el querer

sobresalir, el querer resaltar, el querer mostrarte, que te puede jugar en contra más aun cuando estás hablando...porque estas enfrentándote a personas que manejan un sistema económico que a la primera debilidad te van a tratar de aportillar. La segunda... es no haber tenido la valentía de ir a los extremos, de decir voy *pa'alla*, y no me importan lo que digan, lo que pase, si el mundo se cae voy *pa'alla*...hay algunos que dicen que nuestra debilidad fue no ser violentos, yo lo veo como una virtud, pero también puede ser una debilidad de repente no ser violento a la hora de sentarte a negociar con un gobierno, como que los gobiernos necesitan que quienes las demandan sean tremendamente violentos como que si no, no reaccionan muy bien, creo que otra debilidad del movimiento...fue caer en algunas veces o la mayoría de las veces en los juegos de la prensa, en los juegos del gobierno eso.

Translation from Spanish into English

IH: In your opinion, what is the main contribution of the Penguins' movement to the identity of secondary students?

Carolina: I do not know [...] it is a very broad question as it is about education. I think the movement allowed students to recognise themselves as students. Perhaps, it is a student who is not the smartest one but he or she is able to explain to you why he or she does not agree with education. While within many other student organisations student leaders always replied and led the debate, grassroots students from 2006 were able to explain the problem about education from very different angles. I mean some of them could talk about a particular law or decree and explain to you about the model of education. In addition, one could also find students who talked about education through emotions and feelings. I think that students from 2006 aroused emotions a lot. At a personal level, I understood that the conflict on education has to do a lot with the reality of the country. For example, we met at the INBA on June 4 or 5. At that assembly one realised that workers meant more than a word as the worker was there or a tourist also came to the assembly ... I do not know, you began to recognise Chile. I do not how to explain, but I think that the 2006 student protest opened something that I am not able to identify yet.

IH: Is it about a very different political reading? To become aware of your participation and the spaces through which you participate?

Carolina: Maybe, I could say either yes or no. It is because what happened in 2006 is a very personal experience. Some people might have understood this as a way to demonstrate after the end of the dictatorship whilst for some others the 2006 student mobilisations represented an opportunity through which students showed that they were not fools. For other people, it represented the way to build, through the assembly, truly democratic participation as something that links both the personal and collective dimensions. Perhaps the 2006 mobilisations have a bit of all of this - or they are all of this. But I cannot say what it is as I do not know.

IH: How do you feel when you read what others have written on the Penguins' movement?

Carolina: I avoid doing so. It makes me feel angry as it happened in 2006. I do not like it when people acknowledge what you did and they say thank you. It is because you ask them: well why didn't you give me more support in 2006; why didn't you build yourself in a different way every day? If there are many books and

documentaries about us, then why do you only say thank you without developing something different yourself based upon the things you most like. I mean, if you say thank you it means that you must like and support this.

IH: of course

Carolina: Many of my friends told me about books and documentaries. Yet it is strange to recognise that you were part of the history. It is strange that the way in which you are is acknowledged but at the same it is invisible, do you understand?

IH: Yes, I do

Carolina: I mean it is good to write about us and that this could be useful for others. Yet as one of my friends says...I did not wake up and understand society just because I read a book that made me feel inspired or because I listened to a revolutionary song; I woke up the day that I realised that I did not want to continue living in this way [...]. Then it could be good that someone writes about us, our personal experiences and forms of politics, etc. This is good, but I have not understood yet what the purpose of it is, do you understand?

IH: Yes

Carolina: I mean it is important to have a record because it is needed to have something upon which one could construct oneself. It is important to have and to leave a fingerprint; however, I am wondering why we need this when the people who made it are invisible. I question the one who is the recipient of all of this experience.

IH: Did you develop closer friendship with students who mobilised in 2006?

Carolina: Just as I developed closer friendship I also generated rejection. For example, I cannot find a common political point with MJ...it is because her political stance is far more radical while I am more in favour of peaceful solutions. We could, however, talk about many other issues but we always clashed over politics [...]. Of course, when I travelled to the regions I always met my friends there. It is because you spent a lot time in the assembly and this turned into a community

IH: Of course

Carolina: It is like being neo-hippies

IH: *Neo-hippies*, it is very interesting

Carolina: It is like...I do not know...you develop a lot of ties with other young people and other grassroots activists. It is a very nice experience

IH: It is interesting to build ties... in your opinion, what were the main weaknesses within the Penguins' movement?

Carolina: I think it had lot weaknesses. Perhaps, the main weakness had to do with our age and immaturity...we wanted to be in the frontline all the time and this could play against you sometimes. For example, when you expose your ideas you also confront people who lead the economic system. They are waiting for any sign of weakness to undermine you. Secondly, we were not courageous enough to go to the extremes. I mean to continue fighting without being concerned by what others could

say about our decision. Someone might say that we were not radical enough when we negotiated with the government as it seems that governments need hard negotiators to lead better reforms. I also think that another weakness relates to the significant influence of the press or government on the movement.

Appendix 7



Leading education
and social research
Institute of Education
University of London

Consent form

Doctoral research on the Chilean student movement: the case of the Penguins' movement

I have read the information leaflet about the research. (please tick)

I will allow the researchers to observe me/my child (please tick)

I agree to be interviewed (please tick)

[Add any other involvement] (please tick)

Name _____

Signed _____

Date _____

[Space for child's name for optional signing]

Researcher's name _____

Signed _____

Date _____

Appendix 8

Percentage of municipal, private-voucher, private fee-paying and delegated administration schools

Regions	Municipal schools	Private-voucher schools	Private fee-paying schools	Delegated Administration schools
Tarapacá	31.2%	62%	5.2%	0.4%
Antofagasta	50.4%	34.5%	15%	
Atacama	64%	29%	6.6%	
Coquimbo	52%	43.7%	3.1%	0.1%
Valparaíso	36%	55.1%	7.8%	0.47%
Libertador Bernardo O'Higgins	58%	37.7%	3.2%	0.85%
Maule	65%	32.6%	1.3%	0.5%
Bío-Bío	58%	38.6%	2.2%	0.7%
Araucanía	43%	55.2%	0.97%	0.32%
Los Lagos	60%	37.7%	2%	0,09%
Aysén	62%	36%		1.1%
Magallanes	59.3%	35.1%	5.4%	
Metropolitan Region	23%	65.7%	9.5%	1.07%
Los Ríos	46%	51.6%	1.6%	
Arica and Parinacota	42%	55.1%	2.5%	

Source: MINEDUC (2013)

Appendix 9

Petition of secondary students from FEMES (Federación Metropolitana de Estudiantes Secundarios [Federation of Secondary Student from the Metropolitan Region])

1. De-municipalisation and state education

To guarantee greater participation of students, teachers and educational communities in relation to improvement of quality education and strengthening of public education

To eliminate the General Law on Education (LGE)

To increase the proportion of the country's GNP spent on education by 7%

To ban the opening of new private-voucher schools

To develop a new curriculum reform which provides a strong foundation for citizenship education

To reform the Full School Day Reform (JEC)

To eliminate the national college admission test (PSU)

To improve the quality of school meals provided by the JUNAEB¹¹⁰ in all education system

2. Transport

To have a free student transport pass valid for 365 days and 24 hours.

3. Democratisation

To recognize student federations and student organisations through modification of Decree N° 524

Student Councils should be allowed to be involved in decision-making at schools.

4. Technical and Vocational Secondary Education

To guarantee better salaries and employability conditions for students in the process of school-to-work-transition

To guarantee students their right to be unionised

5. Infrastructure

To improve infrastructure in the municipal education sector

¹¹⁰ Junta Nacional de Auxilio Escolar y Becas (National School Aid and Scholarship Committee)

Appendix 10

G.A.N.E (Gran Acuerdo Nacional por la Educación [National Agreement on Education)

- a) To continue improving primary and secondary education and enhancing pre-school education
- b) The creation of a \$4b fund for higher education
- c) To improve access and quality of the student finance system by guaranteeing access to grants for 40% of the poorest students enrolled in technical and vocational education with average score points equal to 5.0/5.5
- d) To reduce the interest rate on student loans (CAE)
- e) To renegotiate student loan debts
- f) To include the average point score at schools as an additional criterion for entry to higher education
- g) To improve quality, information and supervision of the formal system for accreditation of higher education institutions
- h) To create a new Under-Secretary for Higher Education;
- i) To create a supervising body for Higher Education in order to guarantee accountability for the quality of education delivery
- j) To agree on a new deal for public universities to facilitate the management, regulation and self-control
- k) To create a fund to revitalise public universities.
- l) A new institutional framework for the Higher Education system: to differentiate between three different types of institutions: (a) state universities; (b) traditional non-state universities and (c) private universities.
- m) To distinguish between non-profit making private universities and for-profit private universities. The latter ones to pay taxes according their revenues. These revenues should be oriented towards guaranteeing grants to students from the poorest socio-economic groups

Appendix 11

Políticas y Propuestas de Acción para el Desarrollo de la Educación Chilena (Proposals and Policies for the Development of the Chilean Education System)

1. To constitutionally guarantee the right to quality of education. The role of the state is to comply with this constitutional guarantee
2. To end municipalisation of public education system by creating a new institutional framework based on public institutions
3. To enhance and improve quality of pre-school education access
4. To increase spending on per-student subsidy with an emphasis on students from the most deprived socioeconomic groups
5. To modify the education financing system by incorporating the number of enrolments as a criterion for state funding
6. To modernise the Teachers' statute and strengthen initial teacher training
7. To implement a new education-quality assurance system
8. To implement a new audit system to monitor the use of state funding resources
9. To enhance educational provision in the technical and vocational education sector
10. To continue faster work towards reconstruction of schools affected by the earthquake in 2010 by presenting an implementation plan
11. To promote student participation at all levels of the education system with a particular emphasis on abrogating decrees that undermine student participation at higher education institutions
12. To strengthen public or traditional universities through state funding
13. To complement the financing system at higher education institutions with funding related to their internal and external achievements
14. To restructure the system of grants and student loans at higher education system in order to avoid any student being unable to access higher education because of her/his family's economic situation
15. To increase the number of grants, to reduce the interest rate on student loans and renegotiate student loan debts
16. To restructure the formal system for accreditation of higher education institutions by establishing this accreditation as a criterion for obtaining state funding
17. To create a supervising body for education to monitor the use of state funding and profit-making at higher education institutions
18. To promote a more equitable system for entry to higher education
19. To improve educational provision in the technical and vocational education sector, Professional Institutes and Technical Colleges.
20. To promote intercultural education
21. To improve quality in innovation, science and technology